

CREATING HUMANE BORDERS:
a migration ethic

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DEDICATIONS AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“When the stuff hits the fan, there is no guarantee it will be evenly distributed.”

--unknown

Cactus-thorn days, corrupt government officials, breathtaking hot days, cold nights and cartels are but a few of the obstacles migrants must overcome as they find a way north to the U.S. to join families and find work. Those of us who know this story are in awe of how they do it. This book is dedicated to the migrants. We interview them, find them in the desert dead and alive, share meals with them in shelters and pray for them, but we can only imagine many of their stories because we meet only a small percentage of the migrants we serve. We love migrants because God loves them. We want to be among those who love the marginalized precisely because God is like that. Because God is like that, we can also see the effects of policies, the damages of militarism, the ravages of racism and more. We need human rights, compassion, and ethics.

This book is dedicated to all people who love the migrants, who envision and work for a different world. For me, they were best represented by the members of First Christian Church in Tucson, Arizona. They were for me an unparalleled example of vision and work leading to justice. FCC has lived its motto of being biblically based, spiritually growing, and socially active for more than 100 years. This congregation is unique among Disciples of Christ congregations. Since its beginning, it has radically shaped many social justice ministries in Tucson. All along the border from Brownsville, Texas to San Diego, California I have been privileged and blessed to work with pastors, local leaders, politicians, interns, donors, journalists, students, activists, volunteers and filmmakers who intersected and expanded the social justice ministries with which I was associated for more than 30 years. And, I acknowledge many people in civil society and some in the Border Patrol who interacted daily to ameliorate many of the effects of bad migration policies. Meals were served. Ideas were shared. Meetings were held. Texts were read. Acts of compassion were everywhere. Shelters were

built and staffed. The myriad needs of migrants were met in the interstices of countries, policies, and people. Water stations were built, deployed in the desert and serviced day after day. Local governments, universities and social justice-oriented congregations and groups invited me to share dispatches from the border lands. Sue Goodman was with me for a third of those years, and I celebrate her work and her contributions. Friends at the University of California in Fresno invited me to lecture during Caesar Chavez Week in 2006. Later, dozens of other universities and congregations in the US and Mexico invited me to share some of my thoughts. Interactions have continued to shape my ideas.

I acknowledge a profound indebtedness to two mentors who were both Disciples of Christ pastors who prepared me for a ministry such as this: The Rev. Dr. Colbert “Bert” Scott Cartwright and the Rev. Dr. Frank C. Mabee. Bert taught me how to pursue justice within the constraints of systems and Frank how to imagine life free of constraints and ultimately accountable only to God. I’m grateful for members of the faculties at Texas Christian University and Texas Tech University who helped prepare me for a ministry I could not have foreseen. Somehow I learned how to weave together journalism, construction, nursing services, photography, religion studies, social ethics, theology, social science, political science and political theory. All of us have to decide what kind of world we want to help create and how to engage those who share that vision and those who do not. I hope this book reaches a diverse audience that will find this book useful in thinking about reforming migration policies.

Most people know the movie *Casablanca*. It was voted the second greatest American movie ever. I think it is number one. It is my favorite and it is the quintessential migration movie. Refugees flee the influence of Germany’s Third Reich, interact briefly in Casablanca, Morocco, and they find ways to live lives in other parts of the world. As movies go, *Casablanca* has something for everyone: murder, intrigue, love, patriotism, friendship, hospitality, human desperation, power, authority, jurisdiction, corruption, risks, identity papers, dreams, roots, languages, and futures. Tucson is a similar place.

Life is just like *Casablanca* along the border and learning about it calls one to reorient one’s life. At the end of the movie, Richard Blaine (aka Rick) gets the underground resistance leader Victor Laszlo and his wife Ilsa Lund safely onto the plane from Casablanca to Lisbon, Portugal. French police Captain Louis Renault and

“American” expat restaurateur and adventurer Rick – played by Humphrey Bogart – walk off into the fog on a wet tarmac in one of cinema’s most iconic scenes. The two are ready to combine their fortunes and start a new friendship just moments after having pointed guns at each other. It’s a conversion story or as one professor friend called it, a moral alternation. It’s an exercise in individual ethics, administrative discretion, a teaching. It’s a sermon. It merits study. It hints at something human, a social ethic.

