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The Trail of Dreams: Mobilizing Corazones and Forging New Visions of Migrant Justice

Author
Sol�rzano, Rafael Ramirez

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The Trail of Dreams:

Mobilizing *Corazones* and Forging New Visions of Migrant Justice

This dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction

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in Chicana and Chicano Studies

by

Rafael Ramirez Solorzano Jr.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Trail of Dreams: Mobilizing *Corazones* and Forging New Visions of Migrant Justice

by

Rafael Ramírez Solorzano Jr.

Doctor of Philosophy in Chicana and Chicano Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Leisy Janet Abrego, Chair

Political activism is neither unusual nor unexpected in U.S. South but for undocumented/ undocuqueer Latinx youth to walk across the South, unafraid of detention and deportation, was especially historic locally and nationally in 2010. And, while we know that the Undocumented Youth Movement played a critical role in the development of Executive Actions like Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (2012), we know least about how this played out in the southeastern U.S. My dissertation is a history of the Trail of Dreams, a four- month walk from Miami, FL to Washington D.C., which redefined migrant rights activism in the 21st century by expanding our collective understanding of political agency by undocumented youth.

Divided into two parts, the first three chapters historicize the Trail of Dreams, while the last three ethnographically analyze their political ingenuity and coalition building strategies. The introduction examines the spatial, social, and political context surrounding the Trail, as well as provide a place-based framework to studying undocumented youth resistance in the U.S. South. Chapter 1 critiques traditional theoretical approaches that social movement scholars must attend to when examining Latina/o/x forms of resistance by asserting the need to adopt an undocuqueer critique that captures the intersectional experiences within social movements. Next, Chapter 2 highlights the intensification of nativism and interior

enforcement across the U.S. South in the first decade of the 21st century. Chapter 3 documents the multidimensional and expansive gendered labor necessary to support the Trail by detailing the mobilization of resources and social media strategies during the early stages of the Trail. Chapter 4 traces how, in the context of coalition building, the Trail encounters their own complicities with power and racial privilege (*shock and difference*) across the State of Florida and are forced to internally challenge these subversive politics at a local and national scale. At the center of Chapter 5, is a theory I call "*radical risk-taking movidas*," a conceptual frame that recognizes the emancipatory practices adopted across the Undocumented Youth Movement that uplift the most vulnerable populations of migrants and non-migrants. To conclude, I end with a discussion concerning what the Trail of Dreams reveals about contemporary regional understandings of race and place, Latina/o/x activism and social movements.

The thesis of Rafael Ramírez Solorzano Jr. is approved.

Kyungwon Hong

Gaye T Johnson

Maylei S. Blackwell

Leisy Janet Abrego, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

DEDICATED TO

Rafael Hernandez Solórzano and Rita Ramirez Solórzano

For teaching me to love, hope and fight for justice

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List of Acronyms

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union (Georgia and National)
ABLE	Atlanteans Building Leadership for Empowerment (Atlanta, GA)
AIRR	Advocates for Immigrant and Refugee Rights at Florida State University (Tallahassee, FL)
CCC	Center for Community Change (Washington D.C. and National)
CHISPAS	Student organization at the University of Florida, Gainesville (Gainesville, FL)
CIW	Coalition of Immokalee Workers (Florida)
DRUM	Desis Rising Up & Moving (New York City, NY)
El Sol	Jupiter Neighborhood Resource Center (Jupiter, FL)
FAIR	Federation for American Immigration Reform (National)
FFF	Families for Freedom (New York City, NY)
FIRM	Fair Immigration Reform Movement (Washington D.C. and National)
FIYN	Florida Immigrant Youth Network (Florida)
FLIC	Florida Immigrant Coalition (Miami and Florida)
GLAHR	Georgia Latino Alliance for Human Rights (Atlanta, GA and Georgia)
IAIJ	Interfaith Alliance for Immigrant Justice (Gainesville, FL)
KKK	Ku Klux Klan (Georgia and National)
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Albany, GA and National)
NAKASEC	National Korean American Service & Education Consortium (Los Angeles, CA)
NCLR	National Council de la Raza (Washington D.C. and National)
NCJC	North Carolina Justice Center (Raleigh, NC)
NYSYLC	New York State Youth Leadership Council (New York City, NY)
OCDT	Orange County Dream Team (Orange County, CA)

SAF	Student Action with Farmworkers (North Carolina)
Sin Fronteras	Without Borders, Without Walls Youth Group (Apopka, FL)
SCSJ	Southern Coalition for Social Justice (Durham, NC)
SPLC	Southern Poverty Law Center (Atlanta, GA and National)
SWER	Students Working for Equal Rights (Miami, FL and Florida)
UWD	United We Dream (Washington D.C. and National)
YAD	Young American DREAMers (Polk County, FL)

AN UNDOCUQUEER LEXICON

Because queerness entails breaking down categories, questioning definitions and giving them new meaning, I, like Juana María Rodriguez in *Queer Latinidad*, see the importance of noting the use of my words.[1] In their essay, "Out of the shadows" Pedro de la Torre and Roy Germano (2014), describe the popularly used identity DREAMers as undocumented immigrants in their teens, twenties and thirties, who reveal their undocumented status in support of the DREAM Act and other immigration reforms. Throughout my research, I use the spelling of *undocumented/undocuqueer* to denote the variety of queer identities included in the category of undocumented migrant. It signals the sexuality, gender queer, and multiplicity within people's lives, while challenging traditional single-identity based politics (homogenized identities such as the DREAMer). It captures a potent network of queer undocumented migrant leaders for the rights of undocumented youth and their families.

I also use the word *migrant* because it draws attention to a circular and mobile relationship in which people, like the several that I have interviewed have embodied within their host country-they plan on returning to their host country, or come from families in which people have migrated between two nation states for generations. I use the word immigrant when citing others who use this term, or as a generic reference to all people who have immigrated to the United States. I am following Eithne Luibhéid and Lionel Cantu, José David Saldivar, Nelson Maldonado Torres, and Ramón Grosfoguel and Alfonso Gonzales, who argue that the term immigrant signifies a western European experience that speaks to a unidirectional relationship where people come to the host country and permanently settle.[2] I often use migrant(s) versus

[1] Juana Maria Rodriguez. *Queer Latinidad: Identity Practices, Discursive Spaces*. Sexual Cultures. (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 1-3.

immigrant when referring to Latina/o/x migrants from the global south, the migrant rights movement and anti-migrant groups and policies.[3]

As a writing style, I use the following racial and cultural identity-affirmations—Latina/o/x, Chicana/o/x, Mexicana/o, U.S. Central Americans, Black, women of color, Afro-Latinas/os/xs and queer—because language matters and racial and cultural identities differ depending on places and spaces due to colonial histories and globalization. I use Latina, Latino and Latinx, not only as a generic reference to people of Latin American origin, but to refer to individuals and groups who share a history of colonialism and ancestors originated in Central and South America, including Mexicanas/os, Chicanas/os, U.S. Central Americans and people from the Caribbean. Plus, to reflect a new consciousness inspired by more recent work by queer and feminist movements, I use the more inclusive "x" to replace the "a" and "o," in a complete break with the gender binary.[4] Its use signals both women's and men's contemporary efforts in challenging normative notions of nation-state building within the migrant rights movement and the creation of coalitional identities.

Last, a note on naming. "Queer" is not simply an umbrella term that encompasses lesbians, bisexuals, gay men, transgender, and two-spirit people; it is a political term that emerged in the early 1990s for those who challenged heteronormativity that sought to normalize

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[2] For insightful discussion on the difference uses of immigrant and migrant, see Eithne Luibhéid and Lionel Cantu, *Queer Migrations: Sexuality, U.S. Citizenship, and Border Crossings,* Ramón Grosfoguel, Nelson Maldonado Torres, and José David Saldívar. *Latino/as in the World-System: Decolonization Struggles in the 21st Century U.S. Empire*, and Alfonso Gonzales, *Reform without Justice: Latino Migrant Politics and the Homeland Security State*.

[3] Gonzales, *Reform without Justice.*

[4] See Maylei Blackwell and Edward McCaughan. "Editors' Introduction: New Dimensions in the Scholarship and Practice of Mexican and Chicanx Social Movements."

our gender, sexuality, exploit our labor, and constrain our visibility.[5] I use the word queer to represent those who find themselves on the margins, who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, two-spirited and queer, who refuse assimilation tendencies and heteropatriarchy, operating through multiple identities (undocumented/undocuqueer youth) and thus not fully served or recognized through traditional single-identity-based politics.[6]

[5] See Juana Rodriguez, *Queer Latinidad* and Cathy Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens."

[6] See Cohen, "Punks," and Hames-Garcia and Martínez, *Gay Latino Studies.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In 1994, I quickly learned what it meant to mobilize youth and resources against California's infamous Proposition 187 (Save Our State initiative), which sought to ban undocumented migrants from receiving a public education, health care, and other services. During my junior year at Santa Ana High School, my peers and I quickly learned to design flyers, posters, and t-shirts, organize outreach, create and fax media press releases, and build intergenerational support. I became a youth organizer and I didn't event know it. Later, I would participate and witness the emergence of youth of color-led campaigns across the state of California at the turn of the 21st Century. I grew up organizing, side by side, with women of color and queer youth at the center of organizing across California, specifically Black, Chicanas/os/xs and U.S. Central Americans.

The organizing stories at the center of this dissertation emerge from the most marginalized communities—undocumented and undocuqueer Latina/o/x activists—those deemed too difficult to mobilize in the U.S. South. When I first began hearing these testimonios in 2015, I began to recognize a dissenting voice within our traditional understandings of the migrant rights movement in the U.S. As a long-time racial justice activist, these accounts documented how place-based race dynamics inform activist's political resistance and selves. Now, nine years later, their campaign for racial justice built around the slogan "undocumented and unafraid," continues to inspire a younger generation of migrant right and queer rights activists.

Along the way I received help from numerous organizations and grassroots organizers across the Southeastern United States to weave these stories together. First and foremost, I especially appreciate the aid of Florida Immigration Coalition (FLIC) and Georgia Latino Alliance for Human Rights (GLAHR). A special thanks to executive director's Maria Rodriguez and Adelina Nicholls, who are indispensable to the fight for racial justice and migrant rights in

the U.S. South. Thank you for allowing me to visit your organization and archives which offered the historical perspective the Trails of Dream and the Undocumented Youth Movement demanded and deserves. Second, this work draws strength and love from the forty-two interviews that were conducted throughout the United States. They include the stories of the walkers—Carlos, Felipe, Gaby, and Isabel—coalitional partners, support staff, adult and youth allies. I'm especially grateful for the time that I spent in southern and rural parts of Georgia, where I had the opportunity to meet great leaders taking great risks and fighting for migrant rights in regions historically known for their organized hate and vigilante groups. Without meeting all of you, I wouldn't understand how geography (place and space) is so central to the Trail and all social movements. I also want to thank all of those coalitional partners and support staff, who supported the Trail from beginning to end. Thank you for sharing with me your stories, your hardships, your joys and future visions. I hope I have captured some of them in this dissertation and if not I hope to do it in the manuscript to come.

The research for this project was made possible by generous fellowship support from UCLA's Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies, the Chicano Studies Research Center and the Tamar Diana Wilson Fund, the Institute of American Cultures and the Institute for Research on Labor and Employment. This dissertation is stronger for my year residence at Emory University's James Weldon Johnson Institute for the Study of Race and Difference where it was my great fortune to finish my dissertation in the U.S. South where this story of Trail takes place.

This project began under the guidance of Leisy Abrego, who believed in me, when I first walked into her office hours with four different dissertation projects. Her rich knowledge of Latina/o/x immigration and families, and the production of "illegality" through U.S. immigration laws served as an anchor when engaging in the complicated task of analyzing migrant testimonios. As my graduate chair, she taught me that, "the best way to learn [empirical research]

is to do it," and that is exactly what we did for five years. She supported me throughout my travels across the U.S. and my push to work beyond traditional research designs. I thank her for allowing me to be the community organizer, who walked through her door in 2014.

I was fortunate to have trained with an indispensable committee, whose research on freedom movements and women of color feminism inspired me as a graduate student in the Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies. I am indebted to Maylei Blackwell's foundational work on indigenous political organizing, women of color feminism, and social movements. Her critique of traditional historiography is critical, and at times, an oppositional necessity. Through seminars and being her research assistant for three years, she taught me the necessity to push and shift the field of Ethnic Studies, Chicana/o/x, Latina/o/x and Joteria Studies. Grace Hong provided great insights into questions of coalition building, risk-taking, and contemporary neoliberalism. And, her passion for women of color feminism as an epistemological critique assisted me to move beyond established paradigms and to create new ones grounded in the work of Bernice Johnson Reagon, Cathy Cohen, Gloria Anzaldua, Betita Martinez, to name a few. Moreover, Grace demonstrated the value of offering constructive criticism in seminar, on paper, and in person. I'm likewise grateful to Gaye Theresa Johnson, whose teaching pedagogy, seminars, and femtorship pushes me to excel as an educator and writer. You always inspired me in lecture, hence my drop-ins and pushed me to find my true voice in my writing.

I'm grateful to UCLA's Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies faculty, especially Abel Valenzuela, Alicia Gaspar De Alba, Alma Lopez, Charlene Villasenor Black, Chris Zepeda Milan, Eric Avila, Judy Baca, Maria Cristina Pons, Matt Barreto, Otto Santa Ana, and Roberto Chao Rodriguez, who pushed me in seminars, office hours and department talks. Their own research and texts provided the models I needed during my graduate school years. In addition, every graduate student and emerging scholar should have key academic femtors and mentors,

who they can develop their ideas with. Cecilia Locayo, I am so blessed to have had the opportunity to TA for you and to be femtored by you. Moreover, our long platicas during your office hours, lunch time meetings, and over the phone provided me the necessary encouragement to complete the dissertation and enter the job market without doubting myself. I am thankful to Genevieve Carpio for bringing together graduate and undergraduate students, who are interested in geography, ethnic studies, and the digital humanities. Gena, your femtorship launched me to publish my first article and inspired me to be the profe I need to be in the next coming years. And, Juan Herrera, your solid friendship and guidance during my last year at UCLA contributed to so many academic opportunities. Indeed, you have taught me the importance of putting together a winning application and the importance of paying it forward in academia. Over my five years, I had helpful comments and guidance from Ernesto Chavez, Sarah Haley, Marjorie Faulstich Orellena, Purnima Mankekar, and Raymond Rocco.

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I had the great fortune of being a visiting dissertation fellow at the James Weldon Johnson Institute for the Study of Race and Difference at Emory University. There, I was surrounded by emerging scholars—Jeremiah Favara, Keisha Brown, Lindsay Livingston, Moon

Charania, Jee Hyun Ann, and Timothy Rainey—whose interdisciplinary scholarship is unique and an insurgent critique within Gender, American and Ethnic Studies. I am humbled and thankful for the institute's directors, Andra Gillespie, Rhonda Patrick and Kali-Ahset Amen, who is now at John Hopkins's Billie Holiday Project for Liberation Arts, for their expertise and kindness. Equally important, I'm deeply grateful to my brother, Dwight Lewis, and sisters, Taina and Tiara, whose enthusiastic support and love made ATL home. Also, this dissertation's archival research was strengthened by a rising and talented Latinx intellectual, Teresa Apel.

Anything valuable in this book can be attributed to my experience as a youth and community organizer across the state of California. I drew much of my insights from the many youth of color, queer and women, who I organized and mobilized alongside with. Many of these dear friends, who are now teachers, executive directors, organizers, journalists, writers, artists, professors, elected officials, policy makers, and lawyers, continue to inspire me and keep me grounded in my #RafasRumboAlDoctorado. A special shout out to El Centro Cultural de Mexico, Carolina Sarmiento, Revel Sims, Ester Hernandez, Elizabeth Le Guin, Salvador Zarate, and Erualdo Gonzalez for your invaluable mentorship and being the best writing group during the summers in Santa Ana.

To my familia, who for five years supported this journey, you are wonderful. To my *hermanas,* my guardians, you taught me to be strong and value our community. To my nephews and nieces, you continue to remind me the need to stay joyful and playful during difficult times. To my mother, Rita Ramirez Solórzano, you inspired my journey and these stories. I also wish to thank those whose lives are reflected on every page. I drew much of my inspiration from the many family members who have touched my life. They include my *tia,* Margarita Solórzano; my *tio,* Cornelio Ramirez; my *prima,* Maria Nieves Moreno Jacobo; *doña* Gloria Valenzuela and countless Mexicana/o and Chicana/o/x ancestors, whose struggles and successes created the

foundation that nurtured me. I especially acknowledge the spirit of my father, Rafael Hernandez Solórzano, who in 1998 saw into the future and planted this *#Rumbo* while I was an undergraduate at UC Berkeley. Often when I felt challenged, I thought of him and heard him say, "Hechale Ganas!" so I did. Gracias apa.

Curriculum Vitae

RAFAEL RAMIREZ SOLÓRZANO
909 N. Raitt Street
Santa Ana, CA 92703
(714) 390 – 0814 / rafasolorzano@ucla.edu

EDUCATION:

M.A. Chicana/o Studies, University of California, Los Angeles 2016
Trail of Dreams: Queering Across the Fight for Migrant Rights in the South
Committee: Leisy J. Abrego (Chair), Maylei Blackwell, Grace Hong

B.A. Rhetoric and Chicana/o Studies, University of California, Berkeley 2012

RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS:

U.S. Social Movements, Women of Color Feminism, Queer of Color Critique, Latina/o/x Political Theory, Racial/Latinx Geographies, Comparative Racialization, Mexico and Central America-US Immigration, Qualitative and Archival Research Methods, Digital Humanities

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND AWARDS:

Fellowships

2018/19 Emory University, James Weldon Johnson Institute Dissertation Fellowship (25,000)
2018/19 Inter-University Program for Latino Research/Mellon Fellowship, (25,000) *Declined*
2017 UCLA Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Program ($6,000)
2016 Ford Foundation Fellowship Predoctoral, *Alternate*
2015/16 UCLA Graduate Research Mentorship Fellowship ($20,000)
2015 UCLA Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Program ($6,000)
2015 Ford Foundation Fellowship Predoctoral, *Honorable Mention List*
2014/18 UCLA, Eugene V. Cota-Robles Fellowship (*4 years)*

Grants and Awards

2018 UCLA Distinguish Teaching Assistant Award, *Department Nomination*
2018 UCLA Institute for Research and Labor and Employment Research Grant ($3,000)
"Queering the Emergent Borderlands; Undocuqueer Activism in the U.S. South."
2018 UCLA Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies Teaching Fellow Award
2018 UCLA Institute for American Cultures ($1,000)
"Queering the Emergent Borderlands; Undocuqueer Activism in the U.S. South."
2018 Tamar Diana Wilson Fund, UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Grant ($2,000)
"The Trail of Dreams: Radical Coalitional Politics in the 21ST Century."
2015 UCLA Institute for American Cultures, Chicano Studies Research Center Grant ($6,000)
"Trail of Dreams: UndocuQueer Acts and Political Possibilities."

PUBLICATIONS:

Journal Articles

Solórzano, R. Revise and Resubmit. "Notes from the Trail: The KKK, Face-offs, and Radical Risk-Taking Movidas." *Latino Studies Journal*, 2019

Book Chapters

Solórzano, R. Forthcoming. "Welcome to Miami: Linking Place, Race and UndocuQueer Youth Activism," *Queer and Trans Migrations: Dynamics of Illegalization, Detention, and Deportation*. Edited by Eithne Luibhéid, Karma Chávez, and Julio Salgado

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Videos

Animator/Director/Producer, *Gloria Anzaldúa, The Nuts and Bolts of Chicana Feminist Theory*, December 2016

Animator/Director/Producer, *Chela Sandoval, The Nuts and Bolts of Chicana Feminist Theory*, March 2015

Director/Producer, *Sisters at The Center of Youth Organizing*, June 1999

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS:

"Doing Latinx Geographies in the Borderlands: Luchas, Corazon y Compromiso," American Association of Geographers, Washington D.C., April 2019.

"Now Let Us Shift," Examining Latinx Migrant Resistance via Women of Color Feminism," American Association of Geographers, Washington D.C., April 2019.

"*Chinga La Migra*: Georgia's Latinx Activism in an Era of Trump," Southeastern American Studies Association, Atlanta, GA March 2019

"Notes from the Trail; Blogging Across the South," Digitalizing Race: Making Latinxs in the 21st Century, New York University, NY. March 2019

"ICE Out Of GA: Families in Fear and the Fight Against Atlanta Immigration Raids," National Women's Studies Association, Atlanta, GA. November 2018

"The Trail of Dreams: The (Re)scaling of the Undocumented Youth Movement," Latinx Studies Association, Washington D.C., July 2018

"The Trail of Dreams: Radical Coalitional Politic in the 21st Century," American Association of Geographers Conference, New Orleans, LA. April 2018.

"The Trail of Dreams: Radical Coalitional Politics in the 21st Century, This Ain't Your Nonprofit Coalition," Queer Graduate Conference, UCLA, CA. October 2017

INVITED PRESENTATIONS:

Invited Talk. "Notes from the Trail of Dreams: Undocuqueer Activism in the U.S. South." Pomona College, Pomona, November 14th 2018

Invited Talk. "Notes from the Trail of Dreams: The KKK, Face-offs, and Radical Risk-Taking Movidas." Chicano Studies Research Center, UCLA, November 12th 2018

Plenary Panel. National McNair Conference Graduate Student Plenary, UCLA Luskin Center, Los Angeles, July 27, 2018

Keynote. "Whose University? Our University!" California State University, Channel Islands Raza Day, CSU Channel Islands, March 5, 2018

Invited Talk. "Reflections of the Third World Liberation Front Strike of 1999." The Struggle for Ethnic Studies and the Cost of the Struggle Symposium. California State University, Fullerton, March 12, 2018

INTRODUCTION

Figure 1. Trail of Dream Participants in front of Miami's Freedom Tower. Left to Right: Gaby Pacheco, Felipe Matos, Carlos Roa, and Juan Rodriguez. Courtesy of website.

2010 was an important year for migrant rights activism. On Friday, January 1st 2010, four Miami Dade College students— Felipe Matos, Gaby Pacheco, Carlos Roa and Juan Rodriguez — during a press conference stood behind their new walking shoes at the foot of the Freedom Tower, a landmark building in downtown Miami, before embarking on a four month, 1,500 mile walk to Washington D.C. called the *Trail of Dreams* (Figure 1). All community college students at Miami Dade College and youth members of Students Working for Equal Rights (SWER) and Florida Immigrant Coalition (FLIC), they had spent four years fighting for workers' rights, migrant rights, and access to higher education and fighting against the U.S. deportation machine.[1] Except for Juan, who attained legal residency in 2008 after being undocumented for 13 years, all were undocumented.[2] By the end of that year, a new national movement had been

created; it was guided by the slogan, "Undocumented, Unafraid and *Unashamed*." [3] To gain national attention, youth activists from across the United States organized a series of marches and civil disobedience acts that would ultimately lead to executive actions like Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) in 2012, a discretionary act that temporarily shielded eligible undocumented migrants from deportation and allowed them to work in the United States.

Distinct from the mega-marches of 2006 that took place in various locations over a period of three months (February to May) and included five million people in 400 demonstrations from coast to coast; the Trail of Dreams campaign lasted 120 consecutive days (four months), covered 1,500-miles (16 to 24 miles a day) and over 100 cities.[4] The walkers stopped at churches, family homes, universities and community centers. While in Florida, many of the walkers were representative of the members of the Florida Immigrant Coalition's (FLIC) statewide coalition and their newly formed Florida Immigrant Youth Network (FIYN). Their organizational hosts varied depending on place and space—rural, suburban and urban cities. Some days, the walkers were accompanied by youth of color, undocumented high school and college students; or Maya day laborers and farm workers from central Florida and Georgia. Other days, they were escorted by immigration, racial justice, and civil right leaders and Black Christian leaders. With only two months of planning and a dilapidated RV for storing food, water, first aid, lap tops, clothes and shelter; they were able to connect and build an intergenerational, cross-sector, mixed-status and mostly women of color support network that helped them reach Washington D.C. After four months, the Trail had moved from a local scale campaign to a national campaign, launching the walkers as the face of the *Trail* and generally associated with the Undocumented Youth Movement.

Without reservation, those at the center were a network of undocumented women and queer youth of color, some of whom had never participated in political activism. These

participants worked around the clock; managing social media platforms and press; arranging daily logistics and routes; organizing specific reunions and meetings; promoting events and fundraisers for food and water; and, looking out for the Trail walkers' safety. Through an examination of the Undocumented Youth Movement leadership, multiple scholars (Cristina Beltrán, Karma Chávez, Amalia Pallares, Veronica Terriquez, to name a few) have noted a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer prominence. Their research has highlighted how undocuqueer activists are present at Coming Out of the Shadows Day in Chicago (March 2010) risked deportation by staging a sit-in inside Senator McCain's office in Tucson (May 2010), joined a fifteen-day hunger strike outside the Los Angeles Office of U.S. Senator Diane Feinstein (July, 2010), and were key members of the Trail of Dreams. Felipe and Isabel, two of the four walkers, were queer and the only couple on the trail. In fact, it was Isabel who initiated the idea of the Trail. Along with others, such as Gaby, Carlos, Felipe, Florida Immigrant Coalition (FLIC), Students Working for Equal Rights (SWER), Presente.org, and Georgia Latino Alliance for Human Rights (GLAHR), they made the Trail of Dreams a reality. Therefore, throughout the text I refer to undocumented youth activist not as DREAMers, but rather as *undocumented/undocuqueer* activists to denote the variety and network of young people, women of color, and queers included within the movement.

A history of women of color and queer leadership at the center of the Trail of Dreams moves against portraying a regional racial justice campaign devoid of sexual and queer minorities, as well as those that assume migrant rights mobilizations are homogenous and politically unified. Despite the contributions of aforementioned scholars, certain narratives that dominate the fight for migrant rights and immigration studies obscure women participation and queer formations. Building on these points, documenting the participation and silencing of

women and queer youth's sexuality demonstrate how gender, sexuality and legality shape contested histories and radical politics.

In her text, *Family Activism; Immigrant Struggles and the Politics of Noncitizenship*, Amalia Pallares (2014) aptly articulates the rise of a new way of doing politics by undocuqueers by recognizing a growing activism that challenges the divisions and categorizations of the state as well as other sectors of the migrant rights movement.

> As the 'undocuqueer' identity becomes increasingly politicized and becomes a larger presence in the movement, a more open inclusion of undocuqueer voices within the larger movement (they are already very present and among the main leaders of Immigrant Youth Justice League, as well as the national youth movement) and the related expansion and transformation of the 'worthy' family seem imminent.[5]

By identifying the growing presence of undocuqueer leadership and activism within the Undocumented Youth Movement, Pallares acknowledges the impending possibilities of a movement organized by non-normative and queer formations. Led by undocumented-women of color, -queers, -feminist and non-traditional leaders, the Trail of Dreams not only advocated for legal status for undocumented migrants but undermined structures of racialization and heteropatriarchy within the migrant rights movement. Additionally, documenting mobilizations, like the Trail, further challenges normative scholarship on migration which can be uncritical about ideas of nuclear family formation. By acknowledging the presence of undocuqueer leadership and voices as part and parcel of the Trail, I seek to develop a history that counters the invisibility of Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x queers in U.S. social movement history and LGBTQ Studies. I, too, recognize what Chicana lesbian feminist scholar Gloria Anzaldúa envisioned—a network of kindred spirits, a kind of family built by third world women, lesbians, feminists, and

feminist-oriented men of all colors ready to transform the planet.[6] For Anzaldúa, it is queer groups who have the greatest capacity to empathize and identify with each other's oppressions. The most meaningful moments along the Trail were those periods when participants felt protected, "to be queer, to be an immigrant, to be who I was," in the South, as Felipe described it.[7] For some, this was their first time experiencing such acceptance and protection.

As the tenth anniversary of the Trail arrives in 2020, many will remember the passion, courage, and strength that blossomed into a national movement led by undocumented youth across the United States. As a group of leading immigration, labor, and ethnic studies scholars recognized in 2012, undocumented youth "embraced a new slogan, Undocumented and Unafraid," realizing "that their silence was inhibiting their ability to organize and mobilize support for their cause," and, "although they take risks by speaking out and face the threat of deportation," "they face a greater risk by remaining silent."[8] Weaving together insights from scholarship on social movements, racial politics, history and immigration, this dissertation offers a multi-dimensional analysis of the Trail of Dreams. I draw from different ways of knowing or epistemological writings of queer and women of color feminist that mainstream social science scholars often fail to draw from.[9] In the process, I hope to reveal how the Trail of Dreams redefined migrant rights activism in the southeastern United States by expanding our collective understanding of political agency by undocumented/undocuqueer youth.

Based on a four-year, regional study of undocumented youth activism in the Southeastern United States., my study includes interviews, field notes, organizational records and archives, critical discourse analysis of websites and blog posts, YouTube videos and newspaper discourse of the Trail. Additionally, I develop a scholar activist framework and methodology that I call "undocuqueer critique," which I believe best captures the intersectional experiences and mobilizations within Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x resistance. An undocuqueer critique provides

the lens for understanding how undocumented/undocuqueer activists along the Trail challenged categories of the state, such as race, gender, class, legality and sexuality.

In brief, the Trail of Dreams was inspired by Indigenous struggles and Black freedom movements across the South. In a 2018 *New York Times* op-ed, Gaby Pacheco describes how embarking on the Trail of Dreams "was a tribute to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., as well as a memorial to the Native Americans who died in the Trail of Tears. We wanted to remind people how many atrocities have been carried out in this country in the name of "law and order."[10] Gaby, along with others, deliberately reminded people of St. Augustine's famous quote: "an unjust law is no law at all."[11] Yes, the walkers were all students from Miami Dade College, but when Gaby, Carlos, Felipe and Juan prepared for the journey, they along with others were unknowingly about to reveal the complexity of migrant biographies living under the shadows across the Southeastern United States. As a result, they enacted the possibilities of forging a new vision for migrant justice that inspired solidarity actions and other risk-taking acts.

Mobilizing Corazones and Forging New Visions for Migrant Justice

At first glance, one might interpret the Trail as a strategy or "political scheme" to pressure and build support for the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, which would have provided undocumented youth the legal right to stay in the United States. The *New York Times* described their trek as a tactic, a carefully planned action that would push the Obama administration to "overhaul bills that would open a path to citizenship for students who came to this country illegally when they were young."[12] News sources and political leaders interpreted their tactics as an act of self-interest, where DREAMers revealed their status in order to build support for the DREAM Act.[13] Five years later, in 2015, when having conversations with key leaders of the Trail throughout the east coast, they highlight the ways

their actions went beyond political motivations.[14] While living in New York City, Isabel Sousa-Rodriguez, a walker, recalls and describes the goals and objectives of the trail:

> We [were] determined to change hearts and minds. We want to use our personal stories to change the narrative and we want to train people all along the way to share their stories, to empower them. And, all throughout, we are going to be demanding an end to deportation and immigration reform, in whatever way immigration reform comes.[15]

In fact, Isabel's vision of the Trail was similar to Gaby Pacheco's testimonio where she states that they walked through the country, one community at a time, talking to average Americans, dispelling myths and stereotypes.[16] Nevertheless, multiple organizers admitted to me that their actions were an urgent and affirmative approach to addressing the anti-migrant sentiment across the U.S. and the means to *mobilize corazones*, change the hearts and minds of everyday U.S. citizens.

After traveling over 2,500 miles from Los Angeles, CA to Miami, FL, during the summer of 2015, I met with Maria Rodriguez, executive director of Florida Immigrant Coalition (FLIC), whose offices are on the 8th floor and overlook Biscayne Bay. Maria has been FLIC's executive director for over 10 years and was the first staff person hired by the coalition. FLIC is a statewide coalition of more than 65 member organizations and over 100 allies, who envision a new Florida based on inclusion and equality, without racism and exclusion, where immigrants can live and love without fear.[17] It was at Students Working for Equal Rights (SWER), FLIC's youth organizing arm, where Carlos, Felipe, Gaby, and Isabel met. During my visit, we talked about the Trail of Dreams and I began to realize how the Trail's narrative was not based only on building support for the DREAM Act, but rather, framed as a defense of migrant families living in Southern Florida.

Certainly, advocacy efforts for the DREAM Act shaped the Undocumented Youth Movement and migrant youth radicalism but there are other factors, political atmosphere, and social elements, worth telling that are regionally specific and highlight radical coalition efforts from a relation to power outside identity politics. One powerful piece of evidence reveals that the Trail was never meant to be focused only on the DREAM Act. During my meeting with Maria, she disclosed a little known aspect about the Trail of Dreams. The same day the Trail departed Miami, five seasoned migrant rights leaders—all of them mothers, including some who are facing deportation—entered St. Ann's Catholic Mission in Naranja, Florida to begin an indefinite, sustained hunger strike called Fast for Our Families.[18] They too, were escalating their efforts and demanding "President Obama to use the authority he has to stop tearing families apart," and called for a meeting between the Secretary of Homeland Security, Janet Napolitano, the fasters, and affected families in South Florida.[19] The idea was to synergize both campaigns, the Trail and the Fast, to produce "replicable actions that people would fast and others would walk" from other areas.[20] Sadly, an earthquake of historic proportions hit the island of Haiti and the Fast was eclipsed by the walk and local organizing efforts to provide relief to Haitian migrant families in South Florida.[21]

Looking back, Maria shared that ultimately the efforts of the Fast and the Trail were understood locally but recognizes why people would think that the Trail was for the DREAM Act because "DREAMers" played a key role:

> The Trail of Dreams was an escalation action of a walk, 1,500-mile walk from Miami to D.C. to bring attention to the detention and deportation crisis and to demand executive action…Looking back at it, maybe if we had a parent or mother, maybe that would have impacted that.[22]

Naming the Trail, the Trail of Dreams, can be a helpful descriptor but also a misleading title. Contrary to popular belief, the Undocumented Youth Movement in 2010 embodied what Pallares described as "not exclusively youth-oriented but about the defense of the family."[23] However, it was *La Jornada*, a Mexican newspaper that said it best, when describing the Trail of Dreams. U.S. correspondent, David Brooks, describes the first undocumented youth led action in 2010 as "a walk... for the dignity of our communities, that demands immigration reform that would put an end to the separation of families, deportations and the subhuman life of living in the shadows for more than 12 million undocumented immigrants."[24]

As the Trail trekked across the South, their celebrity became more and more widespread. They were becoming regulars on Spanish and English network television (Figure 2, 3), holding press conferences at historical Civil Rights spaces and places, such as the site of the 1960 Woolworth's lunch counter sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina. When preparing for press conferences or speaking with media, a collective decision was made by activists to always place Gaby Pacheco as the lead spokesperson. Felipe Matos, a walker, states "there is one reason why Gaby was always in the forefront, it was because she was a woman. We wanted to make sure that the voice of immigrant women was pronounced…she spoke at every one of our events and interviews, we always prioritized her because of that."[25] These internal decisions not only exemplify horizontal leadership structures within the Trail but the importance of creating visibility for women of color and non-normative political activists within the movement. My dissertation exposes how they continually challenged their own complicities with power and privilege at different scales (intra/interpersonally, home and community, city, state and nationally) in order to contest society's racialized and gendered value of undocumented migrants.

Figure 2. Screenshot of Mundo Hispánico Newspaper, "The Dream Continues." Personal Archive.

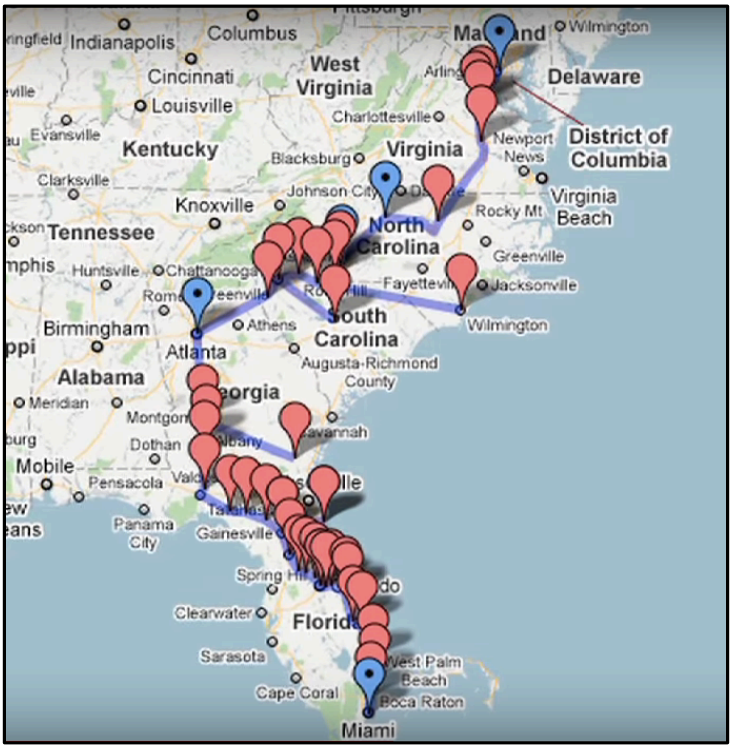

Figure 3. Screenshot of Trail of Dreams Thick Mapping. www.trail2010.org website.

Aside from media appearances and talking to reporters daily, the Trail was attending rallies and forums, and meeting people one-on-one, and managing multiple social media platforms; blogging *cyber testimonios*; uploading pictures on Flickr; posting videos on YouTube; and updating followers on Facebook and Twitter. Their campaign to share their "story of the self" physically and virtually acted against a prevailing discourse that painted them as those who were taking jobs away from Americans, breaking the law, driving down wages, causing a financial burden on the state, and increasing pressure on social and educational services. [26] According to DACAmented activist and scholar Chantiri Duran Resendiz, these first-person accounts of political actions and "informal intrapersonal tactics" are creating cyber testimonios that not only dispel myths of undocumented/undocuqueer migrants, but also stand as a "method of bringing the private to the public sphere."[27] Coming out of the shadows became a set of "acts of presenting the self and the body as visible," asserting difference and rejecting "the secrecy, shame, and criminalization of their immigration status."[28] Similarly, during an interview with artist Favianna Rodriguez, who was part of Presente.org and served as project manager of social media, she describes the Trail and their forms of communication as a performance, a work of art that shifted people's imagination of who was undocumented in the United States. Adamantly, Favianna "resist[ed] the urge to see [the Trail] as a direct action," but rather as an act of storytelling.[29] Indeed these cyber-testimonios and peer-to-peer forms of communication facilitated what Cristina Beltrán has characterized as the DREAMers' "queer" vision of democracy, "a participatory politics that rejects secrecy and criminalization in favor of more aggressive forms of nonconformist visibility, voice and protest."[30]

Yet alongside forging new visions of migrant justice digitally, the Trail harnessed their newfound courage and engaged in radical risk-taking efforts that put them face-to-face with the KKK, city police, county sheriffs, detention centers and anti-immigrant advocates across the

southeastern U.S. In this dissertation, I demonstrate how these new visions of racial and migrant justice have made visible the forms and functions of radical coalition building as described by women of color feminists (Angela Davis, Bernice Johnson Reagan, Cathy Cohen, Cherrie Moraga, Elizabeth "Betita" Martinez, Gloria Anzaldúa, Maria Lugones).[31] While traditional social movement scholars had tended to describe utilitarian characteristics of coalitions, women of color feminists generated coalitional theories that spoke to the vital importance of its formation. As Bernice Johnson Reagan illustrates, coalition politics in the 21st century are precarious moments; practices that kept you on the move, grounded in everyday lived experiences, pushing your boundaries, and placing you with others who do not agree with you. If we perform an undocuqueer critique reading of the Trail, we dislodge it from traditional social movement theory by exploring how the Trail's energy, innovation, contradictions and political maneuvers complicate the nuanced and liminal experiences that characterized the Trail of Dreams and undocumented/undocuqueer political acts in the U.S. This not only influences current migrant rights movements but also offers a formidable way to document transformative moments where undocumented/undocuqueer political subjects introduce new ideas about what rights are, new strategies, and new assertions of who should be at the center for the fight against the homeland security state that seeks to control migrant labor.[32] In the next chapter, I elaborate further on central tenants from Women of Color/Chicana/Latina Feminist Theory and Queer of Color Critique that serve to elucidate the Trail's radical coalitional efforts.

Regional Racial Formations and Intersectionality: My Analytic Modes

Few scholarly discussions of undocumented youth have examined how race, gender, sexuality, legality, and global histories of colonialism exacerbate experiences of racialization in the South**.** My dissertation centers on a theoretical understanding of "race as socially constructed

in relational ways, that is, in correspondence to other groups."[33] Here I turn to historian Natalia Molina, who describes a relational approach to the study of race as attending to how, when, and to what extent groups interact. She describes this method as a zooming out process. Molina asks, "who else is (or was) present in or near the communities we study?"[34] She argues that examining Latinas/os/xs in relation to other racialized groups helps us develop a fuller understanding of how racial categories form and operate. Drawing on this approach, I question how we understand the cumulative experiences of these diverse present-day residents of the Southeastern U.S.: how do their experiences and perspectives constitute a place-specific state of mind — a regional worldview that is grounded in a spatialized racial history of an area?[35] To answer this question, I draw on Wendy Cheng's regional racial formation framework, which pays attention to everyday actions and movements, as well as to localized knowledges within a specific place.

