UNITED STATES-MEXICO BORDER: RIGHTS OF THE DEAD, FORENSIC ANTHROPOLOGISTS, AND FAMILIES OF THE VICTIMS

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ABSTRACT

UNITED STATES-MEXICO BORDER: RIGHTS OF THE DEAD, FORENSIC ANTHROPOLOGISTS, AND FAMILIES OF VICTIMS

Diana Andrea Newberry Franco

From 1998-2018, over 6,000 migrants have been found dead after attempting to cross into the United States through its southern border; most of the deaths are due to harsh environmental conditions found through the crossing areas. Migrant remains are often found with no belongings or evidence to use to identify the deceased. Forensic anthropologists, medicolegal examiners, and non-governmental organizations such as Humane Borders, *Águilas del Desierto* [Eagles of the Desert], and the Colibrí Center for Human Rights have worked to recover, identify, and repatriate these remains. To understand the many facets of this process, this thesis explored the relationships between forensic anthropologists, nongovernmental organizations, medicolegal examiners, and migrants. Methods included ethnography, surveys, and secondary data analysis. The results exposed some of the gaps between forensic anthropologists, non-profit organizations, migrants, and the families of victims. The findings suggest that a crossdisciplinary approach may best aid in successful retrieval, identification, and repatriation of migrant remains. Such an approach necessitates the inclusion of methods from forensic anthropology and across the broader discipline of anthropology (biological, cultural, archaeological, and linguistics), as well as other methods beyond the discipline,

such as social work, to interact with families of victims and properly serve and protect the rights of the dead.

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I would like to thank all the participants of this research, for giving me their time and sharing their stories. Because without you this research project could not have happened. Thank you to all the women who allowed me to be part of their migrating experience – you are brave and have become an inspiration in my life. The stories you shared with me will forever be with me and they will allow me to stay humble every step of the way.

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mamá por demostrarme que si se puede. Also, special thanks to my love Edgar, thank you for being next to me throughout every single step of the way. Lastly to Pumba for reminding me to step away from my work and making me run in the park.

DEDICACIONES

Para mi familia que tanto me han apoyado y que tanto los quiero, muchas gracias. Y para los que se nos fueron, nunca los olvidaremos.

[DEDICATIONS]

[To my family that has given me their support and all their love, and for those who left us we will never forget you.]

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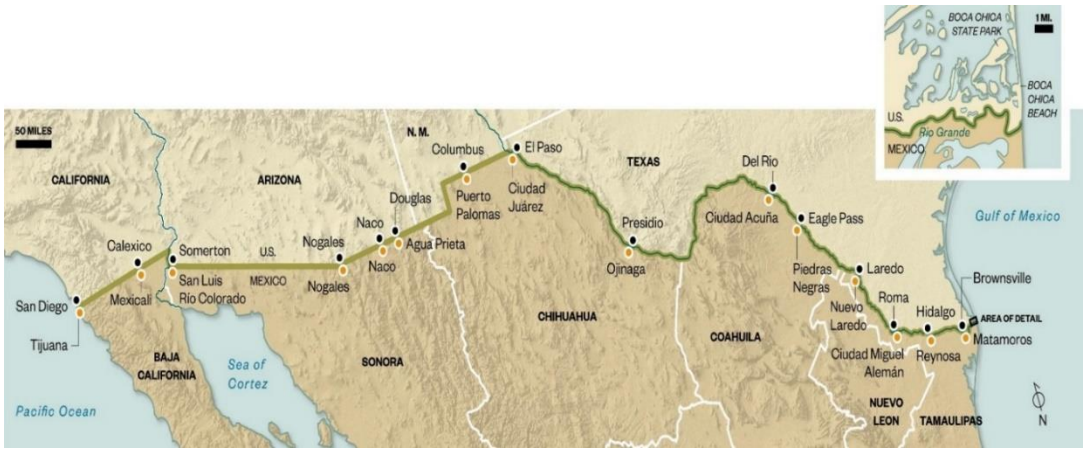
INTRODUCTION

"I remember when crossing the border was not dangerous at all, I crossed the border without any documents three different times without facing any problems. The first two times I made line like everyone else and then when it was finally my turn the officer asked me "are you a U.S. citizen?" I responded yes and there I was *en el otro lado* [on the other side]. The third time it was a little harder so I crossed through the *cerro* [mountain], and now I cannot find a way to cross into the U.S. without putting my life in danger. Imagine that, I lived in the U.S. for 30 years and now I cannot get back to my children. I have no idea what I am going to do, but one thing is for sure I am not staying in Mexico – I am going back. I was born in Mexico but my life is not here, my life is *en el otro lado* [on the other side]. Even if Trump doesn't want me, I will get back to my kids I want to be in the U.S. and no matter what I have to do or how long it takes I will make it happen."

-Anonymous, *Shelter for Migrants*, Tijuana, B.C. Mexico2017

The U.S.-Mexico border is estimated to be 1,954 miles (3,145 kilometers) long, and it is divided by fences, signs, border patrol agents, and heavy surveillance (Figure 1). The borderland between Mexico and the U.S. was established by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 and the Gadsden Purchase in 1853 (Cadaval, 2016). This geopolitical border begins on the west coast of the North American Continent between the cities of Tijuana (on the south side of the border in Mexico) and San Diego (on the north side of the border in the U.S.). It continues across a vast region, cutting through several states on both sides, to terminate near the Gulf of Mexico in the border towns of Brownsville

(U.S.) and Matamoros (Mexico). This geopolitical division goes through deserts, mountains, rivers, and other geospatial regions. Importantly, some of the lands that mark this border division are Native American land. Some of these regions are used as natural barriers to prevent undocumented border crossers from entering the U.S.



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The terrains most commonly used for these purposes are the desert areas along the border. For example, Figure 2 demonstrates one of the crossing terrains between California and Baja California. This area is very mountainous and rocky, it reaches an altitude of 1,210 feet, and it has one of the most dangerous roads in all of Mexico, along with high winds and extreme climates. It is common to find cargo trucks and cars that drive off the road in *La Rumorosa* mountains. Furthermore, another common route for migrants is the Sonoran Desert, which starts in the southeast region of California and Baja California, and it ends in Southern Arizona and Sonora. The Sonoran Desert is known for its extreme climates, dangerous animals, and overall unforgiving environment

(De Leon, 2015). Even so, many migrants decide to cross through this region and thus the Sonoran Desert has seen the largest number of border crosser deaths in the last two decades (CBP, 2017). Nevertheless, every day undocumented individuals attempt to enter the U.S. through its southern border.

Figure 2: La Rumorosa: crossing area for migrants. Tecate, Baja California, Mexico. March 27, 2018

Individuals migrate into the U.S. for various reasons, including to seek asylum and shelter. This is done in order to escape violence, persecution, environmental factors, and poverty, among other individual reasons later discussed in the thesis. People migrating into the U.S. come from various parts of the globe, commonly but not limited to: Central America, South America, Africa, Europe, and the Middle East. For many who migrate through Mexico or are Mexican, their ultimate goal is to enter the U.S. in order to find *"El sueño Americano"* ["the American Dream"]. The American Dream is a concept

that has been created around the social and cultural ideas that living in the U.S. provides people with the opportunity to support their family while living comfortably by working hard and earning their wages in U.S. dollars (Marroni, 2006). Thus, most individuals who are migrating do so in order to escape forms of structural violence which they face in their homelands and to find social, economic, and political stability based on the American Dream.

The U.S. created a border force to decrease the number of undocumented border crossers into the country. The border force implemented by the U.S. government is a militarization effort primarily put in effect throughout all the southern border in which different preventive measures are utilized to prevent unauthorize persons and materials from entering the country (CBP, 2018). Furthermore, the militarization efforts by the U.S. government further divides the neighboring countries. This division between Mexico and the U.S. produces a geopolitical separation that divides people based on nationality, meaning that people are labeled based on the geographical space where they were born. Due to this division people are either a U.S. citizen or not, and each citizenship grants different rights, privileges, and disadvantages. People who are born in the U.S. have opportunities that allow them to live inside the U.S. and migrate to different regions around the world, and also return to the U.S. with relative ease. On the other hand, those who are born outside of the U.S., such as in Mexico, Central America, and South America, face difficulties when trying to migrate, especially when they are trying to migrate into the U.S. Due to the geopolitical border that divides Mexico and the U.S., people who attempt to enter the U.S. without proper documentation often face

consequences that could range from rapid deportation to death. From 1998 to 2018, more than 6,000 migrants are estimated to have lost their lives while trying to clandestinely enter the U.S. through its southern border (CBP, 2017). Out of the 6,000 migrant remains found, the majority have yet to be identified, which prevents them from being repatriated to their land of origin and leaves families in the dark about the fate of their loved ones (Illingworth, 2015). Some of the actors involved in the identification process are forensic anthropologists working with medical examiners at local facilities such as Maricopa County, Pima County, and at nonprofit agencies such as the Colibrí Center for human rights.

Clandestine migration has been a taboo subject in the U.S. for decades now. The status of undocumented or illegal migrants labels people as “criminals” or more commonly “illegal aliens.” Because of the labels given to these individuals law enforcement, in particular the U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and police officers, have persecuted undocumented migrants. During February 2017, ICE conducted raids throughout the country arresting close to 700 undocumented immigrants or "criminal aliens" as they are labeled (Hernández, Lowery, and Hauslohner, 2017). Immigrants in the U.S. are often perceived as a disposable commodity that could be quickly forgotten and replaced (Vogt, 2013). Most U.S. policies created around migration do not incorporate the idea that migrant lives are meaningful and therefore should be safeguarded from all harm; instead, many of the policies being proposed and implemented negate their right to life. Thus, there is a need for applied anthropology at the U.S.- Mexico border. The need to decrease

the number of deaths and assist in the identification and retrieval process of human remains at the border is undeniable, and it is urgent. There is a need to understand the roles of those who work with remains, especially those who work where human right violations have occurred.

This thesis project revealed different questions pertaining to the relationship between forensic anthropologists, medicolegal agents, and non-governmental organizations and their roles with respect to migrant remains and their families. In order to create a multidisciplinary and holistic approach that aids in solving the humanitarian crisis present in the U.S.-Mexico border, it is important to acknowledge the various factors and agents that influence migration and the death of migrants.

The following central questions arose while conducting this thesis:

1. How important is it for families and friends to learn about the whereabouts and condition of their deceased loved ones?
2. What happens to the remains of individuals who are not identified?
3. What can forensic anthropologists, medicolegal offices, and other agencies do in order to help and collaborate with the families of unidentified migrants who die across the border region between the U.S. and Mexico?

These questions determined the objectives of this thesis, which were:

1. Understand the responsibilities of forensic anthropologists, medicolegal agents, and others who interact with migrant remains.
2. Understand the rights of the dead, specifically looking at migrant deaths.

3. Understand the needs and wants of the families of undocumented migrants and migrants who plan to enter the U.S. through a clandestine path.

This research project aimed to better understand the complex relationships among the above actors and between these actors and the communities that they serve. This was done with an eye towards best practices for approaching and working with families of undocumented migrants during the identification process, while evaluating the rights of the dead. This was accomplished through fieldwork (secondary data analysis, surveys, interviews, and participant observation) in Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico, in Phoenix, Arizona, and through online sources. The results shed light on the prospective approaches to facilitating the interaction between forensic anthropologists, medicolegal agents, non-profit organizations who work with migrants, and migrants.

BACKGROUND

The following is a literature review of the U.S.-Mexico border, clandestine migration and the role that forensic anthropologists have undertaken to address this topic in theory and practice. Clandestine migration, in this case, is the migration of individuals who enter the U.S. through its southern border without legal documentation. The purpose of this background section is to present the history of the U.S.-Mexico border and how the evolution of it has impacted undocumented migration. Then, methods and practices utilized by forensic anthropologists and medicolegal examiners will be outlined. Also, this section reviews some theoretical models that have been used to understand undocumented migration into the U.S. Lastly, the rights of the death and the rights of families of the victims are observed. Overall, this literature review allows for a better understanding of the context of this study and the body of academic literature to which it contributes.

U.S.- Mexico Border History

The geopolitical separation of the U.S. and Mexico

The history of this border has been in constant change since the moment of its establishment, but for this study, only the most substantial changes that have influenced migration and undocumented border crossing are discussed. Since the establishment of the southern U.S. border there have been numerous changes in the way in which both the public and the government perceive clandestine migration. Because of this there have been changes in the prevention methods that are utilized to decrease the number of

undocumented border crossers. With this evolution of the U.S.-Mexico border, there has been an increase in the number of deaths occurring at the border between the U.S. and Mexico (Jimenez, 2009). The increase in the number of deaths has turned into a humanitarian crisis, which has in turn led to a call for action to lower the death toll at the border.

Border militarization

The U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) was established in 1924. Before 1924 and as early as 1904, the work was performed by a group formed by U.S. citizens, some worked for law enforcement agencies; this group was not funded by the U.S. government. Support from the U.S. government came when Congress authorized the hiring of border patrol agents on May 28, 1924 (U.S. Customs and Border Protection, CBP through the years, 2017). According to CBP (2017) records, there has been a constant increase in the number of CBP agents, especially those working in the Southern sector of the U.S. (Figure 3). The rise of CBP agents reflects the surge of border protection efforts in the U.S.

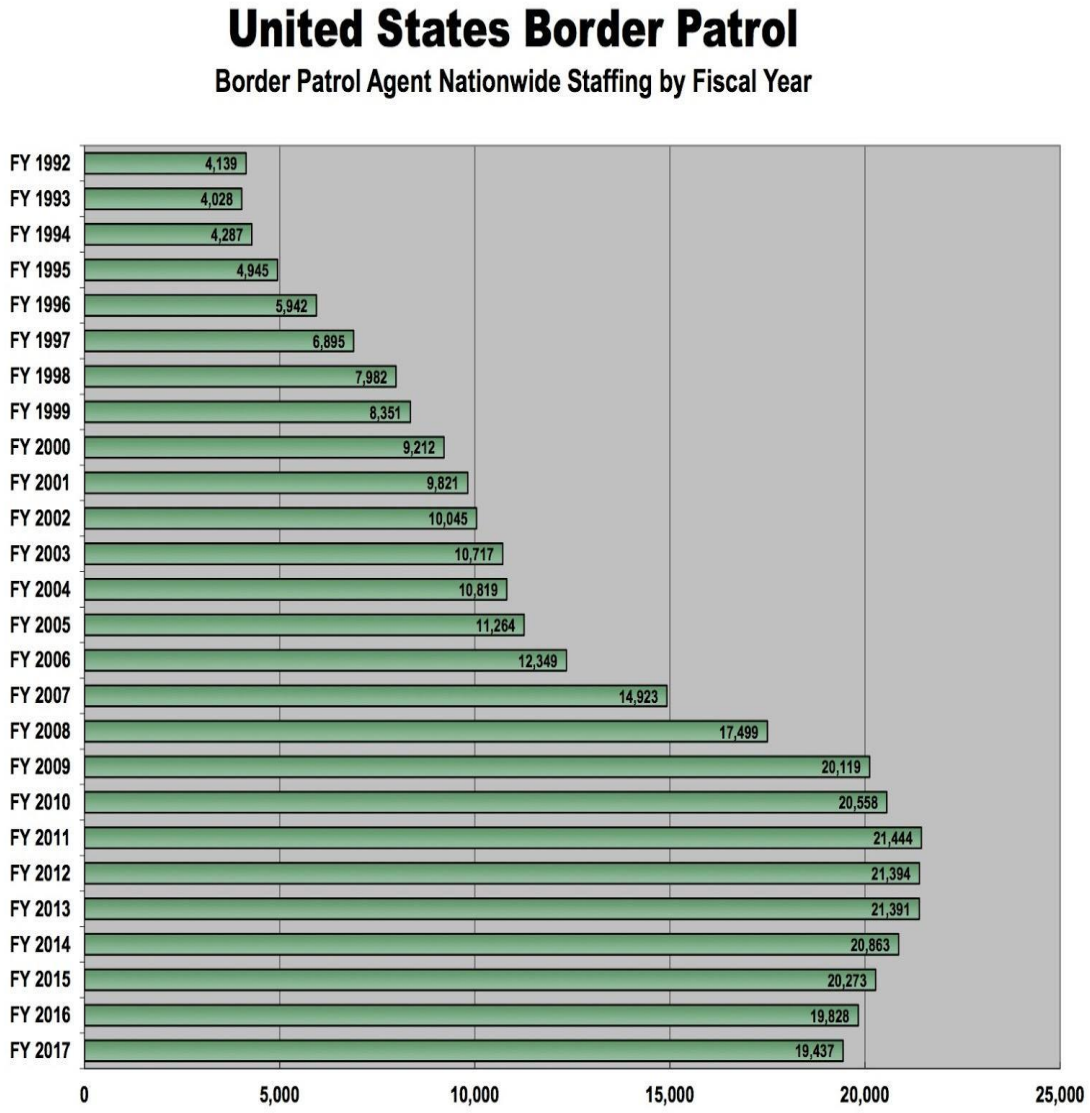

Figure 3:United States, U.S. Customs and Border Protection, "Border Patrol Agent Nationwide Staffing by Fiscal Year," https://www.cbp.gov/sites/default/files/assets/documents/2017-Dec/BP%20Staffing%20FY1992-FY2017.pdf.

The increase in border protection and stricter immigration laws have taken place during different U.S. presidential administrations. Importantly, the U.S.-Mexico border

region has had a long and unrecorded history – only the last few decades are on record and therefore only those years can be adequately observed and analyzed (Palafox, 2000). Thus, the effects of militarization at the border on undocumented border crossers is insufficient and still much research needs to take place, but the following is a review of the known impacts that militarization tactics have had on the border and undocumented migration.

Militarization tactics at the border surged under President Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) and increased under the Clinton administration (1993-2001) (Palafox, 2000; and De Leon, 2012). Before 1994, the number of migrant deaths was not officially deemed a humanitarian crisis due to the low number of documented deaths at the border. Undocumented border crossers were known to use entry points that lead to populated areas in the U.S. The urban city of San Diego, CA was known to be an accessible entry port into the U.S. for undocumented border crossers (Nevins, 2008) (Figure 4). During the Clinton administration 'Operation Gatekeeper' was established in 1994 by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to deter and secure passageways into the U.S. through urban areas, such as San Diego, redirecting undocumented migrants to more dangerous and secluded regions (De Leon, 2012; Hinkes, 2008; Jardine, 1998; Nevins, 2008; and Palafoz, 2000). 'Operation Gatekeeper' served to increase the number of U.S. border patrol agents, technology, and infrastructure by the Border Patrol (Jardine, 1998). After the operation was established and put into effect, there has been no solid evidence confirming that prevention through deterrence has decreased the overall number of clandestine migrant flow (Hinkes, 2008). On the other hand, the Sonora and Chihuahua

deserts (Figure 5) have seen an increase in the number of deaths since the enactment of Operation Gatekeeper (Blust, 2016). After the implementation of a militarized border, there has been an observable increase in undocumented migrant deaths (Blust, 2016; and Hinkes, 2008).

Figure 4: Young people sprint across the I-5 Freeway with their pant legs still wet after walking in the nearby Tijuana River in this 1990 file photo. Reprinted from "With only one left, iconic yellow road sign showing running immigrants now borders on the extinct," by C. Carcamo, 2017, Los Angeles Times. Copyright [2018] by the Los Angeles Times.

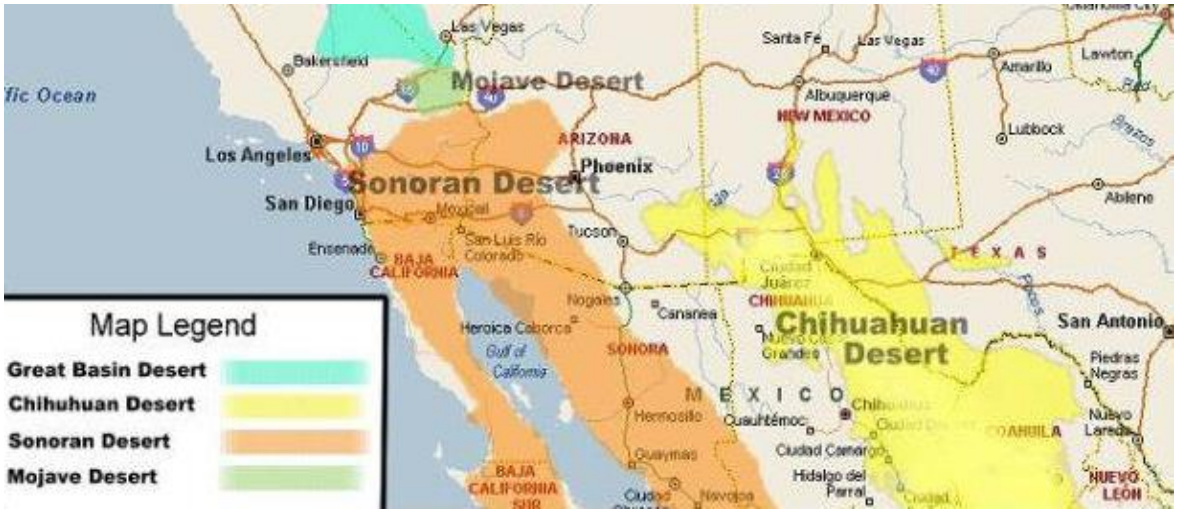

Figure 5: Highlights of the Sonoran and Chihuahuan Deserts. Gilmore, D., & Gilmore, L. (2013). Where is the Desert [Digital image]. Retrieved from http://www.in-the-desert.com/desert.html

Regardless of the high death toll of undocumented crossers and the lack of proof that militarization decreases the overall number of border crossers, there have been new laws that aim to increase militarized security and deter undocumented migration. In 2006, during the second Bush administration, the "Secure the Fence Act" (Public Law 109-367) was established. This particular act was created to "establish operational control over the international land and maritime border of the U.S." (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2006). The ultimate goal of this act was to construct a physical fence in the border area from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. Furthermore, this law aims to secure the border by preventing illegal activities at the border and preventing undocumented persons from entering the U.S. (Figure 6). During Bush's second presidential term (2005-2009), nearly 700 miles of border fencing was built between the two countries, covering a large portion of the total 1954-mile stretch. The construction of the border fence stopped while President Obama was in office (2009-2017), but the militarization at the border continued through the years.