Some of the greatest stories that shape our lives are migration stories. Abraham left Ur. Moses left Egypt. Jesus was a refugee. Muhammad was also on the run for part of his life. The politics of great religious and social narratives including the interplay of individuals and empires merits close examination. Tools like sacred literatures, the movie *Casablanca* and this book are designed to help us think of our own stories and perhaps to initiate new friendships. The messy facts on the ground in *Casablanca* are like the facts on the ground along the border. It is my passionate hope that conscientious people will find a new way to look at the border and what the border currently does to people. I especially hope to see what it can become if we journey together, even if we just journey in place.

Hopefully, many will seek not just to understand the stories and narratives of our lives but also to change things. Ways must be found to implement visions of new life. Today human migration and its myriad stories remain too hot for most politicians to handle. As soon as U.S. Rep. Paul Ryan became Speaker of the House of Representatives, he declared there would be no comprehensive immigration reform while President Obama was in office. There are hundreds of roadblocks to change. Politicians and interest groups talk about migration, but no migration policy reform is on the horizon. Somehow a new sense of urgency must be created that makes political reforms salient, and there must be a vision of what we have learned in the history of our values that leads us to believe we can start a beautiful friendship in and with the world the way Louis and Rick did.

Nations display inertia and this work may gather dust before there is change. However, the voice of the faith communities, informed by social science, must be heard in the political and policy arenas. The voice of faith communities must also call attention in their communities to what is transpiring in the political and policy arenas. This report from the border is offered in the spirit of one who

truly believes that God is an actor in human history who calls us forward one at a time, and all together.

The intent of this book is to help change things, not just describe them. When we can explain things, we often develop a smugness that can come with mastery of knowledge. Explanation alone can never merely be acceptance of things as they are. The UK newspaper, *The Guardian*, quoted me in a headline declaring that I was in the desert to change the "FRIGGIN" law. I did say that, but when I saw it in print, I was at first embarrassed. That was 2001. Now, I am far less reticent to say what is on my mind. I do that here respectfully. In person, my language is often even more colorful. On the front page of the Washington Post, a reporter referred to me as a "salty talking Texan." The border must be made more humane and generate less fear. All voices must be considered and all must have access to changing policies. The Border Patrol should quit hindering the life-giving work of humanitarian groups and stop spying on them. Advocacy groups need to work on behalf of citizens and non-citizens alike. Legislators need to be shown an alternative way. This is a contribution to that effort.

This work contains some historical accounts, some theoretical frameworks, and some proposals for changing U.S. policies. The book can be read whole cloth or in part. Some may wish to understand some of the theological and social theological underpinnings, others will undoubtedly wish to avoid that discussion. Some may want to read about the ways the organizations are put together and how they work. Others may only want to read about the politics or just the reform proposals. Hopefully, many will benefit from the project in its entirety. Please enjoy.

At its best, this is a modest academic exercise in the sense that it is an effort to set down in an orderly way some of the texts and contexts in which border activists find themselves in this interpretive moment in history. It is also a decidedly pointed exercise. It is not a sermon for the choir. The choirs know their songs. It is not an exercise in speaking or preaching truth to power. That's a cliché that communicates, but in reality, power already knows the truth. That's why there's power. The purpose here is to share a word and that word is: share.

When I received the National Human Rights Award from President Felipe Calderon Hinojosa at Los Pinos, Ciudad de Mexico, Mexico in 2006, as he began his term as President of Mexico, my short acceptance speech included the comments that the challenge before us is to learn how to share resources and opportu-

nities in our hemisphere. That day, Calderon gave an incredible human rights speech in which he revealed he had undocumented relatives living in the U.S. In spite of his commitment to human rights, a few days later he launched the war against the cartels with determination. Most lay the tragedy of that war at his feet, and he is culpable of much. However, his successor has continued the same policies. I personally lay the drug war at the feet of US President Richard Milhous Nixon who started the whole mess. I believe it is a religious thing that we must practice sharing resources and opportunities and not simply resort to violence. And, I believe that it is ultimately in our self-interest to do just that. As the poet Leonard Cohen famously noted, "Love is the only engine of survival."

The southwest border between the United States of America and the United States of Mexico is an invisible, imaginary line constructed to separate peoples and places. In places, it is also a legally defined construct increasingly reified in the form of a fence fabricated of Chinese steel, filled with Mexican cement, and welded in place by National Guardsmen. It is real, imaginary, symbolic and extremely permeable. Our ideas and opinions constantly change. I hope yours will, too.