A place-specific racialization process also requires a focus on gender and sexual difference. In *Race, Space, and the Law,* Sherene Razack shows not only how racial geographies are built, but also how racial logics produce heterosexist and patriarchal spatial arrangements. Within critical race theory, Kimberlé Crenshaw articulates this analytic as 'intersectionality,' the recognition of systems of domination (capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy, heterosexism) as interlocking and mutually constitutive. By adopting an intersectional framework in my dissertation, I, too, "engage in a complex historical mapping of spaces and bodies in relation," identifying the interrelatedness of multiple systems of domination.[36] I hope to demonstrate how the Trail and Latina/o/x resistance recognize Black, Indigenous, and Queer spatial arrangements, providing a backdrop to an emergent vision for racial and migrant justice.

Dissertation Roadmap

This dissertation argues that it is essential to adopt a scholar activist framework that best

captures the intersectional experiences and mobilizations within the Trail and Latina/o/x resistance. Moreover, such a framework bolsters first-person stories as historical accounts of activism outside the national movement for comprehensive immigration reform, thereby shifting the dialogue away from respectability politics and heteropatriarchal values.[37] For this reason, I have organized the dissertation around exploring the Trail's political maneuvers and journey through an "UndocuQueer critique." Thus, in Chapter I, "UndocuQueer Critique of Chicanx/Latinx Social Movements," I draw upon women of color feminist writings to highlight key theoretical and methodological approaches that social movement scholars must attend to when examining Latina/o/x forms of resistance and the many ways they have developed into new understandings of protest politics. Equally important, I assert the need to adopt an UndocuQueer Critique to analyze cyber testimonios, narratives, newspaper coverage and coalitional acts within social movements and mobilizations. Lastly, I document my methodology and politics for archiving the Trail of Dreams production of knowledge.

Chapter 2, "U.S. South's Homeland Security State," examines the spatial, social and political context surrounding the Trail. Drawing from interviews, policy papers, national and regional newspapers, I highlight the intensification of nativism and interior enforcement across the U.S. South in the first decade of the 21st century. Moreover, I argue that undocumented/ undocuqueer youth activists across the U.S. became dismayed by President Obama's immigration policies thus leading to the rise of the Trail of Dreams and Undocumented Youth Movement.

Chapter 3, "The Trail of Dreams Launches," opens with a brief discussion on the importance of fully recording vital forms of collective actions and political consciousness within social movements as they relate to marginalized communities, in this case, poor, undocumented, queer, and women of color. Drawing from interviews with coalitional partners and support staff

along the Trail, I highlight the small and generally dismissed but central acts of coalition building between various organizations and its central role in mobilizing resources to support the Trail. The organizers within this dissertation relocated to support the Trail, some were completely volunteers and others received stipends to assist with housing, donations, legal aid, security, and statewide coordination. Specifically, the chapter illustrates the Trail's partnership with Presente.org and the forging of new visions for migrant justice. Revealing the daily practicalities of the Trail discloses a hidden story that exposes the multidimensional and expansive labor necessary to support a movement.

Drawing upon data from original online blog posts, cyber-testimonios authored by the walkers in 2010, Chapter 4, "Blogging Shock and Difference Across the U.S. South," provides a window onto the intrapersonal and interpersonal relations between Black, Latina/o/x, Indigenous, queer, youth, and migrant communities. Their stories illustrate how the Trail encountered communities across Florida that exposed activists' own complicities with power and privilege over and against others, or what Moraga describes as "the pain and shock of difference," recognizing racial privilege in relation to Indigenous and migrant communities and communities of color. In brief, this chapter further theorizes the Trail's attempt to build coalitions and the subversive nature of neoliberal logic that the Trail encounters and attempts to contest. I build on discussions of inter-group relations by examining Black, Latina/o/x, white, migrant, queer, and religious group relations.

Strategy, tactics, and coalition building are often credited as key elements within a campaign. However, these discussions have been shaped by traditional literature that attempt to compartmentalize Latina/o/x protest, thus leaving out critical discussion on how difference, and histories of interethnic struggles may affect the deployment of strategies, and access to resources. Chapter 5, "Notes from the Trail: The KKK, Face-offs, and Radical Risk-Taking Movidas,"

documents how undocumented/undocuqueer youth activists engaged and led political mobilizations that connected a variety of non-normative and queer formations while acknowledging the non-equivalence and incommensurability of these formations. More specifically, it examines how undocumented/undocuqueer youth's *radical risk-taking movidas*—solidarity actions, political ingenuity, and coalition building strategies—challenged these new configurations of power.

The Conclusion, "Applying the Lessons learned from the Trail," summarizes and reflects on the implications of this research. I conclude with a discussion concerning what the Trail of Dreams reveals about contemporary regional understandings of race and place, Latina/o/x activism and social movements.

A comprehensive study on the Trail of Dreams is unique because, not only does it document how undocumented/undocuqueer youth and families challenged normative practices of nation-state building, but it tells a story of an emergent radical coalition politics led by queer formations (undocumented migrants and communities in rural spaces). And, although the *Trail's* success is mostly remembered through the actions of Carlos, Felipe, Gaby and Juan, my dissertation reveals that this movement's achievements were organized by a constellation of actors that included youth groups, nongovernmental organizations and coalitions, faith-based organizations, and racial, ethnic, and sexual minorities. Finally, my research is a call to Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x Studies scholars to look beyond the southwest and expand their geographical scope to better reflect the complex lives of Mexicanas/os/xs, Chicanas/os/xs, and Latinas/os/xs living in the U.S. South. By extending Latina/o/x historiography, a narrative of the Trail demonstrates how concepts of race, illegality, and visions of justice are inevitably shaped by region, history, and community.

Notes

[1] Rodriguez, Juan. 2010. "New Year's Day 2010." *Notes from the Trail* (blog) January 1, 2010. http://www.trail2010.org/blog/2010/jan/1/new-years-day-2010/

[2] Since 2010, Juan Rodriguez has changed their name to Isabel Souza-Rodriguez. During a private interview, Isabel shared how hir name change was part of affirming hir gender non-conforming identity. We agreed that it was ok to use their previous name in order to document their involvement in the Trail as Juan or when others cite him as Juan. As for pronouns, it was agreed to the following self-identification pronouns – she, he, ze, hir, they. For the purposes of this paper, I will be referring to Isabel when discussing their testimonio.

[3] Depending on the region, the action and leaders, organizers used either "unapologetic" or "unashamed" to mark their defiance to national ideals of acceptable behavior and respectability by immigrants (Nicholls, 2013). The use of "unashamed" within posters for many asserted a queer identity within the Undocumented Youth Movement. And, like "unapologetic," its appendage challenges the social stigma applied to migrant youth who are perceived not to follow traditional gender roles and/or expectations of sexual behaviors.

[4] Several other studies capture the dynamics of the 2006 migrant mobilizations. See Amalia Pallares, and Nilda Flores-González. *¡Marcha!: Latino Chicago and the Immigrant Rights Movement*, (Urbana.: University of Illinois Press, 2010); Kim Voss, and Irene Bloemraad. *Rallying for Immigrant Rights: The Fight for Inclusion in 21st Century America*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011); Alfonso Gonzales. *Reform without Justice: Latino Migrant Politics and the Homeland Security State*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). Chris Zepeda-Millán, *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[5] Amalia Pallares. *Family Activism: Immigrant Struggles and the Politics of Noncitizenship. (*New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2015) 127.

[6] Gloria Anzaldua. "La Prieta." In *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, edited by Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, (New York: Kitchen Table, Women of Color Press, 1983), 209.

[7] Felipe Sousa-Rodriguez, interview with author, July 2015

[8] Kent Wong, Janna Shadduck-Hernández, Victor Narro and Abel Valenzuela Jr. "Faculty Preface," In *Undocumented and Unafraid: Tam Tran, Cinthya Felix, and the Immigrant Youth Movement*, edited by Kent Wong, Janna Shadduck-Hernández, Victor Narro and Abel Valenzuela Jr. (Los Angeles, California: UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education, 2012), x-xi.

[9] See Blackwell, especially Chapter 4, for an insightful analysis of new forms of feminismo emerging from the Chicana Movement produced a print culture in the 1970s and 1980s that began naming the intersections of class, gender, and race.

[10] Gaby Pachecho, "What the Dreamers Can Teach the Parkland Kids," *New York Times*, March 17, 2018.

[11] Roa, Carlos. 2010. "Confronting 287(G)." *Notes from the Trail*(blog) March 15, 2010. http://trail2010.org/es/blog/2010/mar/15/confronting-287g/

[12] Preston, J. (2010, January 1). To Overhaul Immigration, Advocates Alter Tactics. New York Times. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com

[13] In their essay, "Out of the shadows; DREAMer identity in the immigrant youth movement," Pedro de la Torre and Roy Germano (2014), describe DREAMers as undocumented immigrants in their teens, twenties and thirties, who reveal their undocumented status in support of the DREAM Act and other immigration and higher education reforms. They note that the development of a DREAMer nation "inverts common stereotypes of unauthorized immigrants by highlighting the achievements, contributions and diverse experiences of undocumented youth."

[14] In an interview with a well-known Spanish-language news anchor in the U.S., participants shared how reporters made them feel like the Trail was a scheme, an underhanded strategy used by politicians to sway votes. In an interview, Carlos, a walker, clarifies their intentions and motivation. "It wasn't just about that. It was just about the politics [anti-immigrant sentiment]."

[15] Isabel Sousa-Rodriguez, interview with author, August 2015

[16] Along with many other undocumented youth testimonios, Gaby contributed her Trail of Dream experience to *Undocumented and Unafraid*, which was published at the UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education.

[17] On their organization website, FLIC describes their organization as a hub for a bold, agile and strategic multi-racial, intergenerational social movement. Mission and History. (n.d.). Retrieved April 17, 2016, from http://www.floridaimmigrant.org/mission-history/

[18] Tim Elfrink, "Five in Homestead Fasting in Hopes of Forcing Obama to Halt Deportations," *Miami New Times* (Miami, FL), Jan. 7, 2010.

[19] *Maria Rodriguez,* interview with author, August 2015. On their website, the Fast For Our Families campaign shares daily blogs written by the fasters. On day two, Jonathan Fried, a faster writes a post titled, "Day 2 of Fast has begun." Retrieved November 20, 2016 from http://fastforfamilies.org/2010/01/day-2-of-fast-has-begun.html

[20] Ibid.

[21] During our interview, Maria shared that the choice to end the fast was a painstaking decision among the organizers in Homestead and the larger coalition. See Chapter V for more details and how the Trail, the Fast and coalition stood in solidarity with their Haitian brothers and sisters.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Amalia Pallares. *Family Activism: Immigrant Struggles and the Politics of Noncitizenship. (*New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 97.

[24] "una caminata … por la dignidad de su comunidad con la demanda de una reforma migratoria para finalizar con la separación de familias, las deportaciones y la vida infrahumana en las sombras para más de 12 millones de indocumentados." Brooks, D. (2010, January 2). Inicia marcha de estudiantes migrantes por la dignidad de esa comunidad en Estados Unidos. Retrieved from www.jornada.unam.mx

[25] Felipe Sousa-Rodriguez, interview with author, July 2015

[26] In multiple interviews, many of the organizers spoke about attending trainings by Center for Community Change where they were taught "the story of the self," which was developed by sociologist Marshall Ganz. Additionally, for the 2008 Presidential campaign for Barack Obama, campaign workers adopted such strategies in approaching potential voters, sharing their story of the self to establish a connection with voters. In his essay, "The Power of Story in Social Movements," Ganz (2001) argues that, "storytelling is central to social movements because it constructs agency, shapes identity, and motivates action. His work on "the story of the self" narratives provided a framework to understanding how undocumented students used nonviolent methods to build bridges across the political parties. For more on narratives, storytelling and testimonios, see Chapter Three.

[27] Chantiri Duran Resendiz, "Subjectivity Making in Undocumented Immigrant Student Organizing." (MA Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2016) 9.

[28] Cristina Beltrán, "Undocumented, Unafraid, and Unapologetic": Dream Activists, Immigrant Politics, and the Queering of Democracy," in *From Voice to Influence: Understanding Citizenship in a Digital Age*, ed. Danielle S Allen and Jennifer S. Light (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 181.

[29] Favianna helped design the identity of the Trail, she designed and managed the Trail's website, designed their branding strategy, shirts, and social media presence. Favianna, interview with author, August 2015

[30] Beltrán, "Undocumented, 80-104.

[31] On essays that define coalition building by women of color feminist, see Angela Davis, and Elizabeth Sutherland Martínez. "Coalition Building Amongst People of Color." *Inscriptions* 7 (1993); Bernice Reagon Johnson, "Coalition Politics: Turning the Century." In *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology*, edited by Barbara Smith. (New York: Kitchen Table, Women of Color Press, 1983); Cathy J. Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?". *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 3, no. 4 (1997): 437-65; Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981); Maria Lugones. *Pilgramages/Peregrinajes: Theorizing Coalition against Multiple Oppressions*. Feminist Constructions. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

[32] See Gonzales. *Reform without Justice,* especially his Introduction for his discussion of the homeland security state.

[33] Natalia Molina, *How Race is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 3.

[34] Natalia Molina, "Examining Chicana/o History through a Relational Lens," *Pacific Historical Review 82, no. 4 (2013), 522.*

[35] Wendy Cheng, *The Changs Next Door to the Díazes: Remapping Race in Suburban California (*Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 3,21.; Perla M. Guerrero, "Chicana/o History as Southern History: Race, Place, and the US South," in *A Promising Problem: The New Chicana/o History,* ed. Carlos Kevin Blanton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016), 94 – 98.

[36] Sherene H. Razack, "Introduction: When Place Becomes Race," in *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, ed. Sherene H. Razack (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002), 5.

[37] On the importance of documenting Latina/o/x LGBTQ activism, see *Queer Brown Voices: Personal Narratives of Latina/o LGBT Activism* edited by Uriel Quesada, Letitia Gomez and Salvador Vidal-Ortiz.

CHAPTER I

UNDOCUQUEER CRITIQUE OF CHICANX/LATINX SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

As scholars, we must intervene in a particular historical geographical moment that changes how all of us think about ourselves and our time and place
- Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Forgotten Places and the Seeds of Grassroots Planning* (2008)

Gender, Queer, Ethnic Studies and Latin American studies scholars have been quick to point out that traditional understandings of social movements, American political participation, and their elements (who participates in political activity and protests, where, why and how actions and mobilizations develop) cannot fully capture the value and energy of struggles organized around class-based conflicts or identity-based movements.[1] In this chapter, I highlight the need to adopt a theoretical approach that I call an *UndocuQueer Critique* that social movement scholars must attend to when examining Chicana/o/x Latina/o/x forms of resistance, like the Trail of Dreams.

I begin with a brief background of how scholars and political theorists from traditional fields—namely political science and sociology—have framed the Civil Rights Movement, Chicano and Puerto Rican Movement protest politics in the 1970s and 1980s. By highlighting these concepts that undergird dominant social movement frameworks, I identify their gaps and, at times, inabilities to properly examine the political engagement and resistance of those aggrieved communities. I then introduce central tenets from Women of Color/Chicana/Latina Feminist Theory and Queer of Color Critique to document the long tradition that UndocuQueer Critique emerges from. Equally important, the chapter serves to elucidate the unique political movidas/strategies and subjectivities enabled by the undocumented/undocuqueer movement. Finally, I aim to underscore the ways in which their protests and mobilizations provided a material critique of national immigration policy and regional institutional structures of white

supremacy and heteropatriarchy.

The Disenchantment of Traditional Social Movement Theories

Scholars in the fields of sociology, political science, and in interdisciplinary fields such as ethnic studies, have long debated core theoretical frameworks such as "Resource Mobilization Theory" for understanding mobilization and movement-building processes within social movements. As a core theory in social movements it maintains that structural opportunities, leadership, and ideological and organizational networks explain collective allied actions.[2] For instance, while searching for a framework to examine Mexican youth activism in the massive political protests that exploded in Oaxaca in 2006, anthropologist Maurice Rafael Magaña, notes how Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) was the dominant approach to studying social movements in the 1960s and 1970s (Civil Rights Movement, Black Power Movement, Chicano Movement, Free Speech Movement, to name a few), and a response to dominant approaches that described mass protests and student radicalism as irrational, emotionally driven, disorganized and based on ideas of "mob mentality."[3] Moreover, RMT scholars sought to understand how non-normative political actors organized and mobilized effectively. In the 1990s, U.S. and Latin American scholars would later develop new models that emphasized the formation of collective identities, mobilizing structures, and the framing of discourse.[4] However, new frameworks were also born out of disenchantment with these dominant paradigms that resulted to be too constricting and that tended to neglect "spontaneous actions, newly emerging relationships, and grassroots arrangements."[5]

Several scholars, including social movement scholar, Laura Pulido, noted that these approaches could not explain the mobilization and resources of poor and subaltern groups because their most prominent theories were formulated "in reference to the middle classes of the First World," and based on an outmoded style of class analysis.[6] For instance, political events

were seen as planned, rational, and dependent on the availability of resources—a category reserved only for what were perceived as pragmatic assets, such as time, money, and skills.[7] Most recently, in *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements: Radical Action from Below,* Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden, and Marc Becker claimed that traditional frameworks were broken when the first generation of new social movements in Latin American scholarship sought to explain the uprisings in terms of the contexts of the times—a growing awareness of culture and identity, social protest against democratic regimes' implementation of unpopular neoliberal policies, and the contradictory forces of democracy with globalization.[8] These scholars contested timeworn frameworks, which sought to construct an all-purpose theory, making room, instead, to engage in a comparative analysis for understanding how political actors deploy strategies and resources differently across race, gender, class, legality, and sexual identities. Latin American social movement scholars proved that theories initially thought to be universal, that were meant to travel across the boundaries of time and space, in this case across the Global South and North, were now obsolete.[9]

In the context of Latino participation in U.S. politics, all-purpose theories of social movements like RMT fall short. Political scientist Lisa García Bedolla, for example, demonstrates how scholars in her field have utilized a person's Socioeconomic Status (SES)—their education, income, and occupation—as an indicator to gauge an individual's electoral and nonelectoral participation.[10] Those coming from professional occupations are more likely to engage in all aspects of political engagement than those who are less educated, poorer, do manual labor or work in blue collar jobs. More recently, Chris Zepeda-Millán's research on modern migrant mobilizations like the 2006 immigrant protest waves and marches across the U.S. demonstrates how political protests and mobilizations are instigated by society's socially and economically marginalized.[11] He critiques academics' predictors of political participation

and their "longstanding truism that the wealthy, the educated, and the partisan" only participate in both electoral and non-electoral politics.[12] Moreover, he notes how they are theoretically limiting in explaining the largest civil rights demonstrations in U.S. history led by Latinos/as/xs across the country in 2006.[13] Both García Bedolla and Zepeda-Millán reveal the political shortfalls when prominent theories are extended to poor communities and their inability to properly examine the political realities of aggrieved communities in rural, suburban, and urban spaces.

In brief, gender, queer, ethnic studies and Latin American studies scholars agree that a new set of tools of political inquiry were needed "to capture how power is exercised from above and resisted from below."[14] While Latin American social movement scholars have been developing theoretical innovations that directly address the rise of indigenous social protests dedicated to transforming state power and policies, women of color feminists, specifically Chicanas and Latinas were documenting participatory democracy (new forms of doing politics) at the grass roots and reminding us of the risk behind a politics of unification and difference.

The Women of Color Feminist Turn; Intersectionality and Historiographical Movidas

If prominent social movement frameworks underestimate the political engagement and possibilities of people of color's organizing power, then what frameworks best capture the complexity of people's lived realities? In the 1980s and 1990s, Chicana feminist scholars and activists started formulating meaningful historical and movement writings (Adaljiza Sosa-Riddell, Elizabeth "Betita" Martinez and Cherrie Moraga) and/or ethnographic studies at the local level (Vicki Ruiz, Virginia Espino, Mary Pardo) that successfully integrated varied experiences of culture, gender, race and sexuality to expand movement conceptions of Chicanx and Latinx politics.[15] Historian Maylei Blackwell notes that much of these writings emerged in

anthologies, which provided an "avenue for discussing and negotiating conflict, contradictions, solidarity, understanding, and difference."[16] Much of this early social movement literature not only captured the experience of unequal power relations among identities and communities, but also provided an effective intervention into feminist scholarship and activism.[17]

To illustrate how Chicana historians were documenting participatory democracy at the grassroots level led by Chicanas in the 1970s and 1980s, I turn to Vicky Ruiz's edited text *Las Obreras: Chicana Politics of Work and Family*.[18] The contributors documented the double militancy of Chicanas and Latinas living in the US, who simultaneously mobilized within civil society (home, place of work) and took part in formal and informal community/national politics in order to promote the expansion of women's rights (labor rights, reproductive rights, educational resources, and immigration reform, to name a few). Historian Virginia Espino notes that tactical coalitions between working-class Mexicanas and Chicana professionals like Comisión Feminil, not only addressed racist medical practices, but also gave birth to a political movement that offered their community new ideas about sexuality, womanhood, and reproductive choice.[19] These ideas articulated their difference from white women, Chicanos, and dominant Mexican and U.S. values. By documenting their efforts, Chicana historians contest traditional polling data and beliefs that Latina/o migrants are "less likely to participate in contentious politics compared to other racial and ethnic groups."[20]

Similarly, in her study of Mothers of East Los Angeles (MELA), a coalition of over 400 Mexican American women, Mary Pardo examines the ways women living in East Los Angeles in the 80s took power into their own hands by opposing several projects detrimental to the quality of life of their families (toxic waste incinerator, prison).[21] For many of these mothers, what led them into community and political engagement was reproductive justice, and a family's human right to safe schools and education. By documenting the political agency of Mexican

Americans, Pardo highlights their new ways of doing politics (participatory democracy at the grassroots level and developing social networks) that challenged the state, and challenged heteronormative notions of motherhood (mother's work) within Chicana/o/x Latina/o/x community.[22] Both Espino's and Pardo's documentation of Comisión Feminil and MELA introduced a framework that recognized the intersectional experiences of other members of la familia, something that was lacking from masculinist representations of the Chicano movement. By adopting an intersectional lens that allows social movement scholars to advance a theory of political engagement that acknowledges race, class, and gender, scholars in this tradition allowed us to recognize women's unpaid home and community work as part of El Movimiento.[23]

Intersectionality as an analytical framework has led to acknowledging the double and triple militancy of Chicanas and Latinas, or what Roderick Ferguson would call "alternative forms of agency and subjectivity not beholden to the logics of state, capital, and academy."[24] For instance, women of color scholarship would come to denote not only an emergent rewriting of history, but contesting a repertoire of images and narratives about Chicanas/Latinas during the cultural nationalist movements of the 60s and 70s, which had placed their political participation in the backdrop to men's social and political activities. Ultimately, Chicana and Latina feminist historians have aided in crafting new tools and modes of critical theory. Many of these scholars (Maylei Blackwell, Antonia Castañeda, Nicole Guidotti-Hernandez, Emma Pérez, Vicki Ruiz) have put into question the structural ways history is written.

In *The Decolonial Imaginary*, historian Emma Pérez probes the discursive fields of history (and Chicana/o/x studies) in order to uncover the hidden voices of Chicanas who have been relegated to silence.[25] Drawing from Foucault's use of the term archeology as a way to signal a discursive approach that interrogates traditional paradigms of historiography, Pérez rejects the colonist project that has engineered Chicano history and erased Chicana protagonists.

In response, Pérez offers historians a "political project for reconfiguring histories" known as the *decolonial imaginary*.[26] It rejects the colonizer's methodological assumptions that have placed women in the background and moves us to "rethink history in a way that makes Chicana agency transformative."[27] Drawing from the conceptual work of Pérez, Maylei Blackwell recovers the erased histories of a generation of Chicana activists of the 1960s and 1970s.[28] She explains that while the Chicano movement emerged from the civil rights struggles, its written accounts have been masculinist narratives focused on epic male heroes and great man narratives.[29] Therefore, she stresses the importance of fully recording vital forms of political consciousness that emerge from the home, educational experiences, the organizing of social and political activities, social networks, and transnational solidarity movements as it relates to women and queer people of color. As the first book-length study of women in the Chicano Movement, *¡Chicana Power!; Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* informs growing scholarship of Chicana/x Latina/x activism and provides a model for other historiographical interventions that dismantle heteropatriarchal accounts of social movements.

The move towards using the tools and technologies created by Chicana Latina Feminism acknowledges the need to apply what Chela Sandoval calls political movidas, revolutionary maneuvers that act as a "punctum" which can break through social narratives of Chicanx/Latinx politics.[30] For instance, political theorist Cristina Beltrán problematizes the nature of pan-ethnic identities like Latinidad for its "all-encompassing quality" which often depicts Latinas/os/xs living in the U.S. as a large cohesive group with common interests and on the cusp of political power and influence.[31] In *The Trouble with Unity* she uncovers its emergence within the Chicanx and Puerto Rican movements of the 1960s and 1970s and its usage within the migrant rights marches of 2006. Beltrán argues that they established "the assumptions and practices that have set the terms for Latinos as a political community, creating the discursive framework [Latinidad,

Latino politics, Latino unity] for all the groups that have followed."[32] As her title suggests, there are dilemmas with unity, not only for its old and new allusions of Latino political power, but for upholding normative notions of the state, such as the historical practice of racial exclusion and management experienced by Latinas/os/xs and other people of color.

In addition to Beltrán, political scientist Amalia Pallares draws from Chicana Latina feminism to problematize the multiple ways in which the Latina/o/x family has become politically significant within the migrant rights movements as it relates to single mothers and indigenous migrants declaring sanctuary, and undocumented youth and queer migrant couples organizing for comprehensive immigration reform. Concerned with the articulation of family in a specific political action or moment, Pallares asks, "What do these different ways of relying on the family teach us about immigrant rights activism?[33] For Pallares, the re-articulation of la familia within different campaigns elucidates the monolithic and institutional character of the "Latina/o family" as a political frame. Additionally, the reliance on a family frame cannot be explained as solely cultural but as "a response to political and social development that have separated families" in violent ways via raids, detentions and deportations.[34] Her study pushes the question of whether a family frame always leads to limitations or whether it can be reoriented/appropriated in different ways, expressions and strategies, particularly when questioned by an emerging undocuqueer leadership within the migrant rights movement.

Women of color feminism, specifically Chicana Latina writings, have emerged over the past thirty years as an effective intervention into documenting Chicana/o/x Latina/o/x resistance. First, its lure is the possibility of tracking the simultaneous operation of multi-sided systems of domination and resistance within social movements, consequently allowing us to scrutinize the identities and communities that are "home" to us.[35] Second, it provides a model for other historiographical interventions that dismantle heteropatriarchal accounts of social movements.

Chicana Latina political agency is front and center and not placed as the backdrop to men's political activism. And finally, it offers a path-breaking framework, vocabulary, and techniques to be attentive to ways in which gender, sexuality and relations of power structure exclusion and silences even within marginalized communities.[36] Rather than privilege heteropatriarchal accounts of resistance, my research contends that emergent Chicanx Latinx social movement theories must rethink resistance in a way that makes subaltern agency transformative, and reflects a women of color feminist theory that investigates the intersecting racial, gender, sexual and (non)citizenship practices that challenge the universality of social categories.

Towards a Multi-Scale Analysis of Power in Chicanx Latinx Social Movement theories

To develop an analytical framework that best captures the Trail, I draw especially on the work of contemporary Chicana/o/x Latina/o/x social movement scholars whose work addresses new dimensions of social movement theory that reflect political, economic, cultural, and intellectual changes since the historic Chicana/o/x and Puerto Rican mobilizations of the 1960s and 1970s. Akin to earlier Chicana historians and Latin American social movement scholars, new Chicana/o/x Latina/o/x political theorists are developing frameworks that approach cultural resistance and political activism through a multi-scale analysis that includes a logic of power, neoliberalism, and the need to adopt the most inclusive paradigms.

In the past ten years, many ethnic studies scholars have argued for a political theory and praxis that expands the dimension of how power is exercised. For example, Leo Chávez and Alfonso Gonzales have turned to Antonio Gramsci's useful analytic of hegemony to understand the role of the state, civil society, and the relations of force. Similar to Foucault's (1982) understanding of power, which seduces, incites, and induces, they too see hegemony existing everywhere in society and not necessarily within a top-down structure. At the core of hegemony

is the belief that human beings are not ruled by physical force or pure domination; but rather a form of consensual domination, "a dynamic power that rests upon the combination of force and consent."[37]

For instance, when writing about the untruths of the "Latino Threat Narrative" in civil society, Leo Chavez further describes hegemony as a "system of values, attitudes, morality, and other beliefs that passively or actively support the established order…"[38] Chavez identifies "cultural hegemony" as a way to understand the presence of multiple assumptions and accounts about Mexican migrants, such as tales of invasion and reconquista of the Southwest. He turns to notions of hegemony and its mechanics to first comprehend how these narratives are constructed and circulated through civil society via social media, video games, news stories (Fox News), movies, radio talk shows, and magazines, and then, taken for granted, seen as truths not only by White Americans, but also by all Latinos. Furthermore, he argues that these social imaginaries characterize Latinas/os/xs (even U.S.-born) as a "threat and danger to the nation through such simple binaries as citizen foreigner, real Americans…"[39] While Chavez offers an analysis of how Latinas/os/xs have been socially constructed as a threat entirely through civil society, he does not provide an analysis of how the state (re)produces violence against Latina/o/x migrants.

On the other hand, in *Reform Without Justice*, Alfonso Gonzales (2014) illustrates how Latino migrants and liberal activists have come to support the state's "strong bipartisan pro-enforcement consensus" that has mounted state violence against migrants between 2001 and 2012.[40] Gonzales is driven to answer the following question; how is it that after this entire struggle (the mega-marches of 2006, the Undocumented Youth Movement) Latina/o/x migrant activists have not been able to win sustainable and transformative social justice victories for migrant families?[41] For Gonzales, the answer lies in what he coins the "anti-migrant hegemony," a political power and ideological leadership that naturalizes the idea that we should adopt novel

authoritarian solutions to the "immigration crisis," not just within the state but in civil society.[42] He pinpoints those at the center of mobilizing "rhetorically race-neutral and common sense public policy discourse that criminalizes migrants" as the media, talks shows, religious and intellectual institutions, local government, Congress, and think tanks.[43] He stresses that these complex constellations of forces and structures has led to the detention and deportation of migrants, migration policies and challenges to Latina/o/x migrant rights activists. By highlighting the nuts and bolts of anti-migrant hegemony, Gonzales claims that migrant rights activism must not only resist the state, but also become a "counterpuntal multisector constellation of actors" within civil society. It is important to note that Gonzales not only focuses on civil society forces, but also provides an analysis of the state in normalizing and (re)producing violence toward undocumented people and marginalized communities. By reminding us that the state (government, police, military, social welfare agencies, educational institutions, non-profits) is not exonerated from this constellation of actors we are able to imagine the depth, reach, influence and hidden tendencies of anti-migrant hegemony in all of society.

Additionally, in her discussion about DREAM Act politics in *Family Activism: Immigrant Struggles and the Politics of Noncitizenship,* Amalia Pallares argues that we must understand that the shaping of "the dream advocacy that posits undocumented youth as ideal proto-citizens" is linked to a neoliberal rationality that attributes value to certain lives while denying it to others.[44] Pallares problematizes the way in which DREAM Act activism (lobbying, direct actions, social media campaigns, Trail of Dreams) at times mobilize a "politic through which undocumented youth can claim a right to belong in a hostile anti-immigrant context." [45] Consequently, adopting such politics pinpoints how DREAMers' claims of belonging exemplify their active or passive consent of hegemonic ideology that stresses innocence, respectability and personal responsibility. Moreover, her critique illustrates how neoliberalism (and its values) is

internalized by people, and, in turn shapes politics and social work at the grass roots that normalizes and (re)produces state violence towards marginalized peoples.[46] Similarly, in their special edited *Social Justice* journal volume titled "Mexican and Chicanx Social Movements," editors Maylei Blackwell and Edward J. McCaughan highlight how within the migrant rights movement, "we see moves with the limited acceptance of undocumented youth as DREAMers, while the US government rejects their parents or other members of the undocumented migrant communities."[47] What Blackwell and McCaughan, and Pallares offer is an inquiry to understanding how people of color (those who, in the eyes of society, have little value) demand their personhood by disavowing another racial other through the dependence of neoliberal scripts of self-worth.[48]

To conclude, these political theorists offer social movement scholars an analysis and practice that is multi-scaled, allowing for a comprehensive study of individual and societal behaviors, and state power. Ultimately, these frameworks help us understand the multiple impressions of power. For instance, how do undocumented youth activists experience and resist power at an individual, intra-personal, community/city/local and national level? By exploring the literature, I hope to have highlighted the need to move beyond masculinist narratives, Marxist and nation-state approaches within social movement literature and Chicanx and Latinx politics. As I have demonstrated, it has become increasingly apparent with the multiplicity of social actors establishing their presence (and resistance) in civil society that an intersectional framework is needed to best capture their multisited resistance at the grass roots.

My exploration into the Undocumented Youth Movement builds on inquiries and analysis from various geographical locations within the United States: Los Angeles, CA, Chicago, IL, Tucson, AZ, and Washington D.C. It builds on the recent work included in UCLA's student publication *Undocumented and Unafraid,* Walter J. Nicholls' *The DREAMErs*, Alfonso

Gonzales'*Reform Without Justice*, Amalia Pallares' *Family Activism*, Karma Chavez's *Queer Migration Politics* and most recently Laura Wide-Muñoz's *The Making of a Dream.*[49] With the publication of *Queer Migration Politics* and *The Making of the Dream*, research on undocumented queer youth is growing and no longer are their voices and efforts relegated to a few pages at the end of migrant activism texts. I close this section by asserting the need to adopt a scholar activist framework and methodology, which I call an *UndocuQueer Critique* that captures not only the intersectional experiences and political resistance at multiple scales, but also the need to center the condition of illegality which marks, directs, and frames the lives of undocumented/undocuqueer migrant activists within Chicanx Latinx social movement and migration scholarship. By doing so, it becomes a useful scholarly analytic and political strategy that resists the incorporative power of neoliberal discourses of respectability and innocence.

Theoretical Framework – Now Let Us Shift, Practicing an UndocuQueer Critique

In my thesis "Trail of Dreams: Queering Across the Fight for Migrant Rights," I turn to queer of color critique (as theory and method) because it recognizes the multiplicity of political subjects, their multisited resistance and their interconnection of oppression. As Roderick A. Ferguson illustrates in *Aberrations in Black; Toward a Queer of Color Critique*, a queer of color analysis is an extension to "theorized intersections" of women of color feminism that "investigat[e] how intersecting racial, gender and sexual practices antagonize and/or conspire with the normative investments of nation-states and capital."[50] As a study that examines undocumented/undocuqueer youth activism and radical coalition politics across difference in the southeastern United States, my project is in step with documenting the significant interventions of non-normative and queer formations (undocumented migrants and communities, rural spaces). By applying a "queer of color critique," a practice that sees, recognizes, acts, interrogates and

reinterprets representations of marginal and non-normative subjects which may or may not fall into conventional definitions of LGBTQ communities, my study captures the multiplicity of political actors and range of the migrant rights movement. The methods and tools that allow me to study the Trail and undocuqueer activism are not located in queer theory, but rather in a queer of color critique.

Genealogies of queer theory and gay and lesbian studies are central to studying lesbian, gay, and trans communities. However, as argued by Jose Esteban Muñoz, "most of the cornerstone of queer theory [that emerged in the 90s] that are taught, cited, and canonized in gay and lesbian studies classrooms, publications and conferences are decidedly directed toward analyzing white lesbians and gay men."[51] Additionally, in his essay, "Queer Theory Revisited," which is part of the *Gay Latino Studies: A Critical Reader*, ethnic studies scholar, Michael Hames-Garcia (2011) notes that these early canonical works of "queer theory" (Eve Sedgwick, Judith Butler, Teresa de Lauretis, Michael Warner) focused on articulating sexuality as distinct from gender, race, and class.[52] The lack of attention to race in queer theory (or in the work of leading lesbian theorist), for Chicana cultural studies scholar Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano, reaffirms "the belief that it is possible to talk about sexuality without talking about race, which in turn reaffirms the belief that it is necessary to talk about race and sexuality only when discussing people of color and their text."[53] Once more, these seminal texts in queer theory failed to address race, and in doing so build a consistent pattern of erasure, marginalization, and tokenization of people of color subjectivities.[54] Therefore, I turn to queer of color critique because unlike queer theory it recognizes the multiplicity of subjectivities and the interconnection of systems of oppression, which speak to the shared experiences of those who were active participants on the Trail. However, by adopting an undocuqueer critique it further upholds the importance of theorizing intersections by taking into account migration history and illegality—the condition of

migrants' legal status and deportability—as a salient feature within undocumented migrant lives.[55]

Applying an undocuqueer critique to the Trail of Dreams thus requires one to "draw from activist scholars who have been theorizing at the intersections of race, gender, class, and sexuality for decades," from earlier theorists like Angela Davis, Cherrie Moraga, Gloria Anzaldúa, Bernice Johnson Reagon and Chela Sandoval to recent scholars like Cathy Cohen, José Esteban Muñoz, and Roderick A. Ferguson.[56] Furthermore, it calls for us to integrate critical feminist and queer migration scholars like Jaspir Puar, Leisy Abrego, Horacio Roque Ramirez, Cecilia Menjivar, Amalia Pallares, Veronica Terriquez, Eithne Luibheid and Karma Chavez, and DACAmented and undocumented scholars, activists, and artists, who are engaged in reclaiming their school of thought by creating and diffusing their lived realities, experiences, critiques and hopes.[57]

As I explain in this section, by applying an undocuqueer reading practice to the Trail, I am able to draw from different kinds of archives such as those found in the valuable work of queer and women of color feminist scholars that mainstream social science scholars fail to draw from. In thinking about the potential of an "undocuqueer reading practice," I am inspired by Emma Perez's queer of color gaze which is a trained eye that can uncover a history of sexuality on the borderlands, or in this case rural parts of the southeastern U.S.[58] For Pérez, a decolonial queer gaze allows us to interrogate sources—cultural and literary texts, newspapers, websites, blogs, social media, youtube videos, press releases, daily agendas, maps, and interviews—as well as political strategy for representations of sexual deviants and track ideologies about sex and sexuality. For my purposes in this thesis, the decolonial queer gaze allows a seeing and knowing that breaks away from a "colonial white heteronormative way" of writing history. In other words, like Pérez, my dissertation demonstrates how queerness and illegality had a deep impact on

political strategies, map making, finding housing, logistical support, building relationships and networks. But, what does queerness, or an undocuqueer politic, represent throughout my research?

First, it is important to clarify that undocumented/undocuqueer lived experiences are structured deeply by the law, legal codes, government policies (federal and local), and their possibility of deportation from the nation-state.[59] Scholars have termed this judicial relationship to the state as migrant "illegality" and legality.[60] In fact, migration literature has shown that illegality is "more than a prejudicial perception" that obstructs migrant paths of incorporation but rather a feature that forces invisibility, exclusion, and repression.[61] U.S Central American scholar, Leisy Abrego has argued that at the turn of the 21st century "undocumented status and illegality have gained broader significance" due to the increase of harsh laws and hate speech.[62] Additionally, Cecilia Menjívar and Leisy Abrego have argued that these immigration laws cause "social hierarchies anchored in legality as a social position," hence confining the movement of some migrants and restricting others to "access to goods, benefits, and rights in society."[63] Indeed, it is a salient feature that materializes wherever undocumented migrants go and live. This literature has also highlighted the unique experiences of undocumented/undocuqueer youth.[64]

In his book*, Lives in Limbo,* Roberto G. Gonzales documents Latina/o/x undocumented youth transition to adulthood and the stigmatizing marks of illegality that force them to live in the shadows.[65] To talk about illegality is to also demonstrate how they straddle different realms as undocumented youth that are characterized by uncertainty, instability and "common perceptions of criminality and outsiderness."[66] For many this liminality pushes them further into the margins, long-term and indefinite. Gonzales's work illustrates the broader constellation of daily dilemmas, exclusions, limited options and temporariness that undocumented/undocuqueer youth experience under the threat of deportation.[67] He notes how illegality subjects young people

to harassment and vulnerability when navigating precarious work environments, adjusting to limited choices, seeking access to resources and health care, and taking risks to create meaningful lives.[68] For example, experience working in low-wage jobs or being paid under the table (in cash) places youth in abusive, unstable, legally risky, and dangerous jobs.[69] Moreover, their employment opportunities are constricted because they lack a social security number thus preventing them from formal employment.[70]

Yet, many undocumented/undocuqueer youth do not yield to being confined or restricted to accessing goods, resources, and rights. Young adults, like those along the Trail, create meaningful lives by pushing back against legal and institutional structures, and against an "all-encompassing character of their immigration status."[71] Undocumented/undocuqueer youth in his study and along the Trail of Dreams demonstrate resourcefulness and resilience, of measured risk and resistance. They risk their own security by leaving their homes every day when they drive to work or to a community meeting without a driver's license to take advantage of community spaces and activities.[72] Their efforts—even if only temporarily—require them to take risk. Undeniably, the risk is higher for Black and Brown undocumented men and undocuqueer and trans Latinos/as/xs.[73] Again, such hidden agency can be easily missed because it doesn't align with traditional ways in which we understand oppositional culture or resistance. Without a doubt, undocumented/undocuqueer and trans youth are everyday risk-takers. Therefore, to theorize undocumented/undocuqueer youth activism, a consideration of illegality/legality and its relationship with sexuality, gender, race, class, place and space will shed light on the risk and significance of protest and mobilizations led by queer formations.