Figure 6: Sign demarcating the boundary of the U.S. [Digital image]. (2014). Retrieved from NCAA

In November 2016, Donald Trump was elected President of the U.S. New executive orders came with the election of President Trump regarding border security and immigration enforcement. The foundation of some of these executive orders come from Trump's negative discourse on migration and refugees in the U.S., a discourse which also formed the foundation of much of his presidential campaign. This thesis later discusses the effects that President Trump's dialogue had on the public's perspective on migration and refugees. One of Trump's infamous allegations against undocumented migration is that Mexico "takes advantage of the United States by using illegal immigration to export their crime and poverty" (Trump, 2016). Thus, during his presidential campaign, one of his solutions to the influx of "crime and poverty" into the U.S. was to build a physical wall between the U.S. and Mexico – this solution offered by Trump is part of the

continuation of the "Secure the Fence Act" established by the Bush's administration in 2006.

Once in office, the first executive orders by President Trump were on border security. The executive order: Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvement, was released on January 25, 2017. This executive order, written by President Trump, asserts that those who enter the U.S. clandestinely are people who seek to harm Americans through acts of terror or criminal conduct (The White House, 2017). Thus, undocumented migrants pose a significant threat to national security and public safety. Therefore, the executive order proposes the following to deter undocumented migration and stop “crime and poverty” from entering the U.S. through the following: 1) secure the southern border by constructing a physical wall; 2) termination of “catch and release”, and the enforcement of appropriate and consistent use of the lawful authority under the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), 3) to return migrants to their place of origin; 4) additional border patrol agents (approximately 5,000 agents); 5) the end of the abuse of parole and asylum provisions used to prevent the lawful removal of removable aliens; 6) reports of statistical data on aliens apprehended at or near the southern border using methods that are accessible to the public; and 7) facilitate the hiring of personnel to implement the overall order (The White House, 2017). Some of the results of the executive order were observed from January 22 to September 9, when records showed that nearly 54,000 immigrants who resided in the U.S. were deported (Sacchetti, 2017) (Figure 7).

Sacchetti (2017):

Although the Trump administration's chief goal is to deport criminals, it is still expelling significant numbers of people who never committed any crimes. From January to Sept. 9, ICE deported a total of 142,818 immigrants from the border and the U.S. interior, including 83,254 people who were criminals and 59,564 who were not.

Figure 7: Newspaper article fron The Washington Post of ICE officers arresting a migrant. Sacchetti, M. (2017, October 7). Deportations from the interior of the United States are rising under Trump. The Washington Post, Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/immigration/deportations-from-the-interior-of-the-united-states-are-rising-under-trump/2017/10/07/44a14224-a912-11e7-b3aa-c0e2e1d41e38_story.html?utm_term=.18a32c299408

Nevertheless, based on previous militarization movements at the border, it is reasonable to assume that undocumented border crossings will not diminish and that the number of undocumented border crosser deaths will not decrease anytime soon. As pointed out by Spradley (2016), as a result of prevention through deterrence, migrant deaths began to rise. According to statistics gathered by the Pima County Medical Examiner's office (PCOME) in Arizona, over a ten-year period between 1990 and 1999, 129 deaths were recorded at the Arizona-Sonora border, equating to approximately 13 per year (Reineke, 2016). Over the next five years (2000-2004), 802 deaths were recorded in the same area, equating to approximately 160 per year, which is an increase of over 1200% (Spradley, 2016; Reineke, 2016; also see Martinez et al. 2013). These numbers continue to rise. Between 2000-2018, an average of 170 recovered bodies or remains are recovered per year from the desert in Arizona and taken to PCOME (Reineke, 2016). The increase in deaths along the U.S.-Mexico border has prompted different efforts to avoid fatalities and identify those who have died in the region.

Deaths and apprehensions

The number of undocumented migrants who are apprehended while attempting to enter the U.S. has decreased, while the number of deaths has been rising. While legal forms of migration occur on an everyday basis, there is an unknown number of people who try to cross into the U.S. through paths that are more secluded and thus more dangerous. Even so, some of these individuals are successful and enter the U.S. In 2015 alone, the population of migrants in the U.S. both legal and illegal was estimated to be

around 43.3 million (Migration Policy Institute, 2017). Still many are apprehended in the attempts to enter the U.S., according to the U.S. Customs and Border Protection agency (2017), 303,916 individuals were apprehended at the U.S. southern border by CBP officials between October 1, 2016, and September 30, 2017 (Figure 8). These individuals were apprehended throughout the southern U.S. border, and they reflect all the entry points between the U.S. and Mexico. Moreover, the numbers of apprehensions at the southern border have diminished significantly. From 1996 to 2006, millions of migrant apprehensions in the U.S. southern border took place, from 2007 to 2017 the number of apprehensions has been diminishing by the thousands. During 2017, this fluctuation of migrant apprehensions can be observed by a decrease of 104,954 (25.67%) apprehensions compared to the previous year (2016) (Figure 8).

United States Border Patrol

Southwest Border Sectors

Total Illegal Alien Apprehensions By Fiscal Year (Oct. 1st through Sept. 30th)

Fiscal Year	Big Bend (formerly Marfa)	Del Rio	El Centro	El Paso	Laredo	Rio Grande Valley (formerly McAllen)	San Diego	Tucson	Yuma	Southwest Border Total
2017	6,002	13,476	18,633	25,193	25,460	137,562	26,086	38,657	12,847	303,916
2016	6,366	23,078	19,448	25,634	36,562	186,830	31,891	64,891	14,170	408,870
2015	5,031	19,013	12,820	14,495	35,888	147,257	26,290	63,397	7,142	331,333
2014	4,096	24,255	14,511	12,339	44,049	256,393	29,911	87,915	5,902	479,371
2013	3,684	23,510	16,306	11,154	50,749	154,453	27,496	120,939	6,106	414,397
2012	3,964	21,720	23,916	9,678	44,872	97,762	28,461	120,000	6,500	356,873
2011	4,036	16,144	30,191	10,345	36,053	59,243	42,447	123,285	5,833	327,577
2010	5,288	14,694	32,562	12,251	35,287	59,766	68,565	212,202	7,116	447,731
2009	6,360	17,082	33,521	14,999	40,569	60,989	118,721	241,673	6,951	540,865
2008	5,391	20,761	40,961	30,312	43,658	75,473	162,390	317,696	8,363	705,005
2007	5,536	22,920	55,883	75,464	56,714	73,430	152,460	378,239	37,992	858,638
2006	7,520	42,636	61,465	122,256	74,840	110,528	142,104	392,074	118,549	1,071,972
2005	10,536	68,506	55,722	122,679	75,346	134,186	126,904	439,079	138,438	1,171,396
2004	10,530	53,794	74,467	104,399	74,706	92,947	138,608	491,771	98,060	1,139,282
2003	10,319	50,145	92,099	88,816	70,521	77,749	111,515	347,263	56,638	905,065
2002	11,392	66,985	108,273	94,154	82,095	89,927	100,681	333,648	42,654	929,809
2001	12,087	104,875	172,852	112,857	87,068	107,844	110,075	449,675	78,385	1,235,718
2000	13,689	157,178	238,126	115,696	108,973	133,243	151,681	616,346	108,747	1,643,679
1999	14,952	156,653	225,279	110,857	114,004	169,151	182,267	470,449	93,388	1,537,000
1998	14,509	131,058	226,695	125,035	103,433	204,257	248,092	387,406	76,195	1,516,680
1997	12,692	113,280	146,210	124,376	141,893	243,793	283,889	272,397	30,177	1,368,707
1996	13,214	121,137	66,873	145,929	131,841	210,553	483,815	305,348	28,310	1,507,020
1995	11,552	76,490	37,317	110,971	93,305	169,101	524,231	227,529	20,894	1,271,390
1994	13,494	50,036	27,654	79,688	73,142	124,251	450,152	139,473	21,211	979,101
1993	15,486	42,289	30,058	285,781	82,348	109,048	531,689	92,639	23,548	1,212,886
1992	13,819	33,414	29,852	248,642	72,449	85,889	565,581	71,036	24,892	1,145,574
1991	8,764	38,554	30,450	211,775	72,293	87,319	540,347	59,728	28,646	1,077,876
1990	7,180	41,373	28,708	223,219	89,052	97,018	473,323	53,061	36,387	1,049,321
1989	5,560	46,786	27,524	168,105	75,292	79,650	366,757	51,445	31,387	852,506
1988	6,209	59,403	41,179	182,566	69,912	60,294	431,592	48,683	42,723	942,561
1987	9,586	64,934	55,291	231,994	74,139	71,038	500,327	47,481	67,277	1,122,067
1986	23,796	123,952	95,186	312,892	143,685	121,783	629,656	71,675	93,219	1,615,844
1985	23,667	99,280	71,519	240,350	114,931	82,826	427,772	55,269	67,737	1,183,351
1984	22,196	87,058	68,563	212,652	87,059	66,860	407,828	46,283	59,777	1,058,276
1983	20,829	83,733	71,897	205,944	65,279	57,706	429,121	35,870	63,595	1,033,974
1982	20,268	48,753	55,440	152,882	40,385	32,533	314,979	32,344	48,236	745,820
1981	17,584	50,455	59,774	146,872	36,910	32,809	326,836	33,085	45,483	749,808
1980	15,602	50,762	57,009	127,488	39,167	35,012	285,984	33,668	45,862	690,554
1979	20,116	50,262	55,532	149,722	50,666	41,915	337,930	37,075	52,580	795,798
1978	23,501	54,098	42,118	174,010	36,627	45,201	325,557	34,991	53,338	789,441
1977	22,239	42,322	38,421	145,059	27,289	38,704	337,195	33,295	48,669	733,193
1976	19,846	32,988	32,327	114,886	24,665	38,839	266,709	34,641	42,598	607,499
1975	20,472	32,008	27,217	99,000	26,199	31,300	185,499	39,941	50,628	512,264
1974	23,291	44,098	26,143	112,432	30,061	38,668	196,981	50,108	49,824	571,606
1973	22,378	42,232	23,125	82,386	23,854	37,092	128,889	44,824	36,286	441,066
1972	20,269	31,110	15,327	78,168	21,781	29,338	73,115	32,272	19,946	321,326
1971	22,026	25,780	14,292	57,796	17,665	28,281	59,375	23,548	15,228	263,991
1970	16,770	18,711	12,028	43,640	11,569	20,708	50,663	14,222	13,469	201,780
1969	11,973	12,991	9,195	31,159	8,129	14,076	33,311	8,301	8,833	137,968
1968	8,834	9,576	8,358	19,408	5,715	10,093	24,116	4,537	6,004	96,641
1967	7,049	7,906	6,974	13,656	4,178	9,029	17,844	3,068	4,269	73,973
1966	6,592	6,845	6,916	10,119	3,658	8,706	13,362	2,392	4,050	62,640
1965	3,973	4,292	5,344	6,355	2,310	8,057	6,558	1,480	1,651	40,020
1964	3,146	4,489	2,640	4,486	2,168	9,173	4,521	1,200	696	32,519
1963	2,026	4,417	1,690	3,813	1,753	9,992	3,768	1,466	719	29,644
1962	1,431	3,250	1,426	3,304	1,274	5,569	3,091	1,247	511	21,103
1961	954	3,458	1,878	3,540	1,172	6,713	2,279	1,178	573	21,745
1960	732	3,023	1,839	3,630	1,024	5,515	3,371	1,255	633	21,022

Figure 8:"United States Border Patrol Southwest Border Sectors Total Illegal Alien Apprehensions By Fiscal Year." BP Southwest Border Sector Apps FY1960 - FY2017, 2017, www.cbp.gov/sites/default/files/assets/documents/2017-Dec/BP%20Southwest%20Border%20Sector%20

Due to the high number of undocumented migrants who try to enter the U.S. through its southern border, together with governmental operations such as prevention through deterrence, thousands of individuals have been found dead (Jardine, 1998). The majority of deaths have taken place in the Sonoran Desert in Arizona (CBP, 2017; De Leon, 2012; Martinez et al., 2014; Spradley, 2016). The leading causes of death of border crossers are hypothermia, dehydration, and injury, especially in Arizona (De Leon, 2012). The U.S. border patrol has recorded at least 7,216 deaths between October 1, 1998, and September 30, 2017, throughout all of the U.S. southern border (CBP, 2017) (Figure 9).

United States Border Patrol

Southwest Border Sectors

Southwest Border Deaths By Fiscal Year (Oct. 1st through Sept. 30th)

Fiscal Year	Big Bend *(formerly Marfa)*	Del Rio	El Centro	El Paso	Laredo	Rio Grande Valley *(formerly McAllen)*	San Diego	Tucson	Yuma	Southwest Border Total
2017	1	18	2	8	83	104	4	72	2	294
2016	2	14	9	6	68	132	7	84	7	329
2015	4	12	4	2	57	97	6	63	6	251
2014	5	17	6	0	54	116	5	107	3	313
2013	3	18	3	2	62	156	7	194	6	451
2012	1	29	11	1	91	144	5	180	9	471
2011	2	18	5	6	65	66	15	195	3	375
2010	0	23	14	4	35	29	8	251	1	365
2009	3	29	27	5	58	68	15	212	3	420
2008	3	22	20	8	32	92	32	171	5	385
2007	0	20	12	25	52	61	15	202	11	398
2006	4	34	21	33	36	81	36	169	40	454
2005	4	28	30	28	53	55	23	219	52	492
2004	0	21	36	18	22	35	15	142	39	328
2003	0	23	61	10	17	39	29	137	22	338
2002	4	29	64	8	15	30	24	134	12	320
2001	3	41	96	10	28	37	21	80	24	340
2000	3	48	72	26	47	40	34	74	36	380
1999	0	30	56	15	37	36	25	29	21	249
1998	3	28	90	24	20	26	44	11	17	263

*Data may be subject to change based on new discoveries of remains and possible dates of death as determined by a medical examiner

Figure 9:United States, U.S. Customs and Border Protection, "Southwest Border Deaths by fiscal year," https://www.cbp.gov/sites/default/files/assets/documents/2017-Dec/BP%20Southwest%20Border%20Sector%20Deaths%20FY1998%20-%20FY2017.pdf.

The actual number of people that have lost their lives while crossing the border is unknown; this is because the number of deaths recorded is based on remains found on the U.S. side of the border at the most prominent routes used by clandestine migrants (Illingworth, 2015). Importantly, migrant remains found by civilians, non-governmental organizations, other law enforcement outside of CBP, and any other agency or individual, are not included and recorded by CBP statistics. Therefore, not all migrant deaths are reflected through these statistics. Migrants found dead on the Mexican side of the border are not recorded either in CBP statistics. Again, these factors indicate the complex relationships between migrant deaths and statistical records available to the public. Also, due to the hazardous terrain and vast desert regions, it can be presumed that there are human remains that have not been found or are beyond recognition due to fast decomposition, extreme weathering, and wildlife disturbances.

Theoretical Models Pertaining to Clandestine Migration

Clandestine migration has been the topic of numerous studies; of interest to the present thesis are those that attempt to understand the consequences of clandestine migration, specifically through consideration of migrant deaths and the forensic anthropologists who work to identify remains. Grounded theory and structural violence theory were the fundamental frameworks for this thesis. Grounded theory is fully discussed in the methods section of this thesis. Grounded theory allowed this project to develop, while structural violence theory served to elucidate the context of migration and

the current humanitarian crisis at the U.S.- Mexico border, allowing this thesis to also observe the structural racism that appears through the discourse of undocumented migration.

Structural violence theory

Structural violence theory aims to interpret the different forms of social structures that harm and disadvantage an individual (Burtle, 2010). According to Paul Farmer (2009), in the article “On Suffering and Structural Violence: A view from below”, due to social forces an individual can suffer at a personal level which can manifest through distress and even disease. Farmer (2009) was able to expand on the individual lives of two people who find themselves in economic despair, political instability, negative social forces, and poor health. The aforementioned external influencers, which are all forms of indirect violence (Farmer, 2004), are factors that are often present in structural violence faced by migrants found throughout the U.S. southern border (Jácome, 2008; Martínez et al., 2014). The most common consequences of structural violence are violent acts against an individual or a community, most commonly seen through events such as torture, rape, and kidnappings. However, there are other forms of indirect violence such as poverty, hunger, marginalization, and health threats (Farmer, 2009; Jácome, 2008), and these events often go unnoticed, as is the case with undocumented border crossers that lose their life while trying to enter the U.S.

Raymond Michalowski (2007), concludes that the deaths of undocumented border crosser are often viewed as "1) the unfortunate consequences of individual

decisions to risk their lives on a hazardous journey, and 2) the appropriate punishment for breaking U.S. immigration laws" (p.63). Michalowski's study highlights the failure to understand that the decisions to migrate are often the consequences of more significant economic, political, and social forces that are all beyond the control and power of an individual (Farmer, 2009). To address this, Michalowski focuses on the militarization of the border and the impact that such political decisions have had on the lives of undocumented migrants. These three broad categories present the suffering of migrants caused by militarization: "1) death, injury, and illness, 2) exploitation by drug cartels, human traffickers, and even law enforcement, and 3) the dehumanization of migrants in the form of criminalization, vigilantism, and abuses to human dignity" (Michalowski, 2007, p. 64). These categories of migrant suffering are resultant from the damaging impacts that social, political, and economic structures have on individuals at a personal level. This particular study led to the conclusion that there has been no evidence that a militarized border has deterred people from making the hazardous journey into the U.S. However, there is substantial evidence that this militarization of the border exposes undocumented migrants to some if not all of the previously mentioned injuries caused by social, political, and economic structures (Michalowski, 2007).

In 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was put into effect, causing thousands of people to seek jobs in the U.S. as job opportunities and financial security declined in Mexico (Zamora, 2014). NAFTA is a treaty in which Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. are freed from tariff to qualifying agricultural and manufactured products. This treaty was created under the idea that it would bring rapid

economic growth to Mexico and benefit both Canada and the U.S. Nevertheless, this did not occur, Mexico's income per capita increased at an annual average rate of 1.2 percent while Mexican unemployment rose (Council on foreign relations, 2017). The Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR) economist's Mark Weisbrot estimates that two-million small-scale Mexican farmers were put out of work due to NAFTA (Council on foreign relations, 2017). NAFTA, in Mexico, along with a new wave of economic and financial reform produced the worst financial crisis in the country's history (Zamora, 2014). People were forced to migrate to find employment and create financial stability for themselves (Zamora, 2014). Thus, a new pattern of migration was formed as a consequence of structural violence created through political decisions made by multiple governments.

In another study titled "Structural Violence and Migrant Deaths in Southern Arizona: Data from the Pima County Office of the Medical Examiner", Martinez et al. (2014) reflect on the recent evidence that undocumented migration from Mexico has decreased since 2007; however, note that migrant deaths remain significantly high (Reineke, 2016). Martinez et al. (2014) also mention the increase of border enforcement, which leads unauthorized migration flow into desolated areas which coincide with the rise in the number of migrant remains investigated by PCOME. Undocumented border crossers are trying to enter the U.S. without being detected. Thus, they walk through the most isolated paths found throughout the southern border where they face hazardous terrain and human-made barriers. Therefore, Martinez et al. (2014) argue that these tragic occurrences at the U.S. Mexico border, notably Arizona, are preventable and are a

reflection of structural violence occurring in this area. Structural violence in this area is the consequence of the previously mentioned governmental and political decisions that have been implemented to deter undocumented migration flow into the U.S.

The impact that political, economic, and social movements have on the life of individuals, in this case undocumented border crossers, can be observed through structural violence theory as previously discussed. Structural violence has shaped the outcome of undocumented border crossers throughout the U.S.-Mexico border. The increase in border militarization has funneled undocumented border crossers into the most hazardous terrains at the border. These political decisions to redirect border crossers have had deathly consequences for these individuals. The previously mentioned, studies reflect how structural violence is a major influence in the increase of deaths at the border.

Structural Racism

Based on the implications that undocumented migration has on the individual and expanding from structural violence theory, it can be determined that individuals crossing the border while undocumented experience structural racism. Structural racism as defined by Krieger et al. (1993) is "the exploitive and oppressive social relationships that simultaneously define racial/ethnic groups and cause a system of inequalities that become embodied as racial/ethic health inequalities" (p.938). Migrants who attempt to enter the U.S. clandestinely and even migrants who are already on the U.S. side of the border experience forms of structural racism. Different forms of structural racism are embodied

through the militarization of the border, the way in which migrants are treated, and the militarization of the towns and cities surrounding the border area.

