

UCLA

UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Body Language: Refusing Documentation, Performing Recognition

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9z6815pn>

Author

Simons, Rosanna Lynne

Publication Date

2015

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Body Language: Refusing Documentation, Performing Recognition

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts
in Chicana & Chicano Studies

by

Rosanna Lynne Simons

2015

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Body Language: Refusing Documentation, Performing Recognition

by

Rosanna Lynne Simons

Master of Arts in Chicana & Chicano Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2015

Professor Maylei S. Blackwell, Chair

This project emerges from the circulation of discourse between the Obama Administration, the media, and (im)migrant rights organizers about how to see and what to call migrants who live in the US without legal status (“illegal,” “undocumented,” “undocuqueer,” “DACAmended,” “DREAMer,” “DAPAmended”). Considering the evolution of this terminological struggle alongside the proliferation of scholarship on undocumented populations, the call for eligible undocumented migrants to prepare their official documents for deferred action programs, and enactments of “documenting the undocumented” in three recent works of performance art, this thesis questions how legal labels and categories work within larger ideological regimes that determine whether Latina/o migrants in the US are granted eligibility for “legal presence,” are marked as targets for removal, or are held in a state of legal uncertainty. I propose a theory of “systems of documentation,” a critical framework for analyzing the regulatory technologies specific to the subjection of (im)migrant bodies and envisioning strategies of refusal and transformation.

The thesis of Rosanna Lynne Simons is approved.

Anurima Banerji

Robert Chao Romero

Maylei S. Blackwell, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2015

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Introduction: ConTEXTualizing a Documentation Nation.....	1
	November 2014 - Addressing the Nation on Immigration	
	January 2015 - Simply, Lawfully Present	
	February 2015 - Deferred Action Delayed	
	December 2014 - Excepting the Border, Excepting the Nation	
II.	Framework: Systems of Documentation.....	11
	Building a Framework for Analyzing Systems of Documentation	
	Effects and Affects of Systems of Documentation	
III.	Methods: Documenting Documentation.....	20
IV.	Analysis: <i>The Legalities of Being</i>	24
V.	Analysis: <i>Aliens, Immigrants, and Other Evildoers</i>	36
VI.	Analysis: <i>The Flower Carriers: Resting Grounds</i>	43
VII.	Conclusion.....	55
	Bibliography.....	61

LIST OF IMAGES

Image 1.....	26
Image 2.....	35
Image 3.....	44
Image 4.....	46
Image 5.....	48
Image 6.....	50
Image 7.....	51
Image 8.....	52
Image 9.....	54

Body Language: Refusing State Systems of Documentation, Performing Recognition

For more than 200 years, our tradition of welcoming immigrants from around the world has given us a tremendous advantage over other nations. It's kept us youthful, dynamic, and entrepreneurial. It has shaped our character as a people with limitless possibilities – people not trapped by our past, but able to remake ourselves as we choose.
--Barack Obama, “Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on Immigration”

... Abuelita has a broken heart / Ella no tiene la lengua para explicarle al presidente de sus milpas de café / She is not a DREAMer / There is no Deferred action for her / No immigration reform for her / She will NEVER be AMERICAN...
--Yosimar Reyes, *The Legalities of Being*

What happens to a dream deferred? / Does it dry up / like a raisin in the sun? / Or fester like a sore— / And then run? / Does it stink like rotten meat? / Or crust and sugar over— / like a syrupy sweet? / Maybe it just sags / like a heavy load. / *Or does it explode?*
--Langston Hughes, “Harlem”

I. Introduction: ConTEXTualizing a Documentation Nation

November 2014, Addressing the Nation on Immigration

On November 20, 2014, President Barack Obama announced a series of long anticipated and much delayed executive actions on immigration. According to the official website of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), these actions would be implemented to “crack down on illegal immigration at the border, prioritize deporting felons not families, and require certain undocumented immigrants to pass a criminal background check and pay taxes in order to temporarily stay in the U.S. without fear of deportation” (“Executive Actions on Immigration”). Those who met the conditions of the new Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA) program or of the expanded 2012 Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program would be eligible to apply to live and work in the US without fear of deportation for a temporary, potentially renewable three-year period. The

DHS estimated that as many as 4.9 million of the 11 million immigrants living in the US without legal status could qualify. DAPA would only be available to the parents of U.S. citizens or lawful permanent residents who have continuously resided in the U.S. since January 1, 2010, and who are not considered deportation enforcement priorities¹. Like DACA, DAPA would not bring applicants closer to official citizenship, and would not grant legal status. According to the American Civil Liberties Union’s statement for the House Judiciary Hearing, “President Obama’s Executive Overreach on Immigration,” that followed the presidential announcement, ...the deferred action protection will be temporary...and ‘does not confer any form of legal status in this country, much less citizenship; it simply means that, for a specified period of time, an individual is permitted to be lawfully present in the United States’ (Murphy, Lin, and Rickerd 3).

To seek permission for simple lawful presence in the US, deferred action applicants will be required to pass background checks and pay a fee of \$465, which consists of \$380 for employment authorization and \$85 for biometrics.

In the weeks following the President’s announcement, initial retaliations from the Right included the Preventing Executive Overreach on Immigration Act², voted through the House of Representatives, and confused Tea Party-led protests against “amnesty.” On the other side of the congressional aisle, Democrats claimed victory as they predicted future Latina/o votes. Meanwhile, (im)migrant rights organizers and activists made note of the influence of grassroots pressure on the President’s decision to exercise his executive power, but many hesitated to celebrate. In an op-ed piece “#Not1More Means Not One More,” Carlos Garcia of the Puente

¹ “Enforcement priorities include (but are not limited to) national security and public safety threats” (“Executive Actions on Immigration”).

² See Mass.

Movement³ described the challenges of organizing for an end to deportations and a beginning to real reform, when activist efforts and movement messages become coopted and incorporated into larger political agendas:

Trying to find the magic words that will convince Americans to accept immigrants and support reform, millions of dollars have been invested in communications consultants who have complicated our message so fully that today, many are thanking the President for providing relief to less than 40% of our community and once again using the border as a bargaining chip⁴.

...Elected officials who give the fullest condemnation of the current deportation crisis still have an asterisk at the end of their speech that cuts “criminals” out from their compassion.

...Cutting out people stigmatized as “criminal” from our circle of compassion might be politically convenient but it lacks both an understanding of the extent to which immigration itself has been criminalized and how historically unjust the criminal justice system is, especially for people of color (Garcia).

Amidst the controversy, some things seemed clear: messages had been coopted and complicated, and there was confusion all around.

January 2015 - Simply, Lawfully Present

In anticipation of February 18, 2015 and May 20, 2015, when the DHS projected that it would begin accepting expanded DACA and DAPA applications respectively, multiple sources recommended that potential applicants begin preparing their documents. The National Immigration Law Center advised:

³ A “grassroots migrant justice organization based in Phoenix, Arizona” (“About Us”).

⁴ See Alford.

Specific instructions about what documents will be acceptable are pending. Here are some ideas for documents you can begin to gather now.

To prove that you qualify for DAPA, you will need to establish your identity, your relationship to a U.S. citizen or lawful permanent resident son or daughter, and your continuous residence in the U.S. since January 1, 2010.

In order to prove that you have lived in the U.S. continuously since January 1, 2010, you should gather documents such as financial records (lease agreements, phone bills, credit card bills), medical records, and school records (diplomas, GED certificates, report cards, school transcripts). As a rule of thumb, consider gathering at least one document for each 12-month period since January 1, 2010, until the time you submit your request for deferred action (“Frequently Asked Questions” 4).

To demonstrate eligibility for deferred action, applicants will be required to provide evidence of their physical presence in the US for the last five years. These instructions come after at least five years -- though for many, decades -- of maintaining an existence that is undetectable to the US state. The threat of deportation is what disciplines migrants lacking legal status to render themselves invisible; this disciplining is reinforced by the risk of hate crimes and vigilante violence, and is exploited by employers who understand that invisibility translates to lack of legal protection, making unauthorized migrant workers highly vulnerable to wage theft and other workplace abuses⁵. In order to survive, unauthorized migrants must remain “invisible” and “in the shadows,” language that saturates public discourse on immigration reform.

In his November 2014 speech, President Obama directly addressed migrants who met “the criteria” -- meaning were classifiable by the state as non-criminal heteronormative subjects

⁵ See “Latino Workers in South”.

(deporting “felons, not families”) -- of DAPA and DACA: “You can come out of the shadows and get right with the law.” Migrants sin papels, without official documentation, have been directed to document themselves, to prove their existence, to make themselves visible and legible to the state, to write themselves into official existence, into simple lawful presence, in order to defer for three years the threat of deportation. And deportation means detention⁶ (imprisonment), or physical removal, absolute absence. Paradoxically, at the same time that unauthorized migrants are constructed as invisible and in the shadows, racialized Latina/o migrants are hypervisibilized in the media as “illegal” and as “felons”; drains on the economy and scapegoats for the failings of neoliberal globalization; and threats to national security and public health⁷. The complex position of unauthorized migrants as simultaneously invisible and hypervisible suggests that determining migrants in national discourse as security threats deserving of deportation and detention depends not only upon constructing these subjects as racialized illegal aliens, but also as specifically “undocumented” -- as shadowy figures operating under the state’s radar, out of view.

Meanwhile, in production from various locations, rapidly augmenting archives of information -- representations, data, interviews, statistics, studies, policy reports, etc. -- are already in circulation about this “undocumented” population. It is estimated that eleven million migrants currently reside in the United States without authorization, and the past decade has witnessed an increase in general awareness about and cultural representations of the experiences of this population. This is due in large part to the efforts of youth activists, artists, organizers,

⁶ “Since 2005, a zero-tolerance approach toward illegal entry and reentry -- a collection of enforcement strategies known as Operation Streamline -- has brought especially dramatic increases in apprehensions...Ironically, the ostensible need for removal from the United States now entails prolonged periods of enforced captivity within its borders” (Guterman 143).

⁷ See Gonzalez; see Chavez.

journalists, and scholars to create avenues through which to make known the many social and legal injustices that saturate the lives of people living in fear of deportation and detention. Many scholars see 2006 as a pivotal year in the (im)migrant rights debate, when nationwide demonstrations were mobilized against HR 4437⁸, “alter[ing] the political landscape,” and “constituting the first bellwether of the growing clout of Latin@ voters” (Gálvez, 155). Attention has been drawn to issues such as access to healthcare and education, to the inhumanity and questionable legality of deportation programs like Secure Communities⁹ and Operation Streamline¹⁰, and more recently to the failings of the broken immigration system during the summer 2014 “crisis” of unaccompanied minors arriving from Central America at the US-Mexico border.

Youth activists who claim the name DREAMers have built significant momentum, organizing around the passage of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, and employing tactics such as hunger strikes, sit-ins, staged graduations, and border crossings¹¹. Another group is comprised of journalists and linguistic anthropologists, whose aim is to transform “the language around immigration,” by means of “direct advocacy to eliminate the use of the word *illegal* by the mainstream press” (Dávila 147). Their campaign is called Drop the I-Word (DTIW), and is sponsored by Race Forward: The Center for Racial Justice Innovation. According to Race Forward, the DTIW campaign

... was launched in September 2010 as anti-immigrant sentiment and hate crimes against communities of color had increased. Powered by immigrants and diverse communities

⁸ “A bill that sought to criminalize humanitarian assistance to unauthorized immigrants as well as undocumented presence itself” (Gálvez 155).

⁹ See “Secure Communities”.

¹⁰ See “Operation Streamline”.

¹¹ See Pearce.

across the country, Drop the I-Word has worked steadily through advocacy and coverage at Colorlines.com to present the dehumanizing and inaccurate aspects of the i-word, give space for immigrants to tell their stories, and to highlight the history behind the term ‘illegal’ and other dehumanizing language. By spring 2013, the Associated Press, *USA Today*, *LA Times*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, and many other news outlets dropped the i-word, affecting millions of readers daily nationwide (*Race Forward*).

When asked about the objectives of DTIW, activist and journalist Jose Antonio Vargas explained that while one aim of the campaign is to pass comprehensive immigration reform, “the end goal is also to be *seen* differently. Just because we pass immigration reform doesn’t mean that we treat people differently” (Katrowitz, emphasis mine). As the DTIW campaign and others have begun to shift the language to categorize migrants (if not comprehensively then at least in certain significant spheres) from “illegal” to “undocumented,” again the play of visibility/invisibility is apparent: in the construction of undocumentedness, migrants are figured as an uncounted, unknown, unrecognizable population that certainly exists but escapes official view. How can we begin to make sense of these discursive blurrings of invisibility and hypervisibility, absence and presence, unknowability and legibility?

February 16, 2015 - Deferred Action Delayed

Two days before February 18, 2015, when the DHS planned to begin accepting DACA applications, the implementation of both deferred action programs -- expanded DACA and DAPA -- was itself deferred. A joint lawsuit filed by 26 states in an attempt to block the executive orders led to an injunction issued by Texas Judge Andrew Hanen of the US District Court. The injunction placed a hold on deferred action (except for DACA renewals under the

2012 guidelines) until the Obama Administration's appeal of the injunction is resolved, a process which could last months¹². The DHS website updated accordingly:

Update: Due to a federal court order, USCIS will not begin accepting requests for the expansion of DACA on February 18 as originally planned and has suspended implementation of Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents. The court's temporary injunction, issued February 16, does not affect the existing DACA. Individuals may continue to come forward and request an initial grant of DACA or renewal of DACA under the original guidelines. Please check back for updates (“Executive Actions on Immigration”).