Second, my application of the word queer draws from women of color theorists and activists (Anzaldúa, Cohen, Hames-Garcia, Moraga, Perez, Rodriquez), who saw it as an emerging and confrontational politic in the 1990s. Frustrated with what was perceived as

assimilationist tendencies of AIDS activism, organizations like ACT UP New York exemplified this queer politic when they came together "to challenge dominant constructions of who should be allowed and who deserved care."[74] In her essay, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?" Cohen argues that the emergence of queer/queerness served as a coalitional term for those who found themselves on the margins, "operating through multiple identities and thus not fully served or recognized through traditional single-identity-based politics."[75] By attaching, inserting, and marking my terms with the label queer, such as "undocuqueer", I am signaling an emerging confrontational queer formation within the migrant rights movement. Undocuqueers, similar but different from ACT UP activists, became frustrated with reformist strategies and the prevailing homogenized identity of the ideal immigrant that did not speak to the multiplicity in their lives.

Furthermore, Cohen recognizes the political promise of theoretical conceptualizations of queerness. For Cohen, queerness symbolizes a potentiality that is embedded in everyday survival and the "multisided resistance to systems that seek to normalize bodies, exploit our labor, and constrain our visibility."[76] She is interested in examining the concept of "queer" in order to think about how we might construct a new political identity that is truly liberating, transformative, and inclusive of all those who stand outside of the dominant constructed norm of state-sanctioned white middle- and upper-class heterosexuality.[77] Therefore, I center queerness (like Cohen, Ferguson, Hong, Perez) to theorize the Trail's movement building efforts, as not only spaces organized by queer activists, but rather a promising coalitional and transformative space centered by one's relations to power and committed to a multisided resistance to the state (new ways of doing politics).

For instance, in *Queer Migration Politics: Activist Rhetoric and Coalitional Possibilities*, Karma Chávez examines organizational manifestos in 2006, coalitional alliances in Arizona and

undocuqueer youth activism for the DREAM Act that challenged neoliberal projects of inclusion.[78] She illustrates how youth activists understood dominant imaginaries of U.S. citizenship and belonging and how they shifted their political focus to other sites of activism outside electoral politics and the pursuit of citizenship in order to respond to dominant narratives of migrant youth and families. Their slogan, "Undocumented, Unafraid, and Unashamed," marked their non-cooperation to respectability politics within the fight for comprehensive immigration reform. By identifying undocuqueer activists as "inherently a coalitional subject," Chávez argues that their politics of engagement and mobilization is representative of the most inclusive paradigms of thinking within social justice. Shaped by a racial, gendered, and sexual difference, undocuqueer youth develop a queer migration politic that can break through social narratives of migrant rights and queer rights politics. Furthermore, in her study of queer youth leadership in the migrant rights movement across California, sociologist Veronica Terriquez recognizes the social, and political potential, and inclusivity of queerness.[79] What Chavez and Terriquez offer is an inquiry into how undocumented/undocuqueer resistance has the ability to generate high levels of participation among marginalized subgroups. Finally, both demonstrate how women of color feminism provides a lens to understanding a coalitional politic that recognizes multiple axes of marginalization, and, at the same time, mobilizing difference, contradiction, and heterogeneity as a strength.

The rise of the Undocumented Youth Movement in 2010 requires a theory and method of political inquiry that can best capture how power and resistance is exercised from all sides—from above and below, from the grass roots, and the disenfranchised.[80] First and foremost, Undocuqueer Critique serves as a staring to point that centers the lived experience, multidimensionality, politics and written work of undocumented/undocuqueer trans migrant communities. Similar to early social movement literature and women of color anthologies, I

argue the need to center the scholarly, activist, artistic, ARTivist, and social media works by undocumented/undocuqueers as prime sites of discussing and negotiating power, conflict, privilege, contradictions, solidarity, understanding and difference within these communities. Moreover, undocuqueer critique assists in elucidating these unique political strategies and subjectivities that materialize within these practices. Second, it provides a useful scholarly analytic and political strategy that uplifts the strategies of the most disenfranchised, who are able to mobilize a historical and material critique of nationalist immigration policy which is predicated on racialized and heteropatriarchal norms.[81] Furthermore, it serves as a strategy that recognizes and resists the incorporative power of neoliberal discourse of respectability politics which particularly disfavors marginalized populations. Third, it adopts a coalitional politic that accounts for the heterogeneity of migrants across the U.S., specifically the southeastern U.S. Equally important, it recognizes difference as a core politic rather than relying on the typical notions of commonality and unity because undocumented/undocuqueer trans communities cannot organize around a single identity or point of exploitation. To conclude, adopting an undocuqueer critique demands new methodological frameworks and practices for documenting migrant justice in the 21st century which I demonstrate in the next section.

Methodology of Archiving 21st Century Migrant Justice

Choosing which methods to use in my field research, how to implement these methods, how to search for and analyze the data, and how I stay involved with my research is ultimately shaped by my epistemological standpoints.[82] My research design is driven by my privileged position of having once been a youth activist, a community organizer who participated and witnessed the emergence of youth-led campaigns across the state of California at the turn of the 21st century, and my commitment to a women of color feminist theory and queer of color critique

as a Chicana/o/x Latina/o/x Studies scholar. As a U.S. citizen, queer man of color, and a member of the privileged caste of U.S. higher education, I recognize the complex contradiction of my geopolitical position, specifically my contribution to a politics of resistance and protest that challenge the normative investments of nation-states and capital. While I am not undocumented, I too, have an interest in advancing queer rights and racial justice. I am invested in what DACAdemic scholar, Carlos Aguilar calls, a "lens to better understand the nuanced and liminal experiences that characterize undocumented communities" across the U.S.[83] Moreover, I'm committed to creating a methodology of archiving migrant justice by recording the production of knowledge emerging from the most marginalized communities—undocumented undocuqueer trans activists—those deemed non-normative or reckoned too difficult to mobilize. I consider my methodology as an act of collective and collaborative solidarity between author and political actors, who in different ways are a dissenting voice within traditional understandings of the migrant rights movement in the U.S.

My dissertation is based on a four-year, regional study of undocumented youth activists in the Southeastern United States conducted between 2015-2019. The study includes a total of 42 in–depth interviews (with a total of thirty-seven interviewees) with a wide range of Trail of Dream participants that include walkers, support staff, coalition partners (who in 2010 lived in California, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia and Washington D.C.), and youth and adult allies. Within multiple chapters, I triangulated my qualitative evidence with 67 online blog posts, research policy reports from various think tanks, and Department of Homeland security statistics. These data sources are also supplemented with historical data collected from Latina/o/x, Spanish and English newspapers, two organizational records, two internet and social media websites, 34 YouTube videos, flyers, memorabilia, secondary scholarly sources, and over twenty years of my direct participation in racial justice, queer rights and migrant rights.

In the second half of this chapter, I discuss the details of my study, why face-to-face interviews, organizational archives, and how place/space became a vital source to studying the Trail. Drawing on Trail of Dream participants' narratives, my study seeks to understand how women of color and undocumented/undocuqueer voices help shape knowledge about the fight for migrant rights (and shape the fight itself) in the southeastern region of the United States.

From the Margins to the Center – Participants

My primary objective is to understand how undocumented/undocuqueer activists in the U.S. South redefine political activism in the 21st century, and in turn, challenge categories of the state, such as race, gender, class, legality and sexuality. And, more specifically, how does their queerness facilitate the building of coalitional spaces across racial difference? To arrive at these responses, 42 in-depth interviews and 67 blog posts (cyber testimonios) were a vital source of evidence.

In fact, testimonios collected from undocumented women and queer youth of color who were close to the decision-making process was imperative for documenting a holistic account of behaviors and events along the Trail.[84] In accordance with feminist methodology (standpoint theory), this work uses the lived experiences of undocumented/undocuqueers as a site of knowledge production.[85] Following these premises, I was committed to validating and centering the knowledge and multiple subjectivities of undocumented/undocuqueer youth in the Trail of Dreams. Equally important, as Chandra Talpade Mohanty explains, adopting a framework that is anchored in the place of the most aggrieved communities is "attentive to the micropolitics of everyday life, as well as to the macropolitics of global economic and political systems and processes." [86] Furthermore, being attentive means to begin from the lives and interests of marginalized communities in the South, which offer us access to the workings of power and the

most inclusive paradigm for thinking about social justice. For instance, undocumented migrant interviewees who lived in rural parts of South Georgia, like Albany, GA, illuminate an intimate viewpoint on inter-group relations and coalition building alongside Southern Christian Black leaders and conservative white residents under Bush's and Obama's deportation regime.

Participants were selected by their unique position, their level of involvement, organizational affiliation and positionality. In fact, my first contact with Trail of Dream participants was seven months after the Trail in Oakland, California when I was introduced to them by Favianna Rodriguez, who at that time was at Presente.org. And, two years later on March 2013, I would once again interact with Trail of Dream organizers, specifically Felipe Matos, as a retreat facilitator at the first Queer Undocumented Immigrant Project, a project of United We Dream, in Los Angeles, California. Given my past interactions and relationship with participants, Felipe became my first source of identifying key individuals and organizations.

Next, I searched through the Trail's website, www.trail2010.org, and then individual organizers and leaders. Given my research questions, during my first round of interviews I reached out to key informants, the walkers and coalition partners, who were key leaders in Miami, and across the southeastern U.S. From these interviews, I obtained the origin story of the Trail, in-depth descriptions, and the names and contact information of potential participants who were also undocumented, queer, women of color and migrant rights activists. By cross-referencing key-informant responses, I was able to develop a Trail of Dreams participant map, different levels of engagement and identify potential participants across the South. Once I developed a list of leaders, either key informants or I recruited interviewees through an initial phone, email, or Facebook inquiry. Additionally, my own familiarity with community organizing and distinct knowledge of campaign, media, and organizational leadership development

structures provided me with insight regarding who to interview and the range of viewpoints needed for the study.

In total, I conducted 42 key interviews between the summer of 2015 and winter of 2019. Drawing on my first round of interviews in 2015, I found that Latina/o/x undocumented/ undocuqueer youth were at the center of the Trail. Moreover, by privileging the standpoints of undocumented/undocuqueer youth, it allowed for a multiplicity of undocumented subjects to emerge within my research design. Twenty-seven of the interviewees were 1.5 generation Latina/o/x undocumented youth and adult activists, and the remainder, fifteen to be exact, were conducted with migrant rights advocates and supporters in the region.

A wide range of sexualities and gender expressions are present, with one-fourth of the interviewees self-identifying as queer. Although I never asked about sexual orientation during my interviews, many chose to disclose during our session. Notably, half of the participants are women of color, two youth activists identify as gender non-conforming and the rest identify as male. Many of the respondents were from South America (Brazil (1), Colombia (2), Ecuador (1), Venezuela(1), Peru (1), Chile (1)), nine from Mexico, five from Central America (Costa Rica (1), El Salvador (1), Honduras (2), Guatemala (1)), two Cubans, one Puerto Rican, one South Asian, and two from the United States, who identified as white.[87] The majority of interviewees had migrated to the United States by themselves or with their families seeking political stability and economic security. Those from Central America and South America fled physical violence and economic insecurity during the last thirty years. Socioeconomic backgrounds varied, as a majority were 1.5 generation college graduates but of working poor and working-class background. By not seeking a fixed, static group, those who participated in the study represent a range of experiences.

Interviews lasted approximately one hour to two hours, with an estimated average time of one hour and thirty minutes. The type of questions I asked the walkers and key coalition partners centered on three major areas: (1) personal and organizational background, political education and current involvement in the fight for migrant rights; (2) level of participation and experience within the Trail of Dreams; and (3) reflections and critiques of the Trail of Dreams and the Undocumented Youth Movement. Interviews with those who walked on the Trail, including support staff across Florida, Georgia and the Carolinas, were particularly helpful to understanding the urgency and the day to day experiences of the Trail and veteran coalition and non-profit leaders were useful in assessing the political context and strategy at a local, regional and national level. Interviews with parents, youth/students, and coalition allies were also helpful to understand the direct and indirect impact of the Trail.

During interview sessions, I paid special attention to experiences that involve political education, inter-group relations and coalition building and personal experiences by undocumented/undocuqueer youth across the South. I was interested in understanding their leadership challenges, successes, and points of solidarity in organizing for migrant rights. Except for six interviews that I conducted via video conference calls, all interviews were face-to-face in a private or public setting chosen by the interviewee (offices, homes, cafes, and cars). Some interviews were performed in the interviewee's organizing spaces or home. I appreciated these because they allowed me to see pictures, newspaper clippings, and their workspace.

At the time of this study, interviewees lived in the following cities: Miami and Orlando, Florida, Albany, Atlanta, and Moultrie, Georgia, Greensboro, North Carolina, Washington, D.C., Berkeley, California, Chicago, Illinois, Austin, Texas, New York City, New York and Cambridge, Massachusetts. My personal preference for face-to-face interviews was linked to a prior bad experience with video conference calls and understanding that there is so much more to

sense, feel, and experience in face-to-face meet ups for both sides. During our in-person meetings, I was able to build trust and empathy with my interviewees before and after our interview. At times, these connections led to off the record discussions about community organizing and national organizing efforts. Additionally, because many of my participants are undocumented and/or self-identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, I assured participants that their identity/information would be kept confidential, protected and not traceable to them, unless they are public figures and I am unable to guarantee their confidentiality. Interviews were audio recorded and each recorded interview is stored in a password-protected computer.[88]

To conclude, many of the walkers and coalition leaders noted the significant role of educational allies supporting undocumented/undocuqueer students at Miami-Dade College and the different lived experiences between U.S. Central American, Haitian, Mexicans, and South American migrants across Florida. Also, it is important to note that while the walkers were Latina/o/x, those who actively supported and organized the Trail were also White, South Asian, Mayan, Afro-Latina/o/x migrants (Puerto Ricans), African Americans, and Afro-Caribbean migrants (Haitians). Their activism and leadership is suggestive of the inter-racial coalition building efforts in the southeast region. However, my interviewees do not reflect the multi-racial and Black migrant lived experiences that actively supported the Trail. Here it is important to acknowledge that my period of study can lead to the marginalization of these particular racial queer identities from the historical record. Moreover, I understand that I sacrificed some theoretical and regional micropolitics of everyday life.

Leveraging Commitment and Making Connections

Like many other studies involving undocumented youth, the delicate nature of my study not only involved centering trusting relationships but also understanding the presence of what

Laura Pulido calls the bad blood and history of betrayal by academics and possibly other activists. In her essay, "FAQs: Frequently (Un)Asked Questions about Being a Scholar Activist," Laura Pulido (2008) discusses the mistrust that community activists may have to speak to academics as she reflects over her book on Los Angeles, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles*. Pulido describes how former activists were hesitant to discuss part of their lives because of past misrepresentations by academics. Because of these concerns, my social position and credentials were crucial. My social position as a queer man of color and my past experience as a retreat facilitator for various migrant rights and queer rights organizations such as the Queer Undocumented Immigrant Project (QUIP), a project by United We Dream and Familia: Trans Queer Liberation Movement, provided me with the ability to access those who were involved in the Trail of Dreams.

Because I sought to interview people outside of my own region, with whom I did not necessarily have an organizing history, my organizing background and the willingness of others to vouch for me as a trustworthy movement ally were key in getting those I did not know to talk to me. Therefore, my ability to secure interviews among the undocumented/undocuqueer community was due to my past political activism, my connections and networks. My youth and community-organizing resume became a positive inroad to obtaining interviews, but at the same time, acted as a testimony, an indicator of my commitment to multiracial alliance building. My scale of commitment to racial justice gave me some scholar credentials, not the kind that is reflective of publications, academic positions, and funding, but one that is based on trust and interpersonal familiarity amongst my activist peers. Moreover, my experience as a community organizer has provided me with a work and community ethic that demands responsibility in honoring those who have confided in me.

My commitment to racial justice helped me speak with activists across the nation who were hesitant to talk to an academic, but willing to share *chisme* with a *compañero* (colleague). After the first few interviews with key informants, I began to grasp the inner workings of the Trail and became familiar with key actors, events and points of conflict. During interviews I would ask clarifying questions about key situations I had learned from other interviewees. Knowing the inner workings of the Trail (the origin story, dates and time frames, key decisions along the Trail, and points of conflict, to name a few) allowed me to understand it closely. My level of familiarity opened up a space where I could build camaraderie with the walkers and coalition leaders. I experienced informants opening up and sharing Trail *chisme*-stories worth telling a friend. These additional facts of the Trail were not meant as rumors or gossip but rather behind the scene details that would help me understand all its nuances and energy. On most occasions, these stories where shared after the interview, when the recorder was turned off, while we shared a meal or had a drink at the bar. While there are no *chisme* quotes highlighted in my study, they indeed act as an arrangement of threads, a web or net of sorts, that suggest an intricate pattern in the backdrop of the Trail that played an important role in helping me gain access and piece together the research puzzles at the center of this dissertation.

Opening Organizational Archives, Newspapers, and Websites

To tell this story of the Trail of Dreams and Latina/o/x resistance in 2010 required a few years of travel and special visits to a variety of archives, Spanish newspaper and organizational archives in Miami, Florida and Atlanta, Georgia, and museum exhibits on Latina/o/x History. I found myself digging through personal and organizational collections which were stored in offices, storage closets, and in one case, a home garage, where Spanish newspaper *El Nuevo Georgia*, had archived copies since March 1998.[89] Equally important, gaining access to personal

and organizational files and records that have yet to be officially archived required the generosity of a wide range of people, from community leaders, executive directors, and newspaper editors, who supported my request to dig through their files and use their copiers. For instance, when I began to study the files and records of Florida Immigrant Coalition (FLIC), the vast majority of newspaper clippings, funding documents, and education material remained in storage bins not properly indexed. Out of these bins and boxes emerged FLIC's range of coalitional actions from 2000 to 2015; strategic planning retreat agendas; advocacy letters against local policy ordinances; grant proposals and policy reports; Trail of Dreams maps, day agendas and minutes; press statements and media kits; popular education and campaign development material.

Reviewing organizational documents provided new insight into the institutional space and place the Trail emerged from. On this occasion, I learned FLIC's leadership and youth organizing model, their level of commitment to regional and national DREAM Act advocacy prior to 2010, and their relationship with Southeast Immigrant Rights Network (SIRN) and Fair Immigration Reform Movement (FIRM), a project led by Center for Community Change. Furthermore, I discovered popular education documents that speak to the multiracial coalition building and detention 101 (know your rights) trainings taught to Trail of Dream participants, which documents the organizations' longer history of race relations and immigration advocacy between Latina/o/x migrants, African American, Afro-Caribbean, Afro-Cuban American communities. Many of my interviewees spoke to this living archive of evidence housed at FLIC. Along with collecting testimonios, archiving the Trail of Dreams and FLIC's fight for migrant justice has, as Horacio Roque Ramirez states, the ability to produce political texts that are "weapon[s] of evidence against historical erasure and social analysis that fails to consider the experiences of individuals and communities on their own terms."[90]

Simultaneously, while in Miami, I visited the HistoryMiami Museum Research Center to view their long-standing retrospective exhibition, *Tropical Dreams: A People's History of South Florida*, and while in Atlanta, Georgia, I spent time at the Atlanta History Center to view their interactive bilingual exhibit named *NUEVOlution! Latinos and the New South, Native Lands: Indians and Georgia, and Gatheround: Stories of Atlanta*. Given that these museums are social spaces in which materials of historic interest (historical records, oral histories, photos, maps, ephemera) are stored, presented and ordered, they are also places of crafting a collective memory of a specific place and space.[91] Yet, I visited such spaces to examine how Latina/o/x communities or alternative perspectives were depicted in creating modern 'imagined communities,' or the ways Latinas/os/xs are shaping the South and the South is shaping Latinas/os/xs.[92]

This dissertation acknowledges how historical approaches of primary sources are in their essence critical methods to examining the representativeness and meaning of primary and secondary sources—that is, organizational documents, newspaper clippings, YouTube videos, flyers, e-mail correspondence, photographs or blog posts provide evidence about the past (Figure 1.1).[93] In fact, I placed a great importance in collecting newspaper clippings from local, independent, student, and Spanish newspapers across the southeastern U.S. because it allows me to track the narratives of a rising detention and deportation nation, criminalization of undocumented migrants and documented reports of Latina/o/x protest and mobilizations in 2010.[94] While in Miami, Florida, I visited the Miami Dade Public Library System to examine their print, online, and microfiche copies of Miami's largest circulated newspapers, *Miami Herald, Miami Times* and *el Diario Las Américas*. Equally important, while in Georgia, I examined the *Atlanta Journal Constitution* and their vast majority of Spanish independent newspapers such as *MundoHispánico* and *El Nuevo Georgia*, that covered the Trail in 2010.

Figure 1.1 Organizational Archives at Georgia Latino Alliance for Human Rights

However, in Atlanta paper and microfiche copies of both Spanish newspapers did not exist in the libraries. Thankfully, newspaper editors gave me access to visit their organization archives. By examining major print or online newspapers (*Miami Herald, New York Times, Atlanta Journal Constitution, Washington Post, to name a few*) I was able to examine the southeastern U.S.'s public opinion of the Latina/o/x community, federal immigration laws, and local protest politics over time, specifically during the rise of the Trail and the Undocumented Youth Movement in 2010. My deep engagement in independent and Spanish newspapers (*el Diario, Mundo Hispanico* and *El Nuevo Georgia)* taught me the importance of regional and local level narratives and debates and their role in shaping alternative values on racialized communities. Moreover, I learned the ways in which grassroots organizations mobilized local media in order to combat one-dimensional portrayals within mainstream and national news media (Figure 1.2).

In conclusion, opening the Trail's digital archive (www.trail2010.org) and writing about social movements in the turn of the 21st century can be a daunting process. In fact, the Trail's website collection of photographs, videos, blog posts, and press coverage can appear excessive or disproportionate in large numbers. However, contrary to popular belief that material shared and uploaded online (websites, videos, and photos especially) will last forever, I archived the Trail of Dreams bilingual website before it became inoperable on January 2019.[95] In fact, websites are known to disappear due to website updates and platform migrations, as media activism scholar Arely Zimmerman has found when researching undocumented coming-out stories shared on-line between 2010 to 2013. As a repository, the website housed sixty-seven blogs written and posted by participants from January 1st 2010 to December 2010, and a map of the Trail. Archiving the site involved capturing snapshots of each webpage, saving website pages as PDF documents, downloading pictures and videos. Also, I used Wayback Machine, a service that allowed me to visit the Trail's archived versions of its websites.[96] Archiving the site was an ethical decision to properly ensure information was preserved for my research, future researchers, consumption and interpretation. Moreover, to ensure how undocumented/ undocuqueer Latina/o/x perspectives challenged mainstream immigrant rights activism in 2010. An important contribution of this dissertation, then, was to collect, document and build a migrant justice archive because there was no automatic repository for the Trail and undocumented/undocuqueer activism. In many ways, by drawing on the Trail's website, photographs, and newspaper accounts (pre and post Trail), I aim to provide a sense about the embeddedness of the Trail of Dreams and movements in time and place.

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NATION

UNIVERSITY SHOOTING
A college professor accused of killing her colleagues was hired despite a shady background, 7A

THE TUESDAY BRITE

Unemployed man chills out in extreme igloo

AQUILLA, Ohio — It's quite the man cave.

Jimmy Grey says he's been out of work for almost a year and needed a project to stay busy. So with the heavy snowfall this winter, the 25-year-old laborer got to work on an extreme igloo in his family's yard in Aquilla, about 30 miles east of Cleveland.

His four-room creation has 6-foot ceilings and an entertainment room. He powers the TV with an extension cord plugged into an outlet in the garage. He also ran wires for cable television with surround-sound stereo.

Grey says candles help add ambiance for nighttime get-togethers with friends, and the freezing temperatures mean that the beer never goes warm.

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The Albany HERALD

Tuesday, February 16, 2010 ...We're All About You!

MOTHER-IN-LAW AT WHITE HOUSE

Michelle Obama's mother enjoys life at the White House 8A

Five questioned in shooting

City officials say Brickhouse Productions needs to be shut down.

J.D. SUMNER
j.d.sumner@albanyherald.com

ALBANY — Five men labeled "persons of interest" in a weekend shooting that left a Flovilla man dead and a security guard wounded, were being interviewed by police Monday.

Jacory Butts, Henry Wallace, Lawrence Stephens and Sean Frazier were all undergoing questioning by detectives with the Albany Police Department's Robbery/Homicide Unit Monday, APD spokesperson Phyllis Banks said.

A fifth person, Jason Loving, was questioned and released with no charges filed, she said.

Police are questioning the men in connection with the killing of 20-year-old Lashelton Stanford of Flovilla, who was fatally wounded at Brickhouse Productions early Sunday.

"Right now nothing has really changed," Banks said. "Detectives are still speaking with the four individuals and no charges have been filed."

Stanford's body was transported to a state crime lab Monday for autopsy. His official cause of death hasn't been released, although police officials say that he was shot multiple times.

The latest in an ongoing set of alleged criminal activity at the studio, Sunday's shooting has prompted a renewed effort by city officials to shut down the facility — a process which has proven difficult in the past because the facility doesn't have an alcohol license that can be pulled by the commission.

Please see Shooting, 4A

Butts Wallace Stephens Frazier

A group of Miami students stopped in Albany Monday on a "Trail of Dreams," a 1,500 mile pilgrimage that will end in Washington. They hope the mission will raise awareness on for immigration reform.

Group pushes immigration reform via 'Trail of Dreams'

The "Trail of Dreams" pilgrimage is expected reach Washington, D.C. on May 1.

JENNIFER MADDOX PARKS
jennifer.parks@albanyherald.com

ALBANY — Four students, who were brought to the United States at a young age, say they now find themselves unable to achieve their full potential, and are making a pilgrimage to Washington, D.C. in an effort to make things better for others facing a similar position.

They began a 1,500-mile journey on foot on Jan. 1 from Miami to the nation's capital as part of the "Trail of Dreams" to call attention to the need for comprehensive immigration reform. On Monday, they stopped into the Albany Welcome Center in an effort to rally public support.

Felipe Matos, 23, born to a single mother in Brazil, was sent to the United States at age 14 to live with relatives. He is currently studying economics at a community college in Florida, but has dreams of doing something bigger — which he says his immigration status prevents him from doing.

"I've been called an illegal alien, but last time I checked, I'm not an alien," he said. "I'm just a human being, yet I've been stigmatized. Day after day, I've been told to go in the shadows."

Being denied equal access to an education and living in fear of having a family split apart at any given moment are among the burdens people like Matos say they have to carry.

Please see Dreams, 4A

Survival chances grim for Lee baby

Deputies respond to a home on Mayfield Drive Monday morning in reference to a child not breathing.

J.D. SUMNER
j.d.sumner@albanyherald.com

LEE COUNTY — Charges are possible today after agents with the GBI say that an incident that has placed the life of a 5-month-old girl in jeopardy could be the product of negligence.

Assistant Special-Agent-in-Charge Trebor Randle says that K'Laysha Holmes was transported to the Medical Center of Central Georgia in Macon in critical condition after being found unresponsive by paramedics and sheriff's deputies early Monday morning.

"There is an ongoing investigation here, but I can tell you that there were allegations that there could possibly have been neglect or negligence," Randle said. "But we will know more tomorrow (Tuesday)."

Randle described the child's chances for survival as "grim."

Deputies arrived at the home at 139 Mayfield Drive around 5 a.m. in reference to a child that wasn't breathing. Upon arrival, Randle says they found a house full of juveniles, K'laysha and her 21-year-old mother, Nakasha Holmes.

"Initial report was that the child was found not breathing and in the bed with the mother," Randle said.

The homeowners were not at the house, she said.

Lewis Harris, chief deputy of the Lee County Sheriff's Office, said that the GBI was called in after deputies discovered that "there appeared to be something going on that was unusual."

Walking into An Experience – Field Notes

Visiting these cities (now historical sites of the Trail of Dreams) is a complementary source of data. Four summers ago, I made it a point to visit key places where press conferences and community gatherings were held. I walked within these cities imagining the Trail passing through, with participants holding signs and banners, while youth, mothers, and fathers were moved to tears. I thought of the history of multiple incidents of cops racially profiling Latinas/os/xs and farm workers, and community leaders taking the bus to their homes or jobs. These spaces also hosted KKK rallies and they were the points from which law enforcement, state troopers, and I.C.E. separated families (Figure 1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6). I imagined the walkers (sometimes alone) walking through streets and fields in the sun, rain, and at times in the snow. I drew on these observations in my field notes to describe the space between one town and another town or the difference in landscape between rural open spaces compared to more populated suburban and urban spaces.

Additionally, choosing to take Greyhound bus lines and public transportation from city to city while doing my field research allowed me to see and experience the landscape and observe who was traveling within and between states. It was within these spaces where I have documented observations of people hustling to find a job, to find another place to live, looking for new beginnings, students going off to college, cowboys, men on their way to new jobs, women and men with children leaving detention centers from Texas and on their way to being reunited with family. Similarly, anthropologist Kath Weston chronicles "poverty in motion" in her book, *Traveling Light: On the Road with America's Poor*. By traveling the United States by Greyhound, Watson illustrates the economic disparity across the country, aid people to think about policy issues, and to think about human-to-human relationships.[97] For me, my travels on Greyhound in the areas covered by the Trail has provided me with another layer of

understanding these communities, an experience that captured the mobility of people across wide spectrums of race, age, legality, gender, and life experiences. Undeniably, there was so much to take in and imagine within these places.

In her text, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, Dolores Hayden reminds us that place can "provide an overload of possible meanings for the researcher, it is place's very same assault on all ways of knowing (sight, sound, smell, touch, and taste) that makes it powerful as a source of memory."[98] Being immersed within these places and landscapes not only allowed me to imagine activism, feel climates, or visually see the highways the walkers marched across, but it also left an imprint on me. By experiencing these spaces as a queer man of color raised in Los Angeles and San Francisco, I realized the stark differences between the urban and the rural-open spaces dominated by woodland and farmland. I became aware of spatial organization, proximity and distance; how road systems looked endless, and the remoteness of water and food sources. For example, my familiarity with the landscape and U.S. Route 319, which runs across Florida and Georgia's state line, allows me to contextualize the relief and excitement the walkers and allies experienced when arriving to Cairo, Georgia. Not only did they walk 33 miles, from Tallahassee, Florida to Cairo, Georgia, but they experienced roads without sidewalks, cold weather in February, Georgia's history of racial terror, and the uncertainty of being detained and deported in the state of Georgia. The awareness of geography—that is, how walking across these roads and state lines meant putting one's life in danger—can also teach us to treat activist stories of places and spaces relative to their location and meaningfully in time.

Figure 1.3 Image of Freedom Tower in downtown Miami, Florida, where the Trail of Dreams launched their walk. Personal Archive.

Figure 1.4 Image of U.S. Route 319, which runs across Florida and Georgia's state line. Google Maps Screenshot.

Figure 1.5 Image of Albany Welcome Center in Albany, Georgia where the Trail of Dreams held a press conference with the NAACP. Personal Archive.

Figure 1.6 Image of the historic Woolworth drug store that was the site of the Greensboro sit-ins. The Trail also hosted a press conference in front of the store in 2010. Personal Archive.

Notes

[1] For U.S. Latina/o/x and Immigration politics; See Cristina Beltrán, *The Trouble With Unity: Latino Politics and The Creation of Identity;* Lisa García Bedolla, *Latino Politics;* Amalia Pallares, *Family Activism: Immigrant Struggles and the Politics of Noncitizenship*; Chris Zepeda-Millán, *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism.* Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles & Environmentalism and Economic Justice: Two Chicano Struggles in the Southwest.* For Latin American Social Movements; See Maurice Rafael Magaña, "Youth in Movement: The Cultural Politics of Autonomous Youth Activism in Southern Mexico;" Joe Foweraker, *Theorizing Social Movements*; Arturo Escobar, *Territories of Difference: Place, Movements, Life, Rede*; Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez. *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*; Richard Stahler-Sholk, Richard, Harry E. Vanden, and Marc Becker. *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements;*Maylei Blackwell, "Weaving in the Spaces: Indigenous Women's Organizing and the Politics of Scale in Mexico." In *Dissident Women : Gender and Cultural Politics in Chiapas.*

[2] For more on Resource Mobilization Theory; John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology*; Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*; Jill M. Bystydzienski and Steven P. Schacht. *Forging Radical Alliances across Difference*

[3] Maurice Rafael Magaña, "Youth in Movement: The Cultural Politics of Autonomous Youth Activism in Southern Mexico." (University of Oregon, 2013) 16.

[4] Ibid.; Polleta, Francesca, and James M. Jasper. "Collective Identity and Social Movements ". *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 27 (2001): 283-305.

[5] Jill M. Bystydzienski and Steven P. Schacht. *Forging Radical Alliances across Difference: Coalition Politics for the New Millennium.* (MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001) 3.

[6] Laura Pulido, *Environmentalism and Economic Justice: Two Chicano Struggles in the Southwest.*(Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996),12; Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez. *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy.* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992)

[7] Bystydzienski and Schacht, *Forging*, 3.

[8] Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden, and Marc Becker. *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements : Radical Action from Below.* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014) 5; Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar. *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Cultures: Re-Visioning Latin American Social Movements.*(Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1998).

[9] Joe Foweraker. *Theorizing Social Movements.* (Boulder: Pluto Press, 1995)

[10] Lisa García Bedolla, *Latino Politics.* (Cambridge: Polity, 2014), 18-21.

[11] Chris Zepeda-Millán. *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017) 3.

[12] Zepeda- Millán, *Latino Mass Mobilization*, 3-6.

[13] Zepeda- Millán, *Latino Mass Mobilization*.

[14] In *Reform Without Justice,* Alfonso Gonzales proposes adopting a neo-Gramscian theoretical framework to capture these multiple analyses. 175-182.

[15] Early scholars, mostly male Chicano social scientists attempted to understand the exploitation and lived experiences of minorities within the United States, however scholars have subsequently critiqued it for its lack of analysis concerning class, gender, and sexual exploitation. For more writings about the internal colonial model, see Blauner, *Racial Oppression in America*; Almaguer, "Toward the Study of Chicano Colonialism"; Muñoz. "*The Politics of Chicano Urban Protest,"*and its critiques, see Gonzales and Cervantes, "A Critique of the Internal Colonial Model."

[16] Maylei Blackwell. *Chicana Power!: Contested histories Of feminism in the Chicano Movement.* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011) 157.

[17] Blackwell, *Chicana Power!.*

[18] Vicki Ruíz, *Las Obreras: Chicana Politics of Work and Family.*(Los Angeles: Aztlán Anthology Series, UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, 2000)

[19] Virginia Espino, "Women Sterilized As Gives Birth": Forced sterilization and Chicana resistance in the 1970s," in *Las Obreras: Chicana Politics of Work and Family,* edited by Vick Ruiz, 65-82. Los Angeles: Aztlán Anthology Series, UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, 2000.

[20] Millan-Zepeda, *Latino Mass Mobilization*, 5.

[21] Mary S. Pardo, *Mexican American Women Activists: Identity and Resistance in Two Los Angeles Communities.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Roderick A. Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things: The University and Its Pedagogies of Minority Difference.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 226.
[25] Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary Writing Chicanas into History*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999)

[26] Pérez, *The Decolonial,* 4.

[27] Pérez, *The Decolonial,* 5.

[28] Blackwell, *Chicana Power*

[29] Blackwell, *Chicana Power,* 109-112.

[30] Sandoval's use of the word punctum is inspired by Roland Barthes written work on lover or lover's speech which has the power to puncture through everyday social narratives tied to the law. See Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 140-141.

[31] Cristina Beltrán, *The Trouble With Unity: Latino Politics and The Creation of Identity.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 6-7.

[32] Beltrán, *The Trouble,* 11.
[33] Amalia Pallares. *Family Activism: Immigrant Struggles and the Politics of Noncitizenship*. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2015) 133.

[34] Pallares. *Family Activism,* 12.

[35] Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241-99.

[36] Cherríe Moraga. *The Last Generation: Prose & Poetry*, (Boston, Mass.: South End Press, 1993), 146.

[37] In *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci (1971) writes how "the spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction" (p. 12) of the state is enforced when the dominant group exercises its power throughout society through the state (military, police, government) and civil society (schools, families, media). Moreover, Gramsci (1971) describes the role of intellectuals in society as "deputies" who exercise "the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government" (p. 12). In his definition, hegemony operates through a mixture of ideological consensus and forces, or what Latinx political theorist Alfonso Gonzales (2014) calls a "multisector constellation of actors that overlap and intersect" (p. 3, 5-6).

[38] Leo R. Chavez, *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008), 45.

[39] Ibid.

[40]Alfonso Gonzales, *Reform without Justice: Latino Migrant Politics and the Homeland Security State*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 5.

[41] Gonzales, *Reform,* 153.

[42] Gonzales, *Reform,* 5.

[43] Gonzales, *Reform,* 4.

[44] Pallares. *Family Activism,* 100.

[45] Pallares. *Family Activism,* 103.

[46] While analyzing the migrant rights marches of 2006 and their struggle for inclusion, Leo Chavez (2008) describes neoliberalism beyond a set of policies. Rather, Chavez regards neoliberalism as values and "ways of imagining the world" that are internalized by people (p. 179). Key characteristics of this imagined world are the ideal proto-citizen that is hardworking, competitive, self-sufficient, and entrepreneurial. Chavez highlights how migrants living in the U.S. have internalized these characteristics and uphold them in their marches, messaging, campaigns and tactics.

[47] Maylei Blackwell, and Edward McCaughan. "Editors' Introduction: New Dimensions in the Scholarship and Practice of Mexican and Chicanx Social Movements." *Social Justice* 42, no. 3-4 (2015): 1-9.

[48] For a new and productive way of understanding racial formation and neoliberalism, see Lisa Marie Cacho. *Social Death: Racialized Rightlessness and the Criminalization of the Unprotected*. (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 15.; Grace Kyungwon Hong and Roderick A. Ferguson. *Strange Affinities: The Gender and Sexual Politics of Comparative Racialization;* Helen Heran Jun. *Race for Citizenship: Black Orientalism and Asian Uplift from Pre-Emancipation to Neoliberal America.*

[49] In *The DREAMers*, Nicholls explains how, in the span of ten years, this undocumented youth leadership came to assume a leading role in the country's immigration debates, specifically in the state of California. In *Queer Migration Politics*, Chavez documents how activists in Arizona have used coalitions to articulate shared concerns of queer politics and migration politics. In *Reform Without Justice*, Gonzales argues that migrants are not victims of state violence but also political actors, and in Pallares' *Family Activism*, she examines the ways in which the family unit and youth have become politically significant in the fight for migrant rights in Chicago, Illinois.

[50] Roderick A. Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 4.

[51] José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 10.

[52] Hames-Garcia notes that queer theory at-times, but not always was understood as lesbian and gay sexuality. Michael Hames-Garcia, and Ernesto Javier Martínez. *Gay Latino Studies: A Critical Reader.* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

[53] As cited in Muñoz, *Disidentifications,* 10.

[54] Hames-Garcia and Martínez. *Gay Latino Studies, 21.*

[55] Leisy J. Abrego, *Sacrificing Families: Navigating Laws, Labor, and Love across Borders.* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2014), 7-9.

[56] Hames-Garcia and Martínez. *Gay Latino Studies, 21.*

[57] Aguilar, Carlos. "Undocumented Critical Theory." *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies* 0, no. 0 (December 12, 2018 2018): 1-9.

[58] Emma Pérez, "Queering the Borderlands: The Challenges of Excavating the Invisible and Unheard," *Frontiers-a Journal of Women Studies* 24, no. 2-3 (2003): 122-31.

[59] Nichoals De Genova, "Migrant "Illegality" and Deportability in Everyday Life," *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.* 31 (2002): 439.

[60] De Genova, "Migrant," 422; Also see, Nicholas De Genova, "The Legal Production of Mexican/Migrant "Illegality," *Latino Studies.*

[61] De Genova, "Migrant," 427, 435.

[62] Leisy J. Abrego, *Sacrificing Families: Navigating Laws, Labor, and Love across Borders*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2014), 7-9.

[63] For an insightful discussion on legal violence on the lives of Central American immigrants see Cecilia Menjivar, and Leisy Abrego, "Legal Violence: Immigration Law and the Lives of Central American Immigrants." *American Journal of Sociology* 117, no. 5 (Mar 2012): 1383.

[64] Several other studies highlight Latina/o/x undocumented youth experiences. See Leisy Abrego, "Legitimacy, Social Identity, and the Mobilization of Law: The Effects of Assembly Bill 540 on Undocumented Students in California"; Genevieve Negron-Gonzales, "Navigating "Illegality": Undocumented Youth & Oppositional Consciousness"; Veronica Terriquez, "Intersectional Mobilization, Social Movement Spillover, and Queer Youth Leadership in the Immigrant Rights Movement"; Roberto Gonzales, *Lives in Limbo: Undocumented and Coming of Age in America*.

[65] Roberto Gonzales, *Lives in Limbo*, xix.

[66] Ibid., 15.

[67] Ibid., 121-123.

[68] See Gonzales, especially chapter 6, for an in-depth analysis of illegality on the lives on non-traditional students.

[69] Ibid., 126.

[70] Ibid., 130.

[71] Ibid., 148.

[72] Ibid., 137.

[73] Tanya Maria Golash-Boza, *Deported: Immigrant Policing, Disposable Labor and Global Capitalism, (*New York: NYU Press, 2015), 5, 19.

[74] Cathy Cohen J. "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?". *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 3, no. 4 (1997): 460.

[75] Cohen, "Punks," 440.
[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., 441.