The definition of structural racism provided by Krieger et al. (1993) explicitly explains that those who are exploited and oppressed based on their racial/ethnic groups are experiencing forms of structural racism. Undocumented migrants are classified by law enforcement and others based on their appearance; which often reflects certain forms of clothing, tattoos, bottles of water, and religious symbols (De Leon, 2012). It seems that an undocumented migrant is not specifically classified by their place of origin but rather the appearance. A migrant from Mexico and a migrant form Honduras is not easily distinguished from sight; thus, all fall under the same category of undocumented migrant. Further, this same definition states that health inequalities are results of the exposure of structural racism (Krieger et al., 1993). In this thesis migrant deaths are observed as a form of consequence due the structural forms of violence that individuals face at the U.S.-Mexico border while attempting to enter the U.S.

Through the lens of structural racism, it can be noted that the health inequalities and disparities that migrants face while attempting to cross the desert (e.g. dehydration, starvation, heat exhaustion, etc.) are caused by both structural racism and structural violence faced at the U.S.-Mexico border. The role of structural racism on the lives of undocumented migrants who seek to enter through the U.S. southern border could be expanded based on the article “Everyday violence, structural racism and mistreatment at the U.S.-Mexico border” (Sabo, Shaw, Ingram, Teufel-Shone, Carvajal, de Zapien, Rosales, Redondo, Garcia, and Rubio-Goldsmith, 2014) which states that traumatic

events could manifest as stress and therefore increase the “risk for debilitating mental and physical conditions”. The effects of structural racism, in this case, could even be extended to the families and loved ones of migrants who are waiting on news of the status of the person engaging in the journey. Additionally, as stated in this thesis families often do not reach out to law enforcement agencies or other organizations due to the fear of reprisal based on their migration status (see results section). Sabo et al. (2014) states that “fear of reprisal, criminalization, and lack of pathways for resistance to human rights violations” are also detrimental to health. Thus, structural racism does not only affect the migrant attempting to enter the U.S. through its southern border but it also affects the families and loved ones of these individuals.

Recovering, Identifying, and Repatriating the Remains of the Deceased

The identification of migrant remains and the actors involved

At least 7,216 migrants have died throughout the U.S. southern border, according to CBP records, from 1996 to 2017 (Figure 9). This number only reflects the number of remains found on the U.S. side of the border by border patrol agents. Thus, there is an unknown totality of how many migrants have perished while trying to enter the U.S. The remains that are recovered throughout the U.S. southern border go into the medical examiner’s office or coroner’s office closest to the place where it was found. Remains are then examined by forensic anthropologists or medicolegal agents and depending on the availability of resources and information, different procedures are undertaken by these professionals. For most of these remains, identification is not possible due to the

decomposition of the remains and the unavailability of information on governmental databases and missing persons reports. Thus, most of these remains are left unidentified and stored, buried, or cremated as John Doe, Jane Doe, or unknown.

The roles of forensic anthropologists

Forensic anthropologists work in many arenas. Forensic anthropologists have worked to stand against human rights violations in different regions around the world. The role of the forensic anthropologist when assisting in human rights cases has been to aid in the identification of individuals, recovery of remains, and to speak for victims. Importantly, there is a difference between humanitarian efforts and medicolegal responses. Humanitarian efforts conducted by forensic anthropologists are to serve the needs of the living by handling the dead (Komar and Buikstra, 2008). Thus, humanitarian aid conducted by forensic anthropologists focuses on the recovery and identification of remains (Komar et al., 2008, p.249). On the other hand, medicolegal responses are the different methods utilized by forensic anthropologists to recover and identify remains. In other words, humanitarian aid is the aid given to individuals who have suffered human right abuses while medicolegal responses are the methods employed in order to conduct the humanitarian aid.

There are several well-known examples of forensic anthropologists working on human rights cases, including in Chile and Bosnia. During the dictatorial government of Augusto Pinochet, in 1973 in South American country of Chile, an event occurred in which eleven citizens went missing after being detained by local police agents, all male

between the ages of seventeen and fifty-one years. Commingled remains were later found with some soft tissue; after being analyzed by forensic anthropologists, it was determined that less than fifteen people were in the grave (Garrido Varas and Intriago Leiva, 2011). Thirty-three years later, in March 2006, the judicial order to exhume the remains was given due to the renewed interest of family members to identify the victims (Garrido Varas et al., 2011). The call for the exhumation and identification of remains, made by the loved ones of the victims, required the presence of forensic anthropologists and archeologists to conduct the correct protocols and proper analysis. The objective of the exhumation was to identify the victims of this case through the use of "taphonomic analysis, reconstruction of the previously conducted biological profiles, establishment of association between anatomical units, trauma analysis to conclude the cause of death, and DNA sampling for analysis" (Garrido Varas et al., 2011, p. 20). Garrido Varas et al. (2011) concluded that the mass grave had been in use before and after the deposition of the remains of interest; 15 skulls were present at the grave site, which meant that if the grave included the initially-missing 11 people, that four more individuals were later placed in the grave as well. Through the use of the previously mentioned standard anthropological methodologies, forensic anthropologists and archaeologists identified nine individuals that had gone missing in the 1973 event (Garrido Varas et al., 2011). Due to this study, the truth of the event in 1973 in Chile finally emerged, which meant that victims were finally recognized and mourned by their loved ones. The truth behind their deaths was known, and the government could no longer deny the execution of the victims (Garrido Varas et al., 2011).

In 2001, two-hundred and ninety-eight human remains were exhumed in Bosnia-Herzegovina by forensic anthropologists. During 1992, in Northwestern Bosnia (on the Balkan Peninsula in southeastern Europe) hundreds of individuals lost their life due to “ethnic cleansing” events that were occurring in the area (Baraybar and Gasior, 2006). This particular event led to investigations carried out by forensic anthropologists and pathologists who worked together to document demographic profiles of skeletal remains and reconstruct skeletal trauma of the victims (Baraybar et al., 2006). Forensic anthropologists analyzed the remains and depending on the analysis, aided in the determination of the manner and cause of death of the victims by collaborating with pathologists and be able to prosecute war crimes (Baraybar et al., 2006). The forensic evidence gathered was utilized to report "the case to the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) against Radoslav Brdjanin for chargers of genocide, crimes against humanity, grave breaches of the Genova Convention and violations of the law and customs of war during ethnic cleansing of Northwest Bosnia" (Baraybar et al., 2006, p.103). Without the use of forensic anthropology and pathology, it would not have been possible to determine the traumatic events that occurred to the individuals and in turn understand the human right violations that occurred and allow for proper prosecution of war crimes.

The previously mentioned studies reflect human rights abuses in Chile and Bosnia, respectively, through acts of war against humanity. Both of these cases show a significant difference in the number of persons being affected by human right violations, but they are still considered to be war crimes, and in particular show aspects of genocide.

In articles II and III of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide (Appendix M), the crime of genocide is described through two elements: 1) the mental element which includes “the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group” and 2) the physical element which can contain conspiracy to commit, incitement to commit, attempt to commit, complicity, and successful acts of genocide (Baraybar et al., 2006). Through this definition of genocide, and the intent of the U.S. government policies and laws to diminish clandestine migration through the act of forcing individuals to more secluded and hazardous terrain were death finds many. This could then be viewed as an act of war against humanity, specifically migrants. Thus, based on the aid previously given by forensic anthropologists, it can be concluded that their expertise in identification and recovery of remains can aid the humanitarian crisis at the U.S. southern region.

More specifically with respect to the U.S. Mexico border, anthropologists have been involved in the recovery, identification and repatriation of migrant remains. Forensic anthropologists have worked in this area through medical examiner’s offices (such as Pima and Maricopa counties, along with other medical examiner’s offices that reside near the border region) and other nonprofit organizations such as the Colibrí Center for Human Rights. These organizations work closely with migrant remains in the attempt to identify individuals and repatriate them to their corresponding place of origin. Since most known deaths occur at the Sonoran Desert (Figure 5, above), more specifically at the border of Arizona, most of the organizations and forensic anthropologists working in the identification of migrant remains work in this area. For

example, the Colibrí Center for Human Rights is a non-profit organization that is formed by different persons with different expertise including forensic anthropologists. Robin Reineke, the forensic anthologist and co-founder of this nonprofit, works in collaboration with Pima County of the Medical Examiner's Office as a mediator between the families of the victims and other forensic anthropologists working at Pima to identify migrant remains. The humanitarian work of forensic anthropologists at the U.S. southern border has been expanding and growing along with the humanitarian crisis in this area.

Methods and practices utilized by medicolegal agents and forensic anthropologists

Two primary goals when dealing with the remains of individuals is to identify the remains and to determine the cause and manner of dead and ultimately repatriate remains. In the case of migrant deaths at the border, due to the high number of individuals that are found dead and need identification, forensic anthropologists and other medicolegal actors have worked to improve upon the identification methods utilized for cases at the border.

Depending on the decomposition status of remains forensic anthropologists and medicolegal examiners will determine how to proceed with the investigation. If the remains are not skeletonized, an autopsy will be carried out by a medicolegal examiner, most likely a government-employed medical examiner with a medical doctorate. The methods most commonly utilized by medicolegal examiners are full autopsies (most of the remains are present), and partial autopsies (partial remains present); each of these allows for an investigation to take place to understand the cause of death of an individual and, ideally, to identify the person (Komar and Buikstra, 2008).

If remains are mostly or fully skeletonized, forensic anthropologists are often brought in to investigate. Forensic anthropologists aim to construct biological profile of an individual, including estimation of sex, age, stature, ancestry, individualizing features, trauma, and pathologies, and they also analyze postmortem taphonomic processes to estimate environment of decomposition and time since death. Forensic anthropologists are not able to concretely determine cause or manner of death from skeletal remains, but they can provide information that can aid in the former.

Biological profiles constructed from analysis of skeletal remains are considered circumstantial evidence of identification, along with things like paperwork, ID cards, tattoos, clothing, and jewelry. To obtain a legal positive identification, medicolegal examiners can also utilize methods such as fingerprinting, DNA, forensic odontology, radiologic identification, and alternative medical imaging (Komar and Buikstra, 2008; Anderson 2008). Methods for identification that are commonly employed for border cases include methods aimed to match individuals to databases (e.g., genetics, biological profiles, tattoos), but also include methods aimed at narrowing the region of geographical origin (e.g., material culture and stable isotope analysis). These methods are detailed below.

Forensic genetic data and cultural approaches. The motivation behind the study titled "Temporal Patterns of Mexican Migrant Genetic Ancestry" (Hughes, Algee-Hewitt, Reineke, Clausing, and Anderson, 2017) came from the humanitarian crisis along the U.S.-Mexico border. This particular study focuses on both biological and cultural approaches to better determine the origins of migrants, particularly those who migrate from Mexico (Hughes et al., 2017). Hughes et al. (2017) focus on the socially constructed factors that influence migrant life and migrant deaths, which in turn further affect the positive identification of migrants.

The biological components of Hughes et al. (2017) study focus on mitochondrial DNA (mDNA) which is often utilized to resolve unidentified person cases that cannot be identified by any other means (Anderson, 2008). Therefore, the Mexican government funded a program known as *Sistema de Identificación Restos y Localización de Individuos* [Identification System of Remains and Localization of Individuals] (SIRLI) in 2005 to find Mexican citizens across the border (Anderson, 2008). It is important to assess migrant identification possibilities by understanding the cultural differences as well as the biological ones. Most individuals migrating come from regions where they face structural violence, thus for some (even with programs such as SIRLI), it becomes very complicated to locate the missing. For example, many migrants do not possess any forms of western healthcare (Hughes et al., 2017); thus, identification methods utilized in U.S. populations, such as x-ray and dentition comparison, might not be applicable when trying to identify migrant remains. It has also been noted that families of missing or deceased migrants from more rural, indigenous communities, or/and southern states of

Mexico are more vulnerable and less likely to have access to government and non-governmental organizations to be able to find and, or identify their loved ones (Hughes et al., 2017; and Martinez et al., 2014). Therefore, one of the propositions of Hughes et al. (2017) is to approach the identification of migrant remains through a bio-cultural approach that includes collaboration between governmental and non-governmental entities as well as the families and loved ones who are searching for a missing person.

Material culture. The analysis of material culture is commonly used in archaeology, but the application of such analysis can also expand to more contemporary issues. Through the study "Better be hot than caught: Excavating the conflicting roles of migrant material", De Leon (2012) provides an extensive explanation on the most common items utilized by undocumented migrants crossing the U.S. Southern border. Through the analysis of cultural materials, it becomes easier to identify the tools, clothing, and any other equipment that identifies a migrant. Material culture is used in order to facilitate the identification of undocumented migrants while alive or in death.

The items observed in this study as material cultures were mundane things such as clothes, shoes, and water bottles (De Leon, 2012), that serve migrants to "deceit" border patrol and secure their survival while crossing (De Leon, 2012). De Leon focused on the routes most commonly traveled by migrants, from Nogales into Arizona. Most of these artifacts could be easily confused as trash, but when viewed through an archaeological and anthropological lens. These artifacts can demonstrate a very complex political and global economic system and the influence that these have on the social process of migrant

crossings (De Leon, 2012) (Also see Singer and Massey, 1998). According to De Leon (2012), "the materials mentioned are used to achieve a common goal by migrants, while simultaneously the material culture acts on people's bodies, shapes their behavior, and it also classifies people by creating a social distinction" (p. 478). For example, migrants often wear black clothing in the hopes of blending into the night, but the use of dark clothing increases the possibility of heat exhaustion (De Leon, 2012).

The number one cause of death in the desert is hyperthermia caused by high temperatures. Hyperthermia is the overheating of the body which causes vomiting, nausea, cramps, muscle spasms, dehydration, and weakness; if left untreated hyperthermia leads to death. Thus, the use of dark clothing is counterproductive for migrants when exposed to desert environments. Dark colors absorb more heat and energy when exposed to heat and the sun; the use of such items not only puts migrants at risk of being easily recognized by law enforcement agents, but it also puts them at risk of hyperthermia (De Leon, 2012). Because of all the previously mentioned reasons, material cultures are examined by those who are trying to identify migrants from U.S. civilians, and also the individual identification of undocumented persons.

Geographic origin by morphometrics. When trying to determine the identity of a migrant, it is often necessary to determine the geographical origin of the person to narrow the search. The geographic origin of a person is where the person is originally from, where they were born and possibly raised. Knowing the geographic origin of an individual could potentially narrow down the search for the immediate family members through a comparison to missing person reports, which could provide more information to positively identify a person. Thus, the use of different methods has to be applied in order to positively assess the geographical origin of individuals.

Multiple studies have investigated the relationship between skeletal morphology and geographic origin (e.g. Decker (2004); Gaudio (2017); and Kranioti (2018). The term biodistance is used to determine the biological affinities of human groups on the basis of overall similarities, in which metric and nonmetric skeletal traits are used as the primary source (Reed, 2006). An example of use of these methods is Spradley (2016). When assessing the geographic origin of a person and migration patterns Spradley (2016) utilized biodistance techniques (using craniometric data) to understand the diversity of migrants crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. Biodistance is the measurement of population divergence based on polygenetic traits (traits that are controlled by multiple genes); these traits are known to have environmental and genetic influences (Buikstra, Frankenberg, and Konigsberg, 1990). Thus, biodistance permits for the reflection on the difference between genetics and environments between populations from different regions. Concurrently, craniometric data are gathered from skull measurements, which also aid in the determination of sex, age estimation, racial affinity, and others.

Spradley utilized forensic reference groups in this study that were composed of American black and white males and females and males from Guatemala. Unintentionally, the reference groups used for comparison formed biases and therefore affected the overall analysis of the data. Craniometric data were collected according to standard methodologies found in Moore Jansen et al. (1994) and Howells (1973) (Spradley, 2016, p. 235). Spradley (2016) reflected on the similarity between Arizona and Texas migrants that were found dead. These data might allow us to understand some aspects of the groups of people who are entering through the U.S. Southern border, but unfortunately, they fail to accurately identify the geographical origin of a person (Spradley, 2016). Groups were combined into a general Hispanic group; this broad group erases cultural identity and nationality (Spradley, 2016). Spradley (2016) was able to determine that there is a need for further research in order to narrow the classification of persons and therefore provide a higher success rate of identified individuals based on their place of origin.

Further, Spradley, Stull, and Hefner (2016) studied skeletal secular changes in cranial and postcranial morphology on Mexican populations through different periods of time. The author's (2016) purpose was to observe if people with higher economic status are currently attempting to cross the border into the U.S. and losing their lives in the process. This study was motivated by recent demographic transitions that southern Mexico is undergoing, "including a reduction in infant mortality, better nutrition, and an increase in life expectancy" (Spradley et al., 2016, p. 16; also see Malina et al. 2008). Spradley et al. (2016) separated Mexican individuals into two groups- recent and historic

Mexican individuals. A total of 84 variables were observed for both males and females but only the variables that reflected significant differences or similarities between historic and recent individuals were included in the results. The final results (Spradley et al., 2016) suggested that historic and recent Mexican populations can be distinguished by cranial and postcranial morphometric measurements.

Additionally, Spradley et al. (2016) addressed the fact that a person's biological development is influenced by various factors (e.g. socioeconomic status). Thus, a more extensive understanding of the populations entering the U.S. is necessary to properly assess the geographical origin of a person, and by extension identify individuals. Spradley et al. (2016) revealed that morphometrics alone are not enough to determine the birth origin of a person since there are possibilities of morphological differences between individuals from the same geographical origin depending on influencers of development (e.g. economy, nutrition, etc.). Furthermore, morphometrics alone cannot positively identify individuals. The application of various complementary methods, such as morphometrics and DNA, is more likely to aid in the identification of migrant remains found throughout the U.S.-Mexico border.

Isotopes. Isotopic analysis is commonly utilized in archaeology to understand the provenience of artifacts and understand diet, trade, and migration patterns among cultures. Isotopes are different versions of an element- they vary in mass because they vary in number of neutrons (Dawson, and Brooks, 2001). Stable isotopes are non-radioactive isotopes; this means that the isotope does not break down into another isotope of the same or a different element and therefore the ratios of these isotopes in death reflect the ratios in life. This is useful because ratios of stable isotopes vary regionally, and they incorporate themselves into any living body through food and liquids and reflect the location of an individual at the time the tissue was fixed (Alkass, Saitoh, Buchholz, Bernard, Holmlund, Senn, Spalding, and Druid, 2013). The analysis of stable isotopes is now commonly applied to modern populations, including in forensic contexts. Isoforensics is the use of isotope analysis for the identification of unknown individuals (Juarez, 2011). For example, Juarez (2008) utilized stable isotopic analysis of strontium (Sr) in order to determine the origins of deceased migrants originally from Mexico by examining tooth enamel from 19 different individuals (Juarez, 2008). Juarez determined that data collected from human tooth enamel could indeed reflect migration patterns and identify the region of origin of an individual (Juarez, 2008). Strontium can be utilized to identify the place of origin of a person since enamel formation terminates during childhood when permanent teeth form, and unlike bone, teeth do not undergo significant remodeling or diagenesis (Juarez, 2008). Thus, stable isotopic analysis of Sr on human teeth, specifically in migrant remains, could potentially aid in identifying the place of origin of individuals, therefore, allowing for better identification of remains.

Juarez later expanded this line of research through the study "Geolocation: A pathway to identification for deceased undocumented border crossers" *(2011).* The objective was to create an isotopic identification map utilizing teeth donated from people with known Mexican origin. The use of this isotopic map would later be able to assist in the identification of deceased unknown border crossers through the use of isotopic comparison (Juarez, 2011). The isotopes analyzed were Strontium (Sr), Oxygen (O), and Carbon (C); these isotopes were chosen because they are geographically distinct isotopes (Juarez, 2011). In particular, as aforementioned, Sr is particularly useful because tooth enamel incorporates Sr only during the early periods of enamel formation, which terminates during childhood (Juarez, 2011). Juarez (2011) study collected 154 samples from nine states and federal districts, representing an important start to this effort. However, Mexico has an area of 1.964 million km^2, with a population of approximately 127.5 million. Therefore, in order to create a complete isotopic map of the states, villages, federal districts, and cities of Mexico there needs to be a greater sample that covers more than nine Mexican states. Even so, Juarez's (2011) research demonstrates that the comparison of isotopic ratios of unknow Mexican individuals with known Mexican individuals have a success rate at 60% or above, except for Jalisco and Nayarit. Thus, it can be concluded that with a more substantial isotopic map of Mexico, forensic anthropologists will have a higher success rate when identifying unknown deceased border crossers across the U.S. southern border.

When considering the usefulness of isotopic data, an important issue to consider is the incorporation of packaged foods into different areas are result of non-local isotopic

signatures (Juarez, 2011; also see Cornelius, 2001). However, Juarez (2011) mentions that Mexico is largely populated by poor rural communities that are still heavily dependent on local markets for produce and protein sources (also see Taylor and Mora, 2005). Even though studies suggest that the majority of persons crossing the U.S.-Mexico border are those from Mexican rural areas who consume locally grown produce and protein (see Juarez, 2011), there is the possibility that a percentage of the population is not fully accounted for if factors such as packaged foods and their influence on isotopic ratios are not explored. Thus, Juarez's (2011) study suggest that there is a need to expand the knowledge of the isotopic map of Mexico and the influence that other factors, such as packaged foods, have on the individual's isotopic ratios.

The Rights of the Dead

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) outlines the rights of the living at a universal level, but no outline clearly states "the rights of the dead." In this thesis, the rights of the dead are defined as the rights that an individual should have once their life terminates. These rights range from the right of not being trafficked, dissected without consent, or used sexually, and the right to being mourned adequately by loved ones and family members, proper burial, and dignified handling of remains (Rosenblatt, 2010).