When I was a child in Texas, I thought the National Guard was just one guy. Having now observed the expenditure of billions of dollars and having known countless deaths, I've learned how many tens of thousands of people whose sole focus is upon the imaginary-line and the millions who permeate it for personal, family, and financial reasons. The U.S. would do well to learn what the Department of Homeland Security is actually doing on the border in the name of the so-called American people.

For more than 30 years, I've had conversations with White House staff and Immigration and Naturalization Service (now Department of Homeland Security) personnel from top to bottom. I've spoken with Customs and Border Protection Commissioners and "newbie" agents in the field. The president of Mexico and members of his administration have embraced me and dreamed dreams with me.

Members of the Mexican government have also unfortunately acquiesced to US pressures to make the lives of migrants miserable. Members of cartels have pointed guns at me and welcomed me. The best leaders on our side tell us things like, "You change the laws, and we'll enforce them."

The folks on the other side, from Central American migrant activists to priests, to narco-trafficantes (now simply called mafia) tell us, "How can you expect us to live or do anything differently?"

You made the rules. Your policies stimulate migration. You use the drugs. Why are you talking to me? Even your religion is an engine of migration." Some of those with whom I spoke 30 years ago are now policy makers perpetuating a system designed not to share life; rather it is a system designed for the benefit of some and to the detriment of others. Political constructs create artificial markets. Borders are not zero-sum games, but there are winners and losers. On both sides of the border there are dollars and careers to be made from the migration. Economic incentives are a major engine of oppression. The chains are not broken and it is hard to find weak links where change might happen. Hope and love are the engines of our survival. However, most days I am not optimistic. Hopefully, a fresh, shared vision, tempered by the realities of life on the border will be useful. The western hemisphere must not trade in human misery and death.

FOREWORD

Specifically, this book is an attempt to articulate a social ethic for human migration along and over the southwest border of the United States of America. It is simple: we need migrant-oriented migration reform.

Social ethics can be thought of as a discipline and as a product. Social ethics is a social scientific discipline that employs insights and utilizes methodologies from the disciplines of theology, social science, and public policy. The approach of this work and generally of the discipline is purely normative. I use “normative” here in the way political scientists use it. This work is normative in that it is attempting to describe the way migration should be conceived along the southwest border. This book is descriptive in order to be prescriptive. I have organized this work accordingly. Description first, prescription second.

Many insights can be gleaned from the vast literatures of religions and the institutions that grow out of the many denominations and their religiously affiliated nonprofit organizations (RANPOs). Social science contributes much, but so, too, do the tools of public policy analysis.

Individuals who want to have an effect on migration policies, who provide goods and services for migrants, will ultimately need to engage elected officials who pass legislation and articulate positions, the public administrators who implement public policies and exercise administrative discretion to improve local and regional practices, the media which reports on the constant discourse on migration, law enforcement, and the NGOs, NPOs, RANPOs that provide goods, services and advocacy. No substantive revision of policies will occur unless a large number of people interact.

Ultimately, a social ethic needs to eventuate in public policy changes and political adaptations. This work hopefully serves as a handbook for activists interested in working in this policy space or in others where there is or should be significant influence from religious actors.

A policy-driven reform is one in which several goals are posited and scholars/activists/administrators/and politicians map-out how to get there. A purely policy-driven reform movement is constrained, however, by politicians playing to the latest opinion polls, to constituencies and to donors who have explicit policy prefer-

ences. Many of them are shaped by revenue streams that should be made visible. "Follow the money" is always a good analytical tool. A purely social-scientific approach leads only to a primarily descriptive work that articulates current laws, practices, consequences, and so on. What is needed is a normative or prescriptive approach that articulates why changes in migration policy are ethical choices and serve the public good. A social ethic for migration is needed.

Social ethics is a social scientific discipline informed by theology and social science and focused on public policies. This book guides the reader toward a social ethic for migration. This project is social scientific and technical in several ways, but every effort is made to avoid excessive theoretical language, jargon, statistics and other barriers to a more general readership. This work was undertaken to reach the largest possible public.