Hundreds of (im)migrant rights activists and advocates rallied outside the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on April 17 in New Orleans¹³, as a three-judge panel heard the Obama Administration's emergency request to implement DAPA and expanded DACA. Until the injunction is resolved, DACA- and DAPA-eligible applicants wait in legal uncertainty.

Executive Director of Casa de Maryland¹⁴, Gustavo Torres, described the scenario that has resulted from the injunction: “Our families are concerned, our families are confused” (qtd. in Khan). Torres explained that despite the delay in implementation of DACA and DAPA, Casa de Maryland seeks to “communicate to our families and to our communities...that as long as people start to register in the thousands and millions -- that is something that no one can reverse.”

Perhaps Torres feels assured by DHS's claim that it has

¹² See Fitz and Legomsky; see “5th Circuit Court”.

¹³ See Lovato.

¹⁴ “A group of passionate, community-conscious people working to organize, advocate for, and expand opportunities for Latino and immigrant people in the state of Maryland...by providing employment placement; workforce development and training; health education; citizenship and legal services; and financial, language, and literacy training to Latino and immigrant communities throughout the state” (“Who We Are”).

...instructed officials in both Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Customs and Border Protection (CBP) to identify expanded **DACA** and **DAPA**-eligible individuals who are already in their **custody**, in removal proceedings, scheduled for deportation, or whom they newly encounter, and to exercise discretion favorably for those individuals. For eligible individuals in immigration court or before the **Board of Immigration Appeals**, ICE lawyers are instructed to close or terminate their cases and refer those individuals to **USCIS** for case-by-case determinations (“A Guide” 3).

However, not everyone shares Torres’ confidence; along with confusion about what will happen with DACA and DAPA, organizers and applicants have also expressed feelings of betrayal, as well as fear that registering will simply make “illegal” presences officially known. Adelina Nichols of the Georgia Latino Alliance for Human Rights said, ““We feel tricked and manipulated”” (qtd. in Lovato). Nichols criticized the Obama Administration for not having anticipated the 26-state lawsuit and planned accordingly, and for leaving potential applicants confused and vulnerable. For Nichols, ““The risk is from Obama and ICE themselves,”” an accusation justified by the continuation, in the months since Obama’s November address, of ICE’s pattern of deporting thousands of unauthorized migrants “who have no criminal record beyond their immigration violation and are not supposed to be a priority” (Lovato).

Reasons for hesitation and uncertainty about the DAPA and DACA programs also manifest in the National Immigration Law Center’s (NILC) “Frequently Asked Questions: The Obama Administration’s DAPA and Expanded DACA Programs (Last Updated March 2, 2015)”. One question reads, “If I request DAPA or DACA, will the information I provide be kept confidential?” The NILC provides the following answer:

The information in your deferred action request, including information about family

members and guardians, will not be shared with ICE or U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) for the purpose of deportation *except for when the request contains evidence of fraud related to the request, or of a criminal offense, or of a threat to public safety or national security.*

However, the information in your request may be shared with national security and law enforcement agencies, including ICE and CBP, for purposes other than deportation. Some of the reasons for sharing this information include identifying or preventing fraudulent claims, *national security purposes*, or investigating or prosecuting a criminal offense (7, emphasis mine).

To the next question, “If my DAPA or DACA request is denied, will I be placed in deportation proceedings?”, the NILC responds,

If you are denied DAPA or DACA, USCIS will refer your case to ICE only if it involves a criminal offense, fraud, or *a threat to national security or public safety*. It is against USCIS policy to refer cases to ICE where there is no evidence of fraud, a criminal offense, or a threat to public safety or national security, *unless there are exceptional circumstances* (7, emphasis mine).

December 2014 - Excepting the Border, Excepting the Nation

Amidst this public discourse on DAPA, DACA, documentation, detention, and deportation, the Department of Justice (DOJ) released on December 8, 2014 its revised guidelines for racial profiling. In the wake of national media coverage of and controversy over two grand jury decisions¹⁵ in two US states to not indict white police officers in the killings of unarmed black men, the DOJ added categories of gender, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, and gender identity to existing bans on racial and ethnic profiling. Exempt from

¹⁵ See Goodman and Baker.

these guidelines, however, were “interdiction activities in the vicinity of the border,” and “trustworthy information” pertaining to “national security, immigration, or intelligence” (Flatow). In our current climate of sanctioned government, military, corporate, media, and civilian violence against (im)migrants especially and explicitly “in the vicinity of the [southwestern] border” but also throughout the country, the time is right to talk about the targeting for exploitation and removal of “undocumented” migrant bodies by an exceptionalist US surveillance state.

II. Systems of Documentation

...Right now there is confusion all around me. There is a national campaign to pass the Dream Act, Obama announced his Deferred Action, folks are constantly inviting me to speak about my experience and I cannot help but feel Bamboozled / There is [a] trend of folks writing about us, documenting us, wanting to hear us, wanting for us to come out of the shadows, wanting for us to feel empowered and for some reason I cannot seem to get past the fact that we are still not addressing our emotional well being, not as undocumented people but as migrants, displaced people, folks whose hearts have been broken by America’s lies...

--Yosimar Reyes, *The Legalities of Being*

This project emerges from the circulation of discourse between the Obama Administration, the media, and (im)migrant rights organizers about how to see and what to call migrants who live in the US without legal status (“illegal,” “undocumented,” “alien,” “unauthorized,” “undocuqueer,” “DACAmended,” “DREAMer,” and now “DAPAmended”). Considering the evolution of this terminological struggle -- alongside the proliferation of scholarship on undocumented populations, the call for eligible undocumented migrants to prepare their official documents for deferred action programs, and recent representations of “documenting the undocumented” -- has led me to question how these labels and categories work within larger ideological regimes that determine whether migrants are granted eligibility for

“legal presence,” are marked as targets for removal, or are held in a state of uncertainty and confusion, between legal and illegal, deferred presence and deferred absence, invisibility and hypervisibility: “undocumented.”

Through an examination of the logics of official documentation that comprise deferred action, and critical engagements with *The Legalities of Being, Aliens, Immigrants, and Other Evildoers*, and *The Flower Carriers: Resting Grounds* -- three recent works of performance art that enact self-documentation -- I begin to map here a theory of “state systems of documentation.” In thinking about how to describe state systems of documentation, I’ve drafted a broad definition: state systems of documentation perform the power of the state to officially track and archive (surveil and record) the movement of bodies across space and through time. State systems of documentation enact this surveillance and recording in part for the purpose of maintaining a scapegoated, exploitable, expendable, essentially enslavable labor force. Performances of self-documentation also archive the movement of bodies across space and through time, but by different means and to different ends. Following recent public discourse on DAPA, DACA, deportation, detention, and violence against racialized bodies by law enforcement and immigration enforcement, I’ve examined administrative law as a critical site of official documentation, and embodied performance art as a critical site of self-documentation.

Constructing a Framework for Analyzing State Systems of Documentation & Understanding Acts of Self-Documentation

Invoking legal studies, performance studies, ethnic studies, and queer of color critical lenses to perform readings of *Legalities, Aliens, and Flower Carriers*, I address in this thesis the questions of visibility, affect, archiving, temporality, relationality, surveillance, and the performativity of power and discourse for which a theory of state systems of documentation must account. Beginning in legal studies, I turn to scholar and activist Dean Spade. In *Normal Life:*

Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of Law, Spade analyzes administrative legal systems, which “sort the population into those whose lives are cultivated and those whose are abandoned, imprisoned, or extinguished” (137). He argues that these systems “actually invent and produce meaning for the categories they administer, and that those categories manage both the population and the distribution of security and vulnerability” (32). Naming “housing, education, health care, identity documentation and records, employment, and public facilities” (11) as examples, Spade explains how through the establishment of norms, data collection¹⁶ projects that sort populations have historically been “key moments of expanding the reach of the government and defining who are members of the ‘us’ of the nation and who are the ‘outsiders’ who must be abandoned or eliminated” (141-42). *Normal Life* details the “heightening of U.S. security culture” in the decades since the dawn of neoliberalism and especially after 9/11; and while Spade’s focus is how the “‘us’ of the nation” excludes transgender subjects, he considers undocumented (im)migrants to be “the primary targets of this new use of government data”¹⁷ (151). Adapting Spade’s work on administrative legal systems that distribute vulnerability to trans bodies, I intend for this theory of state systems of documentation to contribute to the development of a critical framework for analyzing the regulatory technologies specific to the subjection of illegalized Latina/o (im)migrant bodies.

¹⁶ “The collection of standardized data and its use for identity surveillance have become even more widely implemented with the advent of the War on Terror, increasing vulnerability for many people whose lives and identities are made illegible or impossible by government classification schemes” (Spade 142)

¹⁷ “In the last decade, the War on Terror has prompted a massive growth in immigration enforcement, including imprisonment, significant law changes reducing the rights of people imprisoned in immigration facilities, and an overhaul of the administrative systems that govern identification in ways that lock immigrants out of basic services and make them more vulnerable to exploitation” (Spade 55).

Spade builds on the theories of Michel Foucault to explain “subjection” as “the workings of systems of meaning and control such as racism, ableism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, and xenophobia...” (25). The term subjection¹⁸, he says, captures “how thoroughly our ways of living, thinking, and knowing ourselves and the world are imbued with the meanings and distributions wrought through these various categories of identity, and how multifaceted the relations of these categories are to one another” (26). Foucault termed “disciplines” the “methods [that] make possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assure the constant subjection of its forces and imposes upon them a relation of docility¹⁹-utility” (*Discipline and Punish* 137). These are “...coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures, its behavior” (*Discipline and Punish* 138). Further, Foucault described the process of subjection, or the “state’s power to produce subjects,” as “double-edged.” He argued in *Discipline and Punish* that the “state possesses the power of dominance over the citizen-subject, but by recognizing the subject, the state also grants its political and social being” (Foucault qtd. in Camacho, 58).

Thinking about (im)migrant subjectivity through Spade and Foucault, I take into account a number of questions: how is the state’s power to subject enacted when it denies or defers recognition, or when recognition is only partially or temporarily granted? How do subjects that are at once extremely surveilled, and thus known by the state, but also figured by the state as always unknown or never fully recognizable, possess political and social being? How do categories of “undocumented,” “DREAMer,” “DACAmended,” “undocuqueer,” etc., factor into

¹⁸ Spade uses “subjection” rather than “oppression,” because “thinking about power only as top/down, oppressor/oppressed, dominator/dominated can cause us to miss opportunities for intervention and to pick targets for change that are not the most strategic” (25).

¹⁹ Foucault defines “docility” as that which “joins the analyzable body to the manipulable body. A body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed, improved” (*Discipline and Punish*, 136).

the process of subjection? How has state power adapted to the terminological shift²⁰ from “illegal” to “undocumented” that is currently in motion?

As important to ask, is how these official categories determine the lenses through which strategies for gaining recognition for (im)migrants (as human subjects awaiting and deserving of safety and life) are imagined and implemented. “If we curtail and narrow our vision in ways that ... limit our imaginations to what a US legal system, created to establish and maintain slavery and colonialism can provide,” cautions Spade, “we will perpetuate rather than deeply transform the arrangements that concern us” (128). Further, if we develop strategies within what the US legal system can provide, these strategies can become coopted and utilized to maintain the state’s power to subject. DACA and DAPA are examples of the cooptation and incorporation of efforts for immigration reform and a stop to deportations. If demands for freedom from fear of deportation, detention, and death can become repurposed into the political messages behind data collection projects like DAPA and DACA, which are limited to hegemonic terms of recognition - - and which reinforce ideologies of (im)migrant illegality, good/bad (im)migrants, and deserving/undeserving subjects -- what are the queer and relational strategies that resist cooptation?

Effects and Affects of Systems of Documentation

Using “exception” as a common framework of analysis, I want to contextualize how logics of USAmerican exceptionalism and the US state of exception work simultaneously within state systems of documentation: The exceptionalist ideology that dominates in the US works to

²⁰ The proliferation of terms to describe migrant status -- produced by the state, distributed in the media, proposed by migrants and advocates, fought for in the public sphere -- even has me confused. As I write about DACA and DAPA applicants, I find myself stumbling through the semantic complexities of “undocumented” and “illegal” I want to convey that the terminological shift from “illegal” to “undocumented” can actually be repurposed by the state. Through the (non)implementation of programs like deferred action, holding migrants in a state of always awaiting recognition (of deferred legality) works to quell more radical demands and divide migrants into categories of deserving/undeserving, etc.

justify unjust governmental actions, producing a “state of exception” against (im)migrants. Jasbir K. Puar discusses USAmerican exceptionalism in detail in *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Exceptionalism, she explains, involves “narratives of excellence, excellent nationalism, a process whereby a national population comes to believe in its own superiority and its own singularity” (5). Exceptionalist narratives of US nation-state formation (ie founding fathers and “nation of immigrants” mythology) “imply that indoctrination a la exceptionalism is part of the disciplining of the American citizen” (5). Further, ideas about immigration are central to maintaining the myth of USAmerican exceptionalism:

Representations of immigration are one of the most important motifs through which the U.S. nation and citizenry get imagined...Mainstream representations of the United States as a nation of immigrants depend on expunging histories of genocide, slavery, racialized heteropatriarchy and economic exploitation... (Lubheid, xx).