Different organizations have worked with experts from multiple scientific disciplines to locate, gather, and record evidence about victims and return them to their loved ones (Rosenblatt, 2010). Many atrocities have occurred around the globe calling for

forensic experts whose "knowledge on the field has surpassed the dialogue on ethical standards and practices" (Rosenblatt, 2010, p. 923) when handling remains. Most commonly, remains have been utilized to achieve an ethical or political goal that benefits living persons, such as the end of the uncertainty for families of the missing, the prosecution of war criminals, and political stability (Rosenblatt, 2010). Thus, the handling of dead persons and the rights of the dead are rarely if ever discussed. Importantly, when forensic teams enter a scene, it is because people have already been deprived of their most fundamental human right, their right to live (Rosenblatt, 2010). Thus, the rights of the dead need to be further discussed and outlined to better serve those whose rights have been violated both while living and after death.

This form of human suffering rises concerns in the ethics behind the exhumation and handling of remains. Rosenblatt (2010) exposes the following questions:

1. Do dead bodies stored into anonymous graves suffer “crimes against humanity”?
2. Are the rights of the dead of the same order and magnitude as the human rights that were violated while they were living?

These questions can also transfer to the handling of undocumented migrant remains found along the border, due to the violation of rights they face before and after death. The first question exposes some of the issues that forensic teams working on migrant remains face. A high number of migrant remains are unidentified, and therefore many are buried under the name Jane Doe or John Doe, depending on the sex of the person (if it can be determined). In other cases, the person is left in the medical examiner's office if space permits, while in other cases the remains of individuals who are

unidentifiable are cremated. Thus, there is a need to assess the rights of the dead and observe and determine the proper way to handle remains and each case. Because the person can no longer defend themselves or speak up, the handling of dead bodies and where they end up is influenced by many factors, including the economic and political agendas that surround the place where the body is recovered. One example of the violation of the rights of the dead is proposed by De Leon (2015) through the term "necroviolence". "Necroviolence" refers to "violence performed and produced through the specific treatment of corpses that is perceived to be offensive, sacrilegious, or inhumane by the perpetrator, the victim (and his or her cultural group), or both" (De Leon, 2015, p. 69). Thus, more significant ethical questions arise on how to handle remains properly and to fully respect the rights of the dead.

Necropolitics

The remains or bodies of individuals are subjected to different processes depending on the way in which the person died, where they were found, cultural, and social beliefs, along with other influencers. To expand on the topic of necroviolence and how this applies to remains found throughout the U.S.-Mexico border, the fundamentals of necropolitics are explained. Necropolitics involve multiple modalities all of which focus on the power “over the production and management of dead bodies” (Ferrandiz, Robben, and Ashby, 2015, p.3). In the case of the U.S.-Mexico border the production of bodies is caused by the various structural violent forces at the border, while the management of dead bodies depends on the region where the remains are found and by

the entity that recovers the remains. Therefore, the authority that necropolitics stretches to structural forces consolidate the outcomes of remains found throughout the U.S.-Mexico border.

Furthermore, De Leon's (2015) definition of necroviolence can be extended to the way in which remains are treated once they are recovered and beyond. As explained by Reineke (2016) remains can face constant disrespectful acts based on the way in which they are buried. For example, in excavations at a Brooks County cemetery remains were buried in plastic bags, milk crates, or in no body bag or coffin, and without proper identification (Reineke, 2016; also see Collette, 2014). This example is a form of necroviolence due to the negation of proper burial and disrespect towards the unidentified migrant remains; and in extension the disrespect towards cultural and social beliefs and the families of victims. Thus, necroviolence does not only reflect the further suffering and violation of the rights of dead but also the rights of family members to properly mourn and bury loved ones.

METHODS

This thesis examined the involvement of forensic anthropologists, medicolegal agents, nonprofit organizations, and migrants. The main goal was to understand the relationships between the previously mentioned actors in the retrieval, identification, and repatriation of migrant remains. This thesis project took place at a shelter for migrants in Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico, at a university in Phoenix, Arizona., and on the internet. This project began in Tijuana during September 2017 and ended in the same place in February, 2018.

This study followed protocols approved by the Institutional Review Board at Humboldt State University (approval nos. 16-270 and 17-025). This project followed a grounded theory approach, in which methods were developed as the project proceeded. This approach allows a project that does not possess a hypothesis to develop without complications; projects that use grounded theory form as data are gathered and analyzed (Engward, 2013). The grounded theory approach in this project allows data to be interpreted while minimizing biases and subjectivity, creating a more credible discourse regarding deceased migrants and the actors involved in the recovery, identification, and repatriation of migrant remains. This project attempted to maintain an objective perspective throughout because of the current political turmoil on migration occurring in the U.S. Furthermore, the use of grounded theory allowed this thesis to develop without a self-constructed direction and hypothesis based on my personal experiences with migration and some the systems and agencies that I have encountered. It is important to acknowledge that bias and subjectivity is inherent and investigators cannot completely

eliminate it in this kind of work even if they aim to, thus the use of grounded theory allowed for the elimination of a guided thesis project.

This study utilized both qualitative and quantitative methodology. Participant observation was conducted at a shelter in Tijuana, Baja California Mexico and in a university in Phoenix, Arizona, to create rapport with individuals to gather more reliable data. Interviews were conducted with migrants, forensic anthropologists, medicolegal agents, and non-profit organizations to understand the roles of each regarding undocumented migration and the relationship between individuals and organizations. Surveys were utilized to collect data on the involvement of forensic anthropologists in unidentified migrant cases at the U.S.-Mexico border. Also, data were mined from an existing dataset gathered by the social workers at the shelter in Tijuana in order to understand migrant statistics within the shelter. These methods and study locations are described in more detail in the following pages.

Actors Involved

Forensic anthropologists

Data were gathered from forensic anthropologists in order to understand their role in the retrieval, identification, and repatriation of deceased migrants at the U.S. southern border. In particular, to understand the relationships between forensic anthropologists and the people and agencies they interact with when working on migrant cases, to better understand how and if direct contact between migrant families and forensic anthropologists is made in the process of identifying deceased border crossers. The

retrieval of data of forensic anthropologist's perspectives on the stated matter was done through the use of surveys and interviews.

Surveys were utilized to capture a better understanding of forensic anthropologists and their roles with respect to the unidentified migrant remains found throughout the U.S.-Mexico border. A total of twenty-eight invitations were sent to different forensic anthropologists. Forensic anthropologists whom I contacted worked for or were affiliated with universities and other educational or non-profit organizations that focus on issues of migrant recovery, identification, and repatriation. More specifically, the survey was sent to different persons that were found through the *American Board of Forensic Anthropologists*, universities, and organizations such as *the Colibrí Center for Human Rights.*

The surveys had ten questions, all of which allowed the person to choose yes, no, or provide individual thought out responses (Appendix A). The website *Survey Monkey* was utilized to conduct the survey which was sent via email to each individual. In total there were 15 responses to the survey, but due to incomplete answers, only seven responses were analyzed for this study. The goal of the survey was to create a connection with forensic anthropologists and, therefore, allow the researcher to better understand their perspectives and interpret their roles in the identification of migrant remains and their interaction with the families of the deceased migrants.

In addition, interviews with forensic anthropologists and medicolegal agents were conducted to understand their roles in the identification, repatriation, and handling of deceased migrant remains at an individual level. The interviews conducted were semi-

formal; some questions were created prior to the conversation but the individual interviews more likely than not answered more than the questions asked.

The interviews conducted were done via video chat or in person. In total, two forensic anthropologists and one medicolegal agent were interviewed. One of the forensic anthropologists was board-certified, and one forensic anthropologist is currently working to acquire certification; both work very closely with migrant remains cases at the U.S.-Mexico border. The medicolegal agent interviewed works in a leadership position dealing with unidentified individuals in one of the counties in a border state. This individual also works very closely with undocumented border crosser cases. All three of these individuals work in order to identify and repatriate the remains of migrants. Each of these people use different approaches and methods to be able to locate the missing, identify the unidentifiable, and repatriate undocumented migrants. Thus, the interviews allowed this thesis to observe different methods that are employed out on the field, and to better understand the interaction between forensic scientists and the families of deceased migrants.

Migrants

Data were gathered from migrants in order to understand why it is that migrants engage in the journey to the U.S. clandestinely, and to understand their involvement and perspective in the identification of deceased border crossers. The retrieval of data from migrants was done through the use of interviews at a shelter that houses migrants in Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico. The involvement of migrants in this project allows this

thesis project to create a humanitarian approach which voices up the opinion of persons who have had their rights violated because of their immigration status.

Furthermore, the aim of interviewing migrants was to understand the reasons why many embark on the clandestine journey to the northern Mexican border states and into the U.S. The interviews conducted were only with migrants that remained at the shelter for more than a day. The selection of migrants for an interview was solely based on my ability to create rapport with the individual and communicate with them. Overall, 10 individuals were interviewed inside the shelter. All individuals were women who spoke Spanish and originated from different Mexican states and other countries in Central America. Therefore, all interviews were conducted in Spanish. There were some individuals that I was not able to interview due to language barriers and time constraints. Also, since this is a shelter for women and children I was not able to converse with men. On the other hand, I decided not to interview any children since some of the children were unaccompanied by parents and I did not want to trigger any unfortunate memories that too often come with the process of migration.

The interviews conducted with migrants were informal interviews. Informal interviews are interviews that allow the person to talk in a manner of conversation. There were no pre-written or established questions, the goal was for the discussion to flow organically. The interviews were gathered to create narratives and understand the perspectives of migrants who try to enter the U.S. without proper documentation. Based on the significance of the topic and private information that arose while conducting the interviews, pseudonyms are used throughout this thesis. Every participant in this project

agreed to share their narratives and gave verbal or written consent for the information to be shared through this thesis project. This information enables this project to use a more humanistic approach to the humanitarian crisis at the U.S.-Mexico border. The consent forms were presented in English and Spanish, depending on the preference of the person being interviewed (Appendix G). I read the consent form out loud to the migrant being interviewed in both languages before the interview began and each woman was asked if they needed any further clarification or if they had any questions. If answered yes, clarifications regarding the thesis were made.

The narratives gathered have been added to this thesis in order to understand the needs of migrants, their families, and loved ones. Narratives have allowed this research to reach a more humanitarian and holistic approach, which creates a more powerful statement by adding human characteristics to qualitative and quantitative data.

Non-Profit Organizations

It was essential to make contact with nonprofit organizations that work closely with clandestine migrant crossings in order to understand the different agencies that are involved in the recovery, identification, and repatriation of migrant remains. Two non-profit organizations were interviewed, of these organizations work out on the field in different areas through the U.S. southern region to aid migrant crossers in distress and to find the dead across the border. The interviews took place at the “missing in Arizona day” event in a university in Phoenix, Arizona. The event happens once a year, and this was the third year (2017) that this event took place. The purpose of the overall event is to

gather different law enforcement agencies, medicolegal offices, various government organizations, and non-profit organizations to find individuals who went missing throughout Arizona. During this event, any person who has lost a loved one is welcome to come in and share any information that could facilitate the process of finding said individual. Both organizations were present due to the high number of border crossers that go missing in Arizona.

One of the organizations work through different routes that are utilized for clandestine border crossings throughout the deserts of Arizona. Their primary duty is to provide aid to migrants that find themselves in distress while trying to enter the U.S. They offer medical assistance and water stations throughout the desert. Meanwhile, *Águilas del Desierto* take calls from persons who have lost a loved one, as well as calls of distress from migrants who become lost in different desert regions through Arizona and southern areas of California. The primary duty of this organization is to find people in trouble or to find the whereabouts of migrants who lost their lives while crossing. The overall purpose is to retrieve migrants (alive or death) from the desert to inform the family of the whereabouts of individuals and return the bodies to their families. Due to the important work conducted by both organizations, it was of great importance to understand their roles and duties to the migrants that clandestinely cross to the U.S.

The interviews with both of these organizations were informal. The interview done with *Águilas del Desierto* was conducted in Spanish; interviewing in Spanish allowed me to have better communication with the group of people involved in this particular conversation. While the interview conducted with Humane Borders was done

in English. Overall, both of these interviews allowed me to address the work done by nonprofit organizations and their duty to clandestine migrant crossers across the U.S. Southern border.

Shelters

To gather data for this thesis, I engaged in participant observation at a shelter. The shelter I chose for this project is a shelter for migrants that operates in Tijuana, B.C. Mexico. Migrants who come through the doors of this shelter are women and children. Some migrants are recent U.S. deportees, and others come from other Mexican states, Africa, Haiti, South America, Central America, Spain and even U.S. citizens. The shelter provides housing, food, medicine, legal help, psychological help, and clothes, among other necessities.

The data collection period at the shelter began in September 2017 and ended in December 2017. The volunteering period at this shelter started in September 2017 and concluded in May 2018. Throughout the participant observation portion of this research, I was traveling to Tijuana, Mexico from Monday to Friday, and sometimes Saturday. I arrived at the shelter at approximately 9:00 a.m. and I would leave at about 6:00 p.m. During my time there, I had different duties in the shelter and to the people that work, volunteer, and live there.

Being a participant observer meant that it was my job to participate in the different activities throughout the shelter. Those activities were cooking, cleaning, hanging clothes for drying, picking up donations, receiving donations, serving food to

those who entered the shelter to eat during lunch, social work, and lastly interview. For this thesis project, it is essential to understand that conducting interviews with migrants was not always possible. This is not due to the lack of migrant presence but the lack of time and privacy at the shelter. As a participant observer, it was essential to show the women that I was there not only to gather interviews but to help in the different duties throughout the shelter.

Furthermore, the shelter only has one rule to be able to allow a person to stay in it. The rule is that the person needs to be considered a migrant (which means that they could not have been in Tijuana for more than three months), or a repatriated individual (automatic admission is given to deported individuals unless otherwise determined by the nun or the social worker in charge). Also, migrants are provided shelter for 15 days, unless their situation is determined different by the social worker in charge or if they have business with the lawyer who works in the institution. The shelter has it on their best interest to help those who come knocking on their doors.

This shelter also helps those with "*situación de calle*" [those who live in the streets]. Approximately 80 people (women, men, and children) come into the gates to get food prepared by "Lea". "Lea" was once a migrant woman who now works at the same shelter who once helped her, she prepares the meals for the women at the shelter and the men who come to eat. As a participant observer, one of my main duties was to help "Lea" prepare food, serve plates, attend those who came in to eat, and clean afterwards. Every single day, the shelter serves food to the migrants staying inside, the volunteers, and those who make line for lunch outside of the gates. Each meal is composed of beans, rice,

stew, salad, *chile* [hot sauce], juice, and sometimes desert (depending on the donations). Importantly, the majority of people who came in during lunchtime (served at around 1:00 pm) are mostly men, who were once migrants or deportees. As a participant observer, I was able to interact with these men and speak to some about the hardships of living in the streets of Tijuana; "*pero, pues ya que*" [but what else can we do]. Being able to work with the people at the shelter was a privilege, and I can genuinely say that I learned a lot from them both professionally and personally.

As a participant observer at the shelter, I learned many things, including but not limited to learning about the lives of migrants. For example, during my stay at the shelter I learned to make food for 100 or more people, I learned how to make meals from Guatemala, El Salvador, Haiti, and different Mexican states, and lastly, I learned that in places like this rapport can only be accomplished by fully engaging in the same activities as everyone else.

The collection of narratives in the shelter took longer and was more complicated than expected. The gathering of data took longer because, first and foremost, I was there to help wherever it was needed. Secondly, my decision to give people their space and privacy did not allow me to gather as many interviews. Due to the participant observation, I was able to build relationships with some of the migrants that stayed at the shelter for extended periods of time. These were the migrants that provided me with more detailed narratives of their migration experiences. As an anthropologist, and as a person, I did not want to be intrusive and follow people around. All migrants have a story worth telling and narrating, but not all of them were ready to or wanted to share or have their

stories used for research purposes. Others were only there for no more than a couple hours. Also, for many the shelter was a place to rest and continue with their journey. Because of this, I was only able to gather 10 narratives from migrants. The stories shared their journey, their past, their reason for migrating, their hopes, and their families. Each migrant interviewed shared their migration stories with me and gave me their written or spoken consent (Appendix G) to share their stories. The use of these narratives allowed me to compile enough data to analyze and create a discussion of migrants who try to cross the border between the U.S. and Mexico.

In order to as fully as possible understand the complexity of the shelter, where participant observation was conducted, the information gathered by the social workers in the shelter was also analyzed. The data collected by the social workers were a compilation of demographic information and interviews. The interviews were conducted to migrant women who stayed at the shelter by the social workers present at the time the migrant entered the shelter.

The demographic information used was entered in an excel sheet by different social workers working at the shelter. I also ascribed some of this information; some of my duties at the shelter included serving as a social worker and receive migrants whenever there was no other social worker present. The excel sheet was created by a person working in another shelter for migrants that focuses solely on migrant men in Tijuana. This information was inputted from September 2017 until December 2017. The demographics and other information are examples of the overall population of migrant women and children that arrived at the shelter from January 2017 to December 2017. The

additional information that was present in the excel sheet allowed me to analyze the different situations, such as criminal acts, that these women face while migrating. Overall, the information gathered allowed me to understand the individual reasons for migration and the stories behind the women at the shelter.

This shelter particularly recorded the information of every migrant woman and child who sought refuge. It provided refuge to migrants who had been recently repatriated (in this case recent means less than three months from the date of deportation to their stay at the shelter), who were traveling to the U.S., or who were seeking to stay in Mexico. The shelter defines migrants as those individuals who have been in Tijuana, B.C. Mexico for no more than three months due to relocation from another area within Mexico or the any other place in the world. The information provided by migrants was recorded through three different mediums. First, a catalogue is used to record the name of the person, their age, sex, religious preference, marital status, place of origin, reason for migrating, and date of entrance to the shelter. Secondly, interviews (Appendix E) which expand on the reasons as to why a person migrates are conducted by the social workers. All of this information was safeguarded in a desktop computer in the social worker's office at the shelter. Lastly, a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet with further questions was also used; the questions asked depended on the migrant's status (deported or not deported). The spreadsheet is further divided into months (January- December) and an annual count is then created to understand the population of migrants at the shelter. This information was saved in the desktop computer inside the shelter. For the purpose of this thesis and to understand the complexities of the population within the shelter, the Microsoft Excel

sheet was analyzed from January 2017 to December 2017. During this time, a total of 1,275 individuals were given refuge and food, along with other individual needs of each person.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Potential Limitations and Biases of this Study

The following are the possible biases and limitation that could have arisen throughout this thesis. First and foremost, the surveys conducted reflected each person's interpretation and understanding of questions and multiple-choice answers. The surveys were distributed through a convenience sampling method. Forensic anthropologists contacted were selected through *The American Board of Forensic Anthropologists* contact list (Appendix C), newspaper articles, and research that presented forensic work conducted at the U.S. southern border. Every response in the surveys was self-reported by each individual, therefore there is no way to verify that everything reported is put in practice by individuals.

Interviews utilized a more informal method; thus, each conversation took different directions depending on the individual. Therefore, interviews only allowed me to collect information based on individual experiences and responses. This particular complication applies to the interviews done with forensic anthropologists, non-profit organizations, and migrants. Due to the small number of forensic anthropologists interviewed, there could be further limitations to the results of this thesis. The most significant concern, in this case, is that the overall population of forensic anthropologists working with migrant remains across the border could be underrepresented. Secondly, the recruitment for the previously mentioned nonprofit organizations for this project took place during the "missing in Arizona day". Other organizations not present at the event

were only observed through their websites, blogs, and Facebook profiles. Also, nonprofit organizations were contacted based on convenience. Lastly, migrants interviewed for this project were all recruited inside the shelter, and as mentioned previously, this shelter only houses women and children. Thus, only conversations with women who spoke Spanish or English took place. Both of these matters could pose biases by underrepresenting the experiences of men and of those who speak other languages, such as indigenous peoples who only speak their native language.

Also, demographic information of the shelter could not entirely represent the real population of migrants entering the U.S. clandestinely. The reason is that this information was self-reported by migrants, and different individuals conducted the collection of this data (social workers and myself). Responses were given based on the understanding of the questions and the beliefs of the person being asked. Secondly, this information was captured by at least five people (including myself), this information was captured from January to December 2017. Lastly, there were times when the number of people arriving at the shelter was more extensive than the capability to gather information by the aforementioned staff. It can be concluded that some migrants who entered the shelter failed to be recorded and thus are not reflected in the database. There is a possibility that not all information is an accurate representation of the population of women and children at the shelter.

Furthermore, my previous experiences with undocumented migration could have potentially affected the orientation and results of this study. However, all attempts were taken to remain an objective participant, observer, and researcher throughout the

collection and analysis of data. As previously mentioned, this is one of the main reasons why grounded theory was utilized in the development of this thesis. The topic of "illegal" migration has always been familiar to me. I grew up in Tijuana, B.C. Mexico. I come from a family of hard-working migrants, both of my parents were born in Mexico and migrated to the U.S. with their own stories about the hardships of migration. Some of my own family members crossed the border through hazardous terrain. Due to the impact that migration policies have had on my own family and growing up in a city full of deportees and migrants, I feel that illegal or undocumented migration has impacted my life and the life of those around me. However, as I previously mentioned I maintained the mind of an objective researcher, participant, and observer, throughout the collection and analysis of data, and the results shown here are aimed not to be skewed to reflect my personal feelings towards the topic at hand.