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

[79] Veronica Terriquez. "Intersectional Mobilization, Social Movement Spillover, and Queer Youth Leadership in the Immigrant Rights Movement." *Social Problems* 62, no. 3 (Aug 2015): 343-62.

[80] Gonzales, *Reform without Justice.*

[81] An undocuqueer critique not only organizes a material critique of immigration policy but also issues concerning housing access, economic and reproductive justice, incarceration and criminal justice, queer rights, electoral politics and access to health care to name a few.

[82] Katie L. Acosta, *Amigas Y Amantes: Sexually Nonconforming Latinas Negotiate Family*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2013.

[83] Aguilar, Carlos. "Undocumented Critical Theory." *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies* 0, no. 0 (December 12, 2018 2018): 1-9.

[84] Weiss, Robert Stuart. *Learning from Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies.* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 9-10.

[85] Dolores Delgado Bernal. "Using a Chicana Feminist Epistemology in Educational Research." *Harvard Educational Review* 68, no. 4 (1998): 555-82.; Harding, Sandra G. *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

[86] Chandra Talpade Mohanty. *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

[87] A focus group was conducted on August 25th 2015 in Albany, Georgia. Fifteen individuals participated, six males and nine females. All identified as Latina/o migrants but I was not able to identify their country of origin.

[88] Due to grant guidelines, interviews are also property of the University of California, Los Angeles, and the UCLA Institute of American Cultures (IAC).

[89] Although *El Nuevo Georgia* and *MundoHispánico* newspapers are the most-read Spanish language weekly newspapers in Georgia, hard copy archival collections were difficult to locate. Both had hard copy archives since 1979 which I was allowed to visit.
[90] Horacio N. Roque Ramírez. "Communities of Desire : Queer Latina/Latino History and Memory, San Francisco Bay Area, 1960s-1990s." Ph D in ethnic studies with a designated emphasis in Women, Gender, and Sexuality, University of California, Berkeley, 2001. Pg. 124.

[91] Richard Harvey Brown, and Beth Davis-Brown. "The Making of Memory: The Politics of Archives, Libraries and Museums in the Construction of National Consciousness." *History of the Human Sciences* 11, no. 4 (1998): pg. 30.

[92] Benedict Anderson. 1991. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

[93] Lorenzo Bosi and Herbert Reiter. "Historical Methodologies: Archival Research and Oral History in Social Movement Research ". In *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research*, edited by Donatella della Porta. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

[94] In *Social Death,* Lisa Cacho exemplifies the importance of relying heavily on news media because of its public acccesiblity and how she is able to track particular sources to help document the production of narratives, specifically the criminalization of Black and Brown communities. See Introduction.

[95] See Arely Zimmerman and Liana Gambler-Thomspon's essay, "DREAMing Citizenship, Undocumented Youth, Coming Out, and Pathways to Participation," in *By Any Media Necessary: The New Youth Activism,* for an insightful discussion about archiving social media material. Her research has discovered that key undocumented youth websites of 2010 to 2013 are no longer operable.

[96] Only seven snapshots of the Trail's homepage were archived from January 1st to May 1st 2010 and this doesn't inlude the webpages thick mapping google map and 67 blog posts.

[97] Kath Watson. *Traveling Light: On the Road with America's Poor*. (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2008).

[98] Dolores Hayden. *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 18.

CHAPTER II

U.S. SOUTH'S HOMELAND SECURITY STATE

When I met Gaby Pacheco, one of the walkers, in 2015 she had been working for TheDream.US, an organization which provides college scholarships to highly motivated low-income undocumented students, for about two years. Since her participation with the Trail of Dreams, she had been an online media organizer and political director for United We Dream, a national undocumented youth network based in Washington D.C. We decided to meet on a Saturday afternoon in September in Columbia Heights, D.C.'s most diverse neighborhood, known for its strong African American and Latina/o/x presence. Seated at the back of a Mexican restaurant, accompanied by her best friend and husband, we spoke for over two hours about the Trail. Feeling a little sick, Gaby confessed it was a nice break from renovating her apartment, which had flooded two months before. Laughing profusely, she shared stories and chisme about the Trail; leadership differences; email exchanges and social media dilemmas; internal commotions and the Trail's multiple breaking points. By this point, many participants of the Trail had described Gaby as an incredible leader and spokesperson; very knowledgeable and skilled; a faithful and loving person, who was not visibly stressed considering the turbulent events in her life leading up to 2010. She first entered the country with a tourist visa at the age of eight from Guayaquil, Ecuador with her parents. Later, they obtained a student visa for her to study in the U.S., which she continually had to reinstate whenever she transferred schools.[1] According to Gaby, it was in middle school where she "learned the importance of legal status in this country" when she lost her status after switching schools. Following her graduation from Felix Varela Senior High in Miami, she met a Miami Dade College recruiter who helped her reinstate her student visa again.[2] In her testimonio in *Undocumented and Unafraid*, she states

"When I was asked to participate in the Trail of Dreams, I understood that it would mean making several sacrifices, including giving up my legal status because I would have to leave school."[3] For Gaby, the importance of the Trail and the fight against the deportations of undocumented migrants overshadowed everything else, including her conditional status.

As she describes in the narrative she authored, Gaby didn't hesitate to join the Trail because the fight to keep her family from being detained and deported was real:

> On July 26, 2006, ICE officers came to my house looking for me. They took my sister by mistake and took my parents and other sibling along with her. When ICE realized their mistake, I was told to come in right away or my family would be sent to different detention centers. I rushed to see my family where they were being detained and found my parents chained to chairs with handcuffs on their ankles. It was one of the most horrible days of my life. After a few difficult hours and an interrogation, ICE revealed that the reason they came looking for me was because I was speaking out to the media, and they did not like that. They let us all go but only after ordering me to stop talking to the media. However, I did not stay silent.[4]

Similarly, the other walkers and many allies had experienced the direct effects of the U.S.'s expansion of immigration interior enforcement policies aimed at identifying unauthorized migrants for removal—detention and deportation.[5] Many of them recall the case of Juan Gomez and Alex Gomez, teenage brothers, who during a raid on July 25th, 2007, were snared in a deportation dragnet with their parents.[6] Isabel admits that all they could think about in 2009 were the "raids happening in our communities, there are check-points being set up everywhere, the detention centers in our states are expanding their capacity," and the department of Homeland Security was "building new detention centers every year."[7] According to them, they

didn't have three years to indulge in a conversation on a theory of change, impacts and outcomes. They were concerned with how many people would be lost to detention and deportation. How many undocumented youth were going to feel hopeless and take their lives in that three-year period?[8]

What motivated Gaby, Carlos, Felipe, and Isabel to walk across the southeastern United States into hostile anti-immigrant territory? This chapter uncovers how the geography of the South has played an important role in shaping the lived experiences of undocumented/ undocuqueer youth activists in Miami. This section highlights the importance of examining the spatial, social and political context surrounding the Trail, as well as exemplifying a regional and relational approach to studying undocumented youth resistance in the U.S. South at the turn of the 21st century. Consequently, I reveal how these lived experiences demonstrate how place-based race dynamics inform these activists' political activism and selves, or in this case led to the Trail of Dreams. To demonstrate the importance of a place-specific state of hostility and resistance, I highlight key historical detention and deportation cases across the U.S. and the South. My hope is to be able to document undocumented/undocuqueer experiences and sentiments that were taking place and leading up to the Trail of Dreams.

Rising Deportation Nation

Over the course of four years, sitting at dining room tables, conference rooms, and communicating over Skype video calls, I listened to *testimonios* of how difficult it was growing up undocumented, queer, poor, and vulnerable to detention and deportation while organizing for migrant rights in Miami-Dade County. Moreover, I learned about the multiple ways undocumented Latinas/os/xs, Afro-Latina/o/x migrants (Afro-Cubans, Dominicans), and Afro-Caribbean migrants (Haitians, Bahamians) were experiencing and organizing for migrant rights

and how deeply geography would figure into these accounts**.** When undocumented/undocuqueer activists reflect on their successes within the fight for migrant rights in South Florida, they disclose how growing up in a hostile environment—confronting a place-specific U.S. racial structure—became the impetus to fight against the unfair treatment of undocumented migrants.

It is significant that the Trail of Dreams took place in southern states. Along with its history of racial segregation and exclusion, the U.S. South has a long history of abusive federal immigration enforcement that has produced a political climate in which many Latino immigrants live and work. [9] In fact, next to California, Florida is home to some of the most militant nativist activists (Neo-Nazi, White nationalist, Neo-confederate, Ku Klux Klan, Anti-LGBT, Anti-Muslim and Anti-Immigrant groups) in the country and even has its own anti-immigrant political party.[10] Historian Perla Guerrero, who documents Latina/o/x and Asian history in Arkansas, notes that, given the concerns over the growing "undocumented" population," at the turn of the 21st Century "the federal government has historically coordinated with southern state agencies since the 1990s."[11]

In 1995, state agencies launched Operation SouthPAW (PAW – Protecting America's Workers), a multi-agency task force that raided worksites for thirty-one days found in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and Tennessee.[12] The task force raided more than two-dozen food processing and light manufacturing plants, detaining about 4,044 undocumented workers.[13] According to political scientist Chris Zepeda-Millán, in the early 2000s in the state of Florida, "the political climate in which many Latino immigrants in the area lived and worked was a hostile one."[14] For instance, he highlights a 2004 opinion poll by the Pew Hispanic Center, revealing that "77 percent of Latinos in the state felt that discrimination against them was a problem, one in four of whom felt it was a 'major problem.'"[15] Undocumented youth activists in Miami faced similar distresses caused by their undocumented status as their counterparts across

the United States; their lives were also being increasingly marked by a "juridical status and a sociopolitical condition that carries exclusionary and stigmatizing consequences."[16]

It was in this context that the Trail of Dreams began addressing the distinct mechanisms of a growing deportation regime. Indeed, a record number of undocumented migrants were being deported under the Bush and Obama administrations.[17] At the end of Bush's second term, the *New York Times* reported that immigration detention became a rare growth industry during the great recession. They reported that from 2004 to 2008, Congress had doubled its annual spending, to $2.4 billion as part of the $5.9 billion allotted for immigration enforcement. In fact, Congress had allotted more than the Bush administration had requested.[18] In her book, *Immigration Nation: Raids, Detentions, and Deportations in Post-9/11 America*, sociologist Tanya Golash-Boza documents how immigration policies (such as 287 (g) agreements, secure communities, priority enforcement programs) and enforcement (through raids, deportation, and detention) separated families, communities, and networks apart, further criminalizing already marginalized and vulnerable communities.[19] After September 11th, 2001, these distinct policies fueled the US deportation regime across the southeastern United States and have come to stand in as the proper sociopolitical logic or "retribution" to unauthorized migration. For instance, in Florida, three months after September 11th, the state and the city of Miami was battling new rules and procedures to root out undocumented residents, such as difficulties with traveling, obtaining driving permits, obtaining bank accounts and renting apartments (Figure 2.1). Strong interior enforcement has a direct effect on all types of families already living in the United States. Many advocates recognized that the crackdown would drive undocumented migrants underground and undermined the trust in police and other public officials.[20]

The Miami Herald

www.miami.com

MONDAY, DECEMBER 10, 2001 ▸ FINAL EDITION

Immigrant advocates: Illegal populace faces heightened peril in crackdown

BY ANDRES VIGLUCCI
AND ALFONSO CHARDY
aviglucci@herald.com

It's a perilous new world today for foreigners in the United States, as they increasingly encounter sharpened scrutiny and everyday hurdles in traveling, obtaining driving permits, opening bank accounts and even getting married and renting apartments.

Since Sept. 11, sweeping new rules and procedures designed to root out "illegals" have made life more tenuous for noncitizens. Those from the Middle East in particular have become targets of what critics say is profiling by federal agents, aided by local police and others on the lookout for "suspicious" aliens.

But as changes in immigration

▸ PLEASE SEE IMMIGRATION, 12A

▸ IMMIGRATION, FROM 1A

enforcement inspired by the attacks move beyond the counterterrorism battle to focus more broadly on illegal aliens, few expect the crackdown to stop at Arab nationals.

As everyone from police to driver's license examiners is drafted into the effort, tightened requirements for identification and proof of legal status mean that undocumented aliens, and even some who are here legally, may find it harder if not impossible to carry out some common endeavors — and could find themselves in detention or deported for trying.

Even driving could prove risky.

regulations send a message that it will be more difficult for undocumented foreigners to live in the United States.

Many immigration advocates recognize the need to shore up enforcement but contend that the crackdown may succeed chiefly in driving the undocumented deeper underground and undermine trust in police and other public officials.

Especially worrisome to them is a rule to have driver's licenses issued to temporary residents — such as business executives or long-term visitors — expire on the same date as their visas. Until this month, temporary visitors with visas were issued standard licenses, good for six years and renew-

Figure 2.1 Newspaper clipping of The Miami Herald. Florida Immigrant Coalition Organizational Archive

The rise in deportations and detentions varied across different regions of the country, but nowhere was the spike in deportations more visible than in the southeast. During Bush's administration police agencies across the U.S. joined 287 (g) partnerships with the Department of Homeland Security, which deputizes local law enforcement to enforce immigration policies and, in effect, act like U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (I.C.E.) agents.[21] Sheriff deputies and state troopers receive specialized training to identify and file immigration violation charges to unauthorized migrants who are booked into city and county jails. Officials claim that officers learn to avoid racial profiling along with learning how to use I.C.E and Homeland Security Department databases to find out a person's immigration status.[22] As a result, 287 (g) partnerships became an aggressive tracking and removal system by federal immigration agents that increased cooperation with local law enforcement agencies. Homeland Security officials stated these efforts of targeting deportable criminals was part and parcel of ICE's "top priority,"

which in turn led to a rise of detentions and deportations.[23] Furthermore, immigration scholar, Tanya Maria Golash-Boza argues that U.S. public accepts such policy because "it targets mainly immigrant men of color, who are perceived to be expendable in the current economy and unwanted in broader society."[24]

The Atlanta Journal Constitution reported that deportations increased from 5,187 in 2006 to 10,925 in 2007 in Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina. In fact, across the U.S. a record 280,000 undocumented migrants were deported in the fiscal year ending September 2007, up from 186,000 the previous year.[25] In addition, the 10,925 removals out of the Atlanta Enforcement and Removal Operations regional office, only 4,590 were criminal removals, those convicted of a crime in the U.S. In the beginning of 2008, Cobb, Hall, and Whitfield County in Georgia had agreements with I.C.E., and Gwinnet County was about to launch similar efforts. Advocates in favor of reducing unauthorized immigration applauded the expansion of interior enforcement efforts led by local law enforcement. However, concerns raised by migrant rights groups like executive director, Jerry Gonzalez of Georgia Association of Latino Elected Officials (GALEO) stated, "They should be focusing on people who have committed very serious crimes" and not traffic offenders caught by local police.[26] Additionally, people reported incidents that they witnessed students being stopped for a traffic violation and the whole family getting deported.[27] These organizations and leaders raised valid concerns that they were going after nannies, landscapers, and chasing the lady that cleans the attorney's office—people who are otherwise law abiding. Although migrant rights advocates stressed inconsistencies, their arguments further exemplify the inner workings of a neoliberal rationality within migrant rights and DREAM Act advocacy. "Criminal aliens" became expendable with no advocates to defend them and, in many cases, older, working-class, immigrant men of color who broke the law

experienced the harshest chastisement.[28] Of equal importance, the rise of deportations meant a rise of detention facilities.

Immigration enforcement and detention became an "immigrant gold rush" during a sinking economy and strapped cities across the U.S. like Lumpkin, GA, were looking for a slice of the bounty.[29] Cities were signing up with private developers to build new detention centers. According to the *New York Times*, these small towns were home to the fastest-growing industry and least examined type of incarceration that was confining half a million people a year in the U.S. They became a "portal into an expanding network of other jails, bigger and more remote." For instance, on July 1st, 2006 Lumpkin, Georgia became home to the largest immigration detention facility in the country, Stewart Detention Center, a 1,752-bed medium security prison.[30] Located 143 miles south of Atlanta's regional I.C.E. office, the detention center that was operated by a private company, Correction Corporation of America, quickly became known for its remote location and for its practices of isolating detainees, physical and verbal abuse, little oversight, and the absence of any meaningful grievance procedures.[31]

In fact, building new federal detention centers became "good public policy" across many cities in the South. This was especially evident during the summer of 2008, in the race for Gwinnett County Commissioner, which is northeast of Atlanta. Candidate Shirley Lasseter, former mayor of the city of Duluth, stated that building a detention center, "would take the burden off the local taxpayer and put it on the federal government, which is exactly where it needs to be."[32] Similarly, other candidates proposed the implementation of the 287(g) programs and "holding landlords accountable" as "a critical piece of making people who don't belong here not welcome."[33] In contrast, migrant rights advocates like attorney Mark J. Newman of the Latin American Association criticized candidates focus on deportation rather than integration. He said, "spending more taxpayer money on building more prisons for individuals who are not criminals

is bad public policy."[34] Unfortunately, he questioned the misplacement of taxpayer resources at the local, state and federal level, and not politician's attempt to lessen people's economic concerns "with promises to deport all undocumented immigrants and strengthen crime enforcement." According to the candidates, these policies would shift the burden from the local community to the federal government and increase the number of removals. Gonzales contends that state level, local ordinances have become popular among municipal and city governments as an attempt to regulate migrant mobility.[35] Crushingly, Shirley Lasseter would go on to win 98% of the vote in Gwinnet County.[36]

Yes, immigration has distinct problems for cities but instead of integrating documented and undocumented migrants into their communities where they can be a positive contribution to the local economy, local culture and to the local society, these candidates and local leaders chose to support local ordinances that not only support interior enforcement but intensify xenophobic sentiments across their communities.

Opening Our Eyes to a Lethal Limbo

The intensification of nativism meant a rise in deportations, detention centers and anti-immigrant laws in the first decade of the 21st century. In response, human rights organizations across the U.S. began to report and stress the rise of human rights violations. In December 2007, the American Civil Liberties Union published a report, which stated how U.S. policies and practices at the federal, state and local level continue to impact racial minorities, undocumented migrants, low wage workers, women and children.[37] They reported how migrants are targets of frequent racial discriminatory acts and statements; victims of government crackdowns such as workplace raids; and, the foci of local ordinances that penalize those who are racially and culturally different, in some cases to prohibit the speaking of languages other than English. Later, on March 7th, 2008, at the U.N. Human Rights Council in Geneva, United Nations

investigator and distinguished scholar Jorge Bustamante took particular aim at the U.S. by calling their immigration enforcement efforts as failing "to uphold its international obligations to protect the human rights of migrants."[38] He criticized I.C.E's "overuse" of detention in substandard facilities and depriving detainees adequate appeal process and protections. The report noted how the annual detainee population had tripled in nine years to 230,000.

Then, on April 2009, the Police Foundation, a non-partisan think tank published a report claiming that when local police enforce immigration laws, "it undermines their core public safety mission, diverts scarce resources, increases their exposure to liability and litigation, and exacerbates fear in communities that are already distrustful of police."[39] Moreover, in an op-ed published in the *Los Angeles Times*, William J. Bratton, chief of the Los Angeles Police Department, stood his ground by declaring that the LAPD would not participate in the 287(g) program because it nurtured a "fear and distrust of authority" among children and families, thus not helping them with short-and medium-term goals of reducing crime and improving relations with community members. In brief, a variety of groups, organizations and leaders across the U.S. were denouncing the federal government's changes in policies.[40]

During this time, national newspapers (*Los Angeles Times, New York Times, Washington Post*) reported on the harsh realities and consequences of detention and lack of health care for migrant communities. For some migrants, federal detention became a death sentence. For instance, in 2007, the *Los Angeles Times* reported how Victoria Arellano, a 23-year-old transgender migrant from Mexico, was sent to a detention center in San Pedro, CA for a traffic violation then later died while in detention due lack of medical care that was routinely ignored by federal agents.[41] Reports stated that she died of an AIDS-related infection at the federally operated facility. Then, there was the reported death of Boubacar Bah, a 52-year-old tailor from Guinea who overstayed a tourist visa and died in an immigration detention center due to a skull

fracture and brain hemorrhage in the Elizabeth Detention Center in New Jersey. [42] Bah and Arellano were two of at least 66 people who died in custody between January 2004 and November 2007 while awaiting deportation hearings. Consequently, their deaths drew public and congressional scrutiny.

According to the *New York Times*, Bah's death and that of others are representative of a "special class of the invisible" deaths largely hidden by this era of immigration control. [43] During Bah's funeral services, Father Jordan emphasized that "if you're not a [U.S.] citizen, then you're a nonperson."[44] Unquestionably, cases like Arellano's and Bah's drew Congressional scrutiny to complaints of inadequate medical care, human rights violations and a lack of oversight in immigration detention. As I noted at the beginning of the chapter, the expendability and surveillance of undocumented migrants across the southeast was directly impacting the walkers. Undocumented/undocuqueer youth organizers were feeling weighed down by deportation dragnets and were beginning to build a movement that would shift the fight for migrant rights in 2010.

President Obama's Administration and Business as Usual in 2009

On January 20th, 2009, President Obama took office under pressure to amend numerous policy changes in enforcement and deportation. One of his early tests was whether his administration would break with the strict immigration enforcement policies of the Bush Administration. For example, early on he had to decide the fate of more than 30,000 Haitian citizens who had been ordered deported from the U.S. in early December 2008 without public notice. According to a letter addressed to Janet Napolitano, Department of Homeland Security Secretary, Cheryl Little, executive director of Florida Immigrant Advocacy Center, Inc (FIAC), brought to the attention the need for DHS to reconsider Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for

Haitians living in the United States. Appealing to the Obama administration's values of fairness, transparency, and human rights, they argued that "Continuing these deportations hampers Haiti's recovery from devastating storms last summer," and deportees might face "hunger, homelessness and unemployment."[45] Furthermore, the letter made an urgent call for Haitians to receive TPS;

> On the contrary, TPS would help Haiti recover. Haitians in the United States could obtain work permits and would increase the already significant flow of remittances to their homeland. Haitians who receive that aid are more likely to stay and rebuild Haiti. Many depend on those remittances for their very survival. That flow of dollars is among the best foreign aid that the United States can provide, and it costs taxpayers nothing.[46]

More than 100 organizations endorsed the letter to President Obama and the Secretary of Department of Homeland Security, Janet Napolitano demanding the administration should urgently stay deportations to Haiti. In a letter dated February 25, 2009 to Cheryl Little from Susan Cullen, Director of Office of Policy and Planning, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, the letter stated the administration's concern for Haitian nationals affected by natural disasters and economic tensions, and indicated an ongoing U.S. Government assistance to Haiti; $400 million allocation that included $64 million for disaster relief; humanitarian programs, food assistance and medical care; vocational training and jobs; as well as supported democracy-building projects and law enforcement training in Haiti.[47] In closing, the letter stated that "DHS intends to continue to coordinate the removal of Haitian nationals to Haiti with the GOH [Government of Haiti]," and that they would continue in close consultation with GOH.[48] Moreover, according to the *New York Times*, a State Department official recognized the controversial position by the U.S. Government but stood by the decisions by stating he believed, "Haiti had the structures on the ground that it needed to solve its problems."[49] Many migrant

rights and Haitian advocates in Florida saw this as an extension to the immigration policies of the Bush Administration. In an interview, Little said, "They told us they were going after criminal aliens…I think not. We are devoting a lot of resources going after the wrong people."

In 2009 migrant rights activists across the U.S. became dismayed by President Obama's priorities and firm stance on immigration policy. As Congress moved slowly on immigration reform, such as Comprehensive Immigration Reform (CIR) bills and the DREAM Act, Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano was laying the groundwork on expanding the homeland security state. Instead of ending family detention, reducing beds, shutting down detention centers, canceling contracts with private companies, or the implementation of basic due process before being detained, DHS was establishing a more centralized authority over detention centers, which at that time held about 400,000 detainees over the course of a year.[50]

In addition, the ambitious plan included the appointment of 23 detention managers to work at the 23 largest detention centers to ensure problems were promptly fixed[51]; the expansion of E-Verify, a program that allows employers and immigration agents to verify electronically the identity information of new hires[52]; and, the expansion of 287 (g) agreements and the government database during booking process to find unauthorized migrants in jails.[53] In brief, the Obama administration strategy was to prioritize unauthorized migrants with criminal records and move away from Bush's heavy handed and high-profile raids that drew national headlines and led to the arrest hundreds of undocumented workers in Greeley, CO, New Bedford, MA, Chicago, IL, and Postville, IA.[54] However, according to the *New York Times*, Ms. Napolitano and administration officials argued that a "no-nonsense immigration enforcement" strategy was essential to persuade voters to accept legislation that would give legal status to 11 million undocumented migrants, even when they relied significantly on programs started by the Bush administration.[55]

While advocates questioned new agreements that didn't include protections against racial profiling, the Obama administration was receiving backing from Democrats, such as Senator Charles E. Schumer, the chairman of the judiciary subcommittee on immigration. In an interview, Schumer stated how Democrats needed to show they were serious about immigration enforcement "to convince the American people there will not be new waves of illegal immigrants," and called on Democrats "to stop using the term "undocumented" to refer to immigrants who are here illegally."[56] In addition, key national immigrant organizations were "passively" criticizing President Obama and Ms. Napolitano. In an interview, immigration director, Clarissa Martinez De Castro of the National Council of La Raza, said they understood the need for sensible enforcement, "but that does not mean expanding programs that often led to civil rights violations," and that their "feelings are mixed at best." Unquestionably, migrant rights activists and their allies were becoming pacified by Democrats and by the Obama Administration in 2009 or were being succumb by an *anti-migrant hegemony*, the adoption of "novel authoritarian solutions to the immigration crisis" by elected officials.[57]

As interior enforcement efforts increased across the U.S. South and national organizations kept consenting to Democrats' "no-nonsense immigration enforcement" strategy, undocumented youth activists criticized that much of the traditional migrant rights advocates led by national organizations left out the voices of the most vulnerable populations of migrants: poor people, black people, and queer and trans migrants. These are precisely the groups who are most at risk of detention and deportation.[58] Along similar lines what became apparent was a disjuncture between those who supported CIR and the way Latina/o/x undocumented youth organizers on the ground perceived themselves.[59] As illustrated by Walter J. Nicholl's text, *The DREAMers,* undocumented youth's stance as a legitimate voice to the public resulted in disagreements "over who deserves rights, how rights should be represented, and who should be

representing immigrants and their struggles in the public sphere."[60] As a dissenting force within the migrant rights movement, the Trail at the beginning sought to position themselves at the forefront of the national dialog on immigration. They not only advocated for a pathway to citizenship for undocumented migrant students, but fought to keep families together while disrupting the nations-state's parameters for accessing citizenship.[61] Through their efforts, youth activists introduced new ideas about what rights are, who should be at the center for the fight for migrant rights and new strategies for attaining them.

Rather than highlight a history of DREAM Act activism and legislation from 2001 to 2010, the purpose of this chapter was to highlight the spatial, social and political context surrounding the Trail, as well as exemplifying how these experiences shaped and motivated the Trail's walkers and participants. In the next chapter, I highlight how the Trail within the matter of months was able to build a coalition and network to walk across the southeastern U.S. Additionally, I document how these the small acts of coalition building between various organizations forged a new vision for migrant justice led by women of color and Latina/o/x undocumented/undocuqueer youth.

Notes

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[12] Brenda Kily, "Many Mexicans Deported From Arkansas Have Returned," *Tulsa World Newspaper*, October 1, 1995.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Zepeda-Millán, "Weapons of the (Not So) Weak," 43.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Roberto Gonzales, *Lives in Limbo: Undocumented and Coming of Age in America*. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 99.

[17] U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Immigration Data and Statistics, Yearbook of Immigration Statistics. (2016). Retrieved from https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2015.html

[18] Nina Bernstein, "City of Immigrants Fills Jail Cells With Its Own," New York Times, December 26, 2008. https://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/27/us/27detain.html

[19] Tanya Maria Golash-Boza. *Immigration Nation: Raids, Detentions, and Deportations in Post-9/11 America*. (Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm Publishers, 2012)

[20] Andres Viglucci and Alfosnos Chardy, "Immigrant Advocates: Illegal Populace faces Heightened Peril in Crackdown," *The Miami Herald,* December 10, 2001.

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[43] Jim Dwyer, "Prayers for the Invisible: Immigrants Who Die in Legal Limbo," *The New York Times*, May 24, 2008

[44] Dwyer, "Prayers for the Invisible."

[45] Cheryl Little, Executive Director of Florida Immigrant Advocacy Center, Inc. to Janet Napolitano, Secretary of Department of Homeland Security, January 26, 2009.

[46] Cheryl Little to Janet Napolitano, January 26, 2009.

[47] Susan Cullen, Director, Office of Policy and Planning, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enfocement to Cheryl Little, Executive Director of Florida Immigrant Advocacy Center, Inc, February 25, 2009.

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[53] Anna Gorman, "Obama sets the priorities on immigration," *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 2009.

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[58] See Dean Spade. *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of Law*. (Brooklyn, NY: South End Press, 2011), 114-138.

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CHAPTER III

THE LAUNCHING OF THE TRAIL OF DREAMS

> I think people definitely see these sorts of actions and they only have a snippet of the work that went into it. They see these four, brave, undocumented youth just walking through the South. It's like you don't understand how much work that was or how, I don't know, the strain that had on all of us emotionally.
>
> - Julie, *Interview with author*, September 6, 2015

When Trail of Dreams organizers recall the daily practicalities of the Trail, their voices disclose a hidden story that exposes the multidimensional and expansive labor necessary to support a movement. The epigraph above is a single example of this. To look beyond "four, brave, undocumented youth" along the Trail is to recognize a backbone that was made up of a coalition of organizations and volunteers, most of whom were youth and women of color. In my interviews, young activists, like Julie, discuss how they rallied support for the Trail, helped identify safe routes, secured sleeping arrangements, and enlisted legal and media support. They worked arduously to mobilize available resources within a matter of weeks and sometimes in mere days. They juggled school, work, and family to volunteer daily for four months to make the Trail a success. Some felt that it was urgent to support the Trail, so they chose to take time off or leave school, move, and/or travel across the U.S. Their stories not only bring to light the hidden labor along the Trail but the strong emotional strain that resulted from organizing direct actions. To use Maylei Blackwell's words, capturing everyone's voice reminds us of the importance of not failing to fully record vital forms of political consciousness of social and political acts.

In *¡Chicana Power!; Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement,* Blackwell (2011) prompts us to document a larger production of knowledge of resistance and agency in order to challenge how "masculinity and male embodiment" structure the ways in

which social movement scholars understand oppositional culture. To fully record vital forms of collective actions and political consciousness within social movements, we must look beyond high-risk civil disobedience actions such as marches, picket lines, traffic blockades, and hunger strikes, which so often are described as male led or embodied only by men. Julie, for example, hints to a fear that her involvement will not be included in U.S. history books, "which all too often structure their accounts of the past on 'major figures,' events, and political organizations."[1] Equally important, their gender and queerness would be deleted within the telling of epic male heroes and great man narratives of the Undocumented Youth Movement. Similarly, historian Aisha Finch calls attention to the *hidden labors of resistance,* those who seem to be doing labor that is less critical in providing an alternative narrative and investment in political movements.[2] Voices like Julie's help us understand how the Trail was assembled, where and with whom the Trail began, and how social movement scholars can expand terms of collective protest when we focus on stories that highlight the less hierarchical, collective work that formed the base of the Trail of Dreams.

I begin this chapter by highlighting the small or invisible acts of coalition building between various leaders and organizations and their central role in mobilizing resources to support the Trail. I expand on theoretical frameworks on resource mobilization as they relate to marginalized communities, in this case poor, undocumented, queer, and women of all colors. Second, I reveal how a support team mostly made up of young college-aged women handled daily logistics and weekly conference calls, and in many ways helped sustain the Trail. To demonstrate how undocumented youth and young women were central to the Undocumented Youth Movement, I highlight key reflections from youth testimonios and interviews. My hope is to be able to document undocumented and women of color experiences, sentiments, and lessons learned. Together, these accounts expand our understanding of youth organizing, resistance, race,

gender and queer relations. Lastly, I highlight the Trail's partnership with Presente.org, the nuts and bolts of their co-design strategy and the emergence of a regional queer vision of democracy through their cyber testimonios. This chapter demonstrates what happens when movement narratives shift to the invisible leadership that weaves together the rebel tapestry through small or invisible acts of resistance.

Setting the Trail in Motion

While activism for the DREAM Act had existed for practically a decade across the U.S., many of the activists interviewed had been introduced to Florida Immigrant Coalition (FLIC) and Students Working for Equal Rights (SWER) through mobilizing and collective actions against individual deportation cases. A majority of those interviewed in Miami recalled Juan Gomez's fight against deportation. Considered once the poster child for immigration reform in 2007, Juan Gomez, a week after graduating from Killian Senior High in Miami became snared in deportation dragnets along with his parents.[3] The actions of his internet-savvy high school friends turned Gomez's deportation case into cause célèbre in Washington D.C. Felipe recalls the moment when his high school friends organized on Facebook and helped him get out of detention during George W. Bush's presidency. He states,

> It was in 2007, before Obama, the president was Bush and it was really tough. It was a very tough environment to stop a deportation. They won but the process of that campaign, the pride of undocumented youth was everywhere in Miami and, so that is where I got in. And, then I called a person who was the lobbyist of the college, of Miami Dade College, and asked them if they knew anyone who was working on the DREAM act and they put me in touch with the Florida Immigrant Coalition, who put me in touch with SWER and that's how I got involved.[4]

During this interview, Felipe reflects on his introduction to the fight for migrant rights and his involvement with Students Working for Equal Rights (SWER). The resourcefulness of high school youth seized traditional and new spaces like newspapers and social media, high school youth and Washington D.C. law makers. It is these exact methods and practices that the Trail of Dreams would later enact through their acts of coalitional building between organizations and the development of their new and social media activism—daily blogs, twitter and Facebook posts, and weekly appearances on local and national news networks.

Beyond Resource Mobilization Theory

Social Movement scholar Chris Zepeda-Millan contends that whenever you have a "mobilization of a massive group of people, it is easy for us to focus on the group—*the mass*—itself."[5] Yet, "without the personal skills and efforts of individual activists, no mass protests would ever happen, and no social movements would ever develop".[6] For instance, without Julie's hustle, her time, resourcefulness, personal skills, and the efforts of others, the Trail of Dreams would have never been assembled. Since the 1960s, social movement scholars in disciplines such as sociology, political science, and in interdisciplinary fields such as ethnic studies and queer studies, have been theorizing the value and energy of social movements organizations (SMOs) by answering the questions of who participates, where, why and how actions and mobilizations develop. Part of this work has been largely led by resource mobilization theorists, who theorize social movements as planned collective actions dependent on resources from external actors such as money, time, skills of participants, and political structures.[7] Consequently, others have emphasized the importance of organizations and networks and identifying fundamental predictors to people's likelihood for engaging in political activity, such as a person's "socioeconomic status" (SES).[8]

Yet, when this work has been extended to study mobilizations enacted by poor and aggrieved communities, these prominent theories do not explain all the aspects of their engagement. In *Forging Radical Alliances across Difference*, Bystydzienski and Schacht distinguish these gaps and contend that they "neglect spontaneous actions, newly emerging relationships, and grassroots arrangements that are often critical to the successful development of social movements."[9] Moreover, these discussions have left out how difference, process of racialization, and histories of interethnic struggles may affect access to resources. Along these lines, I argue that the mobilization of resources that built the Trail of Dreams did not only come from above, but rather came from all sides; *de abajo* (from below), from the grass roots and the disenfranchised, hustled and stitched together, and part and parcel of an undocumented/undocuqueer worldview, where one has created meaningful lives on the margins such as navigating precarious work environments, adjusting to limited choices, and getting by with little help.[10]

Undocumented/Undocuqueer political ingenuity in the U.S. South can be interpreted as a form of *rascuachismo*, a resourcefulness that permits marginal political subjects to overcome a lack of money, political experience and structures by stitching together tools, tactics, and strategies from those who are at the decision-making table. David Spencer, who documents migrant resistance, calls this initiative *movidas rascuaches*.[11] It is, therefore, consistent with Aisha Finch's hidden labor of resistance and James C. Scott's formulation of the "everyday forms of resistance" practiced at the margins, which he termed "weapons of the weak."[12] This neologism builds upon the use of the term *rasquache* used throughout the southwest U.S. to describe a specific style of aesthetic expression, attitude, and worldview among Chicanas/os.[13] Rasquachismo, according to Ybarra-Frausto who coined the term, captures "an underdog perspective—a view from *los de abajo*—an attitude rooted in resourcefulness and adaptability"

that rejects "a direct relationship with the material level of existence or subsistence."[14] "To be rasquache is to be down, but not out (fregado pero no jodido)."[15] Moreover Ybarra-Frausto describes its character to be as such:

> In an environment, always on the edge of coming apart (the car, the job, the toilet), things are held together with spit, grit, and *movidas*. Movidas are the coping strategies you use to gain time, to make options, to retain hope. Rasquachismo is a compendium of all the movidas deployed in immediate, day-to-day living. Resilience and resourcefulness spring from making do with what is at hand (hacer rendir las cosas). This use of available resources engenders hybridization, juxtaposition, and integration. Rasquachismo is a sensibility attuned to mixtures and confluence, preferring communion over purity.

Movidas rascuaches, insofar as it is effective, depends upon undocumented/undocuqueer political ingenuity through their meaningful participation that enables them to make decisions, successfully mobilize people and resources by pulling through and making do with what is at hand. In this case, this initiative includes the financial and organizational backing from coalitional partners, referrals to grass roots organizations, knowledge of routes to evade apprehension, legal support, food, gifts, and housing.[16] In the next section I present some examples of movidas rascuaches along the Trail that I have encountered in my interviews with organizers.

Initiating Movidas Rascuaches

I collected many accounts of day-to-day assignments that supported the Trail and the walkers across all states. Many if not most of these last-minute movidas exhibited the central elements of rascuachismo, such as calling on longtime colleagues locally and nationally and

reaching out to lawyers across different cities so that the walkers would be protected. Florida Immigrant Coalition's executive director, Maria Rodriguez, best describes the dynamics of these efforts. Thus, I quote her interview at length:

> At that FLIC congress, we actually shifted and changed the agenda and we had a conversation about the Trail and the Fast. In that conversation, we basically were all in. We got your back, we are going to do it and you are not alone. I think at a staff level we had done it, but at that moment, it was the community and there were tears, lots of tears there. Our board treasurer, a Haitian man, grown ass, old man started bawling. Subhash, who was our Open Society Foundation enforcement organizer, evoked all the detainees and deportees and started, you know. We prayed, we huddled and we prayed. It was a beautiful moment. At that moment in November 2009, we were all in. The struggle was probably around the resource—that was the big question. I mean we got an RV. Gaby's husband and I, we were in charge of preparing the RV. We were at Walmart on Christmas buying spare tires and you know etcetera. So, I got a lawyer to do the legal work, and over Christmas we had a bunch of calls with him. So, he went through the whole Trail and got legal cover. Two different types of legal cover, one was freedom to walk, first amendment, the ability to take the trail and then also, immigration. He didn't do so much of the immigration, he did more of the freedom to walk piece. All throughout the Trail we had lawyers that were going to be there. We hired Sofia. I remember, it took United We Dream and Center for Community Change a minute to support but once they saw it was happening they paid for Sofia and for another staff person to help. And, Subhash Kateel got Presente, Roberto Lovato.[17]

At the end of the FLIC congress, which took place in Orlando, Florida in November, Maria explained that instead of driving down Interstate 95 (I-95) she drove the walkers over the Trail's route. She "was really thinking about safety," so she drove them to not only see the terrain but identify any safety and legal issues that could arise along the route. Maria not only assisted in mobilizing resources at the beginning of the Trail, such as legal support, but made it a point to send them coats when they were in Palm Beach, assisted in organizing the Fair Immigration Reform Movement (FAIR) meeting in Atlanta, aided in visibility efforts at the national level and most importantly made sure their arrival to Washington D.C. on May 1st was meaningful.

As the Trail approached, Carlos Roa experienced a fortunate event that could not have been expected, discovering the RV. He describes this moment as "totally last-minute." It was before Christmas and at this point they had no idea where they were going to sleep and where they would store their belongings, clothes, and computers. Carlos shares how he and his friend, Mohammed were one day driving around Biscayne, near the FLIC office chatting about how they needed an RV for the Trail. And, at that particular moment they spotted an RV with a for sale sign parked at one of the broken-down motels. He explained, "We hopped out, we checked it out. It was really rusty. It was in really bad shape," and that's how basically they found the RV—it was total luck.[18] Gaby later came to examine and approve the RV and then successfully negotiated the purchase for around 5,000 dollars. While people were home with their families during Christmas, Maria, Gaby, and her husband were at Walmart buying tires and preparing the RV for the trip. According to Carlos, "It worked out for us. We needed it and we got it. It was a stroke of luck."[19]

SWER youth leaders also contributed to making the Trail a success in their own ways. Although there was a support and logistics team, Felipe shared how committees were made up of fifty plus undocumented youth across the state of Florida. Committees were set up to help the

walkers find lodging, food, water, clothes and raise money for gas. Indeed, resources to support the Trail came from various sources and at various points and times. Gabriel, an undocumented youth organizer and a member of SWER from Miami, remembers how the Trail was the impetus for the creation of the Florida Immigrant Youth Network (FIYN), a statewide coalition made up of undocumented high school and college-age youth, allies and members of various groups (SWER, Eperanza Juvenil, Young American DREAMers, and CHISPAS, to name a few) from cities such as Gainesville, Lakeland, and Stuart.[20] He stated that:

> Different organizations decided that we were going to help in one thing. Either SWER was going to look for the locations that they were going to stay at, *ellos* were going to look for food, how they were going to sustain. *Otras personas iban a ver por un grupo de voluntarios, que iba caminar con ellos.* Each of us had a role and when January 1st came, it just happened.[21]

Smiling, he recalls the "illegal things" they would also do, such as sending the walkers candy, thus disobeying doctors' orders. For many, staying back meant organizing and building support on their campus. They organized visibility and fundraising campaigns at Miami Dade College's Wolfson Campus. It was important for students that staff and faculty be updated about what was happening with the Trail. Gabriel admitted that there was a need to promote the Trail because "*no se escuchaba mucho.*"[22] Additionally, many student leaders from the FIYN joined at different points of the Trail, including at their special meeting with the Trail in Gainesville, FL and the day the Trail walked into Washington D.C.