Let’s play President Obama’s “remarks” again:

For more than 200 years, our tradition of welcoming immigrants from around the world has given us a tremendous advantage over other nations. It’s kept us youthful, dynamic, and entrepreneurial. It has shaped our character as a people with limitless possibilities – people not trapped by our past, but able to remake ourselves as we choose.

Obama frames his announcement of increased militarization of the US-México border the replacement of the Secure Communities Program with the similar Priority Enforcement Program²¹ within the exceptionalist “nation of immigrants” myth.

Puar says that exceptionalism underwrites the performance of the US as “the arbiter of appropriate ethics, human rights, and democratic behavior while exempting itself without hesitation from such universalizing mandates” (8). Thus the US performs itself as possessing the

²¹ See Bogado.

power to determine which subjects are deserving or not of the right to move across land and borders, to state protection, etc. The exceptionalist logic that underwrites the performance of the US as world police works to obscure the effects of this international interventionism -- in the case of Latin America, mass displacement and movement of peoples across bodies of land *into* the US.

Meanwhile, the logic of the state of exception operating alongside exceptionalism allows the US to function above or outside of national and international law, so that it can remove (im)migrants *from* the US, or detain (im)migrants *within* the US, for profit. Giorgio Agamben defines the state of exception as “neither external nor internal to the juridical order... a zone of indifference, where inside and outside do not exclude each other but rather blur with each other” (23). The unjust laws to which migrants are subjugated, and as Spade would argue, by which migrants are subjected, are sponsored by the state of exception²² -- that “anomic space in which what is at stake is a force of law without law” (39). Puar says “state of exception discourses rationalize egregious violence in the name of the preservation of a way of life and those privileged to live it” (9), and this violence can take on multiple forms. For “undocumented” (im)migrants, it involves subjection through systems of documentation and its multiple violent effects.

In a digital performance of the spoken-word piece *The Legalities of Being*, two-spirit poet and migrant activist²³ Yosimar Reyes details the effects of state systems of documentation: “... folks are constantly inviting me to speak about my experience and I cannot help but feel

²² Agamben cites historical instances of economic and military “emergency” which allowed for the establishment of the state of exception, but makes the argument that “in all of the Western democracies, the declaration of the state of exception has gradually been replaced by an unprecedented generalization of the paradigm of security as the normal technique of government” (14).

²³ Bio retrieved from www.ybca.org.

Bamboozled. There is trend of folks writing about us, documenting us, wanting to hear us, wanting for us to come out of the shadows..." (*The Legalities of Being*). Observing that sites of official documentation are multiple and dispersed, Reyes reveals that the effects and affects of state systems of documentation are also multiple -- there is a current "trend" of "documenting the undocumented" not only through administrative programs, but also in the media, the academy, through arts and activism, and Reyes "cannot help but feel Bamboozled," confused, and heartbroken. His lament that the "emotional well being" of migrants has been ignored within the trend of documenting the undocumented is the driving force behind this project, pushing my questions further: how do feelings of confusion, uncertainty, heartbreak, and vulnerability that become affected onto the bodies of migrants by systems of documentation factor into processes of subjection, performances of refusal, and visions of transformation?

Performance studies²⁴ texts provide useful frameworks for addressing these questions of affect and effect. In *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance*, Jon McKenzie describes three general functions of cultural performance: "1) social and self-reflection through the dramatization or embodiment of symbolic forms, 2) the presentation of alternative arrangements, and 3) the possibility of conservation and/or transformation" (31). Performance Studies as a paradigm accounts for "an embodied *and* discursive politics" (39), or what have come to be

²⁴ "Performance studies is an interdisciplinary field of research that draws from the social sciences, the humanities, and the arts. It focuses on the pervasiveness of performance as a central element of social and cultural life, including not only theater and dance but also such forms as sacred rituals and practices of everyday life, storytelling and public speaking, avant-garde performance art, popular entertainments, microconstructions of ethnicity, race, class, sex, and gender, world fairs and heritage festivals, nonverbal communication, play and sports, political demonstrations and electronic civil disobedience, sex shows and drag performance -- potentially any instance of expressive behavior or cultural enactment. Within this field, performance entails the presentation or "reactualization " of symbolic systems through both living and mediated bodies" (McKenzie, "Performance Studies").

termed performance and performativity²⁵. As presented by McKenzie, performance studies frameworks can be employed to theorize the performance of power as well as performances of transgression and resistance. Here we can apply these frameworks to analyze how discourse performs onto bodies, how the US state of exception performs its power to subject (im)migrant bodies, and how strategies of resistance to this subjection that ascribe to the visibility logic of state systems of documentation can be coopted and incorporated into state systems of documentation. We can also employ performance studies frameworks to observe instances of refusal of logics of state systems of documentation, of resistance to state cooptation and incorporation, of workings toward the generation of other worlds, of the opening up of possibilities for other futures -- visions of and pathways to freedom from national borders, official documentation, deportation, and premature death.

McKenzie defines performance art, “in its most recognizable form,” simply as “a body and some stories” (42). Though they are all different in form, I will write about *Legalities*, *Aliens*, and *The Flower Carriers* as works of performance art that illuminate how bodies and discourse interact within the material and discursive realities created by systems of documentation. In the chapters that follow, I will interact with the worlds these three performances generate, and note how the embodiment of these worlds by performers and audience members intervene into state systems of documentation. While only *Legalities* specifically references deferred action, each of these pieces demonstrate acts of “documenting the undocumented.” My contribution to performance, ethnic, and immigration studies will be to

²⁵“In its current form, speech act theory is associated with a series of lectures given at Harvard University in 1955 by the Oxford philosopher J. L. Austin (1911–60) and published posthumously in 1962 as *How to Do Things with Words*” (Esterhammer and Robinson). In these lectures, Austin proposes speech-act theory, terming “performatives” a category of language in which the utterance itself accomplishes and constitutes an act. Austin’s theory of the performativity of language has been challenged and developed by Judith Butler and Jacques Derrida.

not only emphasize this political potential of performance within the (im)migrant rights debate, but also to analyze *what* the in-progress discursive shift from “illegal” to “undocumented,” and the resulting trend of documenting the undocumented, *do*.

III. Documenting Documentation

“I’ve been documenting the undocumented for ten years.”

--Jose Torres Tama, en camino a Los Ángeles after performing *Aliens, Immigrants, and Other Evildoers* at Culver Center of the Arts in Riverside, CA, March 2015.

“... We are trying to document the undocumented. We’re putting our life on display through videos, art, music, spoken word, prose and poetry...”

--“About,” *DreamersAdrift.com*²⁶

“...As scholars we need to open ourselves to the informal and illegitimate... Those of us dedicated to an engaged political and academic practice must not only recognize the illegitimate, we need to intervene in the formal institutions that define the terms under which legitimization is authorized.”

--Juana María Rodríguez, *Sexual Futures, Queer Gestures, and Other Latina Longings*

As I engage with the works *Legalities*, *Aliens*, and *Flower Carriers*, I find it necessary to question the role and performance of not only the US state of exception in systems of documentation, but also of research and the academy -- my role as a scholar, and your role as a reader -- in perpetuating official documentation of “the undocumented.” Scholars, like activists and organizations, also risk that their attempts to improve conditions for migrants, through knowledge production about the factors that determine (im)migrant experience, become incorporated into the systems of documentation that label some (im)migrants as deserving of lawful presence while marking others for removal -- or, as in the case of DACA and DAPA, suspend some (im)migrants in an in between state of deferred presence and deferred absence. As

²⁶ The *Dreamers Adrift* website describes its mission: “A creative project ABOUT undocumented youth, BY undocumented youth, and FOR undocumented youth. We are trying to document the undocumented. We’re putting our life on display through videos, art, music, spoken word, prose and poetry. 4 Lives...4 College Grads...Representing 1 DREAM for countless others” (“About Us,” *Dreamers Adrift*).

I trace areas of a map of systems that surveil, restrict, and discipline (im)migrant bodies and their movements, I intend to not only name the violences specific to systems of documentation, but to take part in envisioning strategies for collective resistance to incorporation and cooptation by describing enactments of other forms of recognition. I strive to work from within the academy while maintaining a commitment to imagining and embodying radical and transformational ways of being in relation to knowledge, land, and each other -- ways that bring an end to the interdependent regimes of national borders, the Wars on Drugs and Terrorism, mass deportation (of migrants) and incarceration (of migrants and “criminals”), and slave labor.

I draw from Ramón Rivera-Servera, Ronald J. Pelias, and Dorinne Kondo to formulate a methodology for mapping systems of documentation. My methods combine performance ethnography, performative writing, close readings of performances, and discourse analysis. In *About Face: Performing Race in Fashion and Theatre*, Kondo employs a method she describes as “an activist mode of inquiry,” where both scholarship and academic creative practice are “intended as interventions in power-laden discourses” (6). Kondo proposes a “move to performative ethnography,” through which “performance is accorded status as ethnographic practice, and in which ethnographies, through performance conventionally defined and through performative writing strategies, can count as theory and as political” (20). My approach to this project entails understanding performance as ethnography and participant observation as performance, while employing performative writing strategies to analyze the work performed by Yosimar Reyes & Julio Salgado in *Legalities*, José Torres Tama in *Aliens*, and The Flower Carriers in *Flower Carriers*.

Significantly, Kondo insists that performance (of texts and of bodies) is always already at risk of being coopted and redirected towards purely political goals in its attempt to disrupt,

contest, or dismantle hegemony. This risk is the one that I also consider for my own analysis: as I examine language and performances that refuse hegemonic systems of documentation and surveillance through acts of self-documentation, I must commit to an examination of my own performance of documenting “the undocumented”: what does it mean for me, a queer anglo ciswoman with US citizenship privilege, to document performances of self-documentation in *Legalities*, *Aliens*, and *Flower Carriers*? How do I work, from within my position inside the academy, against its institutional legacy of possessing, canonizing, objectifying, othered bodies, producing them as knowable and legible to power? By putting into conversation ideas of performance and law, dance and diaspora, settler colonialism and queer temporality, I hope to choreograph theoretical moves that will bring my readers and myself steps closer to dismantling the logics that underwrite and normalize state systems of documentation, and to recognizing our differential and intersectional positions and responsibilities within these systems.

My primary research has involved participating as audience member in *Legalities*, *Aliens*, and *Flower Carriers*. Following the example of Rivera-Servera, I “prioritize the knowledge produced by and within performance,” allowing for the “conceptual categories” that structure my analysis to “originate from the performances themselves and explanations and testimonies by artists and participants” (18). Rather than read performances from afar and through a fixed theoretical lens, in my analysis I re-trace the steps of my own participation, to describe and engage the performances in order to uncover their theories, to privilege performance as locus of knowledge production and transfer. Employing performative analysis methods, I attempt not to write *onto* the bodies that perform, but to write *with* the bodies that perform²⁷ -- humbly, as an ally scholar. Because each performance constituted an experience completely unique from the

²⁷As Susan Leigh Foster explains, the “reflexive double-bodiedness” that performative writing enables, “permits that writing to perform alongside those third bodies which are its referents” (xiv).

others, each of the next three chapters reflects a variation of the performative analysis methodology. In the first performance analysis, I explore methods for engaging the digital performance of *Legalities*. In the second and third performance analyses, I experiment with performative writing to interpret *Aliens* and *Flower Carriers*. The performativity of my analysis will become more apparent as I move into the next chapters, but one aspect of my methodology I would like to emphasize here is its reliance on memory: Neither *Aliens* nor *Flower Carriers* has been recorded; thus my readings involve participating as audience member and recording whatever field notes and images I can while maintaining my participation. I then conduct close reading analyses *of my memory of* the performances. This memory-based method²⁸ displaces notions of “objective” participant observation and instead privileges the affective, empathic, subjective potentialities of memory traces.

In addition to rememberings of works of performance art, discourse analysis of President Barack Obama’s November 2014 executive actions announcement and media coverage in the months following, is a primary research method essential for contextualizing performances of refusal. I have also looked at materials such as my own informal interactions with performers, performance talkback sessions, published interviews and reviews, and videos and still images (either my recordings, or online images when available), as supplementary sources.

²⁸ Inspired by Tisa Bryant’s discussion of using “misremembered fragments” to create performative writing.

IV. *The Legalities of Being*

“I am beginning a conversation with myself about defining my being by laws that really can NEVER summarize my existence. I am thinking about integration and this going trend to be called AMERICAN. I am thinking about words like DREAMer and Illegal, language that is stagnant, that in no way, shape or form speaks truth about the complexities of being and the connections that we have as humans beyond borders and political systems. It is like defining your being by building fences. Telling folks this is me, read the sign.”