Demographics

Forensic anthropologists

In total, I emailed 27 invitations through *Survey Monkey* to forensic anthropologists, and one invitation to an individual who worked closely with migrant remains at the U.S. southern border. Out of the 28, there were a total of 16 responses, out of which seven were complete and served for the analysis of this study. Five of the responders were forensic anthropologists, who worked in different state universities in the U.S., human rights organizations, forensic science institutions, and medical

examiner's offices. All of the respondents were employed in the U.S. at the time the survey was taken.

One of the questions in the survey was "How often do you work with migrant remains, per year?", all seven respondents noted that they work with migrant remains through the year. Only one individual in this survey responded that "it was unknown how many of the individuals worked with were migrants" (Anonymous, Forensic Anthropologists Survey, 2018) (Figure 10). This statement could suggest that this person did not keep track of the migrant cases they worked per year. Also, the way in which this question is presented in the survey could pose significant complications for the analysis of the data. For example, persons could have interpreted the answer choices as percentages rather than individual number of cases. Thus, this question could have been better written and given more specific answer choices to avoid inconclusive answers from the participants.

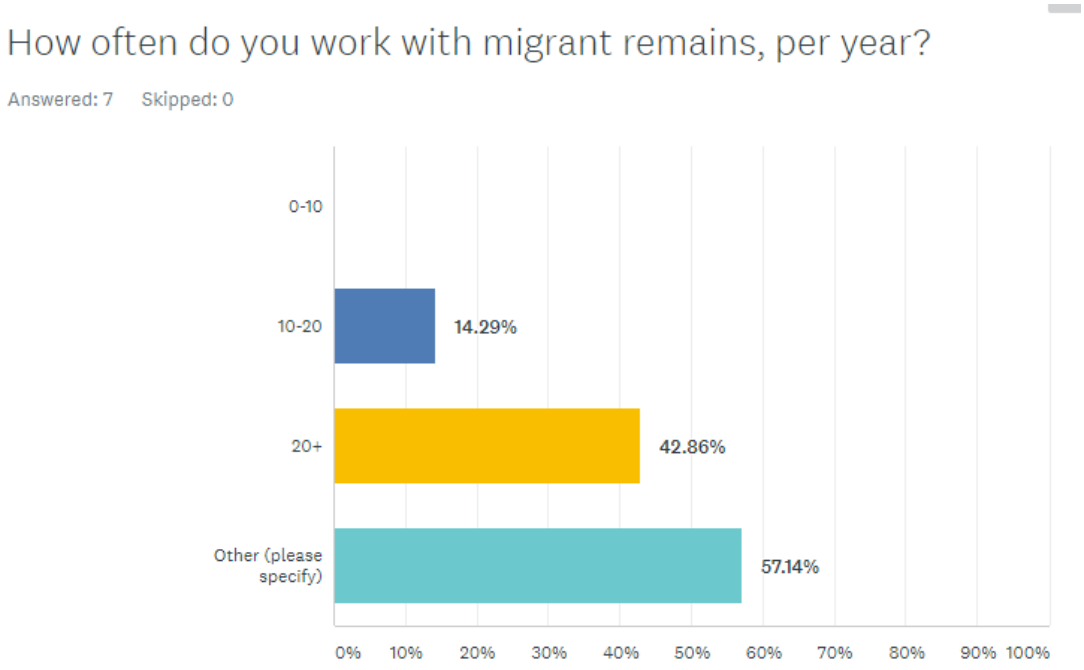

Figure 10: Forensic anthropologists survey: "How often do you work with migrant remains, per year?"(10-20: 14.29%, 20+: 42.86%, Other: 57.14%)

The interviews that took place were with two forensic anthropologists and one individual who works closely with the identification of unknown persons. The first forensic anthropologist interviewed worked at a university and focuses on clandestine migration at the U.S. Southern border. The second forensic anthropologist worked at a medical examiner's office with migrant remains, in one of the states neighboring Mexico. Lastly, the final person worked with forensic anthropologists and a team of forensic scientists at a medical examiner's office that often comes in contact with migrant remains found in hazardous terrain. This person worked on the cases where identifying a person solely through forensic science is an impossibility, implementing a transdisciplinary approach to identify individuals. All of these individuals contributed to the understanding of forensic anthropological work and medicolegal involvement in the identification of migrants found at the U.S. southern border

Migrants

From January 2017 to December 2017, a total of 1,275 individuals were given refuge and food at the shelter I volunteered in Tijuana. This allowed me to keep track of the number of people who were entering the shelter. For example, the influx of migrants surged from May to September, but during November and December, the numbers were significantly higher than throughout the rest of 2017 (Figure 11). The sex of individuals

was also documented (Figure 12), each individual reported their sex at the time of entrance, parents or accompanying adults reported the sex of minors.

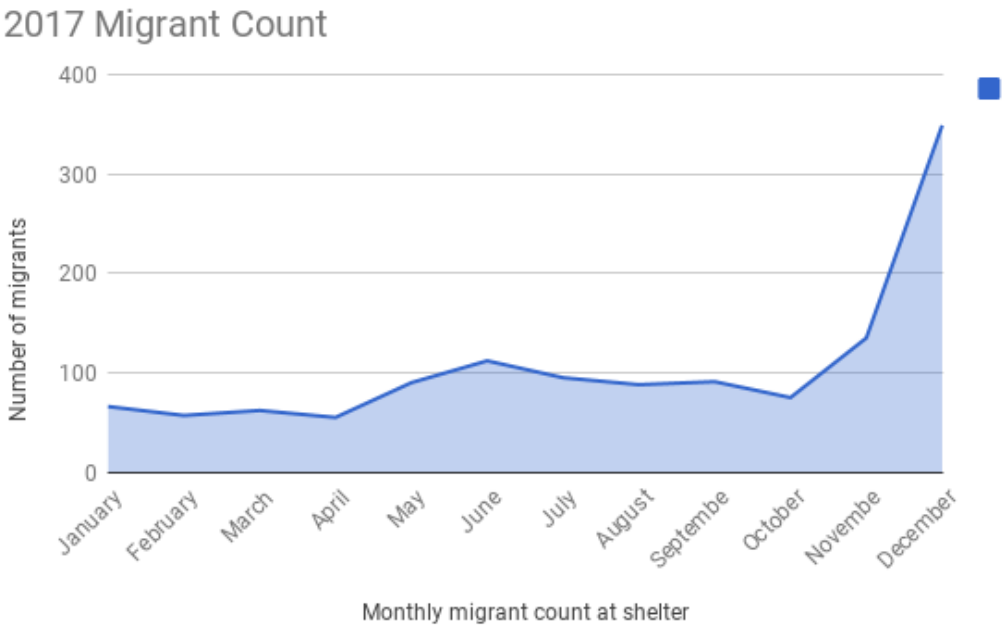

Figure 11: Migrant count at shelter by month (Jan.-Dec. 2017)

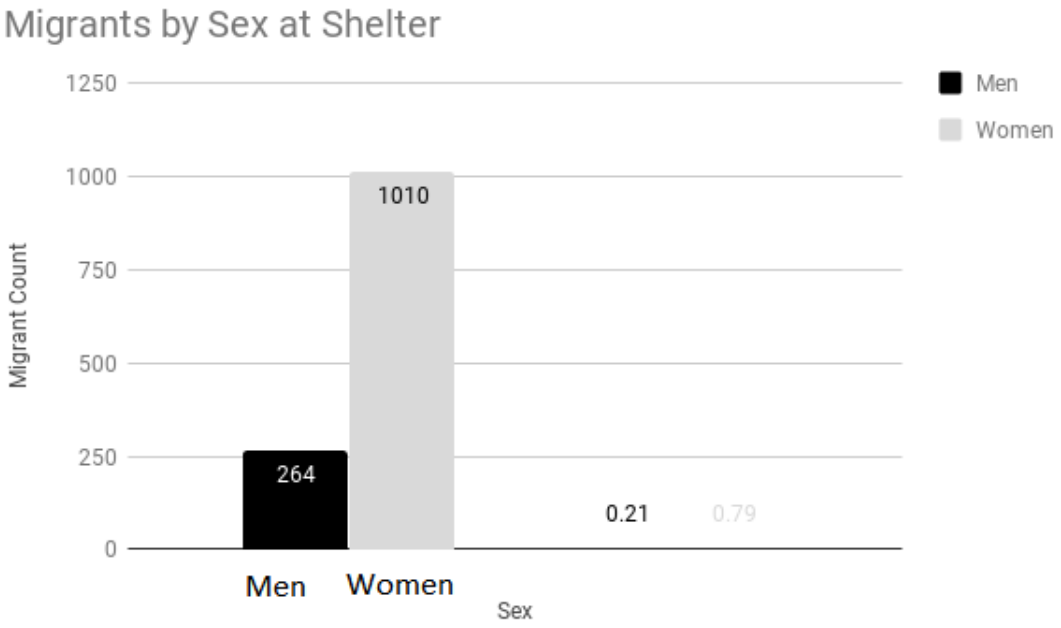

Figure 12: Migrants at shelter by sex; Males (N. 264), Females (N. 1010)

The population within the shelter self-reported their place of origin (birthplace). Some of the people carried forms of identification with them while others did not. Since all information gathered was self-reported by migrants, it is not clear if the reported place of origin is correct or if every statement given by them is true. There could be a possibility that due to fear of deportation (Non-Mexican citizens), issues with laws enforcement, or organized crime, migrants could have provided false or misleading information. Even before entering the U.S., migrants face persecution, discrimination, and prejudice, among other affecting factors, which could prevent the person from being honest about their true identity. Nevertheless, all self-reported information provided by migrants is treated as correct and true, and it is used to represent the population within the shelter.

One of the first questions asked to the women who enter the shelter is “where are you originally from?” This question was asked to understand the population in the shelter and why migration is happening and where is it coming from. The highest number of migrants came from Mexico, followed by El Salvador, and Honduras (Figure 13) throughout 2017. For example, during December, 349 migrants sought refuge at the shelter counting both children and women. Most of which came from other states in Mexico, more specifically 76.22%, followed by Salvador with 8.31%. Furthermore, during this same month the state of Michoacán had the most significant number of individuals who were migrating with 122 individuals (45.86%), followed by Guerrero with 87 individuals (32.71%). Though this population is a representation of persons who sought refuge at the shelter, there are other factors that come into question when significant numbers are migrating from the same place of origin. For example, further research can be done to understand why migrants from other states in Mexico are migrating to Tijuana, B.C. more than others and the reasons behind the migration of Salvadorans and Hondurans. This could be researched further to observe the migration patterns from different countries into the U.S., through the city of Tijuana or the use of this city as a sanctuary for migrants.

Mexico	915	71.76%
Honduras	106	8.31%
Guatemala	32	2.51%
Salvador	129	10.12%
Haiti	16	1.25%
Cameroon	18	1.41%
Dominican Republic	1	0.08%
United States	26	2.04%
Congo	11	0.86%
Canada	1	0.08%
Ghana	1	0.08%
Brazil	1	0.08%
Nicaragua	1	0.08%
Venezuela	2	0.16%
Togo	1	0.08%
Colombia	2	0.16%
Ecuador	2	0.16%
South Africa	2	0.16%
Pakistan	3	0.24%
Other	5	0.39%

Figure 13: Migrant count by country of origin within the shelter (2017)

Furthermore, those individuals who came from Mexico were asked to report their state of origin. Note that people who were from the U.S. and were born in Mexico were also asked to report the state where they were born in. Thus, the count of migrants per state within Mexico also include deported individuals who have been living in the U.S. or were detained while trying to cross the border. Therefore, this count does not reflect the totality of internally displaced individuals within Mexico. For this thesis, deported and non-deported individuals will not be counted separately when observing state counts. Though, this could be explored more extensively in order to understand Mexico's internal migration, specifically in the city of Tijuana and, in fact, it is necessary to recognize Mexico's internally displaced individuals.

After analyzing the number of migrants per state in Mexico, it was determined that the state with the highest number of individuals relocating was in Jalisco with 14.91%, closely followed by Michoacán with 14.70% (Figure 14). The significant number of individuals migrating through Mexico could be further observed and analyzed in order to understand the impact that structural violence (directly or indirectly) has had on individuals living there. For example, Jalisco has had a surge in violence due to the *narcos* [drug cartels], more specifically *Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generación* [Jalisco new generation cartel] (Woody, 2017). The impact that organized crime has had on internally displaced individuals needs to be recognized and further explored to understand the patterns of modern migration within Mexico.

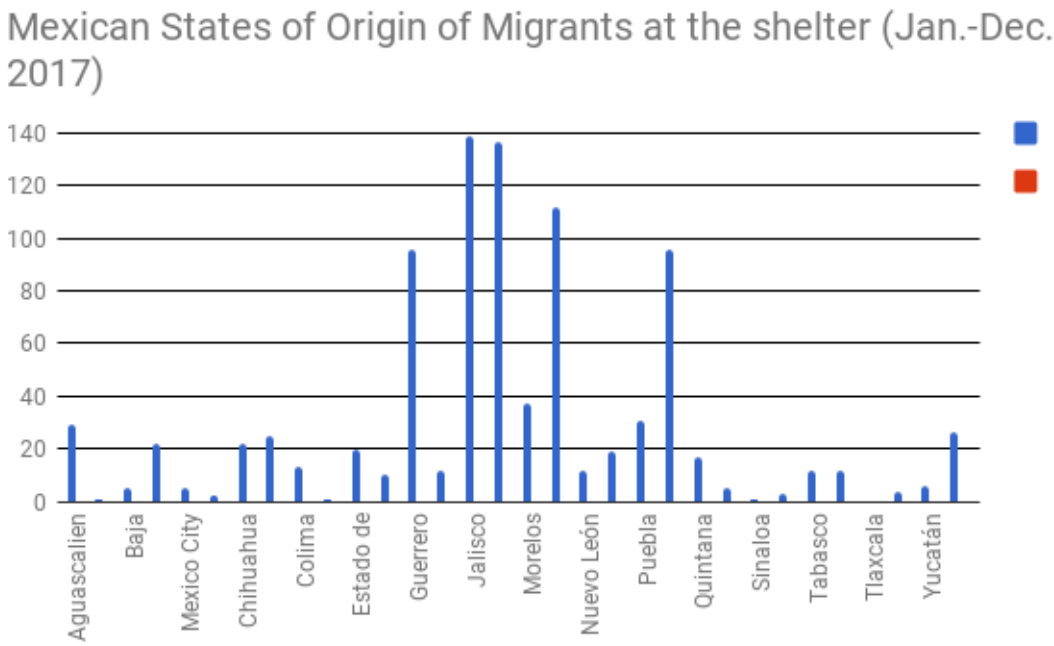

Figure 14:Mexican states of origin of migrants at the shelter (Jan.-Dec. 2017)

To better understand the populations within the shelter, people were differentiated from deported (or repatriated) vs. not deported. Once the person was in Mexico, they are considered to have been repatriated (returned to their country of origin). Furthermore, the difference between repatriation and deportation extends to the way in which the individual is perceived. A repatriated person is merely returned to their country of origin, while a person with a status of deportation is an "illegal" and therefore a criminal in the country where the deportation took place. Thus, the use of terminology can decriminalize or further criminalize an individual. The language or terminology used can affect the understanding and perspective of individuals. When the person was asked if they had been returned to their country of origin the social workers or myself would ask, *"¿Fuiste repatriada?"* [Were you repatriated?]. In spite of the way in which the question was asked, in the spreadsheet individuals were still labeled as *deportado* [deported] or *no deportado* [non-deported]. In this sense, this could be further researched to understand the existence of criminalizing language used for individuals without proper documentation in the U.S., and how this language continues or deters once the individual is returned to their country of origin.

Out of the 1,275 individuals reported throughout 2017, both women and children, 418 (32.89%) were deported while 853 (67.11%) were non-deported (Figure 15). After determining deported or non-deported status of individuals, repatriation documentation was collected from those deported. This was for record keeping for the shelter and the state of Baja California. This documentation had the personal information of each

individual. The following personal information was gathered by the shelter: name, date of birth, place of origin, and a record number. While observing this data, it came to my attention that minors who were repatriated to Mexico had this documentation as well, which means that this is on their permanent record. This means that these children could potentially face further repercussions based on their parent's decisions to attempt to cross the border while undocumented or live in the U.S. without proper documentation. Thus, this topic needs to be discussed further and observed. It is essential to understand the effects that deportations have on underage individuals, especially when decisions to cross while undocumented were not their own.

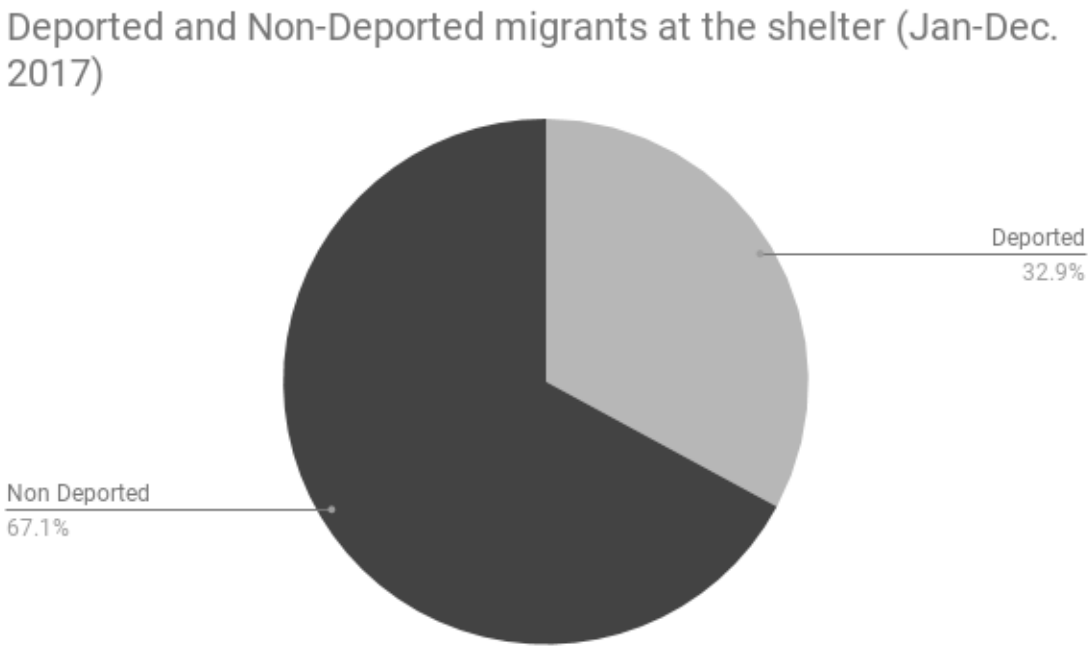

Figure 15:Migrants at the shelter by deportation status; Deported (32.9%), Nondeported (67.1%)

Subsequently, migrants were asked to determine the reason why they were migrating. This question was asked by the social workers or nuns attending to the migrants at their time of entrance into the shelter. This information was then entered into the book where all migrant data was recorded, and later added to the Excel spreadsheet. The reasons for migration varied, but a significant number of migrants reported that they were migrating seeking asylum, more specifically 441 (50.40%) individuals in this population were searching for asylum (Figure 16).

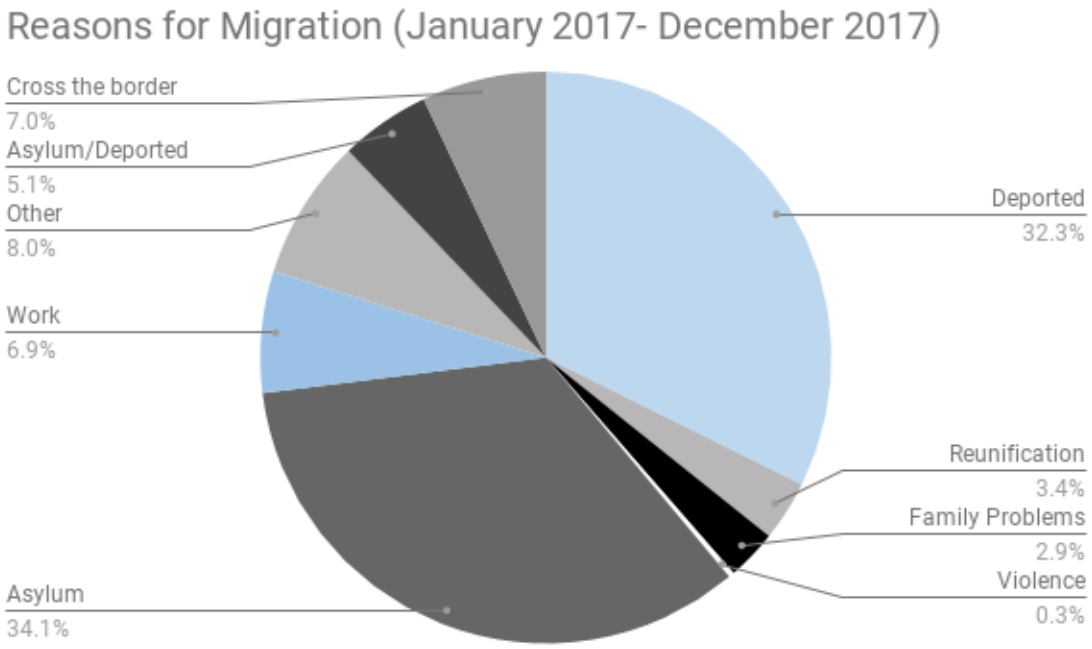

Figure 16: Reasons for migrant migration within the shelter (January- December 2017)

According to the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (2018), "people come to the U.S. seeking protection because they have suffered persecution or fear that they will suffer persecution due to: race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular

group, or/and political opinion." This particular count does not state the specific reasons why migrants were seeking asylum, or if this asylum was sought in the U.S. or Mexico. Thus, further research should be performed to understand the difference between those individuals searching for asylum in the U.S. or Mexico, and how and why their decision was made. Knowing this information could deepen the understanding of specific forms of structural violence, both direct and indirect, that migrants are exposed to.