One of these rising undocumented youth leaders was Grace, a member of Sin Fronteras (Without Borders, Without Walls) Youth Group from Apopka, Florida which is sixteen miles north of Orlando. She was 20 years old and had been part of DREAM Act campaigns and Education Not Deportation workshops. Grace who was present at the FLIC Congress recalls this

pivotal meeting in support of the Trail and the need to stay back and organize in Apopka, a rural town known for its farms and plant nurseries:

> So, I remember our first meeting that we went to and it was here in Florida. It was the FLIC Congress in Florida. We were there and we had a meeting with the Students Working for Equal Rights and sharing the plan of what it was. We were just sitting there. We spent the whole night trying to plan everything and seeing how we were doing it. Where were they going to travel and all this stuff. And I was like, "I am good. I can help in Orlando if you want me to.[23]

Many FIYN leaders decided to stay behind and help the walkers get across Florida. For example, Grace assisted the Trail from Orlando to Apopka to Mount Dora, a total of 30 miles and three days. According to her, the walkers marched from downtown Orlando accompanied by University of Central Florida students to the Hope CommUnity Center in Apopka where the community greeted the walkers.

At Hope "undocumented students were able to participate and hear from Felipe and Carlos and Gabby. They were able to hear Juan. Hear from them of why they were doing this journey. Mothers and fathers and little kids were hearing these stories and everything."[24] Inspired by the Trail's visit, Sin Fronteras youth decided to raise money for buses so they could join the walkers as they would enter D.C. For over fifty students, mostly undocumented youth, it was their first time to Washington D.C. and even taking a bus up to D.C. was a gamble. Grace admitted that she too "was even afraid of going because what if they stopped the bus." Yet, this was overshadowed by the excitement the Trail produced. These anxieties and fears reminded her of when she started to get involved, she too was scared of exposing herself and her family. They were afraid of her political activism but at the same time, Grace wanted "that fear to turn into something positive that would bring us up," make them stronger, eager to fight for justice, "for

the Dream Act, for immigration reform, for our family."[25] As a result, the Trail and the trip to D.C. was a great experience for the youth to witness and to be a part of civil disobedience and part of the migrant rights movement.[26]

Trail of Dream organizers engaged in rascuache movidas from the outset. Considering their circumstances, short on time and funds, the Trail was able to rally together, retain hope, stay resilient, and evoke loved ones to guide them before and during the Trail. Moreover, the Trail demonstrates a specific organizing practice and lived experience among undocumented/ undocuqueer youth activism. It reveals how racial, class, gender, and sexual difference and illegality shapes one's engagement with mobilizing aggrieved communities. Nobody knew this better than FLIC's open society fellow, Subhash Kateel, whose experience with executive actions by the president assisted with the development of the Trail's and Fasters' demands.[27]

I met with Subhash in Miami at a café to discuss his supportive role and participation in the Trail.[28] He was a former member of Desis Rising Up & Moving (DRUM), a South Asian racial justice organization, and a founding member of Families for Freedom (FFF), a multi-ethnic human rights organization by and for families facing and fighting deportation. He relocated to Miami from Queens, New York in 2007. During our conversation, he shared his prior organizing experience establishing a visitation project of South Asian detainees in different detention centers in New York and conducting know your rights workshops. In fact, after September 11th, he started FFF because there was an increased need to support formerly detained migrants and their loves ones. FFF members included asylum seekers, green card holders, and undocumented migrants from the Dominican Republic, Pakistan, and Jamaica and had been wrongly incarcerated and/or were in deportation proceedings. He explained, how as a co-director with very limited resources, Families changed "how Know Your Rights trainings and popular education was happening around deportation cases." FFF created a deportation 101 curriculum

that is now used across the nation and "began talking about the immigration/deportation system as immigrant apartheid, as a system structural difference."[29] Subhash, not only had prior experience with making do with zero resources but he understood the root of the Trail's ingenuity. He explained, that "a lot of the ingenuity by Juan, Felipe, Gaby, by even the fasters, came out of extreme pain and extreme guilt…The strategy to walk came from pain." According to Subhash, it is easy to discuss campaign strategies as purely practical or intellectual but not as an emotional or visceral response to a lived and shattered reality. Equally important, was the need to harness those emotions of anger into defending their communities from I.C.E. By recognizing how the mobilization of resources and people are movidas rascuaches or a stitched together mobilization of grit, spit and feeling fregado[30], we can recognize how the Trail was assembled with fear, luck, pain, guilt, and movidas.

Logistics, Support and Devalued Spaces

Although the Trail of Dreams had received full support at the Florida Immigrant Coalition's congress in November and multiple organizations began to pledge their support, a support staff needed to be gathered. A support team mostly made up of young queer college-aged women of color, some of whom were migrants to the U.S., signed-on to aid with the Trail's daily logistics. They were recruited through statewide and national networks like United We Dream and the newly established Florida Immigrant Youth Network. Some stepped up as volunteers, others raised their own money or received stipends from different organizations to assist with locating housing, contacting potential community allies, identifying food donations, mapping roads, coordinating legal aid, facilitating communications plans, and statewide conference calls to strategize meetings.[31] They were given titles such as safety marshal, project managers and communications liaisons and they were tasked with leading committees with catchy titles such as

reaction prevention committee. As Kelly recounts, she opted to not go home to Connecticut during her academic winter break from New College to stay and handle logistics:

> I just started getting involved with the work a lot. I became so involved that I actually didn't go home for Christmas that year. I went down to Miami after school ended, and I was like, you're staying. Carlos, Julie, and I were staying at Isabel's and Felipe's house. I don't know, I just kind of threw myself into it. Then they were like, okay, we need someone to handle logistics, would you be interested? I'm not sure exactly how it went down to be honest, but I was the first.[32]

Time was of the essence with identifying a support team in the month of December. Coalescing such a group of organizers would require people to step-up and volunteer. Knowing that the Trail needed assistance with coordinating resources, Kelly chose to take a leave from college and accepted temporary housing and being away from family to support the Trail. During the summer of 2009, she had joined SWER to participate in their statewide public narrative trainings based on Marshall Ganz's lifelong work on public narratives, "story of the self." Ultimately, she was introduced to migrant rights organizing (FLIC and SWER) through her work with the Coalition for Immokalee Workers' Student-Farmworkers Alliance at New College.

Equally important, in early December, Sofia, who was a University of Florida graduate, was recruited by Isabel to join the team. She was a single mom in her late 20s, raising two kids, and was already connected to migrant rights organizing in Florida. Meanwhile, just two hours north of Miami in Indiantown, Julie, a recent high school graduate, who was attending a Trail of Dreams planning meeting, signed on as a project manager. It was December and the reality was that time and space was limited and there was not enough time to train-up, teach new skills or

prepare volunteers. For the coalition, getting a handle on logistics became a priority, especially finding housing for the walkers.

Coordinating logistics, communications, and calling potential allies was a priority within the initial stages of the Trail. As Kelly detailed, coordinating communications amongst the team was central at the beginning:

> Initially I was in communications, so I was having the phone calls with Roberto [Lovato] and I went to the communications meeting in DC. I specifically did a lot of the coordination in terms of calling. Cold calling was not an extremely successful tactic, but it's what we had at first. Then what we ended up doing was that as they went along, there were so many organizations that were so excited about it and had the actual contacts.[33]

Knowing that the walkers' well-being was at stake and with limited networks along the route, Kelly and Sofia stayed back in Miami and called organizations and churches. Kelly shares how cold-calling organizations at the beginning wasn't the most effective way to organize. However, she notes its necessary role at its commencement due to the Trail's goal to build bridges with communities they really did not know.

Often, churches stated they "didn't like immigrants," and, a lot of them, "didn't like people who were queer." The material consequences of looking for housing along the route became exhausting for organizers because it involved daily activities; researching the codes, ordinances, and history of small towns and cities; google-mapping chosen routes; identifying potential churches and group allies; finding contact information and cold-calling organizations and individuals for hours; and constantly having to explain the Trail mission and goals. Additionally, Kelly, with the support of Leonardo, youth organizer at FLIC/SWER, coordinated weekly statewide and national strategy conference calls. In fact, the Trail of Dreams often

depended on churches, community groups, and colleges to assist them with housing, food, and space for rallies and talks, especially because they didn't have statewide networks across certain states, such as North Carolina, Virginia and at times Georgia. Therefore, the assistance from Georgia Latinos Alliance for Human Rights (GLAHR) and Southerners on the New Ground in Georgia and North Carolina, and the addition of Sage, Alejo and Alex, who later joined the Trail in North Carolina and Virginia, were key to the Trail's longevity.

Meanwhile, Julie, who was undocumented and a recent high school graduate, describes these initial stages of coordination as natural:

> For me, I was good at organizing information and keeping things… I don't know, coordinated. I created everyone's calendars, everyone's different call schedules, different things like that. I was really good at making sure the different committees, the notes were sent out after the calls. For me, it was stuff that came naturally even though at that time, I don't think I was an organizer. I think I was just coordinating.

With limited community organizing experience, undocumented youth leaders like Julie, had little to no training. In this case, Julie was supervising the *reaction prevention committee*, who was coordinating safety and legal teams across different cities and regions identifying attorneys in case "anything horrible happened." The reality is that undocumented youth activism and civil protests, in particular, can experience high levels of police surveillance, thus causing high levels of stress because they want to avoid arrest and detention in city jails. These material costs of resistance and disobeying certain local, state, and federal laws are well documented and, among undocumented youth, may include deportation and the separation from their families. With the assistance of Jose Javier Rodriguez, a recent Harvard Law School graduate and a professor at the Carlos A. Costa Immigration and Human Rights Clinic at the Florida International University

College of Law, they coordinated legal resources and researched any potential laws or city ordinances the Trail might face.

Julie's and Kelly's accounts reflect the variety of leadership, organizing skills, and intimate collaborations that existed along the Trail of Dreams. They included new and seasoned organizers within the migrant rights movement; high school and college-aged youth leaders; elected officials, educational allies, and faith leaders; immigration and civil rights lawyers; new and old organizations. Similar to the walkers, Julie joined the movement because she had reached a point in her life where she didn't have a lot to lose; she couldn't drive, go to her chosen college, or even plan six months ahead. Among those who I met, the physical, emotional, and economic uncertainties associated with illegality and living undocumented in Florida led many undocumented youth, parents, and families to join the Trail's cause. Additionally, Julie shared that she felt it in her heart, that "it was the right thing to do," that her presence at Indiantown was not accidental but rather purposeful, part and parcel of her need to find a space that was healing. Recovering nonhegemonic voices and practices, like Julie's story, acknowledges the need to begin from the lives and interests of marginalized communities who offer us access to the workings of power and the most inclusive paradigm for thinking about social justice.

Social Media and Queer Visions of Democracy

Unquestionably the Trail was a collective effort at all scales and from all sides, including even cyber space. On January 1st 2010, with the support of Presente.org, the Trail not only began their walk but launched an interactive bilingual website, www.trail2010.org, that would establish their presence; explaining their mission and coalition partners; their credibility for potential donors; captured stopovers by publishing blog posts, press, videos and pictures; detailing their

route via thick mapping; referring allies and volunteers to social media profiles, Facebook, and twitter; and, generating a "brown list" of followers and allies via text messaging that would be key to developing an intended (albeit niche) audience. Indeed, the website was a change-maker in 2010, it would captivate undocumented youth, racial justice allies, journalists, and in the process would become a power tool that shaped the Undocumented Youth Movement identity.

The Trail's collection of newspaper accounts, photographs, videos, and blog posts, can appear excessive or disproportionate in large numbers. To better understand this archive, I had the opportunity to sit with the Presente.org team, Favianna Rodriguez and Roberto Lovato, who assisted the Trail with media and social media production.[34] Both were outspoken Latina/o artists, journalists, and social justice advocates for migrant rights. At that time, they had recently taken down television's most outspoken anti-immigrant news anchor, Lou Dobbs, from CNN. They coordinated the Basta Dobbs campaign that included a constellation of actors (migrant rights groups, Latina/o/x civil rights organizations, celebrities, and local community-based organizations), who wrote and called network executives and advertisers calling for his resignation.[35] The campaign ended on November 11th 2009, when Dobbs abruptly ended his CNN contract. Media scholar Sasha Constanza-Chock described their campaign as a sophisticated strategy that linked social media, mobile phones, the web and radio, and a rapidly built database of tens of thousands of e-mail addresses and phone numbers.[36] For Roberto Lovato, the campaign was successful because it was bilingual, and included high-quality tools that were reproducible so everyday people could print posters on their home computer.[37]

Roberto remembers when he was approached with the idea of the Trail, he was surprised by these young people, who wanted to walk across the South but rather quickly. It is not clear who called who first, if either it was Subhash or Maria, or if Roberto had reached out to the group but it was at the heels of the Basta Dobbs campaign victory. The turnaround was so quick,

Favianna remembers having to travel to Miami right after Christmas, a few days before the launching of the Trail. In the beginning, the idea sounded crazy but she decided to board a red eye with her colleague to meet the crew the next morning for a two-day meeting. Despite the last-minute decision to join, Favianna remembers being "so in love with them right away when [she] heard their stories." After hitting it off, she recalls how the walkers looked at each other and they were like, "they're all young" to be highly skilled media producers. Favianna's memory not only captures the intense hustle and labor demands to assemble a media team for the Trail but underlines the youthfulness that was central to the Trail. Roberto, who was in his late 40s, would support the Trail via teleconferences, whereas Favianna and others would fly in to meet with them at various points.

Both Roberto and Favianna recall their specific roles around building the Trail's online presence which generated widespread visibility and support. Roberto was responsible for news media and messaging, and supporting with the overall strategy for the Trail's public narrative. Although Trail participants had prior training experience with Marshal Ganz public narrative approach, "story of the self," through Center for Community Change and United We Dream workshops, it was key to develop a narrative that had specific goals and was crafted for public consumption. For instance, stories had to build a shared identity among Trail participants, draw in sympathizers and allies, and generate a larger brown (e-mail) list.[38] Therefore, it was critical for Roberto to map out how every town and story would be documented via the website and news outlets. As a matter of fact, participants shared how the Trail's messaging, social media and website presence was a collective effort. Roberto recalls these meetings:

> We would have teleconferences, talking through stages. We would talk with the Presente team. Like, all right, everybody, what are our goals for this week? Let's

> have some specific goals. Either I would present some proposals, or we would brainstorm it, but we'd all have to agree to a set of goals.[39]

Every stage and story was discussed and co-designed together or what Constanza-Chock describes as a community-driven design.[40]

Naturally, campaign demands, talking points, and strategies changed across time, places and spaces, so in the beginning the Trail struggled to develop their own public narrative. Like, other immigrant rights mobilizations, they wrestled with discourses that harmed them and harmed others.[41] Roberto recalls a 2-3 day "knockdown" planning session in Tallahassee, Florida to adopt a strategy to "get on the map." Furthermore, Favianna remembers how surprised they would be when she would show them designs for feedback. She admits, she spent a great deal of time with them, so they would provide comments but mostly "liked everything because [she is] a professional and this is what [she does]."[42] Undeniably, for Presente.org to uphold a community-driven design, it was critical to not only develop inspiring stories but also invest in time and building trust between the various participants.

Additionally, Favianna shared how she acted as Presente.org's liaison to the campaign and so much more:

> I had to help design the website. I helped design all of their products, all of their shirts, their stuff, I helped design all of it. I had to figure out their brand. I had to make sure that all the moving parts were functioning. I would help with ... honestly, I felt I had really oversee that everything was flowing smoothly.

Overseeing the Trail's media, digital, and branding needs became a priority for Presente.org. In fact, Favianna helped build the Trail's first-rate interactive website (Figures 2.1). They made sure the walkers were documenting and promoting the journey by administering cameras, making posters/signage and t-shirts, and supporting online fundraising and social media efforts

on Facebook and Youtube (Figure 2.2). Carlos remembers being responsible for video recorders, shooting video and uploading them to a laptop in order to share with Presente.org.[43] For Favianna, she was "always kind of keeping an eye on where they were going so that [she] could fly-in and support them."[44]

As stated earlier, it was important for Presente.org to design a high-production website and create materials that are beautiful and compelling to a broad base of followers. For Favianna, an artist and web site developer, it was important to choose the right color pallet and designs to demonstrate their "boldness and edge." She states:

> Well, my goal was always to create a story where they were simply four young people who wanted a chance to dream big… So, when I was creating their materials, I wanted to create materials that were appealing to a broad base of public. I didn't want to create, make them this militant young people because that's not who they were. I wanted to really show their all Americanness not in a patriotic way but like you need to expand our view of who we consider American. That it's not just who has papers.

Again, central to developing the website was to create a "good story" that captured the lived experiences of not only the Trail's walkers and participants, but also the communities they visited. For instance, Favianna admitted that "you don't just say Lou Dobbs is racist," but rather

Figure 2.1 Screenshot of Trail of Dreams website www.trail2010.org

Figure 2.2 Screenshot of Trail of Dreams website www.trail2010.org

"you have to break down specifically why he's racist."[45] Again, Favianna's insight reminds us the importance of public narrative and framing the message within social movements.

Much has been written about the Undocumented Youth Movement's media tactics and their storytelling method. In their foundational text, *Out of the Shadows, Into the Streets!*, media scholar Sasha Costanza-Chock affirms how public narratives assist in developing a collective entity and impact social movement formation.[46] In fact, "messages and frames employed in the narrative have important implications for the kind of movement that emerges…" and who controls and shapes the movement.[47] They note that migrant rights activist, specifically undocumented/undocuqueer youth, have struggled over *who* and *how* they control their story with their public narratives, messaging, and framing.[48] For instance, migrant activist succumbing to network news and organizational allies' use of the good immigrant/bad immigrant narrative within social media posts. In brief, uncomfortable with messaging used by political pundits, mainstream media networks and traditional migrant rights organizations, the Trail's community-driven efforts with Presente.org was at the forefront of developing a radical politic, which Cristina Beltrán has aptly described as a "*queer" vision of democracy*."

For Beltrán, undocumented/undocuqueer activists' use of new social media—the Trail's website, blog posts, and videos—facilitated "a participatory politics that rejects secrecy and criminalization in favor of more aggressive forms of nonconformist visibility, voice and protest."[49] Undocumented/undocuqueer youth "queered" the migrant rights movement by "expressing more complex and sophisticated conceptions of loyalty, legality, migration, sexuality, and patriotism," through their first-person accounts, *testimonios*.[50] More specifically, these 67 testimonios or *cyber testimonios* appeared as blog posts on the Trail's website (Figure 2.3).[51]

Figure 2.3 Screenshot of Trail of Dreams website www.trail2010.org

Similar to testimonios, which emerged in the wake of freedom movements in the 1960s and 1970s, cyber testimonios for Beltrán are speech acts and political alternatives that can be shared across time and space through the internet and mobile devices.[52] Building on these terms, Latina studies scholar Arely Zimmerman recognizes how undocumented/undocuqueer youth became experts in creating a *transmedia testimonio* that can be shared across multiple media platforms.[53] Unquestionably, the Trail's cyber and transmedia testimonio became a powerful tool that allowed them to amplify their voices and challenge older forms of authority while creating welcoming spaces that pluralize the stories and identities of undocumented migrants in the U.S.[54]

Related to Beltrán, I argue that the Trail's 67 cyber testimonios emerged as a new critical regional online space that documented a queer counterpublic where new identities and racial difference were circulated across the southeastern U.S. In her essay, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," Nancy Fraser (1990) conceptualizes counterpublics as "parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs."[55] Fraser points to members of marginalized groups—women, workers, people of color, lesbians and gays—as inventing spaces where new terms in describing social reality emerged. Adopting Fraser's articulation, Blackwell adds that Chicana counterpublics also provide an "avenue for discussing and negotiating conflict, contradictions, solidarity, understanding, and difference."[56] In examining the Trail's media and social media production, I trace the genealogy of Undocumented/Undocuqueer counterpublic and their critical work of building coalitions across difference from diverse rural to urban locations.

Contrary to scholars of civic engagement and social movements that note the centrality of identity in social movements, the Trail's cyber testimonios centered difference within migrant

communities as a necessary ingredient in mobilizing multi-racial communities.[57] Literature on collective identity demonstrates the importance of an "individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution."[58] Moreover, it is the perception of a shared relation "which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and it is distinct from personal identities, although it may form part of a personal identity."[59] Yet, the Trail sustained political engagement by critically framing their undocumented/undocuqueer identities, solidarity acts, and coalition building in relation to other aggrieved communities.

At the end, the Trail would demonstrate to other undocumented/undocuqueer youth how to advocate and mobilize support through *transmedia organizing* practices that included creating a narrative of social transformation across multiple media platforms, such as YouTube, Facebook, blog posts, and other forms of media.[60] Favianna remembers news network appearances as a key indicator of their transmedia organizing successes (Figure 2.4);

> I do remember when they wore their T-shirts that you could text message and join a list. Some days they would be getting over 6,000 sign-ups. Anytime that they wore their T-shirts on TV and they could say, "text this the code to Trail" or something, I forgot the code. We would see just jumps and I would be like ... I also remember that when we first sent out the video, just how many people replied and shared it.[61]

A key characteristic of the Trail's transmedia organizing was that it linked supporters, in this case media viewers, to concrete opportunities for actions. As I have noted, these 6,000 sign-ups in a single day became part of the Trail's brown list which would be used for the Trail's fundraising efforts, local advocacy efforts, and mobilization efforts when they entered cities.

The Trail was becoming the face of the Undocumented Youth Movement through its storytelling and transmedia organizing efforts. Their YouTube videos, pictures, online petitions

and cyber testimonios had become spreadable media, circulated widely among migrant rights and undocumented youth social networks.[62] Indeed, their testimonios were beginning to have a deep impact and cultivating a following online and offline. In the next chapter, I illustrate key cyber testimonios and learning moments where the walkers are introduced to new worlds that push them to interrogate themselves, and the Trail's purpose. Moreover, these stories depict how they were developing a radical coalitional politic centered around difference and heterogeneity across the U.S. South. On the whole, their testimonios depict physical discomfort, longing for family, and frustration living within an unjust society.

Figure 2.4. Trail of Dream Walkers visit CNN. Left to Right: Unknown Person, Carlos Roa, Juan Rodriguez, Gaby Pacheco, CNN News anchor, Felipe Matos, and Carlos Roa. Courtesy of website.

Notes

[1] Dionne Espinoza, Maria Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell. *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era*. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2018) 3,7.

[2] See James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* for a detailed discussion of modes of hidden or covert resistance connected to the use of bodies such as working slowly/stoppages or stealing from the workplace. Aisha K. Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion in Cub : La Escalera and the Insurgencies of 1841-1844*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015) 225.

[3] Padget, T. (2007, August 2). Can Two Kids Alter Immigration Law? TIME. Retrieved from http://time.com/time/politics

[4] Felipe Sousa-Rodriguez, interview with author, July 2015

[5] Chris Zepeda-Millán, Chris. *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 56.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Several other scholars discuss resource mobilization theories. See foundational work of John McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 6 (1977): 1212-41; Jill M. Bystydzienski and Steven P. Schacht. *Forging Radical Alliances across Difference: Coalition Politics for the New Millennium*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001); Chris Zepeda-Millan. "Weapons of the (Not So) Weak: Immigrant Mass Mobilization in the Us South." *Critical Sociology* 42, no. 2 (2016): 269-87.

[8] See Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency* and Maurice Rafael Magaña, "Youth in Movement: The Cultural Politics of Autonomous Youth Activism in Southern Mexico," for insightful discussion on youth networks.

[9] Bystydzienski and Schacht, *Forging Radical Alliances across Difference*, 3.

[10] See Gonzales, *Lives in Limbo: Undocumented and Coming of Age in America*, especially 6 for a discussion on undocumented youth learning to live on the margins and creating meaningful lives post high school.

[11] David Spener. "Movidas Rascuaches: Strategies of Migrant Resistance at the Mexico-U.S. Border." *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 35, no. 2 (2010): 9-36.

[12] James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 29-30.

[13] For more on rasquachismo spelled with a "q," instead of a c, see Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "Rasquachismo: A Chicano Sensibility." In *Chicano Art: Resistance and Afirmation, 1965–1985*, edited by Richard Griswold del Castillo, Teresa McKenna and Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano, (Los Angeles: Wight Art Gallery, University of California, Los Angeles., 1991), 155-156

[14] Ybarra-Frausto, "Rasquachismo," 156.

[15] Ibid.

[16] In describing everyday experiences of Mexican migrants crossing the Mexico-U.S. border, David Spener describes migrants accessing resources as part and parcel of a *resistencia hormiga*, which builds upon the idea of small-scale smuggling of merchandise across borders. See Spener, "Movidas Rascuaches," 10-12.

[17] Annually, FLIC organizes a general assembly called FLIC Congress, where over 100 members and allies come together, usually during the weekend, to participate in workshops, share knowledge, learn and strategize how to advance the rights of migrants in the state of Florida. During the reunion FLIC's strategic plans and nominations for Board of Directors are voted on. Maria Rodriguez, interview with author, August 2015.

[18] Carlos Roa, interview with author, August 2015

[19] Ibid.

[20] High school and college age youth throughout the state, including members and allies from the following groups: SWER (Students Working for Equal Rights), Poder, Ruskin, Eperana Juvenil, Sin Fronteras, Young American DREAMers, United We DREAM Tampa Bay, CHISPAS, the Interfaith Alliance for Immigrant Justice (IAIJ), Advocates for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (AIRR) undergrad and law. https://floridaimmigrant.org/placemarks/florida-immigrant-youth-network-flyin/

[21] Gabriel, interview with author, August 2015

[22] Ibid.

[23] Grace, interview with author, August 2015

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Laura Wides-Muñoz, *The Making of a Dream: How a Group of Young Undocumented Immigrants Helped Change What It Means to Be American*. (New York: Harper, 2018) 97. Subhash, interview with author, August 2015

[28] Subhash, interview with author, November 2015

[29] Subhash, interview with author, November 2015.

[30] Feelings of being screwed over, down and out, and being messed up.

[31] During interviews, organizers shared the multiple ways they were recruited. Some were already with existing youth organizations at colleges, high schools, non-profits and communities that would later join the FIYN. A few volunteers were paid through organziations and others shared they had to raise their own money to join the Trail because housing, food, and supplies was scarce.

[32] Kelly, interview with author, September 2015. In her interview, Kelly, who is white, admits to her ability to take time off was due to her extremely privileged background.

[33] Kelly, interview with author, September 2015.

[34] At the time of the Basta Dobbs and Trail of Dreams campaign Presente.org was a project of Citizen Engagement Laps. It was designed to use sophisticated online organizing methods developed by MoveOn.org but applied to the Latino/a community.

[35] Sasha Costanza-Chock. *Out of the shadows, Into the Streets!: Transmedia Organizing and the Immigrant Rights Movement*. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2014) 113 – 127.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Roberto Lovato, interview with author, November 2015.

[38] Constanza-Chock details how public narratives can be stories about social movement that are intended for public consumption and have specific public goals: to build a shared identity among movement participants, draw in sympathizers, and generate new allies. Constanza-Chock, *Out of the Shadows*, 131.

[39] Roberto Lovato, interview with author, November 2015.

[40] Costanza-Chock. *Out of the Shadows,*113 – 127.

[41] Costanza-Chock documents how during the 2006 immigrant right marches organizers struggled to develop their own public narrative. Constanza-Chock, *Out of the Shadows*, 131.

[42] Favianna Rodriguez, interview with author, July 2015.

[43] Carlos Roa, interview with author, August 2015

[44] Ibid.

[45] Favianna Rodriguez, interview with author, July 2015.

[46] Costanza-Chock. *Out of the Shadows,*147.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Cristina Beltrán, "Undocumented, Unafraid, and Unapologetic": Dream Activists, Immigrant Politics, and the Queering of Democracy," in *From Voice to Influence: Understanding Citizenship in a Digital Age*, ed. Danielle S Allen and Jennifer S. Light (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 181.

[50] For John Beverly (as cited by Cristina Beltrán) testimonios are defined as "a nonfictional, popular-democratic form of epic narrative…told in the first person by a narrator who is also the real protagonist or witness of the events he or she recounts, and whose unit of narration is usually a 'life' or a significant life experience." They also share a sense of urgency and "It must above all be a story that needs to be told, that involves some pressing and immediate problem of communication."

[51] The Trail's blog site was named, "Notes form the Trail," and posts highlighted stories, demands, reflections, encounters, poetry, pictures, videos, meetings and direct-action announcements. It also included a comment section below posts.

[52] Beltrán, "Undocumented," 90.

[53] Liana Gamber-Thompson and Arely M. Zimmerman. "DREAMing Citizenship: Undocumented Youth, Coming Out, and Patways to Participation," in *By Any Media Necessary: New Youth Activism,* ed. Henry Jenkins, Sangita Shresthova, Liana Gamber-Thompson, Neta Kligler-Vilenchik, Arely Zimmerman, and Elisabeth Soep. (New York: New York University Press, 2016) 206-207.

[54] Beltrán, "Undocumented," 90. Zimmerman, "DREAMing," 193.

[55] Nancy Fraser. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." *Social Text* 5, no. 25/26 (1990), 67.

[56] Blackwell, *Chicana Power,* 157

[57] Zimmerman, "DREAMing," 193; Francesca Polleta and James M. Jasper. "Collective Identity and Social Movements ". *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 27 (2001), 287

[58] Polleta and Jasper, "Collective Identity," 284.

[59] Ibid

[60] Costanza-Chock. *Out of the Shadows,* 47-49.

[61] Favianna Rodriguez, interview with author, July 2015.

[62] Jillian M Báez, "Spreadable Citizenship; Undocumented Youth Activists and Social Media," in *The Routledge Companion to Latina/O Media, ed. By* María Elena Cepeda, and Dolores Inés Casillas, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 419-428.

CHAPTER IV

BLOGGING SHOCK AND DIFFERENCE ACROSS THE SOUTH

> It is about physical and psychic struggle. It is about intimacy, a desire for life between all of us, not settling for less than freedom even in the most private aspects of our lives. A total vision.
>
> For the women in this book, I will lay my body down for that vision. *This Bridge Called My Back*
>
> - Cherrie Moraga, *This Bridge Called My Back, 1981*

In this chapter, I consider the coalitional building and solidarity acts displayed at the early stages of the Trail as the group walked across Florida. These acts offer us an intimate viewpoint on inter-group relations among Latinas/os/xs, jornaleres (day laborers), Black migrants, undocumented youth and families, and farmworkers. I show how the walkers encountered communities across Florida that exposed activists' own complicities with power and privilege over and against others, or what Moraga describes as "the pain and shock of difference," when forced to recognize their racial privilege in relation to indigenous and migrant communities and communities of color.[1] I examine Latinas/os/xs in relation to other racialized groups to understand these new configurations of power, such as unequal power relations and privileges between racialized identities and communities. Here I return to Natalia Molina's relational racialization, the study of race as attending to the how, when, and to what extent groups interact to help us develop a greater insight to how racial categories form and operate. By drawing primarily from online blog posts authored by the walkers, I provide a window into the reflections about interpersonal and intrapersonal relations across Black, Latina/o/x, indigenous, queer, youth and migrant communities. The blog posts reveal those "shocking" moments (or what Gloria Anzaldúa calls el arrebato) where the walkers discover new worlds that push them to interrogate themselves and others, and the Trail's purpose.[2] Their writings express physical

discomfort, longing for family, and frustration living with injustice and demonstrate breakthrough moments in which they uplift each other and others.

The Trail's coalitional and solidarity acts across Florida represent more than just a function of a political campaign. Rather, they enable migrant rights activists to "reveal the history and effects of long-term racial and economic discrimination on their communities."[3] They walked across the South as undocumented individuals, unafraid of I.C.E and law enforcement, while simultaneously demanding their human rights and the rights of others. In this way, the Trail stood against systemic and individual social forces tearing them apart. They, like Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, identify the importance of bridging with others across racial difference, exclusion and isolation.[4] They created an alternative to multiracial alliance-building that went beyond cooperation by demonstrating the importance of repositioning themselves physically such as publicly denouncing interior immigration enforcement tactics and confronting law enforcement in front of their place of work. They were committed to protecting and pulling communities together to oppose systemic structures that produce racial, indigenous, gender, queer and trans erasure.[5] Committed to a new vision of resistance, coalition building and solidarity, the Trail figuratively and literally engaged in what Anzaldúa calls, "the deadly serious and difficult game of making alliances work" across the South.[6] And, they suggest what Gaye Theresa Johnson calls a "new vision of justice and democracy that take up space," a reconfiguration of places and spaces as "geographies of democracy."[7] This alternative to multiracial alliances, in other words, urges the Trail to adopt acts that do not exacerbate racialized experiences between indigenous and migrant communities, and people of color.

For instance, Felipe "Profe" Vargas speaks to this developing alternative vision among the Trail in his blog post published on January 29th, 2010. Raised in San Antonio, Texas, Felipe had been part of organizing efforts to launch an undocumented youth organizing network since

2008. Felipe joined the Trail in the middle of December after applying and being interviewed by the coalition. Reflecting on his participation in the Trail, this blog post begins to tease out the apparent contradictions of legality, white privilege, and Latina/o/x racialization in the U.S. He observes white settlers' claims that they "came here legally" as fraudulent and "founded on hijacked land" because whites drew up "treaties and laws that said that whites and only white people could be citizens on this country."[8] For Profe, white people needed to stop deceiving themselves and "come right out and not hide their real issue with immigrants." In his first successful attempt at blogging in his life, he acknowledged that the issue was not about a pathway to citizenship but "about who they are" as upholders of white supremacy.

After a month of driving across Florida as the main operator of the RV, Vargas began to realize how racial difference, light skinned privilege, legality, migration and place of origin shaped the reception of the Trail. He admits it was challenging being "the only Mexicano" among South Americans, who he states, "have always made me, *paisas* like me, feel as if they knew what was best for us and had to speak on our behalf."[9] Moreover, he acknowledges that youth like Felipe, Isabel, Gaby, and Carlos didn't cross the border as mojados like his mother, "... they did not cross the line as undocumented people and have not seen that trauma... nor have felt the suffering of the Arizona desert or the bad energy of Texas's Rio Grande."[10] They were also not part of the Latino threat narrative and thus not perceived as a threat to communities. In this way, they did not make up the narrative of invasion and reconquista (reconquering) of the Southwest by Mexican, Central American migrants, and even U.S.-born Latinos that are fabricated through civil society, social media, video games, news stories (Fox News), movies, radio talks shows, and magazines.[11] Indeed, Profe's first attempt at blogging addressed racial, class, and legal differences and asked, *Do these differences matter in the fight for migrant rights?*

Talking about youth-led grassroots movements and multiracial coalition building requires us to be able to "call it in," which is to say to invite and see the unpleasant, as well as address the difficult in order to get to the beautiful. It requires activists like Profe to do what Gaye Theresa Johnson call us to do, which is to "reckon with the extent of racial oppression in order to discern the scope of the struggle ahead of us, and to consider the divisions among us—many of our own making–in order to imagine a future together."[12] Yet, while his message may initially seem to be in opposition to the walkers, he ends his testimonio addressing the Trail's ability to learn and shift:

> These youths are challenging the traditional models of leadership and grass roots movement making. They started off as if they thought that they could lead everyone with this jump on my back and I'll lead you to the promise land mentality. That quickly turned into chaos. They started off with these structures and hierarchical organizational charts that emphasized top-down roles and responsibilities and that too quickly turned into chaos. We are currently in the process of learning a different step and dancing to a new tune. The tune of inclusion and love. The tune of participatory action and shared collective servant leadership. The tune of focusing on our strengths, our funds of knowledge and our gifts and how we get together as a collective community of dreamers fighting in solidarity for a more beautiful world. It's amazing as I look into the rearview mirror every morning. I see disciplined, courages [*sic*] youth that are full of critical hope for our communities. Most importantly, I see human beings with a backbone and people that are willing to stand for something and take a position. They don't do it because they are right or wrong. They do it because they deeply care about what is happening in our world. So, whether we are right or wrong

> doesn't matter as long as we wake up every day ready to ride and die for our community because we truly and deeply care…con cariño![13]

Lastly, Profe ends his first blog post con cariño! (with love!) reminding us that his observations or critiques are part of the Trail learning different steps and "dancing a new tune." By critiquing vertical leadership styles, Profe illustrates how these traditional ideas of cross-racial, cross-gender, cross-generational, and cross-issue organizing are characteristically problematic. Moreover, he demonstrates how even in coalition there is a need to further challenge participants' assumptions about coalition building.

These following accounts illustrate how the Trail of Dreams, at its early stages, are confronted with the materiality and complexity of different forms of incorporation of diverse racial/ethnic groups within the U.S. Moreover, they witness the suffering of Black and Brown citizens and migrants, and their families across the state of Florida. This is due to the state's position within the structures of global capitalism that shapes their illegality and racial otherness within Florida. In brief, I have chosen these encounters because they highlight how the Trail confronts chaotic moments and transforms them into something valuable for their journey to Washington D.C.

Maya Day laborers and Racialized Illegality in Jupiter, Florida

On January 8th, a full week after the Trail began, the group stopped at Jupiter, Florida, a relatively small coastal city, approximately eighty miles north of Miami. At the turn of the 21st century, Jupiter had emerged as a "new immigrant destination" due to its economic allure, a sustained housing and construction boom.[14] As a popular winter vacation spot, undocumented immigrant labor became essential to the construction industry, lawn-and-garden industry, and golf course industry. A *Washington Post* article titled, "Guatamalan Mayans settle in South

Florida," documented how Mayas from Jacaltenango, Guatemala migrated throughout southeastern Florida (Jupiter, West Palm Beach, Lake Worth) to work, and, in turn laid down roots, creating communities, and through chain migration becoming a hub for others who sought to escape poverty.[15] However, as Jupiter's economic growth was reaching an all-time high, "some residents" felt their quality of life was being hindered by groups of men, undocumented migrant day laborers soliciting work on public streets. They claimed it was causing safety and traffic issues that threatened their quality of life.

It is precisely at this junction that the City of Jupiter in 2006 became a battleground for both corporate capital and migration control.[16] Indeed, this becomes the tumultuous backdrop, along with the federally proposed anti-immigration legislation (The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005, H.R. 4437) that pressed the City of Jupiter to address the hundreds of day-laborers that crowded the sidewalks and parking lots on a local throughway, Center Street. In an op-ed in *The New York Times*, editor Lawrence Downes describes how these cultural and racial tensions provided a coalescing moment for the city, "The changes brought consternation, too, as groups of men turned quiet sidewalks into traffic- snarling hiring bazaars. Residents complained and anti-immigrant anger grew. It's an old script, but here is where Jupiter gets extraordinary. In 2006, workers and residents banded together, with the town's help, to create a hiring site. It brought both order to the streets and immigrant families into the community."[17]

On its official city website, titled "Town of Jupiter; Frequently asked Questions on Day Labor and Immigration Issues," the city acknowledges the need to "address the negative effects caused by hiring activities taking place on its street and in its gathering places," and its support to provide a hiring center in a central location for the hiring process to take place safely.[18] Citing that "Jupiter's local problems could not wait for a national solution to immigration," after two

years, the city joined efforts with a group of residents, immigrants, faith-based groups, university officials and three local non-profit organizations, Catholic Charities, Corn Maya, and Friends of El Sol to open El Sol, Jupiter's Neighborhood Resource Center in 2006.[19]

Immediately, El Sol became a central place and resource center which all people, specifically day laborers and employers, go to for hiring needs. The site offers job referrals, job training, counseling, language, health services, and a food pantry. On their website, El Sol Neighborhood Resource Center states that their mission "is to improve the quality of life for the residents of Jupiter and surrounding communities by providing services primarily to day laborers, their children and families."[20] Although not explicitly mentioned in the city and non-profit website, those who benefited the most from El Sol are indigenous migrants from Guatemala and southern Mexico, who historically had been subjected to wage theft, unsafe work environments and abuse.

Carlos Roa, a walker on the Trail, sat down to blog about how humbled he felt to walk alongside "hard-working individuals," day laborers from Guatemala, who he had met at the El Sol Neighborhood Resource Center in Jupiter, Florida. In his blog, he notes how he listened to their stories—he was floored by their life experiences:

> We had approximately 70 people walking with us in the morning, the majority of them day laborers from Guatemala. Words cannot describe how humbled I felt to walk alongside these hard-working individuals, whose voices have been shunned for so long and who are so badly mistreated through the attritive [*sic*] force imposed by the immigration system and because of existential hatred present in our society. I was able to engage in conversations with several of them, and they share their life stories of struggle and perseverance with me.