--Yosimar Reyes, *The Legalities of Being*

I first encountered *The Legalities of Being*¹ on the Dreamers Adrift website, where I viewed it as a digital spoken-word performance. *The Legalities of Being* is a time-lapsed recording of activist and co-founder of Dreamers Adrift, Julio Salgado, illustrating lyrics by Yosimar Reyes. Filmed and posted to the site in 2012 by Jesus Iñiguez, also a co-founder of Dreamers Adrift, the video features the hand of Salgado moving across a long stretch of paper as he draws figures in thick, black marker. Time-lapse allows Salgado’s illustrations to synch to the rhythm of Reyes’s voice over. *The Legalities of Being* moved me deeply, and though as a digital work it does not adhere to traditional definitions of performance art, it has directed the course of this entire project.

During the four-minute performance, Reyes and Salgado identify and illustrate the workings of systems of documentation. In a conversation with himself, Reyes exposes and questions the exceptionalism that underwrites systems of documentation, reveals the effects and affects produced by systems of documentation, and calls for forms of recognition that resist cooptation and incorporation. As Reyes’s lyrics describe processes of subjection through systems of documentation, Salgado’s hand records images of migrant bodies in ink. Without being fully visible themselves, Reyes and Salgado make appear figures that are recognizable as migrant bodies. As illustrations, however, these bodies are not identifiable, knowable, or namable by

systems of documentation. Reyes and Salgado demonstrate that a shift in strategies for gaining recognition, and in the very terms of recognition, must take place in order for other futures to be possible.

“How can we think about the invisibilized body online?” Diana Taylor asks. “It is difficult to think about embodied practice within the epistemic systems developed in Western thought, where writing has become the guarantor of existence itself” (XIX). I begin this series of performance analyses by writing about a digital performance, precisely because the digital displaces “writing as the guarantor of existence,” while it also problematizes performance studies’ focus on the inherence of visibility and presence to performance. By refusing visibility, Reyes and Salgado use the logic of systems of documentation against itself; rather than becoming incorporated into a system that renders subjects legible and recognizable to the state, *The Legalities of Being* visibilizes the effects and affects produced by the system itself. This refusal allows for an imagining of organizing strategies that do not take for granted the nation-state as the ideal source of recognition.

My desire is to privilege Reyes’s and Salgado’s imaginings/images as the primary sources of theories and ideas, so I will begin again by citing the opening lines of *The Legalities of Being*: “My grandmother has never used the word ‘undocumented’ to describe her existence. In fact growing up she never taught me about limitations.” The digital performance begins and ends with lyrical and visual representations of Reyes’s grandmother, his Abuelita. Reyes’s lyrics cite Abuelita as his source of knowledge and understanding, while Salgado draws her holding a paper that reads “REALITY.” I interpret this opening as a citing in Abuelita’s body of the rest of the ideas that will be performed in the piece. Even though Abuelita, who migrated to the US from México, never taught Reyes about limitations, it becomes clear throughout the poem that it

is through Abuelita's reality -- which cannot be incorporated into systems of documentation -- that Reyes begins to understand the limits of state recognition.



Image 1. Salgado draws Abuelita in the opening sequence of the performance.

“Most of the folks on my block share this similar experience so there was no dialogue around our status in this country. We all knew where to get fake micas or any other documents needed to work in this country. I never felt alone or depress [sic],” Reyes continues. Even in high school, “...there was a common understanding that this was simply a REALITY and not our identity. We were more than the lack of a social security number.” Thinking back in time to his upbringing, Reyes remembers his feelings -- he did not grieve his status, because he participated in a community understanding that identity is not determined by status. Returning to the present, Reyes begins to question “integration and this going trend to be called AMERICAN. I am thinking about words like DREAMer and Illegal, language that is stagnant, that in no way, shape or form speaks truth about the complexities of being and the connections that we have as humans beyond borders and political systems.” Salgado draws three bodies wearing graduation caps and gowns; the center figure holds a sign, and the last marks Salgado makes form a bold “?” on it. The icon of the graduation cap has come to be associated with the undocumented youth movement and contemporary DREAM Act organizing. Through a remembrance of the past,

Reyes contextualizes the current limits of identity categories, a subjectifying technology of systems of documentation.

While Reyes acknowledges “the importance of visibility and empowering folks to no longer feel ashamed or embarrassed by their status,” he finds himself “begging to question these myths I have learned about my homeland...” He asks,

Why is that every time I think about my HOME my heart stops at the idea of living in poverty, when in reality I have been living below the poverty line my whole life. There is a social construction in my head that ‘AMERICA’ is better. That ‘AMERICA’ will grant me freedom. That ‘AMERICA’ will grant me a proper education. That ‘AMERICA’ is a place of justice. When the REALITY is that I have never seen the fruit of all these promises. We are still at the same place since we arrived, under attack, caged, profiled and subjugated to unjust laws.

Salgado’s hand makes appear the image of a woman who looks over her left shoulder at the viewer, her hands cuffed behind her back. Next to her Salgado writes “AMERICAN DREAM.” Again, with “since we arrived,” Reyes reaches into the past to question the present. If he is still “under attack...subjugated to unjust laws,” then how has he come to learn the myth of USAmerican exceptionalism? Reyes and Salgado expose that the indoctrination and disciplining of USAmerican exceptionalism is operationalized in the present through systems of documentation. Through a conversation with himself in which he questions the beliefs he has learned, Reyes describes how migrants can become incorporated into the ideology of USAmerican exceptionalism at the same time that they are targeted by the unjust laws of the US state of exception.

“I am thinking about how damaging it is to label my spirit, my essence UNDOCUMENTED, taking something so minimal from the physical world and have it manifest in my body,” Reyes continues, naming the effects systems of documentation. He proceeds to describe the current state of immigration reform: “Right now there is confusion all around me. There is a national campaign to pass the Dream Act, Obama announced his Deferred Action, folks are constantly inviting me to speak about my experience and I cannot help but feel Bamboozled.” Salgado draws a woman wearing a t-shirt that says, “I AM UNDOCUMENTED.” To her right he writes, “DACA APPLY NOW!!! APPLY APPLY...” and to her left, “DREAM ACT, NOW!! NOW NOW...” From the organizing around the DREAM Act and Deferred Action, emerged the labels “DREAMers” and “DACAmented,” and Reyes feels “Bamboozled” by these terms, feels the pursuit of his body by systems of documentation.

Significantly, since President Obama’s announcement of DAPA and renewed DACA and the subsequent deferral of these programs by the 26-state law suit, confusion about how to access legal status and therefore (theoretically) not be targeted for removal by the state of exception has only increased. Agamben claims that this “confusion between acts of the executive power and acts of the legislative power... defines one of the essential characteristics of the state of exception” (38). The question then becomes, how does the state benefit from this confusion? Reyes and Salgado illustrate that confusion allows for the cooptation of migrant struggles by the state of exception and the limiting of terms of recognition to state recognition. DACA and DAPA are clear examples of how this cooptation functions.

We can look again to Spade for further explanation: “Legal inclusion and recognition demands,” he says,

often reinforce the logics of harmful systems by justifying them, contributing to their illusion of fairness and equality, and by reinforcing the targeting of certain perceived ‘drains’ or ‘internal enemies’, carving the group into ‘the deserving’ and ‘the undeserving’ and then addressing only the issues of the favored sector (124).

Spade defines cooptation as taking place when “resistance struggles that have named certain conditions or violences come to be used to prop up the very arrangements that are harming the people who are resisting” (90). Reyes and Salgado critique the cooptation of (im)migrant struggles for recognition into systems that, through documentation, categorization, labeling, authorization, identification, etc., operate to stratify migrants into varying levels of legality and vulnerability, into those deserving (“families”) and those undeserving (“felons”) of freedom from fear of deportation.

Walter J. Nicholls discusses this phenomenon in the context of the DREAM Act campaign in his book, *The DREAMers: How the Undocumented Youth Movement Transformed the Immigrant Rights Debate*. “If stripping rights from immigrants is made possible by denying their humanity,” he explains, “acquiring rights for immigrants is made possible by demonstrating that the immigrant is in fact human. Achieving legitimacy for rights claims has therefore depended on gaining recognition for immigrants as truly *human* beings” (169). Further, the likelihood of gaining recognition increases when migrants perform “identification with *national* values and norms. Revealing one’s belonging and identification with the nation is one of the only ways in which stigmatized immigrants can reveal their humanity” (170). Nicholls concludes that “the human being as a figure imbued with inalienable rights therefore continues to be mediated by the nation-state” (170). Thus the DREAM Act campaign initially relayed an exclusionary message that DREAMers -- youths eligible to receive the potential benefits of the DREAM Act -

- are hardworking, studying, heteronormative, deserving ‘Americans,’ from whose bodies the mark of the border can be erased and replaced with the label of “DREAMer.” However, because racialized migrants continue to be constructed in public discourse as simultaneously a known threat to national security and public health and an unknown, undocumented, unrecognizable population, the mark of the border is not erased through authorization, naturalization, or citizenship status.

Theorizing more broadly the paradoxical relationship between state systems of documentation and social justice movements, Puar says, “the factioning, fractioning, and fractalizing of identity is a prime activity of societies of control, whereby subjects (the ethnic, the homonormative) orient themselves as subjects through their disassociation or disidentification from others disenfranchised in similar ways in favor of consolidation with axes of privilege” (28). Thus systems of documentation do not only subject the bodies that they record, but also cause a violent rippling effect -- those bodies to which the label DREAMer cannot be applied are further distanced from recognition. Queer migrants, migrants with nonnormative bodies, migrants who have been criminalized, migrants whose age, language, or physical ability restrict them from joining the military or attending college, and many more, are determined inassimilable into national society; inassimilable bodies can then be targeted for exploitation, incarceration, or removal. For this reason, with regard to rights for transgendered bodies, Spade questions “whether legal recognition and inclusion are felicitous goals” (33). Instead, he proposes “a politics based upon the so-called ‘impossible’ worldview of trans political existence” (33).

Are there alternatives to the national identification through the DREAM Act, or to the deferred action, which merely provides temporary relief for certain (im)migrants from the threat

of deportation? Reyes says,

I cannot seem to get pass the fact that we are still not addressing our emotional well being, not as undocumented people but as migrants, displaced people, folks whose hearts have been broken by America's lies.

Here Reyes continues to unmask the effects and affects produced by systems of documentation and the logic of exceptionalism. I understand these lines to be a call for another kind of recognition -- recognition of "the undocumented" as physically displaced and affectively heartbroken. We can adapt Native scholar Jodi Byrd's framework of transit to theorize the heartbreak of displacement. "To be in transit," Byrd says, "is to be in motion, to exist liminally in the ungrievable spaces of suspicion and unintelligibility. To be in transit is to be made to move" (xv). Transit encompasses the "melancholy and grief that exist in the distances and sutures of state recognitions and belongings," (xvii) but this grief Byrd also calls impossible "in first world surveillances that police bodies" (xv). (Im)migrants from Latin America to the US, who perhaps have already been displaced from their homes by military interventions, the War on Drugs, or globalization and its effects, are then transited through systems of documentation into in a state of deferred absence/presence, illegality/legality. Does this process produce migrants as at once in a state of grief and also as ungrievable.

The image of heartbrokenness is a powerful one, and I want to unpack it further. Sara Ahmed in *Cultural Politics of Emotion* writes about how "love may be especially crucial in the event of the failure of the nation to deliver its promise for the good life. So the failure of the nation to 'give back' the subject's love works to increase the investment of the nation" (131).

Ahmed concludes,

one could even think of national love as a form of waiting. To wait is to extend one's investment and the longer one waits the more one is invested, that is, the more time, labour and energy has been expended. *The failure of return extends one's investment*. If love functions as the promise of return, then the extension of investment through the failure of return works to maintain the ideal through its deferral into the future" (Ahmed, 131).

When applied to the current scene of (im)migrant organizing in the US, Ahmed's theory of national love reveals how the state benefits from subjecting migrants to deferred action data collection projects. The waiting for recognition that characterizes deferred action ensures the investment into the state of 5 million eligible migrants, determining the other 6 million people without papers in the US as undeserving. This serves to undermine the potential power of solidarities between these groups and draw attention away from more strategic efforts. Again, as Carlos Garcia explains,

Cutting out people stigmatized as "criminal" from our circle of compassion might be politically convenient but it lacks both an understanding of the extent to which immigration itself has been criminalized and how historically unjust the criminal justice system is, especially for people of color (Garcia).

Reyes and Salgado demonstrate the necessity of first recognizing the heartbreak and grief of displacement before other possibilities can be imagined.

Now to return to Salgado's illustration of the body in the "I AM UNDOCUMENTED" t-shirt: the repetition of the capitalized word "NOW!!" calls attention to the limiting presentist mindset to which, like some spheres of (im)migrant rights organizing, many social movements become bound. The image Salgado creates points me to Jose E. Muñoz's *Cruising Utopia: The*

Then and There of Queer Futurity. There Muñoz critiques the “autonaturalizing temporality that we might call *straight time*” (22). Straight time, Muñoz explains, “tells us that there is no future but the here and now of our everyday life” (22). The focal point of Muñoz’s critique is “neoliberal thought and gay assimilationist politics” (32); but, given the evidence of presentist thought within the (im)migrant rights movement, I think Muñoz will be helpful for interpreting the imagination of alternative presents and futures through the resignification of freedom that is performed in “The Legalities of Being.” Positioning Muñoz in dialogue with Byrd, it becomes clear that presentism is a critical logic of state systems of documentation, because this mindset also erases the US’s national legacy of genocide and colonization of Native peoples, enabling President Obama to assert the mythology of the US as a “nation of immigrants,” a tradition that “has shaped our character as a people with limitless possibilities – people not trapped by our past, but able to remake ourselves as we choose” (Obama).