Certain individuals discussed with me the reasons behind seeking asylum and migration, but I did not specifically search for individuals looking for asylum. Therefore, the case studies shared in this project might not be representative of the overall population of asylum seekers at this shelter. It can be assumed that many individuals did not openly talk about their intentions of crossing the border into the U.S. based on the criminalization of undocumented border crossing and the stigmatization that follows. Furthermore, many of these individuals are under spoken contracts with what is known as a coyote [professional border guide], who often threatens their customers [*pollos* or *pollitos*]. The relationship between coyotes and border crossers will be briefly seen later in this thesis.

The Crossing Experience

One of the central components of this study was to understand the experience lived by migrants who were trying to migrate to the U.S. Ten migrants were interviewed to understand the reason why they were migrating and their journey into the U.S. They were asked about their crossing experiences and those who accompanied them in the

attempt. As it was previously mentioned, not many interviews with migrants were conducted because of the limited opportunities within the shelter to engage in private conversation. All of the interviews were held inside the shelter, only with migrants who stayed at the shelter for more than one day and with whom I was able to establish rapport. All migrants interviewed were Hispanic, Spanish speakers, and from Latin America. Thus, all interviews were in Spanish. Importantly a migrant's place of origin was not asked before conducting the interview, the key factors before being interviewed were: 1) if the person had attempted to cross the border or 2) if they were going to attempt crossing. Place of origin was not asked prior to the interview because it was irrelevant to the overall purpose of the interviews, which was to understand the reasons for migration and the journey to the U.S.

La pareja [The couple]

I met her at the shelter, the first time I saw her she was crying sitting next to a tree inside the shelter. I looked away and went inside. I was instructed to interview her because she had just arrived, and no other social workers were there at the time. I brought her into the office to speak to her and learn more about her situation and why she was in the shelter. I told her *"Siéntate, y cuéntame ¿Qué haces aquí que pasa?*" [sit and talk to me, what are you doing here what happened?]. That's when I learned that at just 23 years old, she was a widow and a survivor.

"Iliana" came to the border from the inner states of Mexico with her husband (35 years old). They were migrating for work. They wanted to cross the border into the U.S.

to find better jobs and have a better life. They, like many others, found a coyote to guide them through the border. Including the coyote, it was a group of eight individuals who began their journey between the cities of Tijuana and Tecate. They prepared for their journey; they carried gallons of water, canned food, and her husband's medicine. He had hypertension, he made sure to take his medication before the journey began, and everything seemed fine. Six hours into the walk, the guide turned to them and offered all *"Vitaminas energizantes*" [energizing vitamins]. This would allow them to continue walking without getting tired or falling ill, according to the guide.

She remembers taking the pills and firmly believes her husband took them as well, but she was not sure *"Es que todo pasó muy rápido"* ["everything happened so fast"] ("Iliana", 2017). Thirteen hours passed, she turned back to look at her husband because he had fallen on his knees *"¿Estas bien?"* ["Are you okay?"], she asked. He said yes, but she looked at him carefully and noticed that something was wrong he looked pale, he began to hallucinate, and vomit. The group stopped and stayed for a while, but when she decided that it was time to call for help the group left her and her husband alone. The rest of the group did not want to get caught and continued with their journey. *"Te van a buscar como perros"* [they're going to search for you like dogs], said the guide, and they left. She left her husband to climb a hill to get cellphone reception and call for help. She did not know who to call, so she called her sister in law and told her what was happening. The sister in law could do nothing to help them and told her to call the emergency number. Iliana called 911; they asked her many questions, questions she

could not answer because she had no idea where she was at, all she knew was that they began their journey after the last *caseta* [tollbooth] between Tijuana and Tecate.

Iliana and her husband soon heard and saw a helicopter, but the helicopter never spotted them. She then received a call, and she was told that the search for them was going to come to a halt because there were too many clouds to keep searching. An hour after the call her husband died. She doesn't remember much after that, only that she stayed with the body and then continued walking. Hours later, she was found by border patrol agents and taken in the helicopter. She had walked five kilometers from where her husband was found. Once in the helicopter, she saw that hills surrounded them "*Era una infinidad de cerros, yo no lo pude ayudar no pude hacer nada por mi esposo ¿sabes lo que es eso? El ya no esta*" ["the hills were infinite, I couldn't help him, I couldn't do anything. Do you know what that's like? He is no longer here"] ("Iliana", 2017).

According to the death investigation of her husband's death a stroke killed him, he (the body) was then repatriated to their state of origin in Mexico. When he died, she spent all night alone with his body before she began to walk again. Though her husband's body was repatriated to be properly buried, she was detained at a detention center. She was detained for three months and one week. She was not allowed to attend her husband's funeral and attend everything that comes along with death. This was because the group of people that they were traveling with were caught shortly after she was found. They were all detained because they were witnesses to a crime, their statements were used to prosecute the guide and charge him with murder and human smuggling. *"El coyote era un niño él no se merece eso, no fue su culpa nadie sabía qué era lo que iba a*

pasar. Yo no quería decir nada en contra de él" ["The guide was a kid he does not deserve that; it was not his fault nobody knew what was going to happen. I didn't want to say anything against him"] ("Iliana", 2017). She returned to her parent's house after staying at the shelter for a couple of weeks. She left her hometown as a migrant and returned as a widow who was not given the opportunity to be present at her husband's funeral to adequately bury and mourn him.

This particular case study is evidence of the complexity of problems that occur at the U.S. Southern border. In particular, the consequences that immigration and law enforcement policies have on the individual. In this case study, "Iliana" knew that her husband died, he died in her arms, but she was denied the right to bury and mourn him properly. He was denied the right to be properly mourned by loved ones. According to Reineke (2016), "when a death is traumatic, the collective experience of trauma does not end with the arrival of the body, but often continues long after burial" (p.111). In this case, the traumatic experience of the death, being denied being present at the burial, and being incarcerated adds to the traumatic experience of this individual. Furthermore, a *niño* [child], according to the interviewee, was being charged with murder, for human smuggling, and for putting the lives of others at risk. According to Nevins (2008), guides are criminalized and blamed for putting the life of people at risk. This does not mean that the guide should not be reprimanded for their behavior but blaming individuals for a complex and significant issue does nothing to solve the humanitarian crisis at the U.S. southern border. As Iliana states, she did not blame this person for her husband's death. This leaves us to question why governmental policies and laws choose to blame these

coyotes for the loss of border crossers when a more prominent and complex issue is at hand.

La Mamá [The mom]

I met "Norma" at the shelter. She is an older woman who was always helping out in the kitchen. She didn't talk much but she was kind and generous to others. We worked together inside the shelter helping with the cooking and the cleaning. Even though she was older, she was always lending a hand to help. She had mentioned to me that she wanted to apply for asylum in the U.S. One day she went up to me and asked me if I was going to return to the U.S. that day *"¿vas a cruzar?"* ["are you going to cross?"], when I responded yes she asked me if I could take her to the pedwest, to turn herself in. Pedwest is one of the pedestrian entry points in San Ysidro, also known as "*El Chaparral*". I asked her if she was sure of her decision and if so I would gladly drive her, later that day we got in my car and drove. The shelter is approximately ten minutes away from San Ysidro, CA. Before dropping her off I took her to a *panaderia* [bakery] to get some food before she was put in *la hielera* [the fridge]. The *hielera* is a cold room where migrants are usually kept for two nights and three days before being deported or sent to a detention center in the U.S. Migrants are told that they need to be placed in this *hielera* because they have *bichos* [bugs], that could harm others. While we were in *la panaderia* "Norma" shared her story with me.

A mother, a wife, a Guatemalan, and asylum seeker are the most straightforward ways that I can use to describe "Norma". "Norma" was born in Guatemala, then migrated

to the U.S. and lived a simple life in this country taking care of children with special needs. One day she got a call from her husband, who lived in Guatemala who told her "*Pase lo que pase, quédate en Estados Unidos nunca te vayas a regresar*" [No matter what happens, stay in the U.S. never return]. A couple of weeks later she received another call, where she learned that her husband and her stepson were murdered by gang members because they did not pay their monthly quota. "*No paragón piso, no les alcanzaba y los mataron*" ["They didn't pay the quote, they didn't have enough, so they killed them"]. She had no intentions of returning, she called her other son and told them that he, his wife, and child should come to the U.S. to get away from all that violence and persecution. Her son, his wife, and child moved to Mexico. Once he had enough money, he left his wife and child in Mexico to cross the border with the hopes to later bring both of them to the U.S. He came with a group of nine individuals, including himself, through the desert of Sonora. The day before the journey he called his mother and told her that he was about to cross, that was the last time they spoke.

"Norma" waited and waited. She did not know who to call or what to do to find her son. The only person that she kept constant contact with was her daughter in law and grandson. Desperate, she returned to Mexico with her daughter in law to look for her son. With no results, she returned to Guatemala. In Guatemala, she struggled to find answers, months later she finally found out what had happened. Her son was alive, but he was detained in Mexico, imprisoned under a six-year sentence for working for a cartel. Once he was in prison, she was finally able to talk to him and find out what had happened.

On his journey into the U.S., her son was walking with a group of eight other men. While they were walking through the desert, they were stopped by a group of people. They were told to get on their knees and hold their hands behind their head. They were detained by cartel members, who beat them and forced them to decide between life and death. One by one they were asked if they would work for the cartel and do whatever they were asked to do. According to her son, they all said no to this proposition. In return, cartel members used coercion to force them into doing their bidding. One by one they were asked again, the first person who was asked answered no to working for them. He was decapitated in front of the others. Out of the nine men, only two survived and were forced to work for the cartel. One of the survivors was her son. He and the other man were forced to work and complete different tasks (the tasks will not be discussed here). He was later caught by Mexican officials and imprisoned for six years. "*Al menos está vivo, y su hijo va a poder tener un papá*" ["at least he is alive, and his son is going to have a father"] ("Norma", 2017).

"Norma" was still in Guatemala, and during her time there she began to work selling food to sustain herself. Unfortunately, because of gang activity, she was asked to pay a monthly quota to the gangs just like her husband. When she could not pay she was told to leave or she would be killed. She left Guatemala with nothing but what she was wearing. She arrived at Tijuana, after weeks of traveling, to the shelter and stayed there for two months. With nowhere else to go, she decided to seek asylum in the U.S. She has been in a detention center for more than six months with no clear understanding of when she will be getting out. "*Es muy difícil estar aquí dentro, nos tratan como criminales.*

Pero qué hace uno, yo no tengo a dónde más ir en mi país me quieren matar. Ya no queda nada más que esperar" ["It is tough to be in here, they treat us like criminals. But what can one do? I don't have anywhere else to go. They want to murder me in my country. There's nothing for me to do but wait"] ("Norma", 2018).

People who seek asylum in the U.S. have to enter through one of its entry points, and state that they cannot return to their place of origin because they fear for their life because they are persecuted. Many of the individuals who sought refuge at the shelter were on their way to ask for asylum in either the U.S. or Mexico (Figure 16). Throughout my time in the shelter, I learned that there is a misconception of the realities of what it means to ask for asylum in the U.S. and the process of it. For example, many individuals asked for asylum at different U.S. entry points and were denied their right to apply by border officials. Others applied for asylum but gave up their right because they could not bear to be inside a detention center. Two of the individuals I interviewed, including "Norma", were given bail but could not afford it. "Norma" currently has a bail of $10,000, an amount that she cannot provide. Another misconception that many asylum seekers have is the belief that one cannot apply for asylum if one does not have any children. Many of the people that I spoke to in the shelter mentioned that they were not going to seek asylum in the U.S. because they did not have any children, and because of this they were going to be denied. All of this allows me as a researcher to observe that there is a need for education on the topic of asylum and refuge in the U.S. Further research on migrants understanding of asylum could allow us to understand if there is a

correlation between clandestine border crossing and the understanding of asylum or refuge, in the minds of migrants.

Moreover, through this case study, the despair of not knowing the whereabouts of a loved one can be observed. Despite the possibility of risking her own life, "Norma" returned to Mexico and, later, Guatemala to find what had happened to her son. As she mentioned, she did not know who to call, and she, too, was facing the probability of being deported because of her immigration status in the U.S. Thus, leaving was the better option for her. Again, the lack of information to migrants and their families exposes them to further forms of human rights violations.

Non-profit organizations such as The Colibrí Center for Human Rights is a place where families and loved ones of migrants can contact to make missing person reports without fearing persecution from law enforcement agencies. The issue here is that even though this organization and others are available to migrants and their families, many do not know that these programs exist or what the program's agendas are. For example, the shelter where I was collecting data for my research was not aware of this organization and the shelter often directs people to other organizations such as *Águilas de Desierto* or *Ángeles del Desierto* who also take missing person reports with a focus on searching for individuals. Organizations such as this one do not have access to a software like Colibrí and therefore cannot compare reports given to them of the bodies or remains that have already been found by other agencies. A better form of advertisement, for the lack of a better word, should be implemented to inform migrants of the resources available to them.

Forensic Anthropologists

As mentioned, two forensic anthropologists and one medicolegal agent were interviewed for this thesis. Both forensic anthropologists interviewed and the medicolegal agent work in the states neighboring the U.S.-Mexico border. The reason why these interviews were conducted was to understand the different roles of those handling the remains and bodies of migrants throughout the U.S. Southern border. Through the interviews, various aspects of the handling of unidentified migrant remain cases surged, as well as the relationship between forensic anthropologists and the families of migrants.

What is missing?

During the interviews, one question was repeatedly asked to each individual "What do you think about the relationship between families of migrants who die at the border and of those working to identify these individuals?" Two of the three individuals mentioned that the relationship between families of victims, and forensic anthropologists and medicolegal facilities were distant, and in some cases impossible to establish. Thus, all three individuals noted that they often turned to the Colibrí Center to have them serve as mediators to be able to interact with the families of victims. The following are some of the reasons mentioned by two of the interviewees: mistrust of family and loved ones and language barriers.

Mistrust from families and loved ones of victims are influenced by various factors, according to the interviewees. This mistrust from family members as mentioned

by one of the interviewees and Reineke (2016), comes from the previous mistreatment of migrants by law enforcement agencies and political agendas. As mentioned, the history of the border in and the militarization of it has proven that migrants have been neglected and mistreated from the moment they attempt to enter the U.S. and forward. As stated, "Trump asserts that those who enter the U.S. clandestinely are people who seek to harm Americans through acts of terror or criminal conduct, and in turn, these individuals pose a significant threat to national security and public safety" (The White House, 2017). This statement reinforces the fear of persecution and criminalization that migrants face making it difficult for them to seek help from law enforcement officials and extending this fear to forensic anthropologists, who in cases like this often work alongside government agencies. As another interviewee, the medicolegal agent, mentioned, "the families of these individuals, too often do not understand how the system works and the difference of criminal prosecution and missing persons reports" (Anonymous, 2017). The same person who mentioned this also noted that this is particularly common in Arizona. "One of the reasons why migrants, their families, and their loved ones, are more suspicious of law enforcement here in Arizona is due to former sheriff Joseph Arpaio, especially now that he was pardoned by Trump" (Anonymous, 2017) (Appendix I). As mentioned, the current political discourse on undocumented migration has obscured and neglected the rights of migrants by removing their humanity.

During 2015, a lawsuit against the state of Texas was filed by undocumented parents of U.S. citizens. In Texas, children were being denied their right to receive birth

certificates if their parents were undocumented. This is not only a violation of human rights, but a violation of the U.S. Constitution.

Amendment XIV:

> "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

This is yet another case where migrants have had their right negated, and this violation is extended to their offspring. This should be further explored to understand the effects that these children have had by being neglected by the state and country where they were born. As Kaufman (2015) mentioned children could not be enrolled in school, given medical healthcare, and other rights that were legally theirs. This further demonstrates the reason why many individuals do not feel safe when speaking to law enforcement individuals and need organizations outside of law enforcement, such as Colibrí Center for Human Rights that meet their necessities as migrants, but more importantly as humans.

Additionally, proper communication and understanding between migrants, their families, and their loved ones need to be implemented with forensic anthropologists, medicolegal offices, and non-profit organizations that work in the issue of deaths and missing persons at the border. The interviewees mentioned that the Colibrí Center served

as their source of communication between families of the missing and themselves. Another of the reasons why the interviewees indicated that the Colibrí Center was critical in the identification of individuals, was due to the language barrier between migrant families and those who work to solve the cases of the missing and the unidentified migrants.

Language barriers can interfere with the communication between persons. Throughout the interviews with all three participants it was noted that language differences often conflicted with the interaction with the families of the missing. In two of the cases, the interviewees mentioned that whenever they had to speak to the families, they could not do it alone if the family did not speak English. The Colibrí Center serves, again, as a mediator between forensic anthropologists and medicolegal agents. The medicolegal agent interviewed noted that the medical examiner's office only had two individuals who spoke Spanish and only one of them could read it and write it. When it was necessary, they used these individuals to communicate with families.

Though interpreters and translators can serve as excellent forms of communication mediums between individuals that speak different languages much can still be lost in translation. First, there are words, sayings, and slang that cannot be translated from one language to another. For example, throughout my time at the shelter in Tijuana, I had to act as a translator for English speakers that came into the shelter. Only I and two other social workers spoke English. If one of us was not present at the time of arrival of an only English speaker, it was challenging for others to interact with them successfully. On various occasions, I had to translate for the social workers, the

nuns, and other migrants. While doing this, I noticed that sometimes I could only summarize what people would say. On various occasions, it was impossible to translate verbatim, and this could be assumed to be a regular occurrence for other translations, such as the cases when translating for families of undocumented border crossers. It is also important to note that not all undocumented border crossers are Spanish speakers. During my time at the shelter, I encountered several individuals that spoke Mixtec, Zapotec, among other indigenous languages. Thus, it is necessary to have individuals who can speak more than just English to have better communication with the families of the victims and, when necessary, translators who can speak native languages and others.

What can be done?

The important part of any research project is not only to inform but also to collaborate to the topic one is researching. Throughout this thesis, the forensic anthropologists interviewed shared some of their projects and their collaboration for the identification of migrant remains throughout the U.S. Southern border. The first anthropologist interviewed mentioned that they were working on a software that allowed for law enforcement agencies and other individuals to access the location of remains from any device through the use of geographic information system mapping (GIS). This would allow them to add any information that was gathered by investigators in a database which could be accessed by others. This software could potentially facilitate the sharing of information from one law enforcement agency to another and between other non-profit organizations. It would also allow individuals to pinpoint the geographical location of

remains along with material culture found within a certain radius of the remains. The project in itself seems to have a lot of potential.

There is also a need to collaborate and inform non-profit organizations, all law enforcement agencies, and even civilians who walk through migrant trails at the border. During this research project, I was able to speak to two different non-profit organizations that work closely with migrant remains. One of the organizations, Humane Borders work to provide humanitarian help for undocumented border crossers. More specifically their "primary mission is to save desperate people from a horrible death by dehydration and exposure and to create a just and humane environment in the borderlands" (Humane Borders, 2018) (Appendix J). Their work focuses on the Sonoran Desert. Through an interview with one of their volunteers, it was mentioned that during their walks through the desert they often found items that belonged to undocumented border crossers. It was mentioned that whenever they found items they always picked them up (whenever there were no bodies in sight), and they either threw them away or kept them for their collection (Anonymous volunteer, 2017). Furthermore, it was mentioned by this person how items left behind by migrants were also part of the littering problem in the desert. They see their efforts as a way to clean the desert and protect the environment. Though their efforts are greatly appreciated and in no way is this organization being blamed or singled out, it was observed that the movement of material culture could interfere with the identification of individuals. As De Leon (2012) previously mentioned "there is a historical, political, and global economic forces" (p.478) in the material culture utilized by migrants. This can be further extended to the individual. As Reineke (2014)

mentioned “items that people are carrying are key” (torn apart) to the positive identification of persons.

Since the U.S. southern border often has individuals who aid in diminishing migrant deaths, there is a need to incorporate nonprofit organizations to collaborate with family members of the deceased, forensic anthropologists, and possibly with law enforcement agencies. Their collaboration in this sense could be done by having access to this software and inputting the data and location of material culture found throughout the border. This, partnership could allow us to better understand the relationship between items found and remains. Furthermore, it might even be useful to enable this software to civilians who travel through different areas throughout the U.S. southern border. For example, as I was walking towards the border between Tijuana and San Diego (Figure 17), I encountered water bottles and two different pairs of shoes. Though it is possible that these items might not be the property of migrants, it is also a possibility that they could be material culture used by migrants, and therefore are an essential factor in understanding migration between Mexico and the U.S. and items that characterize migrants.

Figure 17: Border fence between San Diego and Tijuana. March 2018.

Moreover, this organization (Humane Borders) has created a map where red dots reflect the deaths of migrants, along with water stations throughout the Sonoran Desert (Figure 18). The map in their website is very interactive (Appendix J), one can search for individual cases through case number, the location where remains were found, the name of the person (if identified), and gender. Humane Borders has focused on Arizona's southern border, where more undocumented migrant deaths have occurred. Two things can be added to a map like this one. First, is to use their information and add it to the GIS project created by the forensic anthropologist previously mentioned. This would allow for a more accurate record of migrant remains, and material culture can also be input from

now on. Secondly, a map like this one should be extended to all border areas between the U.S. and Mexico. This would allow for a better understanding of migrant paths throughout all the border and the deaths that have occurred throughout the years.