Those individuals, who Carlos felt so humbled to walk alongside, not only revealed the history of El Sol but also disclosed stories of having to flee poverty and civil strife in their home countries, encounters with violence en route to the United Stated and, once in Florida, being snubbed and badly mistreated. For example, Jacaltec Maya migrants who started to settle throughout southeastern Florida left their hometowns of Jacaltenango in Guatemala after a long intense displacement caused by 36 years of civil war.[21] They left a war-torn country, where 200,000 people were either massacred or disappeared and another 1 million were left homeless. Hundreds of thousands of Mayas suffered the brunt of the repression and more than 400 Maya villages were destroyed.[22] Now, Mayas are leaving Guatemala because of deteriorating economic conditions and the lack of opportunities. They risk traveling to the U.S. seeking to make a living but continue to face hardship once they arrive.

According to immigrant labor scholar, Abel Valenzuela, day laborers are at a high risk of being "robbed, assaulted, raped, or murdered in attempting to enter the United States."[23] Additionally, many migrants are not fully prepared for the extreme difficulties of an unauthorized entry into the U.S.; having to travel thousands of miles with scarce resources; enduring hunger and thirst; facing heightened anti-Central American xenophobia on behalf of Mexicans and Mexican police; and, risking capture by the U.S. border patrol.[24] In 2004, a Jacaltec Maya interviewed by *the Washington Post* stated that, "The Mayans must pay multiple smugglers called "coyotes" to sneak them across borders to Florida," and that, "They are usually charged upward of $3,000 for the trip," with no guarantee of a safe passage.[25] Declaring it took eighteen days to reach Jupiter, Florida, he added he would "rather not remember the journey. It was a scary experience, but the risks were worth it." He like many others were part of a migrant labor and transnational family network that had become institutionalized between Jupiter and Jacaltenango.

Working as day laborers is exceptionally difficult. Because work opportunities fluctuate from day to day, almost all-day laborers are poor and are constantly facing violence as the targets of daily protests, theft, armed robbery, and police harassment.[26] Equally important, the fact that most day laborers in Jupiter, Florida are undocumented, indigenous migrants who do not speak Spanish places them at a disadvantage that exposes them to structural violence. For example, they have fewer opportunities for gainful employment and fair treatment with employers, increased risk of incidents of violence and immigration raids in the workplace, and increased risk of dying from hazardous conditions on the job.[27] Clearly, this reunion at El Sol, left an impression on members of the Trail, as expressed most directly by Carlos who was so humbled by this morning walk that he could not describe how he felt to be walking "alongside these hard-working individuals, whose voices have been shunned for so long and who are so badly mistreated" not only in their home country, but across Mexico and the U.S as well.

Five years later, over a skype phone call, Carlos shared that he still vividly remembered how their stories "floored him." Indeed, his engagement with 70 jornaleros was powerful and complex that, at the end, jornaleros wanted to join thus changing the Trail into a caravan early on (Figure 4.1). Carlos and the Trail confronted accounts of systemic racialization and marginalization in Guatemala, Mexico and the U.S, that would rip them away from the familiar, from their experiences in Florida. Anzaldua describes this stage as *el arrebato*, and every *"arrebatada"* (snatching) turns your world upside down and cracks the walls of your reality," compelling you to critique your own perspective and assumptions.[28] Moreover, when one confronts two or more opposing accounts or lived experiences side-by-side, one is forced into "continuous dialectal encounters with these different stories, situations and people," thus compelling one to critique their own perspective.[29] By documenting this intimate moment, Carlos's blog offers us how new relationships along the Trail contributed to revealing how

Figure 4.1. El Sol jornaleros joining the Trail of Dreams in Jupiter, Florida.
Courtesy of Felipe "Profe" Vargas

undocumented migrants are rendered differently vulnerable to racism, illegality, labor exploitation, violence and even death.

From its inception, the Trail begins to expose the heterogeneity of migrants across South Florida and how undocumented indigenous migrants experience structural and legal violence differently compared to those who were categorized as DREAMers. As suggested by Latino Studies scholar, Juan Herrera, "experiences of illegality are not homogenous," and, consequently, when intersected with other modes of racialization and difference it produces a multiplicity of divergent effects.[30] For example, Jacaltec Mayan day laborers are racialized differently from undocumented students because they are more visible to the public, hustling in street corners. Unlike undocumented youth and DREAMers who are framed as innocent, non-

threating, and located in schools and colleges, day laborers are perceived as a threat to U.S. identity and institutions.

The walkers' and other activists' underscore their process of understanding a logic of inclusion that readily accepts the walkers, youth, and DREAMers over indigenous migrants and their families. Identifying how people of color (those who, in the eyes of society, have little value) demand their personhood, my analysis aligns with the work of Amalia Pallares and her claim that DREAM Act politics "posits undocumented youth as ideal proto-citizens," thus displaying how neoliberal rationality (and its values) shapes politics, public opinion and social work at the grassroots levels.[31] At the same time, however, my reading of the Trail does not presume that its participants imagined or organized for a world shaped by neoliberal values or exemplary assimilated immigrants who exhibit entrepreneurialism and self-sufficiency. Instead my narrative of their El Sol meeting aims to highlight the subversive nature of neoliberal cultural logic that is inherently violent. Moreover, how neoliberal scripts require the devaluation and rejection of an/other—the poor, racialized, criminalized, and unprotected.[32]

Despite recognizing one's privileges and the subversive nature of neoliberalism, Carlos is humbled by the organizing power and work ethic emerging from Jupiter, Florida. Walking side-by-side, he acknowledges their triumphs considering how their "voices have been shunned" within the city, mistreated and hatred by xenophobic residents, and terrorized by immigration officials. Using a melancholy statement to end his post, Carlos remembers his father:

> I have tears in my eyes after listening to some of their stories, I couldn't help from remembering some of the struggles my father has had to face being on foot, looking for work, trying to feed his family and entering the situation so that his children could have a better future. I couldn't help from thinking how unfairly

portrayed immigrants are viewed in this nation. Today's walk was a good reminder of why we do and for whom we do it for.[33]

Additionally, Carlos's post is suggestive of Profe's insight on how they started off as if they "could lead everyone with this jump on my back and I'll lead you to the promise land mentality," and how quickly that turned into chaos but quickly learned "a different step," "a new tune," one of "inclusion and love," and a "shared collective servant leadership."

Instead of sharing their "story of the self" with the day laborers, Carlos took the time to engage in conversations with several of them and to listen. In many ways the Trail began with the goal of sharing their story, but they quickly learned to listen to others. They were trained to tell their stories but they adapted to the context in each community. They quickly learned that it was others' stories that shaped the Trail as well. By considering these intimate encounters as the Trail's or Carlos's personal arrebato, it pushes us to read these confrontations as complex, or using Johnson's words, unpleasant. It calls us to reckon with the extent of racial oppression and how the Trail within a neoliberal logic of uneven incorporation can subvert the rights of those most marginalized in society.[34] In fact, it begins to unfold the extent of what is required for change, or what Avery Gordon calls reckoning, "knowing what kind of effort is required to change ourselves and the conditions that make us who we are, that set limits on what is acceptable and unacceptable, on what is possible and impossible."[35]

Finally, the walkers have to begin to consider how migrants or undocumented/ undocuqueer youth reproduce this logic. Once again, this influences them interpersonally and structurally. It will shape their leadership structure from top down to horizontal. It will influence how they related to themselves and people outside.

The Walkers Face Modern-day Cases of Indentured Servitude

These moments of shock and chaos are best understood by considering the respective histories of struggle and resistance within each region, including the key organizations and community leaders that emerged from these places and spaces. As the Trail entered central Florida and its lakes, the walkers would break bread with long time farmworker activist and general coordinator of the Farm Workers Association of Florida (FWAF), Tirso Moreno. Documenting this visit, Felipe, one of the walkers, writes:

> …something incredibly empowering happened. Tirso, from the Farmworkers Association, came to visit us during our lunch. He is one of the most recognized immigrant rights advocates down here. Also, to see the farmworkers coming out to see us meant a lot to me since we were trying to learn from experience when they marched to Sacramento, California.[36]

Titled "Angels really exist!" Felipe's post states that he is truly thankful for being in the presence of Tirso, Yolanda Gomez, a community organizer with the association, and *las compañeras* who had prepared the meal to welcome and celebrate the walkers to Fellsmere, Florida. In fact, this had not been their first meeting. The association had been part of Florida Immigrant Coalition since 2006 and a founding member of Florida Immigrant Coalition (FLIC). Seeing Yolanda, a FWAF organizer in Fellsmere, brought joy to the group, especially Felipe, who considered her like a mother figure. She "has always been a source of inspiration to [him] and many had the opportunity to meet her and receive her love."[37]

The FWAF's call to protect the rights, wages, housing and working conditions of all Florida farm workers began in 1983. Established by a group of farmworkers in Mascotte, Florida, they first organized around the needs of the farmworker community in central Florida.[38] Over the years, they have grown to be a statewide organization with more than 8,000 member

families, and five locations throughout central and south Florida.[39] Their website captures its multi-lingual workforce as the organizational name appears in English, Spanish, and French to represent its diverse membership, specifically Black and Brown migrants from El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Haiti.[40] In fact, they were the lead organizer in building the first tri-lingual International Farmworker Forum in 1998. As an organization, they are committed to building power among farmworkers and rural low-income communities of color to respond to and gain control over issues that impact their lives such as pesticide exposure/health problems, environmental contamination, racism, exploitation, and political disenfranchisement.[41]

FWAF works to build a society where farmworkers are treated as equals and not exploited and discriminated against based on their race, ethnicity, and immigration status. They have successfully pushed for pro-labor legislation, such as the Florida Right-to-Know Law of 1994, which gave workers the right to information about pesticides used in the workplace, and in 2006, the Farmworkers Transportation Safety Act, which required seatbelts in vans transporting farmworkers. Equally important, they organized workers in over 60 Central Florida companies to secure improvements in wages and working conditions for farmworkers, initiated HIV prevention education projects in farm working communities with Latina/o/x and Haitian youth and parents in Central and South Florida, and so much more.[42] Many of these efforts can be traced back to the leadership of the organization, specifically Tirso Moreno's fight for the rights of farmworkers. Currently, the organization is housed in Apopka, Florida, or what Moreno calls, "in the shadows of the world's No. 1 tourist destination—the Mouse in Orlando."

At this particular meeting, the Trail had the opportunity to meet with Tirso Moreno, who had been organizing with FWAF for over 25 years. Moreno grew up next to the Texas-U.S. border on his parents' 20-acre farm in the state of Tamaulipas, Mexico. He learned as a child how to pick corn and cotton, and in 1971, at the age of 17, he migrated to the U.S. with his

family as a migrant farmworker.[43] For eleven years (1971-1982) he harvested oranges, grapefruits, and lemons in Florida from November to May, and apples in Michigan from June to October. In 1976, Moreno joined the United Farm Workers (UFW) which gave his family job security, health benefits, better wages and improved working conditions. From 1979 to 1982, his activism led him to serve on the negotiating committee for the collective bargaining agreement between UFW and Coca Cola/Minute Maid. Admitting that organizing work was new to him, he found organizing and motivating his peers difficult at the beginning, stating, "It's difficult to have confidence and credibility when most people don't think we're worth much," and, especially, when strangers from outside the community show up well educated, "well read, not from our race, speak nice, have a nice car, and good economic possibilities."[44] Nevertheless, Moreno's passion for equality and his hardworking spirit made him a natural leader and from 1983 to 1986, he would become a lead organizer for the Farmworker Project of the Office for Farmworker Ministry in Apopka, Florida, and assist in creating the statewide organization, Farmworker Association of Florida in 1986.

In 2006, in an interview with *Grist*, an environmental justice magazine, Moreno describes the exploitable workforce he is committed to defend. He states that farmworkers are far "too often readily exploitable because they do not know that they have certain rights in this country regardless of their immigration status," and fear of job loss, deportation and language barrier add to this. Additionally, in a survey of majority black agricultural workers conducted that same year, the Farmworker Association of Florida found that 92 percent of workers in Apopka, Florida had been exposed to pesticides through a combination of aerial spraying and inhaling pesticides.[45] Of those surveyed, many suffered kidney failure and, in a state where the average incidence of birth defects is 3 percent,13 percent indicated that they had a child born with a defect, and 21 percent had one or more problem pregnancies. Moreno calls these cases and

health problems as "modern-day cases of indentured servitude." Therefore, FWAF's call for building power among farmworkers in Florida seeks to gain control of their livelihoods and reduce their vulnerability to environmental contamination and pesticide exposure to families. Social movement scholar, Laura Pulido defines this fight for control as a struggle that farm workers, through their subordinated status, must engage in order to alter the conditions of powerlessness. [46]

The walkers not only met with Farmworker Association of Florida but in Tavares, Florida they connected with the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW), who at that time were preparing for their own march, Farmworker Freedom March. Founded in 1993, with over 4,000 members, the worker-based human rights organization has been recognized for addressing human trafficking, gender-based violence in the workplace, and seeking better working conditions for farmworkers.[47] Headquartered in Immokalee, Florida, the CIW and their Campaign for Fair Food held retail food industry leaders (McDonald's, Burger King, Subway, to name a few) accountable to demand more human labor standards from their Florida tomato suppliers. In a press release to its members, CIW announced that the Trail had delivered letters in support of their campaign to Publix managers, Florida's largest grocery chain, during a visit to a Publix supermarket outside of Mt. Dora, Florida.[48] In a blog post, Felipe Matos announced their solidarity action as fulfilling one of their four core principles, respecting the rights of workers, stating that when the Trail began, they "wanted people to understand that our work is also valuable and must be respected" (Figure 4.2).[49] As a result, the walkers would be exposed to another struggle for systemic change but this time it meant demanding Publix Super Markets to leverage its buying power to demand the respect of human rights and an end to the exploitation of Florida's farmworkers.[50] At the end, it meant Publix would stop demanding the lowest

Figure 4.2. Trail of Dreams supports CIW's Campaign For Fair Food. Left to Right: Carlos Roa, Juan Rodriguez, Andrea, Felipe Matos, Gaby Pacheco. Coalition of Immokalee Workers Newsletter Image, February 1, 2010

prices from its fruit and vegetable suppliers, thus ending a downward pressure on wages and working conditions on these suppliers' operations.

So, when the Trail met with Moreno, Gomez, las compañeras in Fellsmere, and members of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, they came face-to-face with what is at stake when people make it possible for others to have fruits and vegetables or flowers and plants on their lawns. The call to reduce the use of pesticides, implementing alternatives, and banning the most toxic pesticides would not only send a message to agribusiness that the public was demanding a safer food supply but that workers and their labor demand dignity and respect.

I elaborate upon these awe-inspiring and humbling meetings, arguing that these moments

reveal the role of capital in the creation of places, racialization, and exploitation of labor across central Florida. The Trail observed that these campaigns were no longer allowing pesticides and fertilizer companies to have a stranglehold on Florida's economy and agribusiness. In noting this, they began to observe migrant labored geographies and how agribusiness and intense capital investment dramatically transformed a region leading to the exploitation of a workforce and modern-day cases of indentured servitude.[51]In fact, they were reminded that a subordinate class of low-wage farmworkers and their families are exposed to pesticides, acute poisoning, and associated adverse health effects on the daily.

These exchanges pushed them to look at how they/we look at farm work, which has been stigmatized as the job that "no one wants to do," especially DREAMers and other Americans. Additionally, these meetings disclosed Laura Pulido's shock/revelation, that "the rise of pesticides reveals much about our society and culture."[52] Our society's heavy reliance on pesticides demonstrates society's domination over nature, something held dear to individuals like Moreno and farmworkers across central Florida. Consequently, the Trail begins to see their different connection to the land and how further and further away they/others are from the land and, those who work the land.

Harnessing the Power of Children and Youth across Central Florida

The Trail's meetings across central Florida not only highlighted activists' own privileges among Black and Brown farmworkers but also a shared equivalence with their children and youth. Initially, these meetings along the Trail were with workers, community leaders, and college students, but soon after the team would meet with children and youth. Although the walkers and support team were youth in their 20s, and some just barely out of high school, they were empowered by these solidarity walks because of a sense of commonality and shared

circumstances. There are two youth groups that the walkers blog about during the first month: the youth in Fellsmere, FL and the youth group, Sin Fronteras (Without Borders, Without Walls), from Apopka, FL. Felipe Matos remembers Fellsmere as the most impactful because of the number of children in the room:

> They were from months to 15 years old and yet they knew very well the sting of injustice. When we gave out our dream quilt squares, every child wrote about their personal dream. All of them were related to their parents being allowed to stay in the US, get driver's license, etc. My heart has never been so saddened since the beginning of the walk. How can we live in a society that instills fears in the heart of little children? It's about time for change.[53]

Pained by the realities of a heavy-handed deportation regime, Felipe was motivated to change the powerlessness and fear these children suffered. In fact, the Trail set out to stop the separation of families by I.C.E. and to protect the sacred bonds and unity of their families. They understood that anti-immigrant policies targeting undocumented adults impact children in harmful ways. Even when children and youth do not experience deportation, they live in fear for the security of their family.[54] Moreover, it has been proven that children and adults often conflate I.C.E agents with local police, resulting in distrust and fear of any public official.[55] Subsequently, the "sting of injustice," the possibility of losing a parent to deportation, having to hide their own and family member's legal status can cause psychological effects on children, including fear, distrust, depression, and high rates anxiety.[56]

No one knew this feeling better then Gaby, who in 2006 had experienced a house raid by immigration officials, who seized her parents and siblings into custody. Equally important, Felipe recognized how these children saw their personal dreams interconnected to their parents' attainment of a license, which would help them fully participate in and contribute to their family

and communities. At a young age, these children understood the barriers that come with not having a license. It makes it harder for immigrants and their families to make ends meet, to take their children to school, and to raise healthy children who are able to reach their full potential. In fact, attaining a driver's license for family members of undocumented immigrants meant having to lessen their insecurity, anxiety, trauma, and fear of their parents being detained or deported for driving without a license.

Meeting with children and youth along the Trail would soon become a regular occurrence, especially when they entered Georgia. Positively, the Trail found encouragement through youth participation and children, youth, and adults along the Trail saw themselves within the Trail and were motivated to become politically active and participate—so much so that they rejoined the Trail in Washington D.C. on May 1st 2010.

As mentioned, Grace, a key leader of Sin Fronteras and member of Florida Immigrant Youth Network led the Trail to Apopka, Florida from Orlando. During those three days, over 40 youth walked over 30 miles on U.S. route 441 amid cars honking left and right in support of the Trail. That same night, Carlos blogged about the youth in Apopka, Florida:

> After eating lunch at nearby park, we convened ourselves, and we headed out to the Hope Community Center in Apopka, FL. I was in complete surprise when we arrived to find so many young leaders from the community. Most of them are the teenage children of the local farmworkers in the area. I was so happy to know that at least these kids where [*sic*] fighting to get their voices heard and were representing their migrant communities. They were seriously challenging the fear of being undocumented. I never had that same opportunity in high school because I was so scared to tell anyone about my situation; mostly because I really didn't know anyone else in my shoes. Their passion for human rights and their sheer

> energy excited us all. Afterwards, we began walking around 4:00PM with about 40 of those youth leaders. It was quite an amazing sight! We got car honks left and right, and a lot of laughter and joy from the experience.[57]

Undeniably, these young leaders from Apopka lifted the Trail's spirits but as Carlos confesses, "it was quite an amazing sight," because they were seriously challenging the fear of being immobilized by society's stereotypes (Figure 4.3). The youth and people of Apopka were more than the labels—farmworkers, vegetable pickers, lettuce cutters, and impoverished. Like their parents, they were young people reclaiming their dignity and advocating for respect.

Sadly, many farmworker families live just miles and minutes away from two landfills, sewage treatment plants, a waste incinerator, a plastic manufacturer, and the most polluted lake in the state of Florida, Lake Apopka.[58] Over the decades, a storm of chemical waste and pesticides polluted the lake; inhibiting boating and fishing; triggering bird deaths and fish kills on the lake; and causing alligator abnormalities and a dramatic drop of alligator births at the lake.[59]

The youth and families in Apopka had spent many years advocating for themselves, specifically for the lake's restoration and farm land cleanup. They held community meetings, and drove five hours to Tallahassee, Florida's state capital asking lawmakers to come hear their cause.[60] Consequently, the participation of Sin Fronteras youth was a culmination of prior experience knowing what it takes to fight for human rights in central Florida and the emerging migrant rights campaign led by youth. Alongside their parents, Apopka youth understood the fight for farmworker and land rights and with the Trail they harness that know-how to fight for migrant rights and the DREAM Act. In turn, the Trail would begin to understand their journey as a cross-sector, cross-issue, intergenerational and multisided fight for migrant rights in the U.S. In fact, the excitement and courage displayed by undocumented youth and jornaleros, would

Figure 4.3. Trail of Dreams Website Image, Apopka, Florida, January 21, 2010.

influence the Trail later on as they enter Georgia.

Struggling to Forge Ahead and Legal Violence impacts in Northern Florida

On February 3rd 2010, after a month of walking across the state of Florida, both Felipe Matos and Carlos Roa blogged about the human rights abuses in the City of Mayo and Live Oak. Just right outside of Florida's panhandle and seventy miles away east of Tallahassee, Florida's state capital, the walkers entered the City of Mayo to break bread with community members at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. Felipe described the small southern town of 1,237 residents as a familiar "small and cozy infrastructure" they had grown accustomed to. Once more, they would sit down to have dinner and build community with local residents, who worked in local dairy and

poultry farms. However, this time they came face-to-face with Latina/o/x migrants who were the targets of hate crimes. Felipe shares:

> I always heard various, random, horrific stories from North Florida about abuses against immigrants, [sic] often feeling rather incapacitated, seeing our map of allies and not being able to identify groups to work with in this area to address these problems. But today, as I looked into the eyes of a victim from the local community and heard his anecdote firsthand, I felt outraged.[61]

Like, any rural small-town churches, Our Lady of Guadalupe had become the fabric of the community, offering a place of connection and hope for Latina/o/x migrants. During their dinner, the walkers were joined by ten individuals, who shared a few words about their daily experiences living in north Florida, the 2006 immigrant marches, and the "brutal cases that make up the harsh, but unmistakable reality of the immigrants" in the region.[62]

Residents shared how people in the county joined the historic wave of Latino immigrant rights mobilizations of 2006 against H.R. 4437, the "Sensenbrenner Bill."[63] In fact, unexpected locations like north and central Florida experienced upwards to 100,000 Latina/o/x migrants and their families, who took to the streets from Fort Meyers, Fl to Ocala, Fl. Moreover, as described by political scientist Chris Zepeda-Millán, these events like the march at Fort Meyers were organized by unlikely bilingual political activists, who were respected because of their professions and their participation in neighborhood activities.[64] Those who participated included nannies, domestic workers, restaurant owners, farmworkers, construction workers, and presidents and members of neighborhood soccer leagues. However, residents shared how local migrant rights organizing entered into a dormant stage shortly after the wave of protests.

As blogged by Felipe, many shared they received a great backlash from local law enforcement and an increase of detention and deportations, which led to local leaders and

communities feeling terrorized by the waves of workplace raids. Carlos describes a conversation with a local dairy worker, who has resided in the area for over 10 years and who spoke about his community living in fear:

> [He] explained to us how undocumented immigrants in these areas make excuses for themselves that justify the abuses inhibited by either local law-enforcement authorities or assailants who take advantage of the fact that they're undocumented. The excuses they give themselves in order to avoid reporting certain discriminating incidents are along the lines of being grateful to be alive and well, even after being physically or verbally altercated and or threatened. In surrounding communities, there's a hesitancy to report to local law enforcement officials because in several previous occasions, police and sheriff reports inaccurately reflect instances of criminal abuse. Such reports are often ignored and swept away by officials, leaving these communities in fear with feelings of vulnerability and inadequate protection. I also strongly suspect that the undocumented view either the sheriff or police officers no different than La Migra.[65]

As Carlos's testimonio highlights, the feeling of inadequacy and deportability are palpable in daily life, even at the most critical moments like dialing 911. His words denote not only the terror that surrounded migrant communities but the normality of "legal violence," as described by immigration scholars Cecilia Menjívar and Leisy Abrego.[66] Residents justifying their abuses and hesitancy to report crimes to law enforcement exposes the amassed adverse effects of the convergence and implementation of immigration and criminal laws such as 287(g). His blog denotes how they have accepted the dangerous terms of living undocumented in the U.S. It is in this manner that contemporary immigration laws coupled with workplace raids negatively impact

migrant's livelihood and long-term incorporation process in the region.

On top of living in fear from la migra, Felipe's blog illustrates "the many violations in the nearby counties" by another resident. Overwhelmed by her emotions of distress and anger, this resident's voice trembled as she spoke about the crimes that had been committed to Mexicans in a nearby town, Live Oak, a city of 7,000 residents and home to a number of migrant workers, located in Suwannee County. She described how Latinas/os/xs have been taken advantage of and targeted by criminals due to their lack of legal status.[67] Felipe heard stories of men and women being victims of burglary and extreme violence. For instance, an individual was assaulted outside their home while speaking on his phone to loved ones. They shared how he laid in a coma for several days with a skull fracture and how the hospital and local police were waiting for the victim to awaken from his coma in order to deport him. The *Gainesville Sun* newspaper reported that from December 2008 to August 2009, twenty-five robberies had been committed but only one arrest had been made.[68] They reported that more than 20 of the robberies involved men kicking down doors to confront victims inside their homes and most in the same neighborhood. During one occurrence, robbers held a gun to a baby's head during a home invasion robbery.

When hearing this, Felipe's face turned red full of anger because these cases went unresolved and were instigated by the police. He blogged:

> What impressed me the most was the fact the local police was trying to instigate hatred and conflict between the immigrant and African American communities, by not only ignoring the crimes inflicted upon Latinos by African Americans, but also by repeatedly telling the Latinos that if they are ever attacked by African Americans, they should just carry a gun and shoot them. She said that the police preached "an eye for an eye" law in communal meetings about the issues. It outrages me how police can think they can just take these issues off of their hands

> and brush them off, only to escalate greater division and animosity amongst communities of color. The community is even fearful of ethnic wars breaking out in this area. [69]

Accordingly, *The Gainesville Sun* reported that Live Oak Police Chief Buddy Williams passed culpability on to Latinas/os/xs habits, stating "the habits of the area's Hispanic population add to the problem," and, "Instead of saving money in banks, they keep it with them or at home to send back to their families in other countries."[70] Due to the police department's inability to communicate with Latina/o/x residents in Spanish (and of migrants to speak to the police in English) and the community's distrust of the police, residents, once again, didn't report crimes out of fear that they would be deported. Yet, as Felipe highlights, Latinas/os/xs and Blacks were being pushed against one another. Instead of providing legal protections, the current legal and local police regime exacerbated the situation, scapegoated both communities and created a wider gap between migrants and various social institutions.[71] In fact, local police officers where instigating Black and Brown racial conflict and "race wars" were feared. Undocumented migrants living in the Live Oak were left more vulnerable, fearing for their safety, and asking themselves, "I can't find work, and they're robbing me here, Why am I staying here?"[72]

Compared to other visits, participants on the Trail were so outraged and moved by residents that they decided to stay a few days in the region. For instance, Felipe blogs that he was committed to "join her fight" because what Maria, a resident, had to say, "they are all part of my people [Black and Brown], I have to do what I can to defend them." Within a matter of days, the Trail organized a Know Your Rights (KYR) Training, which was geared towards informing participants "on what people's rights are as undocumented individuals caught in various predicaments."[73] In his blog post titled "Resistance," Carlos illustrates the need to know "what to do" when you one [*sic*] finds themselves "in the midst of an I.C.E. raid" or being stopped by

police on the street or in your car because you have been racially profiled. Many of them had learned these workshops and trainings because they had been trained by Florida Immigrant Coalition's organizer, Subhash Kateel since 2007.[74] Moreover, they knew the nuts and bolts of how to interact with law enforcement; the difference between an arrest, a citation, and a ticket; and, how to call the police to report a crime. In addition, after the reunion and the workshops, the Trail organized a meeting with Sheriff Tony Cameron of Suwannee County to discuss the human rights abuses in the region. At the end of this blog post, Felipe reached out to the coalition and allies to stand in solidarity with the residents of Suwannee County: "Please help us by calling everyday starting today until 3 PM Friday at (386) 364-3443 and ask him to stop the abuses against the immigrant community, to respect the rights of workers, to know that this town will no longer remain in the shadows, and WE WILL keep watching."[75]

The Trail's experience through the City of Mayo and Live Oak, though relatively short-term, solidified their purpose and made them more willing to engage with local law enforcement and help support on the ground efforts in these areas. Summing up the visit, Carlos blogged how the visit reassured him how the Trail "transcends itself more than just an individual personal journey of mental liberation," but rather it was facilitating movement building efforts through building community with residents and their "intense desire to deeply listen and engage in dialogues in order to awaken resilient community voices."[76] Although this may be true, I would argue that those "voices" and actions that were ignited were actually the voices of the Trail.

Farewell Florida and Recognizing Blind spots

After six weeks on the Trail, exactly forty-two days, just outside of Tallahassee, Florida, Felipe Matos blogged a farewell letter to the "Sunshine State." Declaring, that many people have traveled throughout the state but very few really knew its beauty:

> From the swamps and creeks to the subtle hills of north Florida, we tried to fully enjoy everything that the scenery could offer. As we prepare to leave our home state to discover a different reality across state lines tomorrow, we acknowledge the beautiful and difficult moments we lived in our state. Needless to say, the Trail of DREAMs did not emerge out of thin air. It came from the hopes, dreams, and everyday struggles of everyday individuals in Florida, and from the need to overcome the different abuses that we are living in our everyday lives. We are the product of a movement of young people screaming on the top of their lungs and not finding a voice or even a refuge in this nation we have grown to recognize as home.[77]

In posting a first-person account, Felipe acknowledges the everyday struggles of "everyday individuals" such as the Maya jornaleros, the farmworkers and youth in Apopka, and their beautiful and difficult moments they confronted across Florida. These stages of hearing different stories, situations, and people—arrebatadas—compelled those along the Trail to critique their own assumptions and perspectives. When they met with farmworkers and their families in central Florida they were reminded of society's heavy reliance on pesticides and the exploitation of a Black and Brown migrant workforce at the hands of Florida's agribusiness and capital investment in the region. Even more significantly, he metaphorically identifies the oppressive power of the state that "never seizes to shine," thus pushing undocumented youth like himself "into the cold shadows of a system," that does not recognize his full humanity:

> It was a long and difficult process of coming out of the shadows, and a process of self-discovery and actualization. The Sunshine State is known to be the place that the sun never seizes to shine, but I was pushed into the cold shadows of a system that time after time did not recognize my full humanity. It was also here that I

> learned to organize myself and my peers to bring about the change that all of us need so desperately. This was the state where I found my voice and the understanding that even if I am shackled to a prevalent system that tries to keep all people of color below the poverty line, I could never lose the freedom of my mind and spirit.[78]

His good-bye letter to Florida is powerful in its deliberation and complex claims of exploitation and resistance. As Felipe went on to clarify, it is also the "here," Little Havana, Miami, and all across the state of Florida where he has learned to organize. Felipe illustrates how places and spaces, and their local history and localized knowledge has informed their political consciousness and activism. As a result, the Trail has learned to recognize everyday landscapes (figuratively and physically) as crucial terrains through which racial hierarchies are challenged.

In his farewell letter Felipe gestures for the need to overcome these distinctive exploitations and hierarchies in their everyday lives. As they prepare to walk from Bradfordville, Florida to Camila, Georgia, the Trail is not only ready "to discover a different reality across state lines," but as Felipe states, they are "ready to venture into this next state of the Trail." [79] Inspired by the everyday people they have met, he states "his skin and voice has gotten stronger," and they are dedicated to building a platform for other youth to join us. In fact, the Trail announced via their blog the emergence of solidarity walks across the country from California to New York City. In California, two solidarity walks were being organized for February 27th, one in Los Angeles, and another in the heart of Orange County, the city of Santa Ana, as part of the United We Dream week of action. The English and Korean flyer promoting the Los Angeles event, organized by the National Korean American Service & Education Consortium (NAKASEC) encouraged supporters to walk 18 miles for a "just and humane immigration reform and equal access to higher education," and to "remember to wear a white shirt" (Figure 4.4).

Ultimately, Felipe declared a need to take action, stating that if we:

> "decide to wait for Washington [D.C.] to make decision on our behalf, then we may never see the change necessary for this country. We must have the courage NOW to change our own communities, challenge the institutions of power that fail to prioritize this human rights crisis, and make it happen ourselves![80]

As we have seen, the early stages of the Trail was not a case in which activists simply came together to build coalitions with others to build power to affect broader change and expand their sphere of influence to elevate their campaigns to the national level. Rather, they facilitated the Trail to acknowledge long-term racial discrimination of their communities and to undertake the difficult game of making alliances work that consider the divisions among us. Contrary to what previous studies on multi-racial alliance building or coalitional work suggest, the early stages of the trail facilitated the Trail's new vision of racial and migrant justice that characterize a precarious activism that placed them across malicious forces, oppressive policies, and unjust acts in 2010. These practices, which I term radical-risk taking movidas will change how we document the ways non-normative political subjects can shift how we advocate for the most vulnerable populations of migrants and non-migrants: poor people, black people, and queer and trans migrants.

Figure 4.4. National Korean American Service & Education Consortium (NAKASEC) Website Image

Notes

[1] Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. (Watertown, Mass.: Persephone Press, 1981) xiv.

[2] Gloria Anzaldúa, "Now Let Us Shift…the path of conocimiento…inner work, public acts," in *This Bridge we call Home: Radical Visions for Transformation* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 546-547

[3] Gaye Theresa Johnson. *Spaces of Conflict, Sounds of Solidarity: Music, Race, and Spatial Entitlement in Los Angeles*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013) 168.

[4] Moraga and Anzaldúa, *This Bridge,* xiv.

[5] Anzaldúa, "Now Let Us Shift," 546-547.

[6] Gloria Anzaldúa and AnaLouise Keating. *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 149.

[7] Johnson. *Spaces of Conflict,* 168.

[8] Felipe (Profe) Vargas, "Testimonio 1: The Way of the DREAMURI*," Notes from the Trail,* January 29, 2010.

[9] Felipe, "Testimonio 1."

[10] "…no cruzaron la linea de moajados y no han visto esa truma…ni han sentido el sufrimiento del desierto de Arizona o la mala vibra del rio grande de Tejas." Felipe, "Testimonio 1."

[11] Leo R. Chavez *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008) 42-47.
[12] Johnson. *Spaces of Conflict,* 169.

[13] Felipe, "Testimonio 1."

[14] Williams, Philip J., Timothy J. Steigenga, and Manuel A. Vásquez. *A Place to Be: Brazilian, Guatemalan, and Mexican Immigrants in Florida's New Destinations (*New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 20.

[15] Vanessa Petit, "Guatemalan Mayans Settle In S. Florida," *The Washington Post*, Feburary 1, 2004

[16] Alfonso Gonzales. *Reform without Justice: Latino Migrant Politics and the Homeland Security State*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 85.

[17] Lawrence Downes, Jupiter's El Sol Op-ED, *The New York Times*, February 25th 2011

[18] "Town of Jupiter; Day Labor & Immigration Issues," City of Jupiter Official Website, accessed February 27, 2019, https://www.jupiter.fl.us/DocumentCenter/View/525/El~Sol~Day~Labor~and~Immigration~QA?bidID=

[19] Ibid. Also in September, 2006, the Jupiter Town Council approved Ordinance 29-05, prohibiting employers from hiring, and day laborers from publicly soliciting, work on town streets and public access ways.

[20] "Mission and Values," El Sol website, https://friendsofelsol.org/about/mission-and-values/

[21] Timothy J. Steigenga, *A Place to Be,* 20-21.

[22] Nora Hamilton and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla. *Seeking Community in a Global City: Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001) 17-34. Vanessa Petit, "Guatemalan Mayans Settle In South Florida," *The Washington Post*, February 1, 2004.

[23] Ramiro, Jr. Martinez, and Abel, Jr. Valenzuela. *Immigration and Crime: Race, Ethnicity, and Violence* (New York City: New York University Press, 2006) 197.

[24] Martinez and Valenzuela, *Immigration and Crime*, 183-193.

[25] Petit, "Guatemalan."

[26] Martinez and Valenzuela, *Immigration and Crime*, 183-193.

[27] Martinez and Valenzuela, *Immigration and Crime*, 193.

[28] Anzaldúa, "Now Let Us Shift," 546-547.

[29] Anzaldúa, "Now," 547

[30] Juan Herrera. "Racialized Illegality: The Regulation of informal labor and space." *Latino Studies* 14, no. 3 (2016): 339

[31] Amalia Pallares. *Family Activism: Immigrant Struggles and the Politics of Noncitizenship*. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 100-103. Additionally, Lisa Cacho's text, *Social Death* has been extremely helpful in exploring how aggrieved communities demand their recognition as deserving U.S. citizens or law-abiding immigrants and how they disavow another devalued racial other and depend on neoliberal scripts of self-worth. Lisa Marie Cacho. *Social Death: Racialized Rightlessness and the Criminalization of the Unprotected.* (New York: New York University Press, 2012) 15.

[32] Cacho, *Social Death,* 17- 18, 26-27; Also see, Maylei Blackwell and Edward McCaughan. "Editors' Introduction: New Dimensions in the Scholarship and Practice of Mexican and Chicanx Social Movements." *Social Justice* 42, no. 3-4 (2015): 1-9

[33] Carlos Roa, "Laughter…what gets us going! And Some Words of Humility," Notes from the Trail. January, 7, 2010.

[34] Ibid

[35] Avery F. Gordon. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) 202.

[36] Felipe Matos, "Angels Really Exist!" *Notes from the Trail*, January 13, 2010.

[37] Ibid.

[38] "Our History," Farmworker Association of Florida, accessed February 28, 2019, http://www.floridafarmworkers.org/about-us/our-history

[39] Ibid.

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[50] "About."

[51] Pulido. *Environmentalism and Economic Justice,* 35. In *Reform Without Justice*, Alfonso Gonzales discusses how intense capital investment dramatically transform California's Inland Empire to an entirely new migrant labor geography. The work of geographer Doreen Massey is particular insightful in understanding the role of capital in the creation of places. Yes, resistance is a factor in the production of place but the power of capital should not be underestimated. Doreen Massey. *Spatial divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production*. (London: Macmillan, 1984).

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[58] Dale Finley Slongwhite. *Fed Up: The High Costs of Cheap Food*. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014), 1-9.

[59] Slongwhite. *Fed Up,* 7-8.

[60] Slongwhite. *Fed Up,* 9-15.

[61] Felipe Matos, "Looking into the Blind Spot," *Notes from the Trail*, February 3, 2010.

[62] Felipe, "Looking."

[63] House Bill 4437 severely increased border control, interior enforcement measures, and sought to change the penalty for being undocumented from a mere civil violation to a federal felony. It,

also, intended to punish individuals who assisted undocumented migrants (teachings, employers, social services, family members, to name a few) by imposing fines and incarceration.

[64] Chris Zepeda-Millán, "Weapons of the (Not So) Weak: Immigrant Mass Mobilization in the Us South." *Critical Sociology* 42, no. 2 (2016): 269-87.

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[66] Cecilia Menjívar and Leisy J. Abrego, "Legal Violence: Immigration Law and the Lives of Central American Immigrants," *American Journal of Sociology* 117, no. 5 (March 2012): 1380-421.

[67] Felipe, "Looking"

[68] Lise Fisher, "Live Oak Hispanics live in fear of violence," *The Gainesville Sun,* August 16, 2009

[69] Felipe, "Looking."

[70] Fisher, "Live Oak."

[71] Cecilia Menjívar and Leisy J. Abrego, "Legal Violence," 1389.

[72] Fisher, "Live Oak."

[73] Roa, "Resistance."

[74] Florida Immigrant Coalition 2007 Annual Statewide Congress Agendas and Handouts, September 21-22, 2007, Florida Immigration Coalition Organizational Archives, Miami, Florida.

[75] Felipe, "Looking." The Trail met with the Sheriff from Suwannee County and the Chief of Police from Live Oak and asked for more protection for the immigrant population in that area.

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[79] Matos, "Good-Bye Florida."

[80] Ibid.

CHAPTER V

THE KKK, FACE-OFFS, AND RADICAL RISK-TAKING MOVIDAS

Yo estaba un poquito como asustada; yo decía como que se le daba demasiada importancia, no? o innecesario pero no era yo la que tenía que determinar, verdad. Yo me entero y yo respeto porque están en Georgia pero de alguna manera uno se siente como responsable, no? Qué pasa si estos ensabanados [los Ku Klux Klan] les hacen algo o los insultan, no?

I was a little scared; I would say that it was given too much importance, right? or it was unnecessary but I was not the one who had to make the call, right? I recognize and I respect because they are in Georgia but somehow you feel responsible, right? What happens if these cloak wearing people [the Ku Klux Klan] do something to them or insult them, right?