Just as Reyes’s lyrics began with his grandmother, the last minute of the four-minute performance returns to Abuelita. Reyes says,

Abuelita has a broken heart / Ella no tiene la lengua para explicarle al presidente de sus
milpas de café / She is not a DREAMer / There is no Deferred action for her / No
immigration reform for her / She will NEVER be AMERICAN.

In the narrative of U.S. exceptionalism, “America” is the land of Freedom and Opportunity. By stating that Abuelita will “NEVER be AMERICAN,” Reyes challenges that notion of USAmerican freedom.

Reyes continues,

One day she will pack her bags / Purchase a plane ticket and return home / She will look
at the streets / Try to remember how things used to be / But time has not stopped since

she left / Her comadres have passed / Su casita fell / She will look at the dirt / Try to remember where she gave birth to her first-born / Look at the face of a son she has not seen in decades / She will be weak / Spending her days remembering / Abuelita will slowly dig her grave / Crawl back into the land that brought her to this journey / Return to the center / And migrate to the spirit world / There she will no longer need papers / no longer be poor / no longer ache / no longer be broken hearted / There she will whisper to me / And remind me that all this is a dream / That one day we will wake up to a place more beautiful than [sic] this.

In the final image of “The Legalities of Being,” Abuelita’s eyes are closed, her hair and dress flow around her, as if she is floating. In her hair Salgado writes “FREE...”. Abuelita has returned to her homeland, and her migration continues into the spirit world, a place where she will finally be free from systems of documentation -- she will no longer need papers.

The very moving affirmation that “one day we will wake up to a place more beautiful than this” brings to mind again Muñoz’s theorization of queer utopia. Muñoz says, “the field of utopian possibility is one in which multiple forms of belonging in difference adhere to a belonging in collectivity” (20). Significantly, the freedom that Reyes and Salgado imagine for Abuelita and themselves is not located in the US or in the present; it is in another place and another time. This other place and other time is what Muñoz would call the “then and there” of queer futurity, a queer horizon that is “not-yet here” (29). Muñoz argues that “seeing queerness as horizon rescues and emboldens concepts such as freedom that have been withered” by neoliberal presentism. For Muñoz, “queerness’s ecstatic and horizontal temporality is a path and a movement to a greater openness to the world” (25). Though Muñoz is not writing here about migration, I see a beautiful connection being made between movement and migration and queer

utopia: Abuelita migrates to a greater openness to the world, reminding Reyes that “this was all a dream.”



Image 2. Salgado images/imagines freedom in the final illustration.

Finally, Muñoz asserts that “doing, performing, engaging the performative as force of and for futurity is queerness’s bent and ideally the way to queerness” (32). Through the video performance of Abuelita’s migration to freedom, a recognition of grief enables an imagining of a queer future of belonging in collectivity. Understanding the capacity of performance to generate queer utopian futures feels empowering, but Reyes’s heartbreak reminds me of the not-yet-here and not-yet-now, the then and there, the futurity of queer utopia: queerness is always horizon, the struggle towards freedom never ends. Efforts to gain recognition are always at risk of cooptation and incorporation, especially so when these efforts are constrained to a presentist mindset -- replay:

For more than 200 years, our tradition of welcoming immigrants from around the world has given us a tremendous advantage over other nations... It has shaped our character as a people with limitless possibilities – *people not trapped by our past*, but able to remake ourselves as we choose.

In the next chapter, I will explore how performances of heartbrokenness and misery can be employed, rather than to enact utopia, to redefine the terms of recognition through which we imagine utopias, in José Torres-Tama's *Aliens, Immigrants, and Other Evildoers*.

V. *Aliens, Immigrants, and Other Evildoers*
A Performative Performance Analysis: Notes and Memories

“I am here because you are there. I am here because you are there.”
--Jose Torres-Tama, *Aliens, Immigrants, and Other Evildoers*

0. Being here because you are there.

This chapter is a reading of *Aliens, Immigrants, and Other Evildoers*, a solo performance by Jose Torres-Tama. I viewed *Aliens* for the first time in October 2014 at the Los Angeles Theater Center's (LATC) Encuentro event. Throughout the piece, Torres-Tama embodies the misery of undocumented workers who are exploited within the “21st century slave labor fiesta,” “apartheid economic state,” “Post-Katrina New Orleans Reconstruction Apocalypse” (*Aliens*). As he performs multiple accounts of conditions of extreme violence and exploitation in New Orleans, Torres-Tama asks the audience, “Can I get a witness? Do you remember? Did you hire one? Did you cheat one?” Holding up a mirror, he scans the faces witnessing his actions, reflecting and implicating everyone present: “I am here because you are there. I am here because you are there” (*Aliens*). Torres-Tama requires that his audience consider their complicity in systems of documentation.

In an exercise in performative writing, I analyze Torres-Tama's performance as a demand for recognition of the misery and heartbreak experienced by US undocumented laborers. My analysis is guided by Ronald J. Pelias's claims for performative writing, which he details in “Performative Writing as Scholarship: An apology, an Argument, an Anecdote.” Pelias defines performative writing broadly as varied “efforts for alternative modes of scholarly representation”

(416), and then makes six claims for this methodology. For me, each of Pelias's claims for performative writing echo potential powers of embodied performance, and I will base the structure of this chapter on those six claims. As I employ performative strategies to write about *Aliens* I intend for my analysis to mirror moments in Torres-Tama's performance. As I write, I want to re-reflect his statement, "I am here because you are there": in order for transformation to take place we must first recognize our relationality. I write because Torres-Tama performs, and like *Aliens*, the theories developed in this thesis are rooted in this acknowledgement of relationality. Torres-Tama holds up a mirror to his audience, and in my writing I must also hold up a mirror to my readers and myself. Torres-Tama requires that his audience examine their own complicity in the subjection of migrants by systems of documentation, and my writing must enact this self-examination while it asks the same of my readers.

1. Legitimizing memory

Pelias first claims that performative writing challenges the value system that determines not only "what constitutes disciplinary knowledge" (417), but also what methodologies of knowledge production become legitimated as scholarly. Therefore, one of the potentials of performative writing, Pelias argues, is that it could pull all academic disciplines out of abstraction and closer to human experience; this is possible because performative writing "welcomes the body into the mind's dwellings" (417). Likewise, performance can work to relocate the production and transfer of knowledge from the written word to the body²⁹. Performance has the potential to challenge ways of knowing and seeing subjects, and from within performance studies, work is produced that redefines what counts as official disciplinary knowledge. For some theorists, the body becomes privileged over the word, for others the body and word are seen as co-constituted and operating in tandem. Does writing about performance

²⁹ See Taylor.

displace the body again, reinstating the word? It is my hope that through an exercise of performative analysis methods, I will maintain a centering on the body and its relationality to other bodies, land, and time as I write about *Aliens*.

It's been months since I witnessed *Aliens*. Knowing the performance would be relevant to my research, I intended to take field notes during it. Torres-Tama performed his poems and others' stories in costumes and with props rich in signification, against a multi-media backdrop of video and sound. Completely enthralled and swept up in Torres-Tama's fast and multidirectional momentum, I scribbled minimalist notes in the dark about what I thought I'd want to remember. Considering my project focuses on documentation and administrative law, I thought I'd write about the segment of *Aliens* when Torres-Tama recounts his own experience of entering the US as a child "alien" from Ecuador. While his documents play on the screen behind him, Torres-Tama performs a memory of the moment his name was officially shortened on his documents; he likens this cutting off of his name to the cutting off of an umbilical chord to his identity and ancestry, and I wanted to explore these ideas to support my theories about processes of subjection through systems of documentation.

Despite my intentions, however, my body has entered my mind's dwellings. The LATC does not film the performances it houses; there are scarce videos of *Aliens* online, the longest of which is around five minutes. Reviews of *Aliens* do not mention this documentation segment. My own memory is hazy. In fact, since the minute I exited the LATC and walked arm-in-arm with my love, Z, in downtown Los Angeles, one impression, one memory of one story from the performance has taken precedent over all others. My memory has singled in on this story, and it has become what I must write about. Z and I walked in downtown to try to release some of the weight we both carried after witnessing this scene; we both felt it heavy in our physical bodies,

we shared a sense of urgency to breathe and be outside.

This is how my body has entered my mind's dwellings: I felt this segment so profoundly in my physical body (pit in my stomach, blood drained from my face, knot in my throat, tremble in my hands, faintness) when I first witnessed it, and my body has returned my mind to the scene multiple times in the months since. As I remember now, watching again Torres-Tama perform this story, I feel again its effects in my own body, and I sense again its effects in Z's, see clearly the tears falling fast from her cheeks, leaving material traces in my notebook which she held in her lap. When I began this chapter, I could only write about this scene. My body had decided it.

2. *Capturing the most arresting angles*

Pelias's second claim is that performative writing "attempts to keep the complexities of human experience intact" (418), and is a lens, which, like "a highly selective camera," can be "aimed carefully to capture the most arresting angles" (418). The production of scholarship for Pelias thus comes to involve crafting narratives out of everyday experience, offering not only a representation of experience, but an experience itself. In *Aliens*, Torres-Tama crafts multiple narratives out of everyday experience. Through a simple prop change or addition of an accessory to his costume, he embodies multiple characters to tell their stories of life in post-Katrina New Orleans from a first-person perspective.

As I write, it becomes clearer to me how my positionality and my personal experience of the performance of *Aliens* has acted like a selective camera, focusing my memory-lens onto the story Torres-Tama tells as a nineteen-year-old male laborer from Honduras. I think because I was living in Honduras when I was nineteen, because it was there that I came to critical consciousness of neoliberalism, because I first witnessed there the effects of transnational migrant labor, I was especially grateful to be able to receive a story from this place that I know

and miss, a place which is also underrepresented in Latina/o cultural production and scholarship in the US. As I prepare myself to describe this story, to retell it here from my memory, my heart beats with dread and my palms sweat.

Torres-Tama's assumes a miserable posture. His gaze is downcast, shoulders hunched and heavy. He begins to tell the audience about working on a job as an undocumented laborer in post-Katrina New Orleans. After introducing himself, he shifts into a present tense performance, and I will do the same. Working conditions are appallingly dangerous and disgusting: he must wade in water to his waist that is contaminated with death and debris to clear out a building. Laboring alongside another migrant body, they try to move a dumpster, it slips, and his hand is crushed under the dumpster. Face contorted in pain, mouth wide open, Torres-Tama releases a silent scream that pierces the audience. The silent scream lasts for what feels like an unbearably long time, the audience suspended, desperate for the misery to end. In tears Torres-Tama tells us that his hand bore the weight of the dumpster for fifteen minutes, that his employer (enslaver) aware of his liability, refused to call 911. At the hospital, doctors wanted to amputate the hand, which was severed in half. Were it not for the intervention and insistence of an African American doctor, it would have been lost. This is one of the most physically moving performances I have seen. It felt impossible to not recognize the experience of this body, the injustice of his misery.

3. Speaking myself

Pelias's third claim is that performative writing is rooted in an understanding of the constructedness of reality and the simultaneity of multiple truths and experiences. He explains that performative writers "do not believe that they can speak without speaking themselves, without carrying their own vested interests, their own personal histories, their own philosophical

and theoretical assumptions forward” (419); performative writing thus “takes as its goal to dwell within multiple perspectives...to privilege dialogue over monologue” (419). This claim reinforces the significance of positionality for analysis, and is reinforced by Torres-Tama’s “I’m here because you’re there” mirror. As an anglo ciswoman, born in Louisiana, USA with citizenship privilege, I must acknowledge that the young Hondureño is “there,” working in New Orleans, because I am “here,” that his migration and misery result from the relationship of my birthplace to his. Thus multiple truths, his and mine, are exposed, and my writing must reflect this (while also taking care to acknowledge my position without centering whiteness). What I believe to be the most powerful implication of these multiple truths is their interdependency, their interrelationality. Is the relationality enacted in *Aliens* mirrored in my own performance of analytical writing?

4. Evoking empathy and identification

Fourth, Pelias claims that performative writing has the power to evoke in readers “identification and empathic responses,” through which human experience is “concretized” (419). “Identification,” Pelias explains, is “that space of recognition and resonance,” and “is often an essential aspect of performative writing” (419-20). The self, made present in performative writing, “can be a place where tensions are felt and uncovered, a place of discovery, a place of power, of political action and resistance. One often knows what matters by recognizing what the body feels” (420). I know from my experience of Torres-Tama’s performance, that recognizing what the body feels can inspire recognition of another. Pelias argues that performative writing has the power to evoke not only recognition of another but also self-recognition. Torres-Tama’s mirror has led me to propose that because of the presence of the self in an act of performative writing, it becomes possible to recognize the self’s differential

relationship to power, the self's subjection, the self's complicity in power structures that subjugate others.