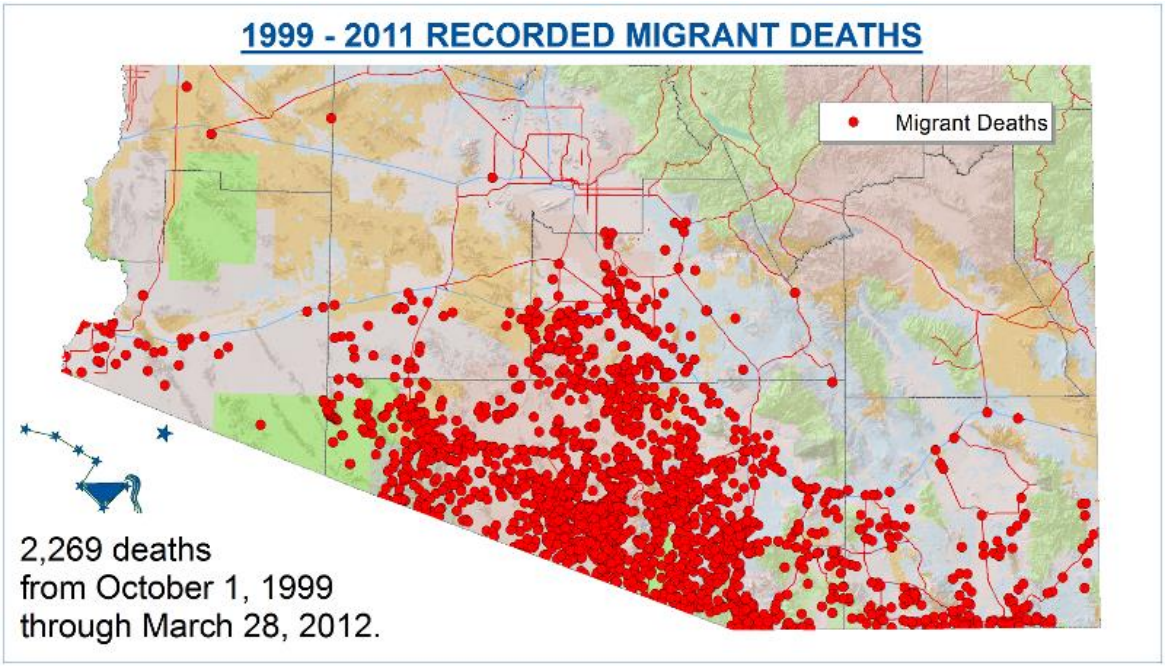

Figure 18:1999-2011 Recorded Migrant Deaths by Humane Borders, Retrieved fromhttps://humaneborders.org/migrant-death-mapping/

Decomposition at the Desert

There is a need for additional research on the decomposition process of human remains at the border. The environment and ecology of the desert is unique with its extreme weather and species of animals. There is a need to understand the decomposition process under extreme weathering and animal predation. By observing animal predation in the desert, forensic anthropologists and medicolegal agents could better understand the effects that animal predation has on the dispersal of remains. This could potentially aid in

future searches of remains and material culture. Through a study conducted by Jason De Leon (2012), the process of decomposition and environmental influencers was shortly observed. The research conducted utilized pig remains that were dressed in typical attire used by border crossers and were left outside to see the process of animal predation and decomposition. This process was done three times, and each time the results varied. Thus, I firmly believe that there is a need to further explore the decomposition in the desert through the use of "body farms." Such research facilities have been created through different university campuses across the U.S. to understand the effects that different scenarios have on human remains, but this has not yet been implemented in desert areas. Again, due to the unique weather and animal predation of the desert it is essential to understand the effect that these might have on human remains.

Águilas del Desierto

Although the organizations previously mentioned do tremendous work at the U.S. southern border to save lives, find the missing, and identify remains, other smaller organizations also work in the effort against this humanitarian crisis. One of these organizations is *Águilas del Desierto*. They communicate with families of migrants in search of the missing (Appendix K). I was able to interview two of the founders of this organization and a volunteer. The interviews conducted were done in Spanish and I was able to learn about the work that this organization does in the efforts against the current humanitarian crisis at the border. This organization focuses on the search for

undocumented border crossers (dead or alive) at the southern borders of Arizona and California.

Águilas del Desierto receives calls from family members and loved ones of individuals that were migrating to the U.S. During many of these calls, family members often give very vague information to the organization. Thus, many of the searches are done solely on statements of "*La última vez que escuche de mi hermano fue cuando iba entrar por el desierto*" ["the last time I heard from my brother was when he was going to enter the desert"] (Anonymous, 2017). This organization does various searches for undocumented border crossers knowing that they might not find anything or find someone different than the person they were looking for. This organization is made of a group of volunteers, many of which have family members of their own that have gone through this path. One of the founders of the organization shared their story with me. This person told me that the reason why this organization was created was because they were once searching for their brother and cousin in the Sonoran Desert. After months of searching for these two family members, they finally found them in the desert. The bodies were almost entirely skeletonized when they were found. This person knows firsthand what it feels to have a loved one missing and has therefore made it their duty to walk through the desert of Sonora with a group of volunteers to look for survivors or for those who lost their lives in the process of crossing.

Throughout my conversations with these individuals, I learned that most of the calls they receive are from families of migrants who either reside in the U.S. without any documentation or are outside of the U.S. It is their belief that the loved ones of the

missing migrants often contact them because they are not affiliated with law enforcement agencies and because they were once in the same place these people are today, searching for answers (Anonymous, 2017). Thus, there is a need for collaboration between organizations, especially those like *Águilas del Desierto* who continuously interact with families of victims to search for individuals lost throughout the border and the Colibrí Center who have a database filled with missing person reports. There is a need for better communication between all organizations and persons, including forensic anthropologists and migrant families, to better serve the death at the border. When they find individuals, they post pictures through their Facebook profile, of either the person found or their belongings (Figure 19). This is done so that if somebody recognizes the items or the person, they can reach out to them for identification purposes and also to bring awareness to the public. This brings us back to the importance of material culture for identification and the work done by smaller organizations such as this one. When families of migrant are afraid to reach out to law enforcement agencies, it is more probable that they will reach out for help through organizations like this one.

Figure 19: Human Skull of a migrant found by Aguilas del Desierto in the Sonoran Desert, retrieved from Facebook, 2017.

Furthermore, this organization found 22 migrant remains through the desert of Sonora. They mentioned that whenever they found remains their job was to call the nearest coroner's office to have experts retrieve the remains and further examine them. They mentioned that every single person that they found was not included in the number of deaths reported by border patrol officials. Consequently, the statistics shared by CBP are only an estimate of the number of deaths but the real number is higher than what has been given to the public. This was also noted through the Missing Migrant Project conducted through the International Organization for Migration (IOM-OMI). 400 individuals were found death throughout the U.S.-Mexico border (IOM-OMI, 2018)

(Figure 20), compared to CBP (2018) records that recorded only 294 deaths (Figure 9). It can be concluded that the exact number of migrant deaths at the border is unknown. Meaning, that there is a need for collaboration between law enforcement officials, non-profit organizations, forensic anthropologists, and migrants to truly understand the humanitarian crisis at the border and exhibit proper statistics of the number of undocumented migrant deaths and how to best assist this crisis.

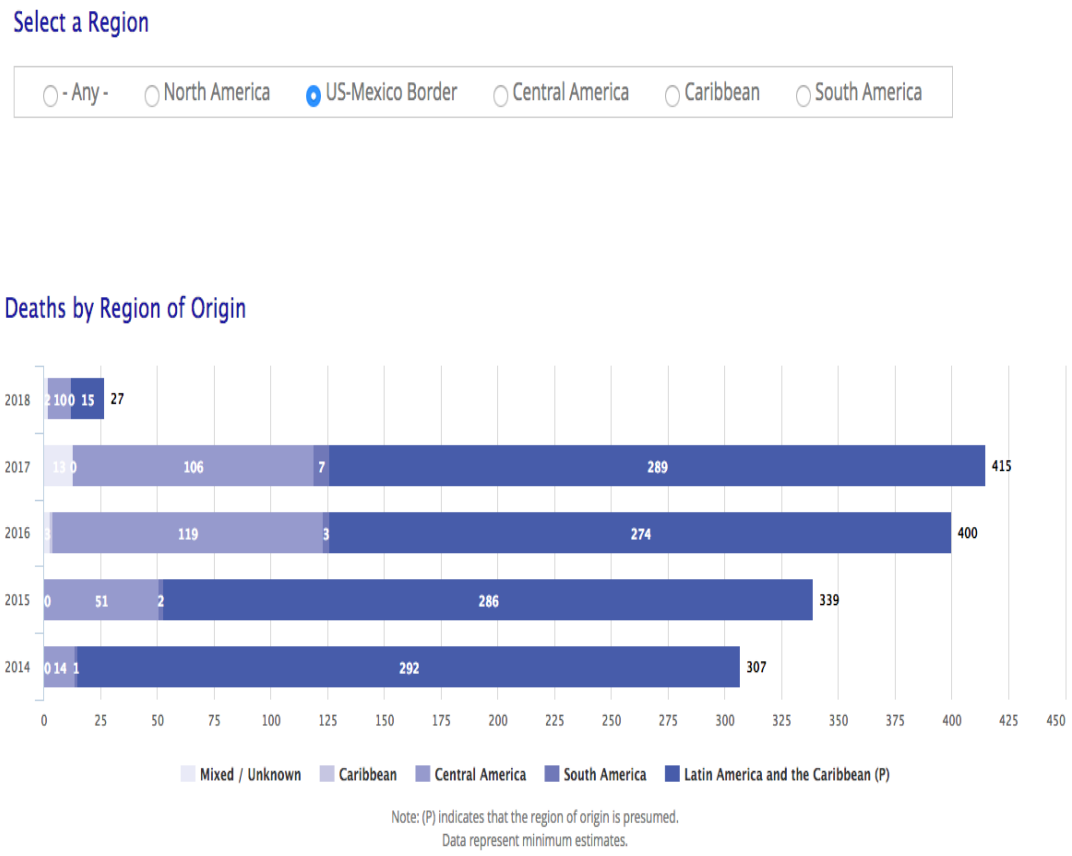

Figure 20: Missing Migrant Project conducted through the International Organization for Migration (IOM-OMI) deaths throughout the U.S.-Mexico border.

CONCLUSION

The Gap Between Individuals and Organizations

Ultimately, this research project exposes some of the gaps between forensic anthropologists, non-profit organizations, migrants, and the families of victims. The aim here is not to pinpoint or blame any of the organizations or individuals mentioned, but rather to create a discourse that allows for the understanding of this complex humanitarian crisis at the U.S. southern border. As mentioned, thousands of individuals have died while trying to enter the U.S. through its southern border and many are yet to be found, identified, and repatriated. Thus, this project aims to see and understand the gap between critical actors involved in the identification, retrieval, and repatriation process of migrant remains and the factors that affect the probabilities of this happening. Furthermore, this project urges individuals to undertake a transdisciplinary approach to successfully identify, retrieve, and repatriate migrant remains. Through the studies and the evidence provided through the gathering of data, it is concluded that there is a need to use biological, cultural, archaeological, and linguistic methods; as well as other methods beyond the discipline of anthropology such as social work to interact with families of victims and properly serve and protect the rights of the dead.

Contributions

The use of Multiple Disciplines and Organizations

This thesis integrates the discourse of the multiple actors that are involved in the process of identifying, finding, and repatriating migrant remains. Previous research has surveyed the relationship between forensic anthropologists and families of victims (Reineke, 2016), however this research also incorporates the work done by smaller non-profit organizations. Such organizations are crucial in the location of undocumented border crosser remains, and in their assistance can be utilized for the identification and retrieval of persons with the collaboration of the families of the victims. Furthermore, this thesis considers a multidisciplinary approach that integrates cultural and biological anthropology methods to identify undocumented border crossers. The data gathered and analyzed for this thesis project allowed me to observe the state of the collaboration between organizations and individuals who have a similar agenda in respects to undocumented border crossers.

Throughout this thesis project it was noted that law enforcement agencies, non-profit organizations, and educational institutions do not always interact effectively. Therefore, there is a lack of open dialogue between all organizations and individuals involved in the discourse of undocumented migration at the U.S.-Mexico border. Through the acknowledgement of this closed dialogue between all involved, it can be concluded that there is a need for a proposition that creates a solution. In particular, I noted a large disconnect between organizations and individuals based on the mistrust

towards law enforcement agencies. Therefore, it might be worthwhile to start a dialogue between all non-profit organizations, educational institutions, and actors involved in the retrieval, identification, or repatriation of migrant remains, prior to the inclusion of law enforcement agencies. This could be achieved through the development of internet-based systems that can be assessed by multiple agents including forensic anthropologists, non-profit organizations, and institutional organizations. This system in theory should allow individuals to input data on different cases, geolocation of where remains or material culture are found, maps, and the ability to contact the person imputing the data for more collaboration if necessary.

Furthermore, the collaboration between individuals and organizations through the use of an internet-based system would promote the use of multidisciplinary approaches and the collaboration between multiple disciplines. In order to successfully approach such a complex issue that is influenced by various factors (e.g. structural violence, structural racism, etc.) and agencies (e.g. U.S. government agencies), multidisciplinary approaches need to be taken. Therefore, it can be concluded that the high number of undocumented border crosser deaths, identifications, and repatriations, cannot be resolved through the use of one single solution and therefore a greater collaboration between all actors mentioned needs to be taken.

Genocide at the U.S.-Mexico Border

This thesis project focuses on the different aspects of undocumented migration at the U.S.-Mexico border through different perspectives, methods, and theoretical

approaches. Additionally, this thesis focuses on the abuses to humanity and more specifically to human rights violations through the use of militarization tactics at the U.S.-Mexico border. Through the analysis and observations made of the data gathered, I would suggest that the current humanitarian crisis at the border is an act of war against humanity, more specifically against undocumented migrant populations. The militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border created by the U.S. government focuses on policies and laws that knowingly and actively deter successful undocumented migrant crossings by funneling individuals into secluded and hazardous terrain, causing the deaths of thousands. These policies and laws are specifically targeting migrants and as defined through articles II and III of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide (Appendix M) (See Background section) the U.S. is responsible for the genocide of migrants at the U.S. Southern border for specifically targeting this group and intentionally putting their lives at risk.

What else can be done?

This thesis focuses on the migrant population in Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico, specifically woman and children. Throughout this thesis gender roles were indirectly pointed out but were not discussed. The migrant population with whom I worked with were all women, and their roles as women and the effects that their gender has on their migration experience needs to be further explored. Due to time constraints it was not possible to specifically explore the roles of women in this setting. Additionally, the experiences of women could also aid in the understanding of migration myths that rule

the decision of migrants, for example the idea that only women with children can acquire asylum status in the U.S. If a complete understanding of migration myths is gathered a discourse of this could be developed and thus deter such myths that influence the decisions of many. To fully understand migration and all the complex relationships that tie to it, it is important to understand the stories of migrants and their decisions. Therefore, ethnographic work is crucial when creating propositions and solutions for the significant number of migrant deaths.

On another note, while interviewing with *Águilas del Desierto*, one of the interviewees of this organization expressed that there is a need to record the path that migrants undertake not only by outlining it on a map but by physically walking it and documenting the process of it (Anonymous, 2017). Based on the results of the observations made throughout this thesis, by unraveling the migrations events through a recording could potentially bring to light the experiences of migrants and their journeys to the public, migrants who have not yet engaged on the journey, and all the actors and agencies involved in the different aspects of undocumented migration. Also, this could be utilized to understand the unique environment of the desert and the paths taken by migrants. There is much to learn about the desert and its extreme weathering and environmental patterns; such as the effects that it can have on human bodies and human remains through the decomposition process and different forms of predation. In conclusion, there is much research on the humanitarian crisis at the U.S.-Mexico border that needs to be undertaken to understand the complexity of the issue thoroughly to create plausible solutions.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Forensic anthropologists online survey

1. Consent Form:

This research project aims to better understand the complex relationships between forensic anthropologists and the communities that they serve, in particular, best practices for approaching and working with families of undocumented immigrants during the identification process by accessing the rights of the dead. Therefore, I am reaching out to you in order to gather information for my project and better access the needs of both forensic anthropologists and clandestine migrants' families at the U.S.-Mexico border. All information gathered from this survey will be kept confidential, no names will be attached when data is shared. Furthermore, all files will be kept under password protected files in my personal computer. The data will be kept for four years after it is collected, then it will be destroyed. The Investigator will answer any questions you have about this study. DIANA A NEWBERRY (DAN248@HUMBOLDT.EDU, (619)651-6450) AND MARISSA RAMSIER, Ph.D. (MAS70@HUMBOLDT.EDU, (707)826-4948). Your participation is voluntary and you may stop at any time. If you have any concerns with this study or questions about your rights as a participant, contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at irb@humboldt.edu or (707) 826- 5165.

* Please print this informed consent form now and retain it for your future reference. If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research as described, please click on the consent option below and click 'next'. Thank you for your participation in this research.

◯ I have READ and UNDERSTAND this consent information, and AGREE to participate in the following survey

◯ I DO NOT want to participate, please remove me from the mailing list.

* 2. Are you a forensic anthropologists? If so, please specify who is your employer?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No
- ◯ N/A

Other (please specify)

3. How often do you work with migrant remains, per year?

- ☐ 0-10
- ☐ 10-20
- ☐ 20+
- ☐ Other (please specify)

4. Do you work with migrant remains found on the U.S.- Mexico Border? If answer no, please specify in what area do you work with migrant remains?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ N/A
- ☐ Other (please specify)

5. What methods of identification do you utilize when working on migrant remains?

- ☐ Biological profile
- ☐ Cultural profile
- ☐ Facial Reconstruction
- ☐ Dental Analysis
- ☐ Other (please specify)

6. Do you Collaborate with other agencies when working on migrant remains? If your answer is yes, please elaborate on which agencies you collaborate with and why?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No
- [ ] N/A
- [ ] Other (please specify)

7. Do you interact with the families of the deceased migrants? If your answer is yes please explain under which circumstances you interact with families of the deceased?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No
- [ ] N/A
- [ ] Other (please specify)

8. How important is it for you to interact with families of the deceased on a scale from 1 (not important) to 5 (Extremely important)?

- ◯ 1 (Not important)
- ◯ 2 (Somewhat important)
- ◯ 3 (Neutral)
- ◯ 4 (Very important)
- ◯ 5 (Extremely important)
- ◯ Other (please specify)

9. Is there anything that interferes with your interaction with the families of the deceased migrants, if so please elaborate?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No
- [ ] N/A
- [ ] Other (please specify)

10. In what ways do the families of the deceased migrants receive justice or closure?

- ◯ N/A

Other (please specify)

Appendix B: Email for forensic anthropologists

Hello (Name),

My name is Diana Newberry and I am an MA Applied anthropology student at Humboldt State University. As an MA student I need to complete a thesis project, and I have decided to focus on the border between the United States and Mexico. This research project aims to better understand the complex relationships between forensic anthropologists and the communities that they serve, in particular, best practices for approaching and working with families of undocumented immigrants during the identification process by accessing the rights of the dead. Therefore, I am reaching out to you in order to gather information for my project and better access the needs of both forensic anthropologists and clandestine migrants' families at the U.S.-Mexico border. In order to participate in this research project please go ahead and fill out the survey attached to this email (online survey powered by SurveyMonkey). All information gathered from this survey will be kept confidential, no names will be attached when data is shared. Furthermore, all files will be kept under password protected files in my personal computer. The data will be kept for four years after it is collected, then it will be destroyed. If you have any further questions about my project please do not hesitate to ask, and please feel free to share this survey with anyone that you believe could provide substantial information for this project.

If you are willing to provide further information, please feel free to forward your contact information in order arrange an interview. The interview will take place via video chat and all information provided will be kept confidential.

Cheers,

Diana A Newberry

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Faculty Supervisor

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Arcata, CA 95521

mas70@humboldt.edu

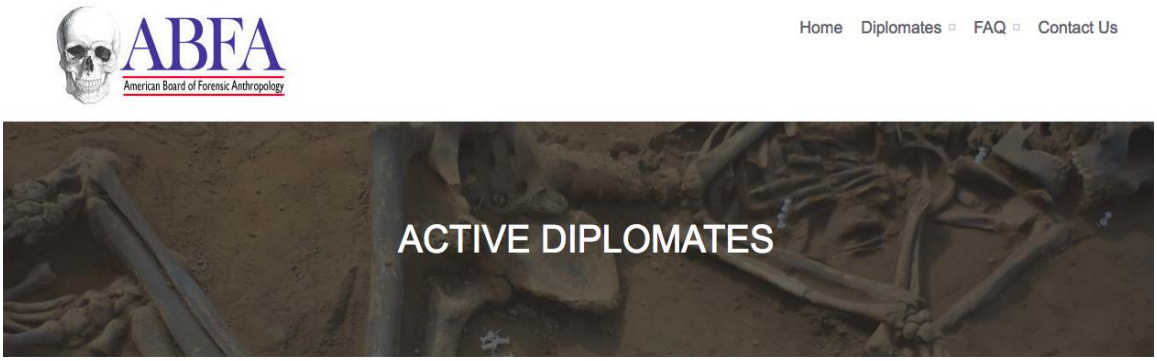
(707)826-4948

P.S.

The Investigator will answer any questions you have about this study. Your participation is voluntary and you may stop at any time.