-Adelina Nicholls*, Interview with author*, August, 2015

In 2015, during my first trip to the state of Georgia, I set out to interview key leaders and participants in southern Georgia (Albany, Moultrie, Tifton) and Atlanta. During this particular meeting, I visited Adelina Nicholls, the executive director of Georgia's Latino Alliance for Human Rights (GLAHR), we talked about her level of participation on the Trail and doing migrant rights activism across the state of Georgia. As we sat in her office, Adelina explained the different migration and incorporation experiences for migrants in Georgia. I spent the afternoon in her air-conditioned office on a hot humid day. After nineteen years of living in Atlanta, Adelina, who migrated from Mexico City, described *el choque cultural* (the culture shock) and how the absence of people and mobility was a challenge. She states, "it really was very difficult for me because I was like, "Where the people at?" The people here, there are no people. "Where

are the people going? I come from Mexico City that is moving and transporting people 24 hours a day; here, since there is no transportation and if you do not drive, I'm not going anywhere." [1] Because of Adelina's educational background and teaching experience she began to get involved in community meetings hosted by the Mexican consulate in 1999 and the fight for driver licenses for undocumented migrants. Thereafter, while working food service and accounting jobs, she would begin to organize community leaders across the state of Georgia, *called coordinadora de lideres comunitarios*. While we spoke about Mexicans and Latinas/os/xs living in Georgia, unexpectedly, Adelina took out a box and revealed a collection of periodicals, mostly Spanish newspaper articles from 2010. She laid them out on the desk, fan like, and one after another shared with me the details of each headline.

In this particular instance, she picks up a newspaper clipping titled "*KKK ATACA, Supremacistas Insultan a Latinos en Georgia"* ("KKK ATTACKS, White Supremacists insult Latinos in Georgia") and explains how the Trail, in union with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), protested a KKK rally that was "*en contra de los mexicanos y la invación de los mexicanos*" (against Mexican and the Mexican invasion) in Nahunta, Georgia (Figure 5.1). Moreover, Adelina notes "el wizard," Imperial Wizard Jeff Jones, who appears in the front page, as the same one who had just given statements in favor of Donald Trump. Adelina's words, "yo estaba un poquito como asustada," not only illustrate internal discussions along the Trail but also characterize the region's racial hostility and the Trail's precarious activism that placed them across malicious forces, oppressive policies, and unjust acts in 2010.

As noted in the previous chapter, the Trail's reunions across Florida enabled migrant rights activists to uncover the history of long-term racial, economic and environmental injustices such as the struggles against farmworker and day laborer exploitation. Yet, this chapter, once

Figure 4.1 Newspaper clipping of Mundo Hispánico. Personal Archive

again provides an alternate examination of solidarity acts and coalition building within the Trail of Dreams. Moreover, how these coalitional moments challenge traditional literature that attempt to compartmentalize Latina/o/x protest, thus leaving out critical discussion on how difference, and histories of interethnic struggles may affect the deployment of strategies, and access to resources.[2] Understanding the Trail of Dream's political activism is one way to expand our collective understanding of resistance and political agency by undocumented/undocuqueer youth. By historicizing the Trail's mobilizations, specifically how non-normative political subjects can shift how we advocate for the most vulnerable populations of migrants and non-migrants: poor people, black people, and queer and trans migrants, I hope to position the Trail at the forefront of the Undocumented Youth Movement. For instance, how their maneuvers and strategies

motivated not only solidarity walks but inspired a national call for undocumented youth from across the U.S. to come out of the shadows and "lay claim to their own futures," during a week of action, the National Coming out of the Shadows week (March 15th to March 21st). [3]

I begin this chapter by highlighting the Trail's reception to Georgia and the essential aspects of these meetings that will shift their coalitional politics to *radical risk-taking movidas*, a politic that centers a cadre of non-normative leaders, who use their political agency and vulnerability to uplift those most marginalized. Equally important, I discuss theoretical frameworks on coalitions and approaches that center women of color feminism. Lastly, I examine three moments along the Trail of Dreams: its solidarity stance with Haitian migrants during Haiti's historic earthquake of 2010; their alliance building and protest with African American leaders against the KKK; and their confrontation with Gwyneth County Sheriff Conway. I reveal how the Trail of Dreams transformed migrant rights activism across the South by building interracial alliances in Georgia and the Carolinas that not only challenged the intensification of nativism and interior enforcement across the U.S. South, but also incorporated difference within their journey to D.C. More specifically, I unearth how undocumented/undocuqueer youth activists engaged and led political mobilization that connected a variety of non-normative and queer formations while acknowledging the non-equivalence and incommensurability of these formations.

Greetings from Georgia

As I have noted in the introduction, southern states like Georgia have a long history of racial segregation and abusive immigration enforcement that has produced a hostile climate in which many Latina/o/x immigrants live and work. Yet, as the 11th largest state in the nation, second largest in the south, and home to Atlanta, the largest urban center in the southeast,

Georgia has experienced a rapid Latina/o/x demographic transformation since the 1980s. Unlike other parts of the U.S., migrants were rare in most of the South into the 1970s. In fact, in 1970, when the U.S. Census began counting Hispanics, they made up 0.4% of the population in the southeast.[4] There are now close to 1 million Latinas/os/xs living in Georgia, a state of over 10,500,00 million people.[5] It is a state that has shifted from a Black-and-white region to one of the most diverse in the nation with Latina/o/x immigrants driving growth in both cities and rural towns, specifically in southern Georgia.[6] While in southern Georgia the Trail had the opportunity to meet with youth and leaders, who are part of GLAHR's statewide network of local organizing committees, which they call *comités populares* (Figure 5.2).[7]

In his first blog post from Camila, Georgia, Felipe described how they were walking in freezing weather and "Little by little, the rain became snow and the skin in my hand turned red as [he] started shaking uncontrollably. It was in the most arduous test the trail offered me thus far that I was recreated as a human being."[8] In spite of the freezing conditions, Felipe's testimonio marks an acknowledgement of learning to cope with a new reality and living under a new skin. The trail was no longer in their home state, Florida, and they had to learn to be in Georgia in multiple ways from its endless roads, freezing weather conditions and historical Black communities. Moreover, they had to reposition themselves "a way to relate to the community in a more effective way."[9] Felipe states that they learned the importance of listening from Adelina, who didn't ask them to organize but rather "to listen to the community so their voices could be heard," and "become a vessel for people to pour their concerns and hopes."[10] Felipe's first stories out of Camila and Albany would be his reunions with youth and children during the walk. He writes, "A young seventh grader, Ulysses, decided to spend his whole day walking with us. I did not think that he was going to follow through and yet I was wrong. I was eager to apply what

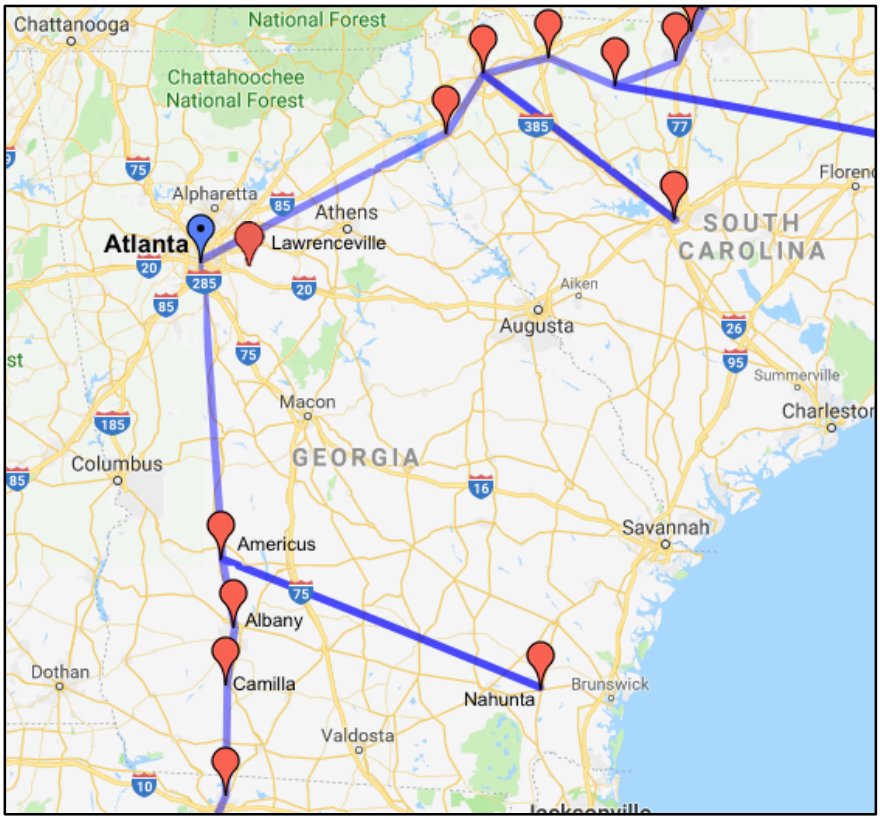

Figure 5.2 Trail of Dreams Thick Mapping Image from www.trail2010.org

Adelina had taught me earlier today and opened my heart and ears to learn and listen. I've learned more about life then [*sic*] I had in years in Miami."[11]

When the Trail arrived at Albany, Georgia, they were greeted by youth and families, who were part of GLAHR's larger organizing network. In a period of three days, several children from the ages of 8 to 12 years old, walked with them. They were described as U.S.-born with undocumented parents but gifted with high hopes of becoming doctors and therapists, even though they were constantly forced to live in terror and the fear of losing their parents. Felipe notes in his testimonio and in his interview how he was moved by a fifth grader named Oscar, who was willing to speak about the complexities of his reality and his struggle. Again, impressed by the youth's courage, he was moved by Oscar's willingness to participate at a press conference at the Albany Welcome Center on Monday, February 15, 2010.

As reported by *The Albany Herald*, those in attendance were members of the community, members of Albany's comité popular, including Polly Cherry from the Dougherty County NAACP chapter and the reverend Ezekiel Holly, vice president of the NAACP of Georgia.[12] Felipe remembers Oscar's heartbreaking plea to president Obama to "Please give my [Oscars] parents a chance. It would be too painful to lose them":

> In his own words he said, "the immigrant problem is similar to what happened to African American [*sic*] in the past. They couldn't vote, we can't vote." He explained many more points about the historical and current intersections between the African American and immigrant plight. This eleven-year-old boy does not have any choice but to try to make sense of his reality. His older sister had been consistently called a "wetback" in school, his father is currently facing deportation and his mother cannot get a job other than decorating cakes. In his utmost effort to make sense of his suffering he found in history books a place that healed some of his wounds.[13]

Felipe's acknowledgement of Oscar's words serves as a reminder of how racialized groups are connected or how intertwined Latina/o/x geographies are with Black geographies. For Oscar, the "immigration problem" highlights the ways Black and Brown communities are and share links across time and space or what Chicana historian, Natalia Molina coins *racial scripts*.[14] Again, if we zoom out, we are able to acknowledge this entangled history and relationship by recognizing who else is present. [15] Moreover, we can recognize different racial projects operating at the same time: attitudes, practices, policies and laws once directed at one group, more readily and easily applied to other groups.[16] Oscar's testimonio at the press conference also highlights how his "effort to make sense of his suffering" emerges from learning about African American freedom movements within the region or what Molina also calls counterscripts, alternatives that directly

challenge dominant racial scripts. Lastly, Polly Cherry highlights this connection by declaring to *The Albany Herald*, that "So many times we know what is right, but we don't stand up for what is right," and "Until we get justice everywhere, we can't afford to sit around and not do anything."[17]

The press conference and Felipe's testimonio begin to feature the coalitional efforts with multiple racialized groups, specifically African Americans along the Trail. It, also, highlights the emerging counterscripts the Trail would grow accustomed to across Georgia and the Carolinas. In fact, many of these early efforts and connections were stewarded by comité popular leaders, mostly *padres de familia* of Honduran and Mexican origin. I had the opportunity to visit southern Georgia multiple times, specifically Albany, where I met with Luis. Luis had been living in the United States undocumented for over thirty years. The forty-seven-year-old father of two teenagers was an optimistic farmer: quick to show me the agricultural land surrounding Albany via his pick-up truck, he shared with me Albany's Mexican and Latina/o/x history. He had been organizing for migrant rights since the 1990s advocating for driver licenses, noting the rise of harsh and stricter laws and penalties at that time. He admits he was young, around 24 or 25 years old when he joined the campaign launched by the Mexican consulate. Luis shared their near victory, "We were very close to achieving it, we collected enough signatures that was one of the requirements, but in the end the people who supported the movement inside the state capitol, backed out and could not achieve the goal."[18]

Without legal status, Luis, undocumented and unafraid felt the need to participate and help others, who, like him, felt the overwhelming restrictions of the state and municipal laws. Nevertheless, Luis would continue to stay involved with comités populares for the next ten years. So, when the Trail announced it would go through Albany, Luis stated he was already equipped to receive them. "They sent me the information, and with the resolve that I have, I started

Figure 4.3 Georgia Latino Alliance for Human Rights Outreach Flyer. Personal Archive

organizing to greet them and help these young people, who were going to pass, precisely through here, within the area. I went to greet them at the state line, where the state of Georgia begins. There an organization in Florida handed them over to us."[19] Luis's capacity to organize the Trail's reception into southern Georgia was made possible by GLAHR's organizing history and outreach within the region (Figure 4.3).

The Trail continued to be well received across Georgia as they walked north towards Atlanta. At one point, both Carlos and Felipe blogged about their visit to Americus, GA, visiting both the headquarters of Habitat for Humanity and their visit to Koinonia farm, right outside of Leesburg, GA. At Koinonia farm, they broke bread with residents and learned about the interracial community center founded in 1942 by Rev. Clarence Jordan.[20] Similar to Albany, the Trail learns the struggles and accomplishments of desegregation efforts in the rural South, such

as the "racially motivated aggravations, including gunshot firings into the farm and even bomb attacks by the Ku Klux Klan."[21] Soon after, on Saturday, February 27th 2010, the Trail would reach Atlanta, Georgia where they would be greeted by over 300 people and a marching band from Georgia Tech at the First Iconium Baptist Church.[22] That night they were welcomed by house representative, Larry Pellegrini, who had spent roughly 20 years championing progressive causes and fighting for LGBTQ equity in Georgia. They also received a welcome letter on behalf of the mayor of Atlanta, Kasim Reed, who stated he admired their dedication and sacrifice, and their continued excellence as outstanding students in the classroom.[23]

Equally important, their entrance into Atlanta was met with solidarity actions from across the United States that marked a nationwide week of action organized by United We Dream (UWD), a nationwide youth-led coalition of Dreamers. In a blog post uploaded by DreamActivist.org, UWD asked undocumented youth to participate:

> In 1965, African Americans marched demanding voting rights. Forty-five years later, four brave undocumented students have embarked in a 1,500 mile walk from the Miami Freedom Tower to the U.S. Capitol to "tell the world that the present is unbearable…living in fear—living in the shadows, is very cold." We call on all Dreamers to stand in solidarity with Felipe, Carlos, Gaby and Juan and plan actions in support of them on Thursday, February 25th and walks and marches in support of the Trail on Saturday the 27th.[24]

Again, the Trail of Dreams, along with DreamActivst.org and United We Dream would call on Dreamers and migrant rights activist to stand in solidarity by articulating a shared legacy for racial justice with African Americans. They would begin to appeal to freedom movements, protests and mobilizations that directly challenged racial segregation and discrimination. Their

call for solidarity would be the first call that demanded for undocumented youth to come out of the shadows.

The Trail and the Undocumented Youth Movement began to recognize the power and effectiveness in risk-taking acts. Yet, I would argue that for the Trail these actions and mobilizations were linked to the aggrieved communities they had engaged with such as children and youth, who they had met across the state of Florida and Georgia. In his testimonio, titled "Innocent Voices," Felipe begins to ask, "What we do when the answer lies on the hands of congress people who have not walked with us all this way? What do we do to relay the message of these youth to greater audiences that continue to judge us as less than human because of our immigration status?"[25] At this point, the Trail's walk to D.C. was not enough and using their newfound courage they were ready to step it up and risk their bodies. And, similar to Polly Cherry, they began to see their movement connected to the most vulnerable populations across the southeastern U.S. They felt the need to address injustices everywhere and couldn't afford "to sit around and not do anything." At the end, these actions would culminate and inspire the movement's second call, "National Coming Out of the Shadows Day," and their appeal to the LGBTQ movement.

Coalitions and their Utility

In its contemporary and practical form, coalitions (alliances, partnerships, networks) are a coming together of two or more like-minded organizations to build power to affect broader change and transform systems of power.[26] Political descriptors assert that Social Movement Organizations (SMO), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), labor unions, and collectives utilize coalitions as a form or/and function—an elemental step—within political campaigns, cross-racial alliances, and movement building efforts to create a lasting impact. Often coalitions

are understood as a critical factor for reversing social injustices, specifically racial disparities.[27] Some recognize coalitions as a scale of change needed that goes beyond one organization.[28] For instance, scaling-up—an organization's ability to affect greater change by expanding their sphere of influence and elevating issues to more strategic targets—is perhaps the most exciting practice produced by coalitions.[29]

However, coalition building efforts create competing objectives for organizations and campaigns, diminishing organizational differences in an effort to expand their common goals and sphere of influence.[30] Concerns have been raised about the utilization of coalitions for scaling-up campaigns for political purposes and wins. Moreover, late twentieth-century theorizing by gender, queer, ethnic studies and Latin American studies scholars has taken up these practical explanations.[31]Amalia Pallares aptly notes, how social movement literature "attempts to identify patterns and/or create a template that would allow us to make generalizations about a social movement's cause, strategies, and effectiveness," but rarely engages in analysis of how gender, sexuality and legality affect the deployment of these strategies.[32]

As noted, scholars have pointed out how traditional social movement literature on coalitions and alliance building may have negative consequences. One issue within comparative analyses, for example, is the assumption that there are certain features and structures shared by all movements. Moreover, it has been argued that underscoring the utilitarian characteristics of coalitions cannot properly examine the political engagement and resistance of those aggrieved communities.[33] On the contrary, women of color feminists have not only theorized (and practiced) coalitions for their function but also their formations and political possibilities. As Karma Chavez remarks, "Women of color feminist have long advocated for the necessity of coalitional politics to address oppression and power at its root and to utilize difference as a

resource rather than a hurdle to overcome."[34]

In addition, political theorist Cathy Cohen envisioned that for us to move concretely toward a transformational coalitional politics it must derive from political comrades that share a relation to power, and not some homogenized identity. She critiques the limits of identity politics based on a civil rights strategy, where assimilation and replication of dominant institutions are the goals. Rather than being led by governmental institutions, foundations and national/international labor unions and non-profits, it is those who are the "forgotten," the non-normative, the punks, bull daggers, women of color feminist, queers and the welfare queens, who make up the radical opposition. Cohen offers us "a starting point for reassessing the shape of queer, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered politics in the twenty-first century," specifically, a politic outside identity politics.[35]

The way that women of color feminists practiced coalition speaks to the vital importance of its formation—its configuration, who gives it its shape, its style, its variety, and most significantly, its impression. Placing importance on formation, centers organizations and people who are in coalition with one another; in this case, those who are coming together under a shared commitment to fight against racial injustice, specifically the abusive federal immigration enforcement. Applying these theories allows me to make sense of what the walkers, coalition partners, and allies were practicing when they were walking through each community, what kept them together when confronting people across the political spectrum, risking deportation and detention as they walked across the rural South to meet with Sheriffs in Georgia. I suggest that if we are to understand the Trail's coalitional politics, we must not only recognize these elements but pay careful attention to how their political formation speaks to a radical politics, which I refer to as *radical risk-taking movidas.*

Radical Risk Taking Movidas

Studying these acts of protest and mobilizations reveal a mode and conceptual frame that recognizes these moments as *radical risk-taking movidas*. My notion of *radical* recognizes the leadership of non-normative, multiracial, and queer political comrades invested in the practice of transformative migrant justice stance that has not resulted from the fight for comprehensive immigration reform. Again, their coalescing is from one's relation to power, and beyond a homogenized identity. Additionally*, risk-taking* not only suggests the act of "crossing the line," the involvement of danger, and an increased vulnerability, but in the case of the Trail, it also indicates a political orientation that calls for its accomplices to risk their physical and emotional well-being. In fact, taking risks means to organize outside your home, your comfort zone and giving up protection.[36] For the Trail and undocumented/undocuqueer youth, it meant building a movement outside national organizations, like the National Council of La Raza and Reform Immigration for America, whose assimilation politics left out the voices of the most vulnerable populations of migrants.

Risk meant exposing themselves to civil authorities and deportation, and acknowledging that their protection was tied to other vulnerable populations they met along the Trail. Consequently, as Karma Chavez argues, to walk across the South and to come out of the shadows, it strengthened the connection between racial justice, migrant rights and queer rights because "it catapults queer migrants into the position of leaders of a national movement" and links their protection with others. *Movidas* are not only political maneuvers, strategic, or tactics, but also transformative "revolutionary maneuvers" for marginalized subjects.[37] The radical risk-taking movidas that emerged from the Trail and the Undocumented Youth Movement in turn produced a cadre of leaders, and a new way of doing politics that exposed the contradictions within immigration law, the heterogeneity of migrants, and new ideas about what rights are.

My argument is not simply that marginalized groups like undocumented youth are innovative or resourceful in the fight for migrant rights. Instead, I argue that when we examine the Trail of Dreams' protest acts and mobilizations within a women of color feminist framework, a critical politic is revealed, one that underscores risk-taking as central to challenging anti-blackness, and a conscious move toward centering and uplifting those most marginalized by society. Indeed, it is, what "*laying down my body for that vision*" looks like as describe by Moraga in *This Bridge.*[38] These actions would have immediate and long-term impacts, that would contribute to undermining place-specific systems of domination-subordination along the Trail's route to D.C.

In the next section, I highlight three central and interrelated moments along the Trail—solidarity acts with Haitian migrants, face-offs with the Klux Ku Klan, and contentious moments with law enforcement—to expose how undocumented/undocuqueer youth from the beginning and throughout Georgia adopted risk-taking movidas that demanded them to shift themselves and alter their campaigns. For instance, how their solidarity statements with Haitian migrants after Haiti's historic earthquake of 2010 temporarily demonstrated camaraderie with individuals or groups they are different from or have been at odds with at different moments. Lastly, these moments demonstrate multiple ways of taking risks and precarious instances full of tension across the Trail.

Coalition Building and Solidarity with Haitians

To begin, I return to the early stages of the Trail to demonstrate that shifting, changing and repositioning was a primary element within the campaign and the coalition. During an interview with Maria, executive director of Florida Immigrant Coalition, she discusses the Fast For Our Families campaign, which on January 1st 2010 launched (the same day of the Trail) a hunger strike, another high-risk act, that demanded the Obama Administration to suspend the

deportations of immigrants with American families and called for a meeting between the Secretary of Homeland Security, Janet Napolitano, the fasters, and affected families in South Florida.[39] Five community members, including individuals facing deportation, entered St. Ann's Catholic Mission in Naranja, Florida to begin an indefinite, sustained fast.[40]

After picking up momentum with solidarity fasts across the nation and fasting for two weeks, an earthquake of historic proportions hit the island of Haiti. After seventeen days of fasting, the leaders ended their fast and in an official statement titled "Breaking Our Fast and Continuing Our Struggle," they expressed their condolences to their "Haitian brothers and sisters" and vowed to commit to "struggle in a different way…to keep all our families together and our communities strong, from Naranja to New York and from US to Haiti."[41] Their commitment to shift "the struggle in a different way," to shift demands such as calling for President Obama to grant Temporary Protected Status (TPS) to Haitians in the United States illustrates how member organizations and allies privileged a coalitional identity that is inclusive of all those who stand outside the national immigrant rights movement. In addition, this would not be the first or last time FLIC and Florida Immigrant Advocacy Center, Inc (FIAC) would stand in solidarity with Haitian citizens.

As noted in the introduction, in early 2008, FIAC led a national letter campaign for Haitian's to receive Temporary Protected Status (TPS) after the island was hit by devastating hurricanes. FIAC was able to organize over 100 organizations from across the U.S. to endorse a letter to President Obama and Janet Napolitano demanding the administration should urgently stay deportations to Haiti. Subsequently, the same day the Department of Homeland Security granted TPS to Haitian nationals, Carlos blogged his relief for his immigrant Haitian brothers and sisters that he had been organizing with for years:[42]

> For years, our South Florida Haitian community and Immigrant Rights groups nationwide have asked the U.S. Government to grant TPS for Haitians, especially after the Island was hit with four hurricanes in 08'. I felt a great relief and excitement for only a moment because immediately I started to think about the estimated 100,000 people that are believed to be dead after Tuesday's earthquake. I asked myself, how could it be that this is what it takes to get clemency for our immigrant Haitian brothers and sisters?

By calling attention to these acts of solidarity in 2008 and 2010, we are able to see the shifts and changes within local-scale practices of coalition and alliance work that recognizes the heterogeneity of migrants, but speaks to building a collective identity that centers a dynamic political subject whose issues and ideologies vary[43]. Carlos' blog post not only offers us his enjoyment but it provides us a glimpse of his organizing history with Haitian migrants. Additionally, as Cherri Moraga has argued, these associations of brotherhood and sisterhood are not always given between people of color, especially within the migrant rights organizations.[44] Therefore, solidarity acts must be acts of recognizing difference, challenging anti-blackness, and a conscious move toward centering and uplifting those most marginalized by society. Radical risk-taking movidas are rarely captured by the press, so it is critical to document coalitional moments aimed at undermining place-specific systems of domination-subordination.

When the KKK attacks, what do we do? Stand up fight back!

On Saturday, February 20th 2010, the Knight Riders of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally in Nahunta, Georgia, a small town of less than 1,000 residents in Brantley County.[45] Close to fifty Ku Klux Klan members stood in front of city hall in full regalia but not completely hooded because Georgia state law forbids the wearing of masks.[46] During the rally, the Imperial Wizard Jeff Jones asked the crowd to wake up and to stop the Latino invasion now (Figure 4.5). *Los*

ensabanados, as described by Adelina, denounced Mexican immigrants by calling them invaders and blamed them for gangs, drug trafficking, the devaluation of property, and questioned their patriotism toward the U.S. Jones blamed Mexicans for unemployment and condemned employers' illegal hiring practices. Moreover, he called for a new Operation Wetback, a reboot of a 1954 large scale deportation roundup, which was a mass expulsion of over 1,000,000 Mexican residents.[47] At one point, KKK members called on a white college student protesting the event and asked the student "if they were African or American," to which she replied, "American." They then told her she was on the wrong side, and she responded that "she loved African-Americans and Latinos."[48]

The Florida Times Union reported that the "tense but non-violent event drew a mostly supportive crowd of at least 500" who applauded and shouted "white power."[49] During the two-hour gathering, many in the crowd waved confederate flags, held their children, and wore t-shirts that read: "The Original Boys in the Hood." In addition to the crowd, a major police presence and several dozen protesters were nearby. Nahunta Mayor Ronnie Jacobs estimated that 300 law enforcement officials from surrounding counties were present to maintain order. In fact, the smallest group present were several dozen protestors led by Georgia's NAACP, who stood against hate, and in favor of love and reconciliation (Figure 4.6). Those who participated were a diverse group of people, members of Georgia's NAACP, First Jordan Grace Baptist Missionary Church in Brunswick, and participants of the Trail. Not swayed by the speeches, protesters matched the Imperial Wizard's statements with boos and shouted, "You are causing trouble," "you are haters," and chanting, "When the KKK attacks, what do we do? Stand up, fight back!"[50] Congregation members interviewed described Klan members and supporters as ignorant, spewing hate, and a disgrace. Viola Lewis of Hazlehurst, who was in attendance, stated, "Everybody here is an immigrant, except the Indians."[51]

Figure 4.5 Trail of Dreams Image from www.trail2010.org

Figure 4.6 Trail of Dreams Image from www.trail2010.org

In an interview with Isabel, a lead organizer and walker with the Trail, who was born in Bogota, Colombia and who currently continues to fight for migrant rights across the state of Florida, recalls the one-month walk out of Florida, walking from Miami to Tallahassee, and then a straight shot to Atlanta. For SWER youth organizers, since their networks and FLIC affiliates were in South Florida, walking past Orlando meant walking into unfamiliar territory. They noted that when they selected the route, they realized many of these places they weaved through had a history of racial terror. Isabel recalls attending the rally and confronting the Ku Klux Klan. Ze underscores a blog post that was written during the trail titled "Contradictions." In zer post, Isabel describes the encounter:

> Today we drove to Nahunta, GA where the Ku Klux Klan was organizing an anti-immigrant demonstration, under the premise that "God put each race in their respective continent and they were meant to stay there." I can't help but keep being amused by these concepts that the very organization can't seem to be able to uphold appropriately. Is the KKK secretly on a campaign to reclaim all lands back for the indigenous people of North America and preparing for the voyage back to Europe? I find this highly unlikely…Ultimately, the success of today was to be able to stand hand in hand with our friends from the NAACP; singing liberation songs together and acknowledging our united struggle for racial justice. We ALL deserve to be treated with dignity and respect. We all deserve to be acknowledged for our humanity.[52]

At first glance, one would ask, "What purpose did this protest serve?" Did the several dozen protesters really think that they could win over the most militant nativist activists—Neo-Nazis, White nationalist, Neo-confederate, Ku Klux Klan? First, the Trail's engagement with the Klan's

anti-Mexican invasion protest, along with leaders from the NAACP, illustrates what women of color activists have described as what one should be doing (and feeling) when organizing for racial justice.

In her foundational essay, "Coalition Politics: Turning the Century," Bernice Johnson Reagon describes these actions as not only foundational for coalitional work but needed for transformative possibilities. For Reagon, coalition building is not work done in your home but rather work that has to take place in the street, with others who don't agree with you, in spaces where you feel threatened to the core.[53] Standing next to the KKK gave many a sense of uneasiness, fear, and tension but it became part of working towards love and reconciliation, building community across opposing sides across southern Georgia. As Isabel notes, the act of standing together hand in hand singing liberation songs next to those who historically have terrorized you is a step towards demanding that your humanity be acknowledged. Indeed, the Trail's decision to visit Nahunta exemplifies radical risk-taking movidas, because it pushed organizers to protest with those who are different from and at odds with one another for racial justice. For women of color theorists, awareness of one's anxiety and feelings of tension is the transformative part of coalition building. It is key to understanding why people shift, change, and reposition themselves continuously within movement work.

Lastly, Isabel's ridicule of the Klan's tactic speaks to zer marginal positionality within the region's institutional structures of racism. As an undocuqueer Latinx, ze "can't help but keep being amused" because the Klan doesn't recognize what they are admitting to. Deprived by their own privilege, they don't realize they are undermining their own construction of whiteness in the southern region of Georgia. Isabel's humor and irony demonstrate how undocuqueer youth are able to develop their own survival skills into technologies for organizing communities and reading power. Consequently, the Trail's risk-taking movidas in Nahunta, Georgia was not only

a discomfort as described by Adelina, but also a decision within the Trail, that interconnected the fight for migrant rights, and racial justice in the rural South.

Sheriff Conway Face-off

The walkers, which included the four, coalitional allies and legal advisors, made their way into Lawrenceville, Georgia on March 3rd 2010. They were headed to Gwinnett County Courthouse for an in-person meeting with Sheriff Conway to discuss the 287(G) program, a federal law authorizing local law enforcement to enforce federal immigration law.[54] Sheriff Conway, known to many as a jean wearing, Western boots, silver-haired sheriff, was and continues to be a vocal proponent of 287(G). On the day of its activation on November 15th 2009, the *Gwinnet Daily Post* reported that Conway said it is "a great day for Gwinnett County citizens."[55] He stated, the program, "was designed to lock up and deport 'major criminals' …those caught driving without a license," and, "people who are here illegally.[56] And, after two months of its implementation, when discussing jail crowding, he credited the program as a fast track deportation program with clear signs of success since its activation.[57]

In spite of their request to meet with Sheriff Conway being denied and being turned away, Gaby, Felipe, Isabel, and Carlos were committed to hold a press conference (Figure 4.7, 4.8). Embodying the teachings of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the walkers approached the courthouse with a newfound strength, formed by facing their fears, confronting individuals and crossing hostile racial geographies.[58] The press release stated that those present were from the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Georgia Latino Alliance for Human Rights (GLAHR), and Atlantans Building Leadership for Empowerment (ABLE). As an act of solidarity, many in attendance left their documents—state/voter ID card, passport, birth certificate—at home. To not carry "papers" asserted that those present stood

Figure 4.7 Trail of Dreams Image from www.trail2010.org

Figure 4.8 Screenshot Image from www.cbsatlanta.com

against the U.S. increase strategies of surveillance and governance, and that dignity transcends stated documentation. After hearing reports of Mexicanos/as and Latinas/os being broadly targeted by authorities in Gwinnett County, their goal was to remind the Sherriff that all immigrants are human and that they were not afraid.[59] The walkers were accompanied by legal advocacy groups to assist people in case of being detained and perhaps even deported for attending the meeting.

During the summer of 2015, I interviewed Carlos Roa over skype, who was now living in Chicago, Illinois finishing up school. Carlos, along with Felipe and Isabel, had all joined SWER in 2007, and in 2010 were living in Little Havana and attending Miami Dade College.[60] He was born in Caracas, Venezuela, and arrived in the U.S. at the age of two. In his interview, he recalled how "for the most part [of the Trail] I kept my head down [and] just walked," but in this particular meeting in Gwinnet County, he decided to speak.[61] He remembers being the main speaker that day, "a day [he] could never forget" because it was the four-year anniversary of his mother's passing after a long battle with cancer. He recalls the day as an emotional one but also as transformative.[62] It was a day where he evoked his family's and mother's strength, where he learned to be courageous and to "fight hard and for a better life."[63] In the following *Notes from the Trail* blog post, Carlos describes the need to take action against Sheriff "Butch" Conway and 287 (g) programs, who many referred to as the "Arpaio of the South."

> What Mr.Conway fails to mention, however, is how undocumented immigrants have become fearful of law enforcement who are seen no different to immigration agents. Hence, undocumented immigrants report less crimes to the Sheriff's office because of their fear of being criminalized for the lack of status, when many don't even have access to any pathway to citizenship.

Carlos's post brings attention to the widespread impact of 287(g) programs. Citing an ACLU and SPLC of Georgia report and testimonies, he shares how placing federal immigration enforcement in the hands of local police leads to a deep distrust between immigrant communities and local law enforcement. Moreover, the ACLU reported that Latina/o/x immigrants feared reporting and avoided "coming into contact with public officials because they fear that either they or their families will be targeted by law enforcement based on their actual or perceived immigration status."[64] Carlos's words sheds light to the prevalence of racial profiling in the state of Georgia, which is one of twenty states that does not explicitly prohibit law enforcement officers from racial profiling.[65]

Immigration and race scholars have documented how local immigration enforcement programs alter the operational priorities of local law enforcers, affect police-community relationships, and erode trust between police and immigrant communities.[66] Expanding immigration authority to the state creates a 'chill effect," the erosion of communication and cooperation with police and the creation of fear of deportation among undocumented immigrants and their family members.[67] In addition, the expansion of 287 (g) is the reason why undocumented migrants in Gwinnett County continue to live in fear and in the shadows. So, when asked to describe the Trail of Dreams, Carlos responds, "[I]t was a walk towards liberation, towards liberating, liberating ourselves from fear and oppression."[68] In both interview and blogs post, Carlos acknowledges the fear, the systemic oppression that pushes undocumented migrants into the shadows. For Felipe, they were ready to create a way "to have all voices heard."[69] And, for Gaby, this action meant "immigrants must come out of the shadows of fear." It is for these reasons that Carlos chose to speak up, to remove "our mental chains from systemic oppression," and confront the inhumanity of programs that adopt an attrition through enforcement approach—

"making the lives of immigrants as impossible as possible."[70] Moreover, he acknowledges their actions as a high risk in the following quote:

> The action we held was a risky situation for us, considering that we were undocumented entering a 287(g) county. His office tried to turn us away, but we were going to attempt to speak with him regardless. Our entire Trail team was fearful for our safety because of the high risk of getting deported, since we were going to civilly enter the Sheriff offices and declare our undocumented status and publicly denounce the 287(g) programs.[71]

What appeared as fearless acts of defiance were actually fraught with anxiety and fear. They were highly aware of the stakes of getting detained and/or deported when crossing county lines. And, once again, like their face off with the KKK, they saw their reunion not only as an opportunity to build understanding with Sheriff Conway but as a form of building power to affect broader change and transform systems of power. In fact, as stated by Carlos, they wanted undocumented immigrants across the nation "to harness that courage to begin their process of self-liberation and towards regaining their lost humanity, the humanity that can only be reclaimed by exercising the integrity of self-actualization."[72]

Carlos's plea would be heard across the nation as a constellation of local and national organizations led by undocumented youth took up the test and mobilized for a week of actions called National Coming out of the Shadows Week (March 15th to March 21st) which would kick-off on March 10th by a group of eight undocumented students at the Federal Plaza in Chicago, Illinois .[73] Inspired by the Trail's radical risk-taking movidas, undocumented youth online organizer and co-founder of DreamActivist.org, Mohammad Abdollahi posted a blog post on the Trail's website titled, "NO MORE FEAR, COME OUT!" on March 5th 2010. The call to action is worth citing at length because it demonstrates a national call that recognizes power inequities,

seeks recognition, and forges solidarities with other undocumented/undocuqueer youth across the U.S.;

In the words of Harvey Milk:

"Brothers and Sisters, you must come out! Come out to your parents, come out to your friends, if indeed they are your friends, come out to your neighbors, come out to your fellow workers. Once and for all, let's break down the myth and destroy the lies and distortions. For your sake, for their sake. For the sake of all the youngsters who've been scared." - Harvey Milk

The day is almost here. On March 10th, undocumented youth all over this country will finally come out the shadows and lay claim to their own futures launching us into our week of action, the National Coming out of the Shadows week (March 15th to the 21st). No longer will we let ourselves be intimidated, scared and ashamed. We have worked long and hard, we have risen to meet every challenge and we have made this country a better place for all. And yet, we are relegated to live in fear. So let us come out and end this fear.

Yes, we are undocumented. We do not have those nine magic numbers. We are without papers. But we are not and have never been without identities, without dreams, without hope for the future. The time is NOW to claim our identities, our country, our rights, and our dreams.

And it begins with YOU. It is your time to come out as an undocumented youth. But you are not alone. Hundreds of thousands of promising young people, just like yourself, are making the decision to come out with you. Together, we are coming out of the shadows, leaving behind the fear and the broken promise of the American Dream. We are empowering ourselves to seek a better future, a future in which we

> are respected, in which our families live with dignity, in which our American Dream is possible.
>
> We know that coming out as undocumented is a terrifying thought for many of us. But we also know that the experience is empowering and liberating for each of us, as well as for all of us as a community. We have created a guide to coming out to help you work through your fears and come up with coming out plan that is right for you. You can find that guide here. Additionally, you can contact us for help in planning your coming out. We are here to support each other through this process!
>
> We have prepared a guide to help you get going, in addition to different levels of coming out, check it out here: Coming out, A How to Guide.
>
> Will you come out with me?

DreamActivist.org's call not only embraced the strategies and politics of the Trail, but again, similar to Felipe's testimonio, Harvey Milk's quote serves as a reminder of how undocumented youth organizers appropriated a Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender and Queer political strategy. Again, these strategies demonstrate how these communities, Brown, migrant and queer are linked across time and space. Drawing directly from Milk, the first openly gay elected official in California, and the LGBT National Coming Out Day, National Coming Out of the Shadows Day and Week encouraged undocumented youth to reveal their undocumented status publically "in a host of public forums, including in videos, at rallies, in letters to elected officials, and generally to people they know."[74] Carlos Saavedra, the national field coordinator for United We Dream, stated that, "The courage shown by these students highlights the character of a generation of immigrant youth, willing to lay everything on the line in the hopes of claiming the American Dream as their own. It is time we as a nation recognize the true worth of these untapped resources."[75] As noted by communications scholar, Karma Chávez, it became a prominent event

because it fortified a connection between the fight for migrant rights and queer rights, and uplifted the presence of queer migrants within a national movement with a rising political authority.[76] In addition to supporting solidarity actions across the U.S., the Trail would continue to post cyber testimonios titled, "Walking into the light," and announcing, "WE ARE HUMANS TOO AND WE CANNOT BE IGNORED AND EXPLOITED ANYMORE." Equally important, a supporter of the Trail posted a comment the morning of March 3rd 2010, citing black lesbian feminist writer and poet, Audre Lorde's famous quote, "When I dare to be powerful - to use my strength in the service of my vision, then it becomes less and less important whether I am afraid.[77]"

Conclusion

My goal is not to cast-off traditional social movement frames but rather integrate the use of women of color feminism in the context in which coalition building is practiced, such as when undocumented/undocuqueer resist against the KKK, the sheriff and risk detention and deportation. I find that undocumented/undocuqueer youth activists' radical-risk taking movidas in the southeastern U.S. were transformative and emancipatory. Indeed, undocumented youth began a process of self-liberation or what educational scholar Genevieve Negrón-Gonzales calls an oppositional consciousness, a political force and acts of community building that are an expression of their constant navigation of illegality.[78]

Notes

[1] "realmente estuvo muy difícil para mí porque yo decía donde está la gente. ¿La gente de aquí, no hay gente - dónde va la gente? Vengo de la ciudad de México que tiene gente las 24 horas del día, transporte; te sientes aquí pues no había transporte y si no manejadas no voy a ningún lado."

[2] Amalia Pallares. *Family Activism: Immigrant Struggles and the Politics of Noncitizenship* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015), ###

[3] Mohammad Abdollahi, "No More Fear, Come Out*," Notes from the Trail,* March 5, 2010. Original post appeared on http://dreamactivist.org/comeout but is no longer accessible. The call for action was reposted on the Trail's blog post.

[4] In 1970, in all of Georgia there were only 294 Mexican-identified newborns. Exhibition text, *NUEVOlution! Latinos in the New South*, Atlanta History Museum, Atlanta, GA.

[5] "Georgia Quick Facts," United States Census Bureau, last accessed March 1, 2019, https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/ga/POP010210.