5. Recognizing the body

Pelias's fifth claim is that a departure point for performative writing is "the recognition that individual bodies provide a potent database for understanding the political and that hegemonic systems write on individual bodies" (420). In my own performative writing on *Aliens* and other performances, I've been asking whether knowledge production by scholars about "undocumented" populations might also perform a kind of hegemonic writing on individual bodies. Perhaps it is performative writing's ability to destabilize mainstream research methodologies -- which adhere to the visible, quantifiable, the legible, and the documentable -- through its recognition of the body and privileging of memory (and, as in this paper, even misremembering or forgetting) as loci of knowledge production.

The methodology of performative writing, as Pelias states in his sixth and final claim, "participates in relational and scholarly contexts," by pursuing questions that "connect people within a scholarly community." (420). By "confessing... exposing... witnessing," Pelias argues, "what might have remained hidden is made public, what might have stayed buried is put under examination, what might have been kept as personal commitment becomes public testimony" (421); readers are thus offered "an interpersonal contract they can elect to engage" (421). Pelias says that the questions performative writers pursue can "locate" people "as individuals" (420), but I argue that performative writing, through its praxis of relationality, might instead be employed to locate a collectivity rather than an individual.

Performative writing's power lies in its potential ability to disrupt mainstream modes of knowledge production and constructions of what objects/subjects are knowable and legible; the

very purpose of knowledge production and scholarship shifts from the proliferation of demonstrable facts to the production of empathy, relationality, and collectivity. Just as Torres-Tama holds a mirror to his audience so that they can understand the interdependency of performer-audience, and more radically, (im)migrant-citizen, I attempted to perform modes of writing that mirror Torres-Tama's mirror. In the next chapter, I will describe a performance of shifting terms of recognition through the formation of queer of color bonds of recognition in *The Flower Carriers: Resting Grounds*.

VI. *The Flower Carriers: Resting Grounds*

Today was the 29th of May, 2014.

I walk towards the University of California, Los Angeles Murphy Sculpture Garden, a courtyard-like collection of grassy mounds and slopes bordered by university buildings and dissected by winding walkways, adorned with sculptures by world-renowned artists. A group of people congregates there, on the westernmost mound of the garden; they are waiting to witness the site-specific performance, *The Flower Carriers: Resting Grounds*.

The sun filters through sheer, golden curtains that hang from the very high backs of seven chairs arranged in a tight, inward-facing circle on top of the mound. I overhear a classmate identifying each of the seven Flower Carriers--all queer men of color--as they prepare to perform: Keith Harris, Ricardo Bracho, Rafa Esparza, Nick Duran, Prumsodun Ok, Sebastian Hernandez, and Rooster. Later tonight I connect their bodies to the information listed in the seven bios on the Facebook event page. Six of the seven performers are taking seats, all except Ricardo Bracho. I lower myself to join others sitting on the grass, forming a ring around the inner circle of chairs at a cautious distance. Bracho tells us we can come closer, hailing us as

audience as well as, I soon realize, participating performers in the piece. I press my hands into the grass; it's moist and warm, soaked in the heat of the day and radiating with anticipation.



Image 3. Ricardo Bracho takes his seat alongside the Flower Carriers.

I am writing Today, it is the 6th of June, 2014.

I want to write performatively, in order to re-enact the collapsings embodied by the seven performers in *The Flower Carriers: Resting Grounds*. As the event page describes, the *Flower Carriers* perform the collapsing of temporal distances between generations and of geographical distances between the U.S. and México, the U.S. and Cambodia, and the U.S. and Central and South America, as they link the violence and loss experienced by queer, black, and brown bodies during the AIDS crisis in the U.S., to transnational violence and loss resulting from genocide, diaspora, and escalating cartel, drug- and gang-related violence. Esparza, son of immigrant parents, talked about distance a little over a year ago, on a blog called *La guerra de los dos lados*. In his post, he writes about his parents' commitment to visiting home in México, even as cartel activity produces increasingly violent conditions there. He says,

Proximity becomes an important item to investigate for me in this case. Physical, psychological, memorial, and emotional distances that inform our varying degrees of urgency... How can distance be transcended, conceptualized, to bring more focus, more attention to the gravity of a traumatizing situation?

It seems to me that “The Flower Carriers: Resting Grounds” is, in part, Esparza’s response to his question. This performance -- which does not deal with specifically undocumented immigration, but rather with the biopolitics of institutionalized homophobia and racism, the prison industrial complex, migration, diaspora, and loss more generally -- is key for understanding the broad implications of systems of documentation, and their interdependence with other systems that manage life and death for bodies of color. It is also key for understanding that strategies that resist cooptation are queer and relational; collapsing distance to trauma works to collapse distances to each other, to the past and the future.

In order to flesh out an analysis of this piece, I narrate my own experience of it in a way that explores the radical potentiality of performance art to function as an episteme, as an archive (Taylor), and ultimately as an enactment of transformational politics through an imagining of queer utopian futures (Muñoz). By enacting bodily bonds across generations, genders, and modes of queerness, this piece creates possibilities for recognition that disrupt state systems of documentation. I also convey these connections in a way that corresponds to the circular migration of “The Flower Carriers: Resting Grounds,” letting that migration which I embody as audience member participating in the performance drive my response to the piece. Rather than read the performance from afar and through a fixed theoretical lens, I re-trace my steps in this chapter, describing and engaging the performance in order to uncover its theories.

1. Today, A Beginning

When Bracho fills the empty seventh chair, it seems the performers and audience have agreed upon a beginning. A stillness settles over us, and Keith Harris stands in the circle to read a prepared statement. He speaks about the significance of the publication of *In the Life: A Black Gay Anthology* in 1986, at the height of the AIDS crisis in the U.S. While Harris reads, I recall a seminar dialogue about how this and other queer of color anthologies function as technologies of community-making, archives of the social movements out of which they emerge, genealogies of affect and ideas, and foundations for intersectional analytical models. From the site of UCLA's Sculpture Garden, a static collection, Harris's opening works to remind audience and performers of important ways in which institutional knowledge and official histories have already been challenged and derailed. Harris's opening speech act cites a textual archive that worked and works to destabilize the thick, white margins around mainstream narratives.

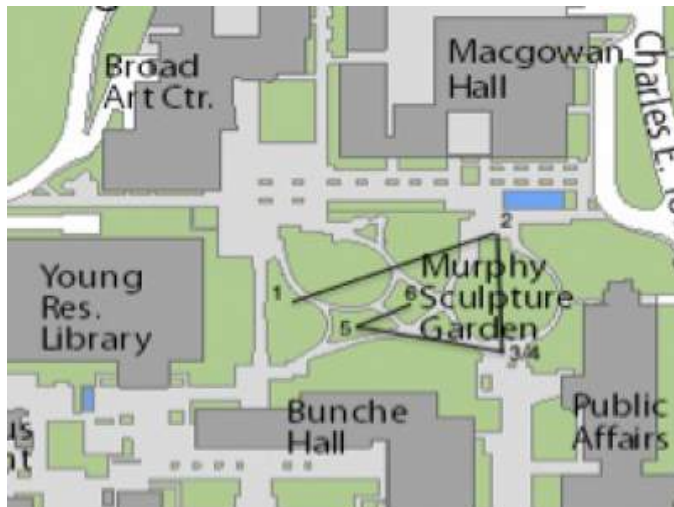


Image 4. Circular Steps: The migration pattern performed by the Flower Carriers with their audience.

I think back to the Facebook event description of *Flower Carriers*: the performance would be a “‘conversation’ about loss,” and the Flower Carriers would use “the site as a graveyard,” to “initiate an ephemeral (anti)monument through physical and sonic dialogue vis-à-vis the

collection of more permanent and stationary objects/ideas”, for me implying that the transmission of knowledge that the performers embody will continue on, reproduced into future transformations. As I write the phrase “stationary objects/ideas,” it connects me to Jose E. Muñoz’s words in *Cruising Utopia*: “A posterior glance at different moments, objects, and spaces,” he says, “might offer us an anticipatory illumination of queerness” (22). Harris’s posterior glance to *In the Life*, setting the path for other posterior glances in the segments of the performance that follow, anticipates a queer utopia of recognition and belonging. In *The Archive and the Repertoire*, Diana Taylor theorizes these relationships between text, body, history, memory, differentiating between the “archive of supposedly enduring materials” and “the so-called ephemeral repertoire of embodied practice/knowledge” (19). For Taylor the repertoire “requires presence: people participate in the production and reproduction of knowledge by ‘being there,’ being a part of the transmission...the repertoire both keeps and transforms choreographies of meaning” (20).

Once Harris has completed his reading, the Flower Carriers pick up their chairs and make their way east, moving off of the grassy mound and across the garden to the flat, cemented surface in front of the McGowan Fountain. Bracho again assumes the role of directing the audience: “That means follow!” I gather my belongings and join the procession, moving alongside the bodies of the performers. With each step, I think about our footsteps as a kind of embodied re-mapping of knowledge and memory.

2. Locating a Legacy of Loss

Arriving at the fountain, we rearrange ourselves in the new location. We create new proximities to and distances from each other. The performers reform their circle of chairs, this time much bigger than the first, around the edges of the cemented surface. There is a large, flat, wooden

frame on the ground, a sandbox-like structure filled with sparkling-white, coarse salt. The second solo will be performed by Prumsodun Ok, and the other six artists blend into spectatorship as Ok takes the new “stage.” Slowly he approaches the saltbox, circling it then stepping into it. His gaze is directed downwards as he sinks his feet into the salt; it shifts beneath the weight of his body.

Ok’s solo is classical Cambodian dance, a choreography that feels to me like meditative movements between poses. Ok’s body challenges the fixity of the statues around us. As he moves, he speaks. He is telling us about genetic memory, thinking aloud about his inheritance as a young, queer man of color in the US. Ok also wonders what it means to practice an art form that was almost wiped from the face of the earth in the deathly sweep of genocide.



Image 5. Prumsodun Ok poses in classical Cambodian dance.

Speaking about his family’s experience of loss and violence in Cambodia and consequential emigration to the US, Ok also wants to know what it means to inherit a legacy of loss, linking his inheritance of the violence of genocide and diaspora, to his inheritance of the generational gap resulting from the deaths of the AIDS crisis. I witness Ok’s body draw and re-draw lines in the salt. I’m reminded of the texture of the backside of a handwritten note, the

indentations made by letters, words, meaning. Ok's movements record another kind of meaning into the saltbox, layers of memory, history, knowledge in his choreography and body.

In *The Decolonial Imaginary*, Emma Pérez argues that “to settle upon Chicano/a experiences as only immigrant erases a whole other history, the history of a diaspora, of a people whose land also shifted beneath them” (xix). The salt shifting beneath Ok's body also becomes a symbol of his inherited diasporic subjectivity. I think of Cambodian land shifting to accommodate the bodies filling its mass graves. When Esparza steps into the same saltbox in the next segment, the inherited Chicano diasporic subjectivity of his body will be linked to Ok's. Understanding the connections between various modes of violence and oppression is a complicated task--the ground shifts beneath me as I try to find my footing. What does it mean to be in proximity to bodies that have experienced the trauma of migration?

3. Kneeling in the Salt

When the Flower Carriers pick up their chairs after Ok's solo, we have learned as an audience to be ready to follow. This time we curve south, to another cemented surface, under a large tree. From the tree hangs a long rope. Again the saltbox is centered, and it is Esparza who steps up. He kneels in the salt, seeming to acknowledge what Ok has just recorded there, and attaches the rope to two chest piercings. Tension builds as we wait to see what Esparza will do. He steps out of the saltbox and retreats away from the tree until the rope is pulled taught; then he leans back with all his weight. The skin of Esparza's chest stretches thin, and I cringe at the possibility of the rings bursting through. He stretches further and further, until finally the two rings snap open and Esparza is released from the pull of the rope. I breathe a sigh of relief. Audience members who are more familiar with Esparza's work likely have an entirely different experience of this solo--he has performed a similar piece before. After learning of this history, I think about how

the repertoire is mediated through Esparza's personal connections to violence and relationships to other queer bodies of color. In the repertoire, according to Taylor,

Multiple forms of embodied acts are always present, though in a constant state of againness. They reconstitute themselves, transmitting communal memories, histories, and values from one group/generation to the next (21).

This idea of intergenerational transmission transitions us into the fourth segment.



Image 6. Rafa Esparza stretches his chest.

4. Through Generations, Across Generations

Bracho stands on his chair and projects his voice. Directing again, he requests that we fill in the circular space demarcated by the chairs. Across from him, on another chair, stands Esparza.

Once the audience is in place, Bracho explains that he is going to give Esparza the option of “Poem or Memory?” and then will share either a memory about a friend who has died of AIDS, or a poem written by a friend who has died of AIDS. Bracho asks the audience members who have experienced this personal loss to turn and face Esparza, looking in the same direction as Bracho. Those who have not experienced a direct loss are to remain facing Bracho, sharing Esparza's perspective. There is a noticeable generational divide in who turns to face Esparza. Esparza requests a memory, and Bracho shares an anecdote about a friend. Next he shares a

poem, continuing in this manner through a series of memories and poems, calling his loved ones by name, bringing their lives into the space through this act of public memorialization. He does not shy away from remembering their illness and their struggle, but his tone is playful. The feeling of collective grief and mourning is palpable.