If you have any concerns with this study or questions about your rights as a participant, contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at irb@humboldt.edu or (707) 826- 5165.

Appendix C: Certified forensic anthropologists directory



The directory for active diplomates was accessed through, http://theabfa.org/active-diplomates/. This website allowed me to get the contact information of certified forensic anthropologists.

Appendix D: CBP website history

Border Patrol History

Since its inception in 1924, the U.S. Border Patrol has had a proud history of service to our nation. Although enormous changes have affected nearly every aspect of its operations from its earliest days, the basic values that helped shape the Patrol in the early years; professionalism, honor, integrity, respect for human life, and a shared effort, have remained.

The Origins of the Border Patrol

Mounted watchmen of the U.S. Immigration Service patrolled the border in an effort to prevent illegal crossings as early as 1904, but their efforts were irregular and undertaken only when resources permitted. The inspectors, usually called Mounted Guards, operated out of El Paso, Texas. Though they never totaled more than seventy-five, they patrolled as far west as California trying to restrict the flow of illegal Chinese immigration.

In March 1915, Congress authorized a separate group of Mounted Guards, often referred to as Mounted Inspectors. Most rode on horseback, but a few operated cars and even boats. Although these inspectors had broader arrest authority, they still largely pursued Chinese immigrants trying to avoid the Chinese exclusion laws. These patrolmen were Immigrant Inspectors, assigned to inspection stations, and could not watch the border at all times. Military troops along the southwest border performed intermittent border patrolling, but this was secondary to "the more serious work of military training." Aliens encountered illegally in the U.S. by the military were directed to the immigration inspection stations. Texas Rangers were also sporadically assigned to patrol duties by the state, and their efforts were noted as "singularly effective."

Border Patrol Role Expands

Legislation in 1952 codified and carried forward the essential elements of the 1917 and 1924 acts. The same year, Border Patrol agents were first permitted to board and search a conveyance for illegal immigrants anywhere in the United States. For the first time, illegal entrants traveling within the country were subject to arrest.

As illegal immigration continued along the Mexican border, sixty-two Canadian border units were transferred south for a large-scale repatriation effort. In 1952, the government airlifted 52,000 illegal immigrants back to the Mexican interior. The program was terminated after it ran out of funds during its first year. The Mexican government offered train rides into the Mexican interior for nationals being returned from the San Antonio and Los Angeles districts, but this program was halted after only five months. Throughout the early 1950s, a special taskforce of 800 Border Patrol agents was assigned by the United States Attorney General to round up and ship home thousands of illegal immigrants in southern California. The task force moved to the lower Rio Grande valley, then to Chicago and other interior cities. The Border Patrol began expelling adult Mexican males by boatlift from Port Isabel, Texas, to Vera Cruz in September 1954. The project was discontinued two years later after nearly 50,000 illegal aliens had been returned home. Various other flights, train trips, and bus trips originated along the border and terminated in the Mexican interior. In spite of the major successes in repatriation, many deportees simply turned around and recrossed the seriously undermanned border. Repatriation programs proved extremely expensive and were phased out primarily because of cost.

Today's Border Patrol

The 1980s and 1990s saw a tremendous increase of illegal migration to America. The Border Patrol responded with increases in manpower and the implementation of modern technology. Infrared night-vision scopes, seismic sensors, and a modern computer processing system helped the Patrol locate, apprehend, and process those crossing into the U.S. illegally.

In an effort to bring a level of control to the border, Operation "Hold the Line" was established in 1993 in El Paso, and proved an immediate success. Agents and technology were concentrated in specific areas, providing a "show of force" to potential illegal border crossers. The drastic reduction in apprehensions prompted the Border Patrol to undertake a full-scale effort in San Diego, California, which accounted for more than half of illegal entries. Operation "Gatekeeper" was implemented in 1994, and reduced illegal entries in San Diego by more than 75% over the next few years. A defined national strategic plan was introduced alongside Operation Gatekeeper and set out a plan of action for the Border Patrol into the future. With illegal entries at a more manageable level, the Patrol was able to concentrate on other areas, such as establishing anti-smuggling units and search and rescue teams such as BORSTAR. The Border Safety Initiative (BSI) was created in 1998 with a commitment by the Border Patrol and the promised cooperation of the Mexican government.

Homeland security became a primary concern of the nation after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Border security became a topic of increased interest in Washington. Funding requests and enforcement proposals were reconsidered as lawmakers began reassessing how our nation's borders must be monitored and protected. On March 1, 2003, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was established, and the U.S. Border Patrol became part of U.S. Customs and Border Protection, a component of DHS.

The U.S. Border Patrol continues its efforts to control our nation's borders. The 21st century promises to provide enormous leaps in technology that can be applied to border enforcement. The modernization of the Patrol advances at a dizzying rate as new generations of agents develop innovative ways to integrate the contemporary technology into field operations. New and specialized technology is being created within the Border Patrol that holds increasing potential to assist agents in fulfilling the mission of the Patrol. Additionally, cooperation with neighboring countries increases border safety and law enforcement efforts. The future of the U.S. Border Patrol promises to be as exciting and interesting as its past, and will continue to echo the motto that agents have lived by since 1924.

Honor First.

Appendix E: Migrant interviews at shelter

[Escriba texto]

Nombre:

Fecha de ingreso:

- **Fecha y lugar de nacimiento:**
- **Edad:**
- **Dirección y teléfono:**
- **Escolaridad:**
- **Estado civil:**
- **Padres:**
- **Esposo o Pareja:**
- **Hijos:**
- **Habla otro idioma o lengua indígena:**
- **Estado de salud:**
- **Medicamentos:**
- **Ciudad y tiempo de vivir en EEUU:**
- **Ocupación en EEUU y México:**
- **Causas de migración:**

  -Migrando hacia USA: **-Deportada después de vivir en USA:**

  -Deportada después de solicitar asilo: **-Migrante interna, con intenciones de vivir en TJ:**

  -Deportada:
- **¿Si fue detenida, por cuánto tiempo y cómo fue su experiencia?**
- **¿Por qué está migrando?**
  - **¿Es responsable del sustento de otras personas, incluyendo hijos, padres, etc.?**
  - **Qué medio de transporte utilizó para llegar a Tijuana:**
  - **Cómo se enteró del albergue:**

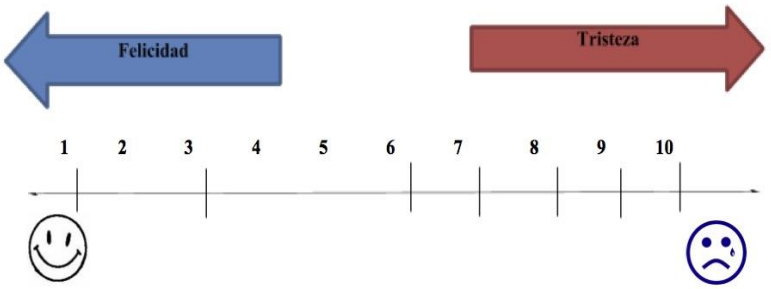
Estado Mental.

- **Observaciones:**
- **Apariencia:**
- **Estado de ánimo:**
- **Orientación:**
- **Funcionamiento cognitivo:**

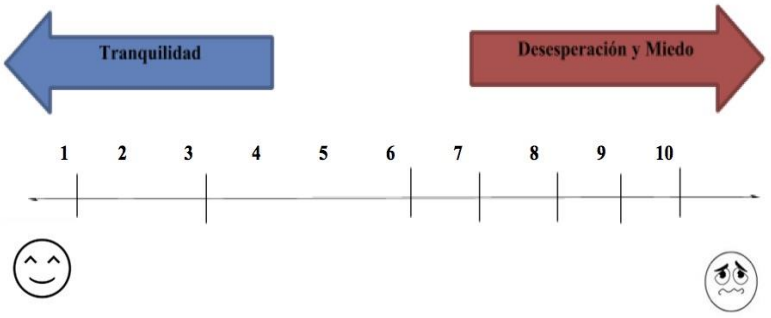
[Escriba texto]

- **Diagnostico o Seguimiento:**

- Escala de Depresión:



- Escala de Ansiedad:



Appendix F: Interviews to forensic anthropologists and medicolegal agents

1. For how long have you worked as a forensic anthropologist?
2. Are you a certified forensic anthropologist?
3. How many migrant remains do you encounter per year?
4. What are the procedures you undertake when working on migrant remains?
5. What methods are applied when working on migrant remains, and is it differently than working in any other case?
6. How important is it for you to interact with the families of the deceased migrants and why?
7. Do you believe migrant families could potentially aid in identifying their loved ones and if so how?
8. How often do you interact with migrant's families and how does this interaction happen?
9. What approaches would you undertake when interacting with families of the deceased migrant?
10. Is there anything else you would like to add to this interview?

Appendix G: Paper consent form for migrant interviews (English and Spanish)

Spanish Version:

El objetivo de este proyecto es poder entender la relación entre antropólogos forenses y las comunidades con las que trabajan, en particular este proyecto trata de entender las necesidades de los migrantes y sus familiares, junto con el derecho de los muertos. Por lo tanto, yo lo/la estoy contactando para poder entender la perspectiva del migrante y sus necesidades y las de su familia en la frontera de México y Estados Unidos. Toda la información que se adquiera durante las entrevista será confidencial, ningún nombre se adjuntara a la información recibida. Toda información será guardada en un archivo de computadora que será protegido con contraseña. La información será guardada por cuatro años después de ser colectada, después de los cuatro años toda la información será destruida. La investigadora y encargada del proyecto contestara cualquier pregunta que tenga sobre este proyecto. DIANA A NEWBERRY (DAN248@HUMBOLDT.EDU, (619)651-6450) Y DR. MARISSA RAMSIER, (MAS70@HUMBOLDT.EDU, (707)826-4948). Su participación es voluntaria y usted puede detenerse en cualquier momento. Si tiene alguna pregunta o preocupación relacionada con el proyecto o de sus derechos como participante, por favor comuníquese con el Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (el Instituto de Revisión de la protección de informantes humanos) al correo electrónico irb@humboldt.edu o número de teléfono (707) 826-5165.

Firma:_____ Día:_____

English version:

This research project aims to better understand the complex relationships between forensic anthropologists and the communities that they serve, in particular, understanding the necessities of migrants and their families by accessing the rights of the dead. Therefore, I am reaching out to you in order to gather information for my project and better access the needs of migrants and their families at the U.S.-Mexico border. All information gathered from this Interview will be kept confidential, no names will be attached when data is shared. Furthermore, all files will be kept under password protected files in my personal computer. The data will be kept for four years after it is collected, then it will be destroyed. The Investigator will answer any questions you have about this study. DIANA A NEWBERRY (DAN248@HUMBOLDT.EDU, (619)651-6450) AND MARISSA RAMSIER, Ph.D. (MAS70@HUMBOLDT.EDU, (707)826-4948). Your participation is voluntary and you may stop at any time. If you have any concerns with this study or questions about your rights as a participant, contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at irb@humboldt.edu or (707) 826- 5165.

Signature: _____ Date:_____

Appendix H: Question asked to the organizations who work with migrants (part of the interview)

1. “What does your organization do for migrants crossers, what is your role?”

Appendix I: United States of America vs. Joseph M. Arpaio

https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3903705-Arpaio-Contempt-07-31-17.html

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE DISTRICT OF ARIZONA

United States of America,

Plaintiff,

v.

Joseph M. Arpaio,

Defendant.

No. CR-16-01012-001-PHX-SRB

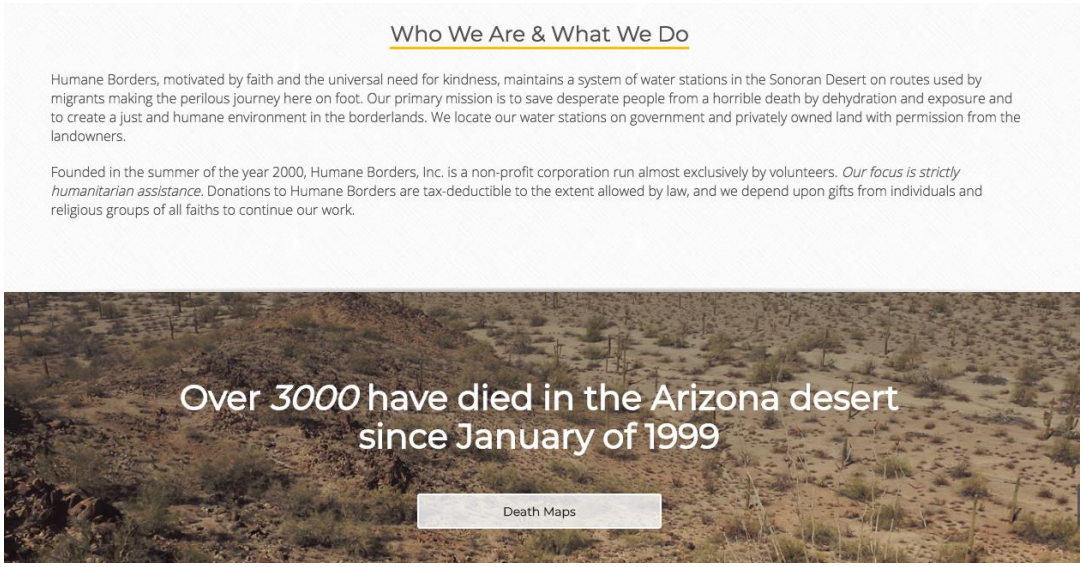
FINDINGS OF FACT AND CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

This case arose from a finding of civil contempt by Judge G. Murray Snow in the *Melendres v. Arpaio*, 2:07-cv-02513-GMS case ("*Melendres*"). On August 19, 2016, Judge Snow referred Defendant for an investigation of criminal contempt. (Doc. 1, Aug. 19, 2016 Order.) On October 25, 2016, the Court issued an Order to Show Cause providing Defendant with notice of the charge against him and setting trial for December 6, 2016. (Doc. 36, Oct. 25, 2016 Order.) Following the grant of several trial continuances, a five-day bench trial occurred, commencing on June 26, 2017 and concluding on July 6, 2017. (*See* Docs. 177, 179, 187, 190, and 199.) The Court took the matter under advisement and now makes its findings of facts and conclusions of law.

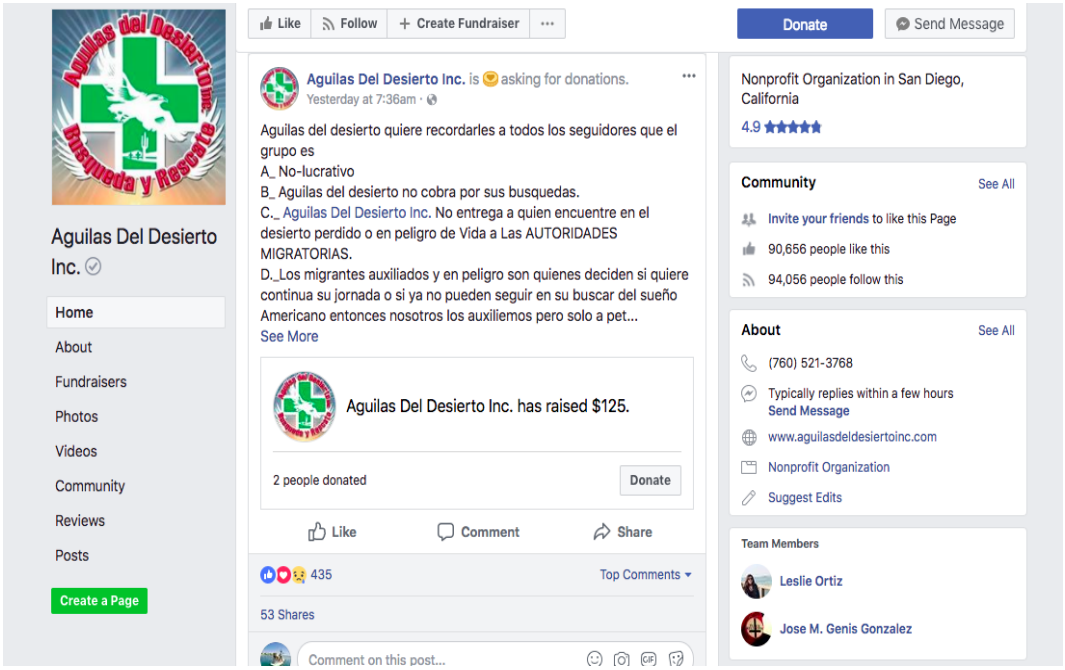
Defendant stated on numerous occasions that he would continue to keep doing what he had been doing. (*See, e.g.*, Gov't Ex. 36D, 36I, 37B, 37C, 37H); *Hoffman*, 13 F.2d at 277 ("He is chargeable with the disobedience of the court's writ to the extent that he might have prevented it if he had acted with diligence."). Defendant stated that he "will continue to enforce illegal immigration laws" just seven days after the issuance of the preliminary injunction." (Ex. 3A 497:1-9.) During a June 2012 interview Defendant stated, "Nothing has changed . . . We've been doing it. And we'll continue to enforce the laws." (Gov't Ex. 3B 526:6-9; *see also* 530:6-8 ("we're going to continue doing what we've been doing the last four or five years.").) In August 2012, Defendant stated that he continued to enforce federal law, despite knowing that he no longer had 287(g) authority to do so. (Ex. 3B 544:21-22; 545:16-20; Gov't Ex. 3G 44:21-24.) He did not tell anyone in his office to change anything about how they did their work. (Gov't Ex. 3D 2021:22-2022:1; 2202:21-2023:3.) In January 2013, Defendant's stance had not changed, as evidence by his statement: "Until the laws are changed, my deputies will continue to enforce state and federal immigration laws." (Ex. B 568:23-569:2.)

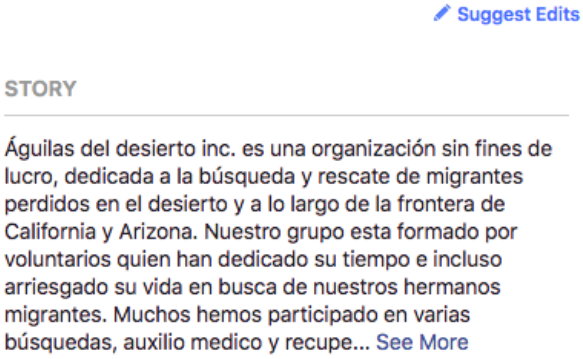
Appendix J: Humane Borders

https://humaneborders.org/



Appendix K: Águilas del Desierto





Appendix L: Colibrí Center for Human Rights

Appendix M: 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide

https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%2078/volume-78-i-1021-english.pdf

Article I

The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Article II

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

(*a*) Killing members of the group;

(*b*) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

(*c*) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(*d*) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

(*e*) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article III

The following acts shall be punishable:

(*a*) Genocide;

(*b*) Conspiracy to commit genocide;

(*c*) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;

(*d*) Attempt to commit genocide;

(*e*) Complicity in genocide.

Article IV

Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Article V

The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or of any of the other acts enumerated in article III.

Appendix N: NamUs fact sheet

NamUs Fact Sheet

October 31, 2017

- The development of the National Missing and Unidentified Persons System (NamUs) met the nation's need for a secure, free, nationwide centralized repository and resource center for information related to missing persons, unidentified persons, and unclaimed decedents.
- NamUs can be found online at **www.namus.gov**.
- The U.S. Department of Justice announced the launch of the National Missing and Unidentified Persons (NamUs) initiative in July 2007.
- NamUs was developed by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), the research, development and evaluation bureau of the Office of Justice Programs (OJP).
- The NamUs databases are searchable by anyone, however, sensitive case data is restricted and can be viewed only my medical examiners, coroners, law enforcement officers, personnel from missing person clearinghouses and allied forensic specialists.
- NamUs was developed with the help of experts from all areas of missing and unidentified person case management and investigation, including victim advocates and family members of missing persons.
- Nationwide, **4,400** unidentified remains are found every year and over **1,000** of these remain unidentified after one year. Holistically, there may be upwards of **40,000** human remains nationally that continue to go unidentified.
- Nationwide, there are as many as **85,000** active missing person cases at any given time.
- As of October 31, 2017, **31,417** total missing person cases have been reported to NamUs. **13,729** cases have been resolved (**1,801** with direct assistance from NamUs) and **13,627** cases are active in the NamUs Missing Person database.
- As of October 31, 2017, **15,275** total unidentified person cases have been reported to NamUs. **3,058** cases have been resolved (**1,271** with direct assistance from NamUs) and **11,639** cases are active in the NamUs Unidentified Person database.
- Unidentified remains cases are entered by medical examiners, coroners or their authorized registered users.
- Information regarding missing person cases can be submitted to NamUs by law enforcement professionals, missing person clearinghouses and the general public; source verification may occur prior to publication.
- Anyone can access the NamUs system to search or track cases, print missing persons posters, find resources and even map out travel routes in an effort to locate a missing person.
- Regional System Administrators monitor and validate new case information to protect sensitive information, prevent fraud and improve case management.
- NamUs automatically cross-searches the missing persons database against the unidentified person database and provides side-by-side comparisons of possible matches.
- NamUs, through a cooperative agreement with NIJ, was developed by the National Forensic Science Technology Center (NFSTC) and the University of Central Florida's National Center for Forensic Science.
- Since 2011, NamUs has been managed and administered by the UNT Health Science Center, with oversight by the NIJ, through a cooperative agreement (award numbers 2011-MU-BX-K063 and 2016-MU-BX-K007).

NamUs is funded by the
National Institute of Justice

And managed in partnership with the
UNT Health Science Center
under a cooperative agreement with NIJ

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