[6]"Demographic Profile of Hispanics in Georgia, 2014," Demographic and Economic Profiles of Hispanics by State and County, 2014, Pew Research Center, last modified March 1, 2019, https://www.pewhispanic.org/states/state/ga/.

[7] During my interview with Adelina, she mentioned there were currently 19 comités populares across the state of Georgia. At the center of their organizing, comités populares establish the importance of dialog, building trust, developing strong relationships and mobilizing against social injustices. Consequently, majority of the coordinators of the committees are Mexican/Latina undocumented women and mothers. For reasons of security, I do not disclose locations of the comités.

[8] Felipe Matos, "I am learning to crawl in my new skin*," Notes from the Trail,* January 29, 2010.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Felipe Matos, "I am learning to crawl in my new skin*," Notes from the Trail,* January 29, 2010.

[12] Jennifer Maddox Parks, "Group pushes immigration reform via 'Trail of Dreams,' The Albany Herald, February 16, 2010.

[13] Felipe Matos, "Innocent Voices," Notes from the Trail, January 29, 2010

[14] Molina, Natalia. *How Race Is Made in America : Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014) 5–10.

[15] Natalia Molina, "Examining Chicana/o History through a Relational Lens," *Pacific Historical Review 82, no. 4 (2013), 522.*

[16] Ibid.

[17] Jennifer Maddox Parks, "Group pushes immigration reform via 'Trail of Dreams,' The Albany Herald, February 16, 2010

[18] Luis*, Interview with author*, August, 2015 "Estuvimos muy cerca de lograrlo, recolectamos bastantes firmas que era uno de los requisitos, pero al final las personas que apoyaban el movimiento dentro del capitolio del estado, se echaron para atrás y ya no se pudo lograr el objetivo."

[19] Ibid. "Me mandaron la información, y con la voluntad que tengo, ya empecé a trabajar para recibir y ayudar a estos jóvenes que iban a pasar, precisamente por aquí, por el área. Fui a recibirlos desde la línea, desde donde comienza el estado de Georgia, ahí nos los entregó una organización de Florida."

[20] Carlos Roa, "Free Spirited Koinonia," *Notes from the Trail*, February 18, 2010.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Meagan, "Gwinnet County Sheriff Meeting," *Notes from the Trail*, March 3 2010.

[23] Linda Carolina Perez, "Atlanta Recibio A Los Caminantes," *Mundo Hispano Newspaper*, February 2010

[24] Meagan, "Entering Atlanta in Solidarity," *Notes from the Trail*, March 3 2010.

[25] Felipe Blog Post Innocent Voices

[26] I use coalition and alliances interchangeably with the understanding that they come in many shapes and forms, sometimes calling themselves partnerships, networks, and colectivos. A 2010 publication, *Connecting at the Crossroads; Alliance Building And Social Change in Tough Times,* by Jennifer Ito, Rhonda Ortiz, and Manuel Pastor and commissioned by Public Interests Projects has been a valuable source to understanding the inner working of alliances. The report is based on 30 interviews with key leaders and a June 2010 convening of movement leaders across the U.S. An estimated seven interviewees were from the South.

[27] Many scholars have written about Black and Brown coalition building across the U.S.; see Behnken, Brian D. *Civil Rights and Beyond;* Jill M. Bystydzienski and Steven P. Schacht. *Forging Radical Alliances across Difference;* Gaye Theresa Johnson, *Spaces of Conflict, Sounds of Solidarity;* Josh Kun, and Laura Pulido. *Black and Brown in Los Angeles;* Frederick Douglass Opie, James Perales, and Lisa Hamm. *Upsetting the Apple Cart: Black-Latino Coalitions in New York City;* Paul Ortiz. *An African American and Latinx History of the United States;* Laura Pulido. *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles;* Edward Telles, Mark Q. Sawyer, and Gaspar Rivera-Salgado. *Just Neighbors?: Research on African American and Latino Relations.*

[28] Ito, "Connecting," 2010.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Jill M. Bystydzienski, and Steven P. Schacht. *Forging Radical Alliances across Difference: Coalition Politics for the New Millennium. (*London; Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001).

[31] See Chapter I.
[32] Pallares, *Family Activism,* 12.

[33] Bystydzienski, and Schacht, *Forging Alliances, ###.*

[34] Karma R. Chávez, Karma R. *Queer Migration Politics: Activist Rhetoric and Coalitional Possibilities.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013) 7.

[35] Cathy J. Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?". *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 3, no. 4 (1997): 462.

[36] Bernice Reagon Johnson. "Coalition Politics: Turning the Century." In *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology*, edited by Barbara Smith. (New Brunswick: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1983), 343.

[37] *Chicana Movidas* by Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell, represents one of the most recent and comprehensive account of women's organizing, activism, and leadership in the Chicana/o Movement. My use of *movidas*, takes up, not only their conceptual thread, but also Gloria Anzaldúa's (2002, 2015) articulation of the shifting grounds, and Chela Sandoval's (1999) definition as revolutionary maneuvers and technologies.

[38] At the end of *This Bridge*'s preface Cherríe Moraga ends with the following phrase, "For the women in this book, I will lay my body down for that vision. *This Bridge Called My Back,"* as part of her reflection to the anthology which she titled, "La Jornada."

[39] Maria, interview with author, August 2015.

[40] Tim Elfrink, "Five in Homestead Fasting in Hopes of Forcing Obama to Halt Deportations," *Miami New Times* (Miami, FL), Jan. 7, 2010.

[41] Official Statement from Fasters. 2010. "Breaking Our Fast and Continuing Our Struggle." *Fast for Families Campaign* (blog) January 17, 2010.
https://sites.google.com/site/fastforourfamilies/breaking-our-fast-continuing-the-struggle

[42] Roa, Carlos. 2010. "Reflections on Haiti." *Notes from the Trail*(blog) January 15, 2010.
http://www.trail2010.org/blog/2010/jan/15/reflections/

[43] The works Gloria Anzaldúa, Cathy Cohen, Chandra Mohanty, and Dean Spade have inspired me to examine what a radical collective identity by third world women, lesbians, feminist, transgendered, queers, and undocumented would look like.

[44] Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color.* (Mass.: Persephone Press, 1981) xxv-xli.

[45] Mario Guevara, "Odio y Rencor Sin Mascaras," *Mundo Hispanico*, February 25, 2010.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Zaragosa Vargas. *Crucible of Struggle: A History of Mexican Americans from Colonial Times to the Present Era.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016)

[48] Ibid.

[49] Gordon Jackson, "Cheers, Jeers Greet Klan rally in Nahunta," *The Florida Times-Union*, February 20, 2010.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Rodriguez, Juan. 2010. "Contradictions." *Notes from the Trail*(blog) February 20, 2010. http://www.trail2010.org/blog/2010/feb/20/contradictions/

[53] Bernice Johnson Reagon's understanding of coalitional politics can be traced back to her field secretary days at Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in her home town of Albany, Georgia. She participated on the Freedom Rides, sit-ins, demonstrations and worked on voter registration. Moreover, she combined organizing with singing with the Freedom Singers. Fifty years later, the Trail would also walk through the same cities she participated in demonstrations (Albany and Cairo).

[54] Department of Homeland Security. "Memorandum of Agreement." Official Website of the Department of Homeland Secutity. May 27, 2018. https://www.ice.gov/287g

[55] Hamacher, Heath. 2009. "Sheriff hails start of 287(g)." *Gwinnett Daily Post*, November 15, 2009.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Author unknown, interview, gwinnettdailypost.com Sheriff: 287(g) works, January 10th 2010

[58] Roa, Carlos. 2010. "Confronting 287(G)." *Notes from the Trail*(blog) March 15, 2010. http://trail2010.org/es/blog/2010/mar/15/confronting-287g/

[59] Meagan. 2010. "Gwinnett County Sheriff Meeting." *Notes from the Trail*(blog) March 3, 2010.

[60] During Felipe's interview, he shares how Miami-Dade College "in many ways still is the hub of undocumented youth," and was a place where their organizing efforts were supported.

[61] Carlos Roa*,* interview with author, August 2015.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Roa, Carlos. 2010. "Confronting 287(G)." *Notes from the Trail*(blog) March 15, 2010. http://trail2010.org/es/blog/2010/mar/15/confronting-287g/

[64] Azadeh Shahshahani, *The Persistance of Racial Profiling in Gwinett: Time for Accountability, Transperancy, and an End to 287(g)* (Atlanta: American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia, 2010), 8.

[65] Shashahani, *The Persistance*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. *Born Suspect: Stop-and-Frisk A buses & the Continued Fight to End Racial Profiling in America*. (Baltimore, MD: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 2014).

[66] Mai Thi Nguyen and Hannah Gill. "Interior immigration enforcement: The impacts of expanding local law enforcement authority," *Urban Studies* 53. no. 2 (2017):302-323; Amanda Armenta and Isabela Alvarez, "Policing immigrants or policing immigration? Understanding local law enforcement participation in immigration control," *Sociology Compass* 11, no. 2 (2017).

[67] Nguyen and Gill, "Interior Immigration Enforcement," 305.

[68] Carlos Roa, interview with author, August 2015.

[69] Matos, Felipe. 2010. "Tomorrow, we will not be afraid." *Notes from the Trail*(blog) March 3, 2010.

[70] Carlos Roa, interview with author, August 2015.

[71] Roa, Carlos. 2010. "Confronting 287(G)." *Notes from the Trail*(blog) March 15, 2010.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Mohammad Abdollahi, "No More Fear, Come Out*," Notes from the Trail,* March 5, 2010. Original post appeared on http://dreamactivist.org/comeout but is no longer accessible. The call for action was reposted on the Trail's blog post.

[74] Karma Chávez, *Queer migration Politics: Activist Rhetoric and Coalitional Possibilities* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 80-81.

[75] William Perez, "Risking Deportation, Undocumented Students Publicly Disclose Their Status to Advocate for the Dream Act," The Huffington Post, March 15, 2010.

[76] Ibid. Chavez also notes how "coming out of the shadows" also provided a "lens to understand the difference between movement, the risks and opportunities" between differently positioned groups using the same tactic and how it "opened up a discursive space for the evolution of the strategy to be used toward alternative queer migration coalitions and coalitional moments, which reveals both the tenacity and flexibility of rhetorical strategies." 81.

[77] Jimenez, Laura. 2010. "Notes from the Trail Comments." Confronting 287(G), *Notes from the Trail*(blog) March 3, 2010

[78] Genevieve Negron-Gonzales, "Navigating "Illegality": Undocumented Youth & Oppositional Consciousness." *Children and Youth Services Review* 35 (2013): 1284-90.

CONCLUSION

> There were sometimes moments of struggle in terms of analysis, philosophy, and ideology about what to do and how to move forward with certain things that were happening... There was also just tensions around living on a bus at this point, for three to four months, and what that looks like. Small quarters, going through places that obviously don't care for immigrant youth, brown youth, queer youth, all that stuff. And then there was this other level of political tension. Towards the end of the Trail, there was a huge tension just politically in terms of the DREAM Act, in terms of tactics that were used to push it.[1]

As I ask Alex to describe her experience on the Trail, she begins to share about the growing tensions as they approached Washington D.C. During our interview, she begins to piece together the remaining month of the Trail for me. My interviews with the walkers concerning the final weeks had amassed some fuzzy recollections so Alex's interview along with others helped me piece together what was a taxing and hectic homestretch. As one organizer described it, "it got more intense, it got more hyped."[2]

I had the opportunity to interview Alex over the phone, who was now a practicing immigration attorney in California. Her family had migrated to southwest Florida from Chile when she was seven years old. Alex's reflection captures the Trail's final visits. She was 22 years old, a recent college graduate and, along with her sibling, co-founded CHISPAS, a campus migrant rights organization at the University of Florida at Gainesville. She remembers looking for an organizing job that would allow her to be part of a growing youth organizing network in Florida. The Trail had just exited the state of Georgia, when Alex heard that they "were struggling with some of the logistics support on the ground," such as security and organization of resources.

Unlike, Florida and Georgia, networks and organizations were scattered and not part of a larger statewide network. She felt connected to the work and was present at the kickoff in Miami on January 1st, so when it came down to it, she too, quit her job, spoke with her partner and parents, and drove to the Greyhound bus station, where she would board a bus to eventually meet with the Trail in Spartanburg, South Carolina.

The Homecoming Stretch

The homestretch through the South and North Carolinas was filled with campus visits at predominately white institutions and churches. The Trail, also, visited Greensboro's International Civil Rights Center and Museum, formerly the historic Woolworth department store, the site of the 1960 student-led lunch counter sit-ins, which later spread to college towns throughout the South.[3] Once more, the Trail was gaining admiration, Sage, a white youth organizer, who later joined the Trail after they visited his North Carolina college campus, remembers the diversity of the walkers:

> Sometimes old people would ride beside us, because they couldn't walk or would try to walk. Sometimes people would bring their babies and they would be pushing their baby strollers along the sidewalk or the grass or whatever to walk with us. Yes, people of all race, ethnicity, immigration, relationship to the state ... It was awesome.[4]

In addition, a group of youth from New York, New York State Youth Leadership Council (NYSYLC), had just launched a solidarity walk on April 10th 2010, the New York Trail of Dreams from New York City to Washington D.C. to meet up with the Trail on May 1st.[5] However, as Alex noted tensions were rising and moments of struggle were emerging.

The political climate was changing and people's ideologies were shifting. During a gathering, Alex remembers undocumented youth activists were beginning to say, "We are undocumented and unafraid," a definite spark created by the Trail. Carlos also recalls this new-found courage also led to major disagreements between the walkers. He recalls how Gaby wanted to risk arrest in North Carolina and how that caused a major rift between them. For Carlos, it was important to finish the walk, he had made a promise to himself and to everybody else, he was going to not stop until he reached D.C. Without a doubt, as the Trail approached Washington D.C. for May Day actions at the White House rifts were emerging between the walkers.

When asked about inclusive and intersectional spaces along the Trail, many remembered their hosts, Southerners On New Ground (SONG) in Durham, North Carolina. They were a regional queer liberation organization made up of LGBTQ people throughout the South.[6] SONG hosted the Trail for a few days, invited the group to gatherings and allowed them to stay at their "homo house." Alex discusses the importance of linking up with organizations and making sure the Trail was "connecting the struggle of what it was to be undocumented with what it was to be another marginalized community member, whether it was being black and undocumented, or being black in the South." In fact, North Carolina organizations, like North Carolina Justice Center (NCJC), Southern Coalition for Social Justice (SCSJ), and Student Action with Farmworkers (SAF) pledged their support and welcomed the Trail "as activists challenging multiple oppressions," who "look to connect their stories and struggles with organizing work of all oppressed communities in the South."[7] At this time, it was crucial for the Trail to connect "the struggles beyond immigrant rights," especially since both Felipe and Isabel identified as queer. Felipe vividly remembers his time with SONG:

> Then in North Carolina I had the opportunity to hang out with SONG, I felt guilty a lot, a lot. It was very meaningful, they had a house called the homo house in the city of Durham and it was a safe place, to be queer, to be an immigrant, to be who I was. It was the first time that I experienced calm, feeling I was entitled to be who I was anywhere, in my entire life, so that was beautiful.[8]

Felipe's time at SONG was an empowering moment where he felt at home, mainly because he was still combating with his internalized homophobia during the walk and confronting homophobia all the time.[9] In addition, Felipe disclosed that his first empowering moment as a queer migrant was in Atlanta, where both, Isabel and he participated in a video conference with gay bloggers from across the United States.[10] It was their first opportunity to speak openly about who they were as undocuqueer youth activists. At that moment, Felipe recalls still being "newly gay" and not having enough strength for saying, "I'm queer and I'm unashamed," yet. It would be these mixed emotions and rawness that would lead to tough decisions, especially in Virginia.

Since its inception, the Trail struggled with Felipe's and Isabel's (formerly Juan) gay relationship as a collective safety and support concern. Participants and logistical support staff shared how mostly faith groups and churches would request that Isabel and Felipe not be "flirty," "come across as a couple," "sit next to each other," or really show that they were queer.[11] As documented in interviews their decision to accept the speaking engagement continues to pain both of them.[12] Isabel admits that the experience was a horrible moment for both of them "because it forced [them] both back into the closet."[13] Additionally, Felipe recounted how at multiple times his queerness was not honored and how he regretted his decision to speak on stage to a congregation of over 300 people:

> So, I went up to the stage, and there were 300, mostly from their congregations. The right thing to say was that, "I'm queer, Isabel is my partner. I love him and

> we are also immigrants, blah blah blah." I didn't do that…And, you know, I think Isabel felt really betrayed that day and rightfully so because I should have acted differently.[14]

The experiences of both Felipe, Isabel and others illustrate the complexity and contradictions of migrant rights organizing in the conservative South, especially when the Undocumented Youth Movement was daring other undocumented/undocuqueer youth to come out of the shadows. Felipe's feelings of having to succumb to silencing his queerness demonstrates how the Trail confronted a love for diverse groups while members of these groups did not relate to each other or do not know how to work together. Moreover, it illustrates how these moments harm and mark undocumented/undocuqueer leaders along the Trail. Facing multiple choices along the Trail, Felipe's and Isabel's choice to speak exposed the internal dynamics of how alliances and coalitions form and work. How do organizations and people across difference share space or don't share space? And, how can we align ourselves with groups who are different from and at odds with each other?[15] As the Trail approached and entered Washington D.C. on May 1st these questions would be trickier to answer.

Trail of Dream Take Aways

After four months of walking over 1,500 miles and visiting over 150 cities, the walkers had become ideal organizers to push President Obama to grant legal status to undocumented migrants. Labor unions, congressional leaders, traditional immigrant rights advocates, and undocumented youth leaders recognized the impact of the Trail and "thousands" wanted the walkers to push their demands at President Obama. They had become the ideal advocates because of the stories and talents they had learned and developed along the Trail. My research uncovered how organizers became skilled in multiple tasks, roles and responsibilities. Not only did they walk fifteen to twenty-five miles a day but they became knowledgeable in organizing

press conferences and speaking to Spanish, English and International media; facilitating community dialogues between youth and adult leaders; coordinating visits with law makers, college deans, police sheriffs and elected officials; managed and curated website and social media channels, to name a few. Moreover, they were involved in an organic cross-training that allowed them to become knowledge and thoughtful of people's histories and struggles. They then carried these stories and became storytellers. In fact, post-Trail, the walkers were invited to organize and support the fight against SB 1070, Arizona's "show me your papers" law which allowed state law enforcement officers to determine an individual's immigration status when there is a reasonable suspicion that the individual is undocumented.

Throughout this dissertation I have demonstrated how an *undocuqueer critique* best captures movement building and mobilizations led by undocumented/undocuqueer youth. Instead of relying on traditional of approaches to studying social movements, I pulled from women of color feminist, feminist and queer migration scholars, and queer of color critique to stitch together the lens and tools necessary to understand what it takes to bring non-normative and queer groups together into strong coalitions. The use of women of color feminism and their theories of coalescing allowed for the reorientation of traditional frames and a reading practice of social movements that allows us to uncover and highlight the ingenuity and voices of undocumented-women of color, -queers, -feminist and non-traditional leaders. Furthermore, due to the Trail's coalition work and radical politic, many (youth) organizing spaces and networks emerged in Florida, Georgia and North Carolina. Similar to women of color feminists (Anzaldúa, Cohen, Davis, Johnson, Martinez, Moraga, and Sandoval), their political activism set the ideological groundwork and organizational infrastructure that has allowed for more radical organizing to occur in the southeast, such the emergence of the undocumented and unafraid activism of 2010.

An examination of the Trail of Dreams demonstrates how a collective action led by non-normative and queer political subjects—undocumented/undocuqueer migrants living in the southeastern U.S.— unveiled new visions of democracy and coalitional building strategies that work to balance power relations. For example, we saw that, centering undocumented/ undocuqueer leadership generated alternative ways of doing politics (*movidas rascuaches,* horizontal leadership structures, *transmedia organizing)* because of their very different position from which they viewed power. We saw, as well, how public testimony and *cyber testimonios,* in public spaces or online, not only served as a tool for education or advocacy, but rather became an act of presenting the self and the body as an assertion of difference. The Trail had become an act that challenged systems of domination-subordination and spatial control across the southeastern U.S. Additionally, its strategies shifted the imagination of undocumented youth in the United States, changed how Americans viewed undocumented migrants, and shifted how undocumented/undocuqueer activists built spaces of community. These examples demonstrate how one's relation to power (intersecting racial, gender, sexual, and legal status practices) antagonize and or conspire with the normative investments of nation-states and capital.

Remaining Playfulness as Strategy in Hostile times

Over the course of four years, researching and writing about the Trail, it seems to me that there are certain moments the Trail and youth leaders repeatedly encountered. As one might expect, the youth entered hostile "worlds" in which their presence and message were acts of resistance. However, at other times undocumented/undocuqueer youth activists were required to simply travel to other and new "worlds," worlds they had never experienced before but always did so with an openness. Put differently, these activists traveled to unfamiliar worlds "lovingly." For undocumented/undocuqueer youth activists to cross into other "worlds," I have found they

were driven by an openness, creativity, and loving spirit, to use Maria Lugones's words - a playful attitude.[16]

For the young activists I interviewed, they seemed to enact the possibilities of Lugones's 'world'-traveling and a commitment to an openness. For four months, the walkers and coalition partners took up creative means in educating people along the Trail. They were committed to abandoning traditional forms of political engagement and adopting new and not so new strategies and tactics. As undocumented/undocuqueer activists they led an on-the-ground and social media campaign that took them out of their comfort zones, out from the shadows and placed them in the sights of malicious forces and oppressive policies in 2010. First, they walked across the US South which has a long history of abusive federal immigration enforcement that has produced a hostile political climate in which many Latina/o/x immigrants live and work. Second, they faced-off with individuals and organizations, who historically have detained, deported and terrorized undocumented migrants. And, consequently, they defied local, state and federal law enforcement partnerships like 287(g), which not only deputized local police officers as federal immigration agents but was linked to fast tracking detention and deportation roundups. I have written about these risk-taking acts and how they connected a variety of non-normative and queer formations across the U.S. South. Oh yes, it is these courageous acts of "world"-traveling that attracted me to study the Trail and Latina/o/x activism in the U.S. South.

By naming the Trail as an act of "world"-traveling, I, too, am acknowledging its loving attitude, or what Lugones calls "playfulness" that was so central to their daily efforts. Driven by lack of self-importance and uncertainty they weaved through city, county, and state lines, and harsh landscapes; visiting people's homes, sleeping in living rooms, and holding meetings in people's backyards; breaking bread on different dining tables; meeting with community members in labor halls, churches, colleges, and parks. For me, only an attitude of playfulness

can characterize such precarious undertakings and acts of crossing into other "worlds," places and spaces. It was a mode of action in which they walked and organized within. Additionally, I have come to see these "world"-travels as transformative moments along the Trail. In multiple interviews, walkers, coalition partners, adult and youth allies, spoke about how these confrontational tactics and community building events challenged the anti-Black, anti-LGBTQ, anti-Muslim, anti-indigenous, and anti–migrant worlds that constructed them. Indeed, undocuqueers lovingly traveling into unfamiliar "worlds," risking detention and deportation, in order to self-construct or reconstruct the "worlds" they wish to occupy. And, as Lugones states permitted an "openness to risk the ground that constructs us as oppressors or as oppressed or as collaborating or colluding with oppression."[17]

Scholars and Activists Must Place an Importance on Space and Place

To conclude, I discovered that these testimonios illuminated lived experiences and political activisms that spoke to a place-specific racialization and heteronormative project that nurtured the incorporation of some Latina/o/x migrants over others. For example, I understand now that Miami's Cuban immigrant power structure cannot be understood along a black and white color line but rather within a tri-racial order—also known as Latin American-like racial order—that complicates how race, gender, sexuality and legal status work in the United States. In the case of the Trail of Dream walkers and organizers, their experience negotiating inside Miami's political climate must be understood in relation to the city's legacy of upholding white supremacy that offers light skin, upper- and middle-class Cuban Americans and DREAMers honorary white status, while simultaneously rendering migrants from the African diaspora and African Americans invisible. Moreover, we must keep in mind that the processes through which

people became white, Black, undocumented, and Latina/o/x in the United States is intricately tied to the ongoing dispossession of indigenous peoples.[18]

Second, not only do I agree with ethnic studies scholars and cultural geographers whose research is devoted to writing a thorough account of the history of people of color, but I would make the case that we must continue to write histories of resistance that privilege a relational and regional approach to studying racialization. Doing so allows us to understand how the fight against deportation and detention, as well as whom migrant rights activists encounter—which is shaped by local history and localized knowledge—inform their political consciousness and activism. Based on the experiences and perspectives of activists in the southeastern U.S., this dissertation argued the need to recognize everyday landscapes as crucial terrains through which racial hierarchies are challenged. In future work scholars must study how Latina/o/x resistance—like the Trail of Dreams—emerges from, reflects, and challenges racial formation dynamics.

Finally, I aim to not only encourage alternative approaches that study social movements and undocumented/undocuqueer racialization as deeply spatial, but also show the need for building movements and political tactics and strategies that are cross-sector, multi-issue, and place-based. This not only means the need to direct migrant rights activism to local and state contexts, which was the case after the inability to get the DREAM Act in 2010, but also a commitment to develop local campaigns that address the spatialized racial history of an area. Indeed, this means incorporating local knowledges within a specific place. Put another way, I wish to underscore how we need to avoid exacerbating racialized experiences of erasure of indigenous communities and Blackness within migrant rights activism. Addressing the multiplicity of histories as a key aspect within developing political campaigns pushes social movement scholars and activists to center ways of knowing that offer alternative worldviews to resist white supremacy.

Notes

[1] Alex, interview with author, October 2018. During her interview Alex shared how she was "undocumented for most of the time" while at UF and then shifted into a precarious legal status at the end of senior year.

[2] Sage, interview with author, August 2015

[3] Alex, "Walk. Think. Realize: Looking back on Greensboro," *Notes from the Trail*, April 2nd 2010

[4] Sage, interview with author, August 2015

[5] Alejo, "Trail of Dreams NY is takes its first steps in just a few days," *Notes from the Trail*, April 7, 2010.

[6] SONG is a home for LGBTQ liberation across all lines of race, class, abilities, age, culture, gender, and sexuality in the South. They build, sustain, and connect a southern regional base of LBGTQ people in order to transform the region through strategic projects and campaigns developed in response to the current conditions in our communities. SONG builds this movement through leadership development, intersectional analysis, and organizing. "About Page," SONG Official Website, accessed April 1, 2019, http://southernersonnewground.org/about/

[7] Grey, "A Message from North Carolina," Notes From the Trail, April 5th 2010.

[8] Felipe, interview with author, July 2015

[9] Ibid.

[10] During his interview, Felipe admitted that he was only 23 and it had been a year since he had come out and "the rawness of being queer" was a lot stronger.

[11] Felipe, interview with author, July 2015; Greg Jobin-Leeds and AgitArte, *When We Fights, We Win: Twenty-First Century Social Movements and the Activists That Are Transforming Our World.* (New York: The New Press, 2016), 79-93

[12] Jobin-Leeds and AgitArte, *When We Fights,* 92

[13] Ibid.

[14] Felipe, interview with author, July 2015

[15] See Anzaldúa's essay, "Bridge, Drawbridge, Sandbar, or Island; Lesbians-of-Color Haciendo Alianzas," for a discussion on the internal dynamics of how alliances form. My questions are guided by her own questions that she proposes in her keynote address to the the Lesbian Plenary Session of the annual conference for the National Women's Studies Association in 1988. She asks: 1. How do we share or don't share space while in coalition? 2. How can we align ourselves

with individuals or groups who are different from and at odds with each other? and 3. How can we reconcile one's love for diverse groups when members of these groups do not love each other, cannot relate to each other, and don't know how to work together? Gloria Anzaldúa, "Bridge, Drawbridge, Sandbar, or Island: Lesbians-of-Color Hacienda Alianzas." In *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader*, edited by AnaLouise Keating, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 376.

[16] Maria Lugones, *Pilgrimages-Peregrinajes* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 93-96.

[17] Lugones, *Pilgrimages,* 96.

[18] Laura Pulido, "Geographies of race and ethnicity III: Settler colonialism and nonnative people of color," *Progress in Human Geography*, 2017, 42:2, 1-10.

Appendix A

Interview Protocol - Walker
Semi-Structure Interview Questionnaire

Guiding Questions:

1.) How does the Trail of Dreams redefine our understanding of the categories of race, gender, class, and sexuality and new social movements in the 21st century?

2.) What are some of the tactics and strategies implemented to create institutional change in the rural South? How do undocumented youth mobilize their available resources (allies, networks, community) to advocate for change?

3.) What are challenges, successes and axiss of solidarity in organizing for migrant rights (DREAM ACT) as an undocumented Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer student?

2.) How do you negotiate ideological politics and identity politics between queer and heterosexual organizing spaces?

This project explores how Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer (LGBTQ) undocumented immigrant activists have participated and influenced the fight for migrant rights and LGBTQ rights in the rural South.

1.) Can you please share your age and your preferred gender pronoun (PGP) and briefly describe your occupation or what you are currently studying?

2.) Could you please share with me about your youth, and background? Where is your family from? Where were you born and raised?

3.) When did you become aware of your legal status in the United States? Is there a particular incident?

4.) When did you become aware of your sexuality? What has been your experience as a Queer Person of Color or being an Ally to Queer People of Color here in Florida, Georgia, or South & North Carolina?

5.) How did you get involved with the undocumented youth movement?

Questions about the Trail Of Dreams –

6.) I understand you were involved in the Trail of Dreams in 2010? What role did you play? How did you get involved?
I understand you were one of the main walkers/organizers/bloggers during the Trail of Dreams? What inspired you to do this?

7.) Could you please describe the Trail of Dreams to me? Who participated in this walk?

8.) Tell me about the organizing of the Trail of Dreams? Whose idea was it? How was the route decided? How was it publicized? How were the walkers selected?

9.) What was the goal(s) of the Trail? At the end, did you reach them? If not, why?

10.) Did the organizing of the Trail of Dreams surface any internal debates? Any reservations among members?

11.) Can you describe the kind of space created during the walk? What would you have liked to have created?

12.) Tell me about a particular event during the Trail where you felt completely included as a queer person/ally and an undocumented person? Why? Or Why not?

13.) Tell me about a particular event during the Trail were you felt completely excluded as a queer person/ally and an undocumented person? Why? Or Why not?

Questions about Undocuqueer Youth Activism –

14.) How inclusive is the migrant rights movement in the rural South towards the queer undocumented community?

15.) Can you describe any gender inequity within cultural or political queer spaces?

16.) In what ways, have queer undocumented youth introduced new narratives to the migrant and LGBTQ rights?

17.) What points of unity exist with other organizations for undocumented youth activists? What are these points that tie you together?

18.) Can you describe the impact that you think the Trail of Dreams has had on the undocumented youth movement and the migrant rights movement?

19.) What did the Trail of Dreams mean for you? as a walker? an organizer? an ally?

20.) How would you like for the Trail to be remembered in history? How do you think it will be understood in terms of race, class, gender, and sexuality?

Thank you for your time and for sharing your experiences with me. Is there anything else you would like to share with me?

Protocolo de Entrevista – Caminante Activista
Semi-estructura del Cuestionario de Entrevista

Preguntas de Guia:

1. ¿Cómo redefine el Camino de Sueños (*Trail of Dreams*) nuestro entendimiento de las categorías de raza, sexo, clase, y sexualidad y los movimientos sociales nuevos en el siglo 21?

2. ¿Cuáles son algunas de las tácticas y estrategias implementadas para crear cambio institucional en el sur rural? ¿Cómo movilizan los jóvenes indocumentados sus recursos disponibles (aliados, redes, comunidad) para abogar por el cambio?

3. ¿Cuáles son los retos, éxitos y ejes solidarios en organizar para los derechos del inmigrante (DREAM ACT) como estudiante lesbiana, gay, bisexual, transgénero?

4. ¿Cómo negocias la política ideológica y la política de identidad entre espacios gay y heterosexuales?

Este proyecto explora la participación e influencia de los activistas inmigrantes indocumentados lesbianas, gay, bisexual y transgénero (LGBTQ por sus siglas en ingles) en la lucha de los derechos inmigrantes y derechos LGBTQ en el sur rural.

1. ¿Puedes compartir tu edad y pronombre de preferencia de género y brevemente describir tu posición y/o lo que estudias actualmente?

2. ¿Puedes compartir sobre tu juventud y trasfondo (tu historia)? ¿De dónde es tu familia? ¿Dónde naciste y donde creciste?

3. ¿Cuándo te diste cuenta sobre tu estatus legal en los Estados Unidos? ¿Algún incidente en particular?

4. ¿Cuándo te diste cuenta de tu identidad sexual? ¿Cuál ha sido tu experiencia como persona gay de color aquí en la Florida, Georgia, o Carolina del Sur o del Norte?

5. ¿Cómo te involucraste en el movimiento de jóvenes indocumentados?

Preguntas sobre el Camino de los Sueños –

6. ¿Según entiendo, estuviste involucrad@ en el Trail of Dream en el 2010? ¿Qué papel tomaste? ¿Cómo te involucraste?
   ¿Según entiendo fuiste uno de los organizadores/blogger durante *Trail of Dreams*? ¿Qué te inspiro a hacer esto?

7. ¿Podrías describir el *Trail of Dreams*? ¿Quién participó en esta caminata?

8. Cuéntame ¿cómo fue el organizar el *Trail of Dreams*? ¿De quién fue la idea? ¿Cómo se decidió la ruta? ¿Cómo se publicó? ¿Cómo se eligieron a los caminantes?

9. ¿Cuál era la meta(s)? ¿Se lograron? Si no, ¿por qué?

10. ¿Sucedieron debates internos al organizar el Trail of Dream? ¿Hubo algunas reservaciones entre los miembros?

11. ¿Puedes describir el tipo de espacio creado durante la caminata? ¿Qué te hubiera gustado crear?

12. Cuéntame sobre un evento en particular durante el evento donde te sentiste incluido plenamente como persona gay/aliado y como persona indocumentada? ¿por qué sí o no?

13. Cuéntame sobre un evento en particular durante el evento donde no te sentiste incluido como persona gay/aliad@ y como persona indocumentada? ¿por qué sí o no?

Preguntas sobre el Activismo de Jóvenes Undocuqueer –

14. ¿Qué tan inclusivo es el movimiento de los derechos del inmigrante en el sur rural hacia la comunidad gay?

15. ¿Puedes describir cualquier desigualdad dentro de los espacios culturales o políticos?

16. ¿En qué maneras los jóvenes gay indocumentados han introducidos nuevos narrativos (historias) a los derechos inmigrantes y LGBTQ?

17. ¿Qué puntos de unidad existen con otras organizaciones para los jóvenes activistas indocumentados? ¿Cuáles son esos puntos que unen?

18. ¿Puedes describir el impacto que tú piensas el *Trail of Dreams* ha tenido en el movimiento de jóvenes indocumentados y el movimiento de los derechos del inmigrante?

19. ¿Qué significo el *Trail of Dreams* para ti? ¿Cómo caminante/organizador/aliado?

20. ¿Cómo te gustaría que el *Trail* sea recordado en la historia? ¿Cómo piensas que será entendido en términos de raza, clase, género y sexualidad?

Gracias por tu tiempo y por compartir tus experiencias conmigo. Hay algo más que te gustaría compartir?

Appendix B

Interview Protocol – Coalition Leader
Semi-Structure Interview Questionnaire

Guiding Questions:

1.) How does the Trail of Dreams redefine our understanding of the categories of race, gender, class, and sexuality and new social movements in the 21st century?

2.) What are some of the tactics and strategies implemented to create institutional change in the rural South? How do undocumented youth mobilize their available resources (allies, networks, community) to advocate for change?

3.) What are challenges, successes and axiss of solidarity in organizing for migrant rights (DREAM ACT) as an undocumented Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer student?

2.) How do you negotiate ideological politics and identity politics between queer and heterosexual organizing spaces?

This project explores how Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer (LGBTQ) undocumented immigrant activists have participated and influenced the fight for migrant rights and LGBTQ rights in the rural South.

1.) Can you please share your age and your preferred gender pronoun (PGP) and briefly describe your occupation?

2.) Could you please share with me about your background? Where is your family from? Where were you born and raised?

3.) I understand you are/were involved with (X) organization? How did you get involved with the organization?

4.) Could you please describe this organization to me? What type of membership makes up this organization? What role do you play or played?

5.) How did you get involved with the undocumented youth movement?

Questions about the Trail Of Dreams –

6.) I understand you were involved in the Trail of Dreams in 2010? How did you/your organization get involved? What role did you/your organization play?

7.) Could you please describe the Trail of Dreams to me? Who participated in this walk?

8.) Tell me about the organizing of the Trail of Dreams? Whose idea was it? How was the route decided? How was it publicized? How were the walkers selected?

9.) What was the goal(s) of the Trail? At the end, did you reach them? If not, why?

10.) Did the organizing of the Trail of Dreams surface any internal debates? Any reservations among members?

11.) Can you describe the kind of space created during the walk? What would you have liked to have created?

Questions about Undocuqueer Youth Activism –

12.) How inclusive is the migrant rights movement in the rural South towards the queer undocumented community?

13.) Can you describe any gender inequity within cultural or political queer spaces?

14.) In what ways, have queer undocumented youth introduced new narratives to the migrant and LGBTQ rights?

15.) What points of unity exist with other organizations for undocumented youth activists? What are these points that tie you together?

16.) Can you describe the impact that you think the Trail of Dreams has had on the undocumented youth movement and the migrant rights movement?

17.) What did the Trail of Dreams mean for you? as a coalition leader? an ally?

18.) How would you like for the Trail to be remembered in history? How do you think it will be understood in terms of race, class, gender, and sexuality?

Thank you for your time and for sharing your experiences with me. Is there anything else you would like to share with me?

Protocolo de Entrevista – Líder de la Coalición
Semi-estructura del Cuestionario de Entrevista

Preguntas de Guia:

1. ¿Cómo redefine el Camino de Sueños (*Trail of Dreams*) nuestro entendimiento de las categorías de raza, sexo, clase, y sexualidad y los movimientos sociales nuevos en el siglo 21?

2. ¿Cuáles son algunas de las tácticas y estrategias implementadas para crear cambio institucional en el sur rural? ¿Cómo movilizan los jóvenes indocumentados sus recursos disponibles (aliados, redes, comunidad) para abogar por el cambio?

3. ¿Cuáles son los retos, éxitos y ejes solidarios en organizar para los derechos del inmigrante (DREAM ACT) como estudiante lesbiana, gay, bisexual, transgénero?

4. ¿Cómo negocias la política ideológica y la política de identidad entre espacios gay y heterosexuales?

Este proyecto explora la participación e influencia de los activistas inmigrantes indocumentados lesbianas, gay, bisexual y transgénero (LGBTQ por sus siglas en ingles) en la lucha de los derechos inmigrantes y derechos LGBTQ en el sur rural.

1. ¿Puedes compartir tu edad y pronombre de preferencia de género y brevemente describir tu posición?

2. ¿Puedes compartir sobre tu juventud y trasfondo (tu historia)? ¿De dónde es tu familia? ¿Dónde naciste y donde creciste?

3. ¿ Yo entiendo que eres/estuvistes involucrado con la organización (X)? ¿Cómo te involucraste con la organización?

4. ¿ Podría usted describir esta organización a mí? ¿Qué tipo de membresía tiene su organización? ¿Qué papel juega o jugó usted?

5. ¿Cómo te involucraste en el movimiento de jóvenes indocumentados?

Preguntas sobre el Camino de los Sueños –

6. ¿Según entiendo, estuviste involucrad@ en el Trail of Dream en el 2010? ¿Cómo se involucro su organización? ¿Qué papel tuvo su organización?

7. ¿Podrías describir el *Trail of Dreams*? ¿Quién participó en esta caminata?

8. Cuéntame ¿cómo fue el organizar el *Trail of Dreams*? ¿De quién fue la idea? ¿Cómo se decidió la ruta? ¿Cómo se publicó? ¿Cómo se eligieron a los caminantes?

9. ¿Cuál era la meta(s)? ¿Se lograron? Si no, ¿por qué?

10. ¿Sucedieron debates internos al organizar el Trail of Dream? ¿Hubo algunas reservaciones entre los miembros?

11. ¿Puedes describir el tipo de espacio creado durante la caminata? ¿Qué te hubiera gustado crear?

Preguntas sobre el Activismo de Jóvenes Undocuqueer –

12. ¿Qué tan inclusivo es el movimiento de los derechos del inmigrante en el sur rural hacia la comunidad gay?

13. ¿Puedes describir cualquier desigualdad dentro de los espacios culturales o políticos?

14. ¿En qué maneras los jóvenes gay indocumentados han introducidos nuevos narrativos (historias) a los derechos inmigrantes y LGBTQ?

15. ¿Qué puntos de unidad existen con otras organizaciones para los jóvenes activistas indocumentados? ¿Cuáles son esos puntos que unen?

16. ¿Puedes describir el impacto que tú piensas el *Trail of Dreams* ha tenido en el movimiento de jóvenes indocumentados y el movimiento de los derechos del inmigrante?

17. ¿Qué significo el *Trail of Dreams* para ti? ¿Cómo un líder de la coalición? aliado?

18. ¿Cómo te gustaría que el *Trail* sea recordado en la historia? ¿Cómo piensas que será entendido en términos de raza, clase, género y sexualidad?

Gracias por tu tiempo y por compartir tus experiencias conmigo. Hay algo más que te gustaría compartir?

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