Image 7. Through Generations, Across Generations: Ricardo Bracho reads poems and memories.

It's powerful to be a part of this circle. I look again to Muñoz to help me understand what is taking place here. Though the mood is one of remembrance, I wonder whether this moment of closeness could be what Muñoz calls “moments of queer relational bliss” (25). For Muñoz, the invoking of “future generations,” points to “a queerness to come,” to another “way of being in the world” (25). As we saw earlier, for Muñoz the past can also work towards the construction of queer utopian futures. He explains that “rather than being static and fixed,” the past “has a performative nature” (28). For Muñoz this queerness to come, or “field of utopian possibility,” is “one in which multiple forms of belonging in difference adhere to a belonging in collectivity” (20), and I think of Bracho’s performance of memory as a calling on the past that enables the formation of intergenerational queer bonds across difference, into the future, through a shared experience of oppression and violence. In this segment, Bracho and Esparza teach us how to

perform bonds of recognition across difference, how to form connections that cannot easily be anticipated and coopted, bonds that the operation of power has a difficult time adapting to and incorporating into logics that determine some bodies as deserving of protection and others as deserving of imprisonment and exploitation. Thinking about refusing state systems of documentation, could strategies be envisioned through embodied acts of queer bonds of recognition?

5. That Which Also, Always Comes Back Around

We are moving again, curving back west around the south end of the garden. The saltbox is set atop another mound, and Nick Duran steps into it to perform the penultimate segment. He begins to dance wildly in the salt, shuffling his feet, squatting down to scoop up handfuls and pour them over his head, opening his mouth, tasting it, rubbing it off of his tongue and down his arms and chest. He moans, voicing guttural grunts and higher pitched sighs, a soundscape set against the scrape of the shifting salt. After a few minutes of this intense contact with the salt, Duran rolls into and onto the audience, making physical contact with the bodies sitting on the grass.



Image 8. Nick Duran dances wildly in the saltbox.

Duran's contact with the audience leads me to André Lepecki's "The Body as Archive." Lepecki explains that dance must be understood as "a dynamic, transhistorical, and intersubjective system," as both "that which *passes away* (in time and across space)" and as "that which passes around (between and across bodies of dancers, viewers, choreographers)," as well as "that which also, always *comes back around*" (39). "Bodies," he says, "intertwine, or intermingle, across time--in an endless chain of reciprocal emissions, transmissions, receptions, and exchanges" (39). The endlessness of performance, its ability to come back around, returns us to Muñoz's theories of queer temporality and the ability of the past to perform in the present and future. This idea of coming back around is, of course, mirrored in the cyclical migration pattern enacted in the performance.

6. Struggling with Each Other

The final segment of the performance is a duet by Rooster and Sebastian Hernandez, just one mound away from Duran's dance. They stand on either side of the saltbox while they are individually given instructions -- inaudible to the audience -- by Esparza and Duran. Rooster and Hernandez then step into the saltbox and Duran and Esparza join the audience. Rooster and Hernandez hold onto each other at the elbows and lean in. At first I think they are struggling against each other, but then I realize they are struggling with each other. They are holding each other up to keep from falling down. When one falls the other is pulled down, but picks up his partner before they collapse. They repeat this cycle of falling and carrying, falling and carrying. During the talkback after the performance, I learn that this duet has been performed before by Esparza and Duran, but was never rehearsed by Rooster and Hernandez.

Lepecki writes about the body "as *the* privileged archival site. In its constitutive precariousness, perceptual blind-spots, linguistic indeterminations, muscular tremors, memory

lapses, bleedings, rages, and passions, the body as archive re-places and diverts notions of archive away from a documental deposit or a bureaucratic agency dedicated to the (mis)management of ‘the past’” (34). Thus the performative privileging of the body as archive, what Taylor would term repertoire, works to further challenge institutionalized knowledge and memory -- and to intervene into state systems of documentation. Lepecki’s description calls to mind Muñoz’s formulation of an “*epistemologically and ontologically humble*” “queer utopian hermeneutic” (28). This hermeneutic involves “not settling for the present, of asking and looking beyond the here and now” (28). Performance in its endlessness, archived in humbly imperfect human bodies, seems to be an ideal site for working towards utopia. The Flower Carriers hail performers and audience to embody the loss of migration, to move towards queerness, towards a collectivity in difference, towards recognitions amongst each other; and these embodiments of recognition are essential for creating organizing strategies that resist cooptation and incorporation. Demonstrates acts of documentation, even though not specifically about documenting.



Image 9. The audience observes as Duron and Esparza give instructions to Sebastian Hernandez and Rooster.

VII. Conclusions

Through *Legalities*, *Aliens*, and *Flower Carriers*, I have examined in this thesis how the state's power to subject is enacted when it denies or defers recognition for migrants, or when recognition is only partially or temporarily granted. It seems that labeling as "undocumented" (or for deferred action applicants, perhaps "not-yet-documented" is more accurate) a population that is actually highly surveilled and counted discursively produces migrants without legal status as unknown, illegible, and officially unrecognized; and figuring migrants as unseen and unrecognized by the state in turn works to justify the targeting of their bodies for economic scapegoating, incarceration, and exploitation at multiple levels. I have asked whether through the technology of data collection projects like DAPA and DACA, systems of documentation make "undocumented" applicants into visible, legible, and known subjects. Rather, it seems that the temporariness of deferred action (plus the deferral of the implementation of these programs), determines DACA and DAPA applicants as subjects in between legibility and illegibility, always awaiting official recognition at the same time that they anticipate the possibility that their status will not be renewed, and, having identified themselves to the state, that they will be further distanced from security via deportation or detention³⁰.

³⁰ "If removal used to mean 'only' deportation, it has increasingly come to mean prolonged detention as well. As made clear by Dora Schriro in a 2009 report to the DHS, immigration detention and criminal incarceration have actually come to be viewed by the public as akin to one another. More crucially, both types of confinement are now managed similarly. Immigration detention regularly involves containment in a secure facility far removed from detainees' counsel and communities. Today, the 'design, construction, staffing plans, and population management strategies' of current Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) detention facilities are 'based largely upon the principles of command and control.' The average period of detention is a month, though much shorter for those who choose voluntary removal and, in some cases, years long" (Guterman 143); "An estimated 27 percent of federal prisoners are noncitizens" (Spade 88).

The state performs subjection through the creation of “new categories of legibility” (Spade 154) -- by transforming “undocumented” bodies into potentially visible, countable, legible, knowable, and ultimately administrate-able subjects, extending the panoptic range of surveillance. Subsequently the biopolitical^{31 32} power of the state to administer life or death to its subjects becomes organized according to these categories. But, because DACA is only temporary deferral of the fear of deportation, and the implementation of DAPA is itself deferred, (im)migrants eligible for these programs are held in a liminal legal state. I have argued through analyses of *Legalities, Aliens, and Flower Carriers*, that the data collection technology of systems of documentation does work to determine what to call and how to see migrants in the US without legal status, producing DACAdmented and DAPAdmented migrants, who are legally in between seen and unseen, hypervisible and invisibilized.

The metaphor of “coming out of the shadows” that has been so widely used throughout the (im)migrant rights movement exemplifies adherence to the logic of a US state system of documentation, a paradoxical combination of exceptionalist and state of exception logics: the exceptional state of exception which has the right to surveil, values visibility and legibility. Thus, efforts to gain the official recognition of the state, in order to no longer be considered a target of that same state, often align with this logic of visibility. In the case of deferred action programs, the state benefits from holding migrants between invisibility and hypervisibility, legality and illegality, because migrants become counted but not protected, seen but not recognized --

³¹ Foucault theorizes biopolitics in various lectures in the series *Security, Territory, Population*. He explains biopolitics as that which “aims to treat the ‘population’ as a set of coexisting living beings with particular biological and pathological features, and which as such falls under specific forms of knowledge and technique. This ‘biopolitics’ must itself be understood on the basis of a theme developed since the seventeenth century: the management of state forces” (367).

³² See Inda.

because official recognition and an unambiguous legal status for this population is always already deferred.

Legalities, Aliens, and Flower Carriers demonstrate that the recording that takes place at sites of official documentation is a performance of state power; that public discourse performs onto bodies; and that the enactment of self-documentation and creation of bonds of recognition in the three performances enable refusals of official documentation that resist cooptation into data collection technologies of state systems of documentation. We have seen that there is something about performance, specifically, that facilitates this refusal. Ramon Rivera-Servera, in *Performing Queer Latinidad*, proposes that “performance, with its emphasis on *convivencia diaria* and its arsenal of techniques for engaging the world and others corporeally, might help us reach those moments and movements of critically engaged, affectively rich, and politically promising interconnection” (40). Rivera-Servera, citing José Muñoz’s *Disidentifications*, argues for the “generative world-making³³ power of performance” (18) and “the critical praxis this cultural activity constitutes as conceptualizations of and interventions in the social and political realms of the United States” (6). Performance enacts radical possibilities, and these possibilities are felt *in the body, with other bodies*. It is this corporeal and relational aspect of performance that I have aimed to emphasize in my analyses.

In a Refusal to Be Counted, Performing Utopia: Choreographing a Collapse of Time

Diana Taylor argues that “performances function as vital acts of transfer, transmitting knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity through reiterate, or what Richard Schechner has

³³ The worldmaking enabled by performances of disidentification refers to “the ways in which performances -- both theatrical and everyday rituals -- have the ability to establish alternate views of the world. These alternative vistas are more than simply views or perspectives; they are oppositional ideologies that function as critiques of oppressive regimes of ‘truth’ that subjugate minoritarian people...Disidentification uses the majoritarian culture as raw material to make a new world” (*Disidentifications*, 195).

called ‘twice-behaved behavior’” (2-3). For Taylor, embodied practice functions as an epistemology, and she situates embodied knowledge (the repertoire) in opposition to the written word (the archive). “‘Archival’ memory,” Taylor explains, “exists as documents, maps, literary texts, letters, archaeological remains, bones, videos, films, CDs, all those items supposedly resistant to change” (19). “Etymologically,” she continues, the *arkhe* “refers to ‘a public building,’ ‘a place where records are kept’” (19). The *arkhe* also signifies “a beginning, the first place of the government” (19). Working “across distance, over time and space,” the archive maintains power by “separating the source of ‘knowledge’ from the knower--in time and/or space” (19). Taylor also identifies commonly held “myths” of the archive, namely that “the archive resists change, corruptibility, and political manipulation” (19).

The repertoire, alternatively, is comprised by “all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge” (20). “Etymologically ‘a treasury, an inventory,’” the repertoire “allows for individual agency, referring also to ‘the finder, discoverer,’ and meaning ‘to find out’” (20). Because “people participate in the production and reproduction of knowledge by ‘being there,’” the repertoire “both keeps and transforms choreographies of meaning” (20). Taylor explains that though “live performance can never be captured or transmitted through the archive” (20), like the archive, the repertoire is also mediated through a “process of selection, memorization or internalization, and transmission takes place within...specific systems of representation” (21).

Taylor claims that embodied performance has the potential to facilitate the “inhabit[ing] and envision[ing]” of “one’s body as coextensive with one’s environment and one’s past, emphasizing the porous nature of skin rather than its boundedness” (82). In a similar vein, Andre Lepecki says that the “displacement of the notion of the individual is the ultimate exhaustion of

modernity's mode of choreographing the dance of subjectivity," because "without individuation, there is no possibility of assigning subjectivity within the economies of law, naming, and signification" (*Exhausting Dance* 44). Lepecki calls for a performative "dismantling of modernity's idiotic [or individual] body and its replacement by a relational body," in order to employ "choreography as practice for political potentiality" (44). Thus, within performance there is the radical and transformational possibility of effecting and affecting the collapse of temporal and geographical distances, enactments of relationality that displace the ideology of the individual awaiting categorization and subjection.

I Am Here: Where Are You?

Being e/affected by *Legalities*, *Aliens*, and *Flower Carriers* is what compelled me to pursue this project. In it I have desired to apply Scott Morgansen's advice to non-Native queer scholars who seek to perform decolonial research: "Non-Native queers," he proposes, "can study the colonial histories they differently yet mutually inherit, and can trouble the colonial institutions in which they have sought their freedom, as steps toward shifting non-Native queer politics in decolonizing directions" (124). From my position, I have begun in this project to investigate, name, and describe the logics that underwrite and normativize systems of documentation, and to observe within *Legalities*, *Aliens*, and *Flower Carriers* embodiments of relationality with other bodies, land, and time that enable the refusal of state subjection and the enactment of bonds of recognition. It has been my intention to work as an ally scholar, an anti-colonial coalitional theorist, in order to describe how the performed embodiments in *Legalities*, *Aliens*, and *Flower Carriers* work to refuse the subjection of state systems of documentation; dismantle the ideology of the individual subjected by administrative law; erase borders that mark bodies of land; and displace the neoliberal logic of presentism by reaching into the past to

generate utopic futures of queer relationality, recognition, and freedom from fear of deportation, detention, and exploitation. What is your position, reader, within systems of documentation?

ⁱ “The Legalities of Being”:

My grandmother has never used the word “undocumented” to describe her existence. In fact growing up she never taught me about limitations. Most of the folks on my block share this similar experience so there was no dialogue around our status in this country. We all knew where to get fake micas or any other documents needed to work in this country. I never felt alone or depress. / In high school most of my peers were and continue to be undocumented so conversations around our status were not important because there was a common understanding that this was simply a REALITY and not our identity. We were more then the lack of a social security number. / “I am beginning a conversation with myself about defining my being by laws that really can NEVER summarize my existence. I am thinking about integration and this going trend to be called AMERICAN. I am thinking about words like DREAMer and Illegal, language that is stagnant, that in no way, shape or form speaks truth about the complexities of being and the connections that we have as humans beyond borders and political systems. It is like defining your being by building fences. Telling folks this is me, read the sign.” / I know the importance of visibility and empowering folks to no longer feel ashamed or embarrassed by their status but as a person who was taught that “El Pajaro Donde Quiera Es Verde” I am begging to question these myths I have learned about my homeland. I am begging to address this fear that I have about one day potentially returning to that place that gave birth to me. / Why is that every time I think about my HOME my heart stops at the idea of living in poverty, when in reality I have been living below the poverty line my whole life. There is a social construction in my head that “AMERICA” is better. That “AMERICA” will grant me freedom. That “AMERICA” will grant me a proper education. That “AMERICA” is a place of justice. / When the REALITY is that I have never seen the fruit of all these promises. We are still at the same place since we arrived, under attack, caged, profiled and subjugated to unjust laws. / I am thinking about how damaging it is to label my spirit, my essence UNDOCUMENTED, taking something so minimal from the physical world and have it manifest in my body. / Right now there is confusion all around me. There is a national campaign to pass the Dream Act, Obama announced his Deferred Action, folks are constantly inviting me to speak about my experience and I cannot help but feel Bamboozled. / There is trend of folks writing about us, documenting us, wanting to hear us, wanting for us to come out of the shadows, wanting to us to feel empowered and for some reason I can not seem to get pass the fact that we are still not addressing our emotional well being, not as undocumented people but as migrants, displaced people, folks whose hearts have been broken by America’s lies. / Abuelita has a broken heart / Ella no tiene la lengua para explicarle al presidente de sus milpas de café / She is not a DREAMer / There is no Deferred action for her / No immigration reform for her / She will NEVER be AMERICAN / One day she will pack her bags / Purchase a plane ticket and return home / She will look at the streets / Try to remember how things used to be / But time has not stopped since left / Her comadres have passed / Su casita fell / She will look at the dirt / Try to remember where she gave birth to her first-born / Look at the face of a son she has not seen in decades / She will be weak / Spending her days remembering / Abuelita will slowly dig her grave / Crawl back into the land that brought her to this journey / Return to the center / And migrate to the spirit world / There she will no longer need papers / no longer be poor / no longer ache / no longer be broken hearted / There she will whisper to me / And remind me that all this is a dream / That one day we will wake up to a place more beautiful then this.

Works Cited

- “5th Circuit Court of Appeals Hears Case on DACA, DAPA.” *New America Media*. New America Media, 16 Apr. 2015. Web. 16 Apr. 2015.
<<https://www.newamericamedia.org/>>.
- “About Us.” *Dreamers Adrift*. Dreamers Adrift, n.d. Web. 9 June 2014.
- “About Us.” *Puente Movement*. Puente Movement, Arizona. n.d. Web. 23 Nov. 2014.
<<http://puenteaz.org/>>.
- Agamben, Giorgio. *State of Exception*. Trans. Kevin Attell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005. Print.
- Ahmed, Sarah. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. New York: Routledge, 2013. Print.
- Alford, Andrea. “ACLU Comment on President Obama’s Immigration Executive Actions Announcement.” *American Civil Liberties Union*. ACLU, 20 Nov. 2014. Web. 20 Nov. 2014. <www.aclu.org/>.
- Aliens, Immigrants, and Other Evildoers*. By José Torres-Tama. Dir. José Torres-Tama. Los Angeles Theatre Center, Los Angeles. 18 Oct. 2014. Performance.
- Bogado, Aura. “Goodbye, Secure Communities. Hello, Priority Enforcement Program.” *Colorlines*. Colorlines, 21 Nov. 2014. Web. 21 Nov. 2014.
<<http://www.colorlines.com/articles/goodbye-secure-communities-hello-priority-enforcement-program>>.
- Bryant, Tisa. “Writing and Performance Workshop.” World Arts and Cultures Seminar 201. University of California, Los Angeles. 18 Feb 2015
- Byrd, Jodi. *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011. Print.
- . Culver Center of the Arts, Riverside. 12 Mar. 2015. Performance.
- Camacho, Alicia Schmidt. *Migrant Imaginaries: Latino Cultural Politics in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*. New York: New York University Press, 2008. Print.
- Chavez, Leo R. *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008. Print.
- Dávila, Arlene, Leith Mullings, Renato Rosaldo, Luis FB Plascencia, Leo R. Chavez, Rocío Magaña, Gilberto Rosas, Ana Aparicio, Lourdes Gutiérrez Nájera, Patricia Zavella, Alyshia Gálvez, and Jonathan D. Rosa. “On Latin@s and the Immigration Debate.” *American Anthropologist*. 116.1 (2014): 146-159. Web. 12 June 2014.

- Dreamers Adrift. *The Legalities of Being*. Digital Performance. *YouTube*. YouTube, 12 Oct. 2012. Web. 9 June 2014.
- Esparza, Rafa. “modulating distance. anticipating Mexico despues de los golpes.” *La guerra de dos lados*. 5 May 2015. Web. 3 June 2014. <<http://laguerradelosdoslados.wordpress.com/2013/05/05/modulating-distance-anticipating-mexico-despues-de-los-golpes/>>.
- . “The War on Both Side: Ostrich Skin.” *Artbound*. n.d. Web. 3 June 2014. <<http://www.kcet.org/arts/>>.
- Esterhammer, Angela and Douglas Robinson. “Speech Acts.” *Johns Hopkins Guide To Literary Theory and Criticism*. Ver. 20121. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005-2012. Web. <<http://litguide.press.jhu.edu/>>. 15 Dec. 2014.
- “Executive Actions on Immigration.” *Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security*. US Citizenship and Immigration Services, n.d. Web. 15 Dec. 2014. <<http://www.uscis.gov /immigrationaction>>.
- . *Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security*. US Citizenship and Immigration Services, n.d. Web. 1 March 2015. <<http://www.uscis.gov /immigrationaction>>.
- Fitz, Marshall and Stephen Legomsky. “Federal Appeals Court Dismissal of Immigration Lawsuit Has Significant Implications for the DHS Immigration Policies.” *Center for American Progress*. Center for American Progress, 15 Apr. 2015. Web. 15 Apr 2015. <<https://www.americanprogress.org/issues>>.
- Flatow, Nicole and Esther Yu-His Lee. “New Racial Profiling Guidance Retains Broad Exemptions for Immigration, National Security.” *Think Progress*. Think Progress, 8 Dec 2014. Web. 15 Dec 2014. <thinkprogress.org/justice>.
- The Flower Carriers: Resting Grounds*. By The Flower Carriers. University of California, Los Angeles Murphy Sculpture Garden, Los Angeles. 29 May 2014. Performance.
- Foster, Susan Leigh. *Corporealities: Dancing Knowledge, Culture, and Power*. New York: Routledge, 1995. Print.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Random House, 1975. Print.
- . *Security, Territory, Population*. Trans. Graham Burchell. New York: Palgrave, 2004. Print.
- “Frequently Asked Questions: The Obama Administration’s DAPA and Expanded DACA Programs.” *National Immigration Law Center*. National Immigration Law Center, 2 March 2015. Web. 15 March, 2015. <www.nilc.org>.
- Garcia, Carlos. “#Not1More Means Not One More.” *Puente Movement*. Puente Movement Arizona, 22 Nov. 2014. Web. 23 Nov. 2014. <<http://puenteaz.org/blog/>>.

- Gonzalez, Alfonso. *Reform Without Justice: Latino Migrant Politics and the Homeland Security State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Goodman, David J. and Al Baker. "Wave of Protests After Grand Jury Doesn't Indict Officer in Eric Garner Chokehold Case." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 3 Dec. 2014. Web. 15 Dec. 2015. <<http://www.nytimes.com/>>.
- "A Guide to the Immigration Accountability Executive Action." *American Immigration Council*. American Immigration Council, Nov. 2014. Web. 1 Dec. 2014. <<https://www.immigrationpolicy.org/>>.
- Guterman, Gad. *Performance, Identity, and Immigration Law*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014. Print.
- Hughes, Langston. "Harlem." *Selected Poems of Langston Hughes*. New York: Random House, 1990. Print.
- Inda, Jonathan. *Targeting Immigrants: Government, Technology, and Ethics*. Hoboken: Wiley, 2008. Print.
- Katrowitz, Alex. "Jose Antonio Vargas on Using Social Media to Change Perceptions and Policy." *PBS. Media Shift*, 20 May, 2013. Web. 12 June 2014. <www.pbs.org/mediashift/>.
- Khan, Naureen. "Undocumented Immigrants Awaiting Deportation Relief Dealt Another Delay." *Al Jazeera*. Al Jazeera America, 17 Feb. 2015. Web. 17 Feb. 2015. <<https://america.aljazeera.com/articles/>>.
- Kondo, Dorinne. *About Face: Performing Race in Fashion and Theatre*. New York: Routledge, 1997. Print.
- "Latino Workers in South Face Rampant Abuse." *Southern Poverty Law Center*. SPLC, n.d. Web. 25 June 2015. <www.splc.org/publications/>.
- Lovato, Roberto. "Immigrant Families in Limbo and on Edge ahead of Hearing." *Al Jazeera*. Al Jazeera America, 16 Apr. 2015. Web. 16 Apr 2015. <america.aljazeera.com>.
- Lepecki, Andre. *Exhausting Dance: Performance and the Politics of Movement*. New York: Routledge, 2006. Print.
- . "The Body as Archive: Will to Re-Enact and the Afterlives of Dances." *Dance Research Journal* 42.2 (2010): 28-48. Web. 9 June 2014.
- Luibhéid, Eithne. *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002. Print.

- Mass, Warren. "Rand Paul Introduces Bill to Counter Obama Executive Amnesty." *The New American*. The New American, 15 Dec. 2014. Web. 15 Dec. 2014. <<http://www.thenewamerican.com/>>.
- McKenzie, Jon. *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance*. New York: Routledge, 2001. Print.
- Morgensen, Scott L. "Settler Homonationalism: Theorizing Settler Colonialism within Queer Modernities." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*. 16.1-2 (2010): 105-31. Web. 4 Apr. 2015.
- Muñoz, José E. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. New York: NYU Press, 2009. Print.
- Murphy, Laura W., Joanne Lin, and Christopher Rickerd. "Written Statement of the American Civil Liberties Union for a Hearing on 'President Obama's Executive Overreach on Immigration,' Submitted to the US House Committee on the Judiciary." *American Civil Liberties Union*. ACLU Washington Legislative Office, 2 Dec. 2014. Web. 15 Dec. 2014. <www.aclu.org/files>.
- Nicholls, Walter J. *The DREAMers: How the Undocumented Youth Movement Transformed the Immigrant Rights Debate*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013. Print.
- Obama, Barack. "Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on Immigration." *The White House*. Office of the Press Secretary, 20 Nov. 2014. Web. 21 Nov. 2014. <www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/>.
- "Operation Streamline." *Grassroots Leadership*. Grassroots Leadership, n.d. Web. 25 June 2015. <www.grassrootsleadership.org/>.
- Pearce, Matt. "33 'Dreamers' Detained at Texas Border Crossing, Activist Says." *Los Angeles Times*. LA Times, 30 Sept. 2013. Web. 25 June 2015. <www.articles.latimes.com/>.
- Pelias, Ronald J. "Performative Writing as Scholarship: An Apology, an Argument, an Anecdote." *Cultural Studies, Critical Methodologies*. 5.4 (2005): 415-424. Web. 4 Apr. 2015.
- Pérez, Emma. *The Decolonial Imaginary*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Puar, Jasbir K. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Duke University Press, 2007. Print.
- Race Forward: The Center for Racial Justice Innovation*. Colorlines, n.d. Web. 12 June 2014. <raceforward.org>.

Rivera-Servera, Ramon. *Performing Queer Latinidad: Dance, Sexuality, Politics*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2012. Print.

Rodríguez, Juana María. *Sexual Futures, Queer Gestures, and Other Latina Longings*. New York: NYU Press, 2014. Print.

“Secure Communities.” *Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security*. US Immigration and Customs Enforcement, *n.d.* Web. 15 Dec. 2014. <<http://www.uscis.gov/immigrationaction>>.

Schneider, Rebecca. *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment*. New York: Routledge, 2011. Print.

Spade, Dean. *Normal life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of Law*. Brooklyn, NY: South End Press, 2011. Print.

Taylor, Diana. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003. Print.

“Who We Are.” *We Are Casa*. We Are Casa, *n.d.* Web. 1 Mar. 2015. <<https://wearecasa.org/>>.

YBCA. Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, *n.d.* Web. 12 June 2014. <www.ybca.org/undocunation>.