Nearly every concept referenced here has a vast literature that one can research as needed or desired. Because this project is expressly normative, I reference few authors. No arguments presented here hinge on any one scholar's position. Here, I lay out an argument, illustrated from my own thirty years of working along the border with migrants. The argument is that there can be a social ethic for migration. Such a thing has to exist in the political world and with that declaration, I immediately acknowledge that I will not persuade all people. Everyone I have ever met has an opinion about migration. While opinion is one form of knowledge – probably the lowest – any discussants will need to be familiar with relatively vast literatures in order to dismiss the arguments made here beyond the level of merely expressing opinion. Additionally, the arguments that proceed toward a social ethic for migration are radically attached to the plight of the migrants, their governments, their families, their advocates, and their cultures.

The voice of the migrants must be heard. The reform proposals presented in this book will be migrant-centered, migrant-oriented. It is hoped that all readers from the left and from the right, from the coasts to the heartlands, from south and north, from Latin America and the U.S. will find elements that will inform their emerging positions and generate new areas of consensus. Properly constructed by the writer and properly received by a reader, a social ethic for a policy space can contribute much to public discourse on human migration in the western hemisphere.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

“Nations are judged by whether or not they give food, water, clothing, welcome, visits to the sick, and ministry to the imprisoned. That’s the resume of a migrant.”
—Father Daniel Groody’s summary of Matthew 25

All actors in human history are political. God is political, and so am I. I cannot speak for everyone, but most of the people I have worked with along the border would agree that they, too, are political – political but not partisan. I’m sure some are both. The political but not partisan distinction is important, and even constrained actors such as religious organizations and public administrators are, can, and should in my estimation be more consciously political. God is political, and so are we.

The “we” of which I write includes me and persons associated with the many faith-based organizations, congregations, university activists, documentarians, members of civil society, human rights activists and networks of volunteers with whom I have worked for more than a third of a century. It includes all who find resonance with the ideas offered here. Hopefully, “we” are growing.

I’m certain that the God of Abraham could not envision a completely borderless world. Readers of sacred literatures from the Hebrew, Christian, and Muslim traditions recall that father Abraham set up altars that later became the geographical boundaries of what we often call the Holy Land. Abraham was a surveyor of borders in that sense. One could infer that God recognizes or even desires boundaries of some sort or other. Many will question that. Abraham also unknowingly entertained angels who foretold a joyful future for him. They were strangers, people of a different place. Place is a powerful means of defining oneself or another. We often ask each other, “Where are you from?” And we do make judgments according to the answers. I am convinced that God would welcome a new and better southwest border, one that at least is not designed to kill people, and one that adapted to its intended permeability.

My thesis is quite simple: In order to have national security, stable labor, expanded human rights, less political noise on the border, less violence and the rule of law, we need to first meet the concrete human needs of the migrants staring at us from the deserts. I believe God calls us into this political moment, and I believe we will benefit from her counsel. If I may be so bold, she is calling us to work toward a migrant-driven reform.

God is good and God loves God's many peoples. Only borders that are humane are acceptable. Border deaths are both predictable and preventable, yet the country's border policies continue to kill. They are even designed to kill. I shared that testimony in a Congressional hearing in 2010. We must remove death from the immigration equation. Bi-national efforts will help. Multinational efforts would be better.

I helped a few Central American refugees in the early '80s through my church in Fort Worth, Texas, but I really got involved in the inexorable migration in 1986. I met a migrant from Chiapas, Mexico and his son. The father had been the presidente municipal (mayor) of a small community in Chiapas. He had two bullet wounds. It was known by the local pastor that I had worked as a surgical nurse in the '70s. He and some folks with me wanted me to examine his wounds to see if they were healing. I probed and expressed infection with my surgically scrubbed bare but sterile hands, and I called for some antibiotics which were provided within minutes. South Texas is a bit like Mexico. Resources just appear. One serious injection with penicillin and follow-up oral penicillin, and he was OK.

I had arrived to observe, to help unload a truckload of 100 – pound sacks of rice, and to see what else could be done. I was hooked. Knowledge and experience that I had could be used there. Over time, we resourced many shelters in the valley, educated many people about the ongoing migration, advocated for changes, and did what we could. In the '90s, the situation in the Lower Rio Grande Valley became the focus of research for my doctoral studies.

For nearly a decade I provided much of the leadership for Humane Borders, Inc. in Tucson, Arizona. I was the founder and first president and directed daily operations. After years of work, I was made president emeritus. Much of the work of those years is reported in this book. The work of many other organizations with which I have been associated is also at least reviewed here.

Humane Borders was founded in the Pima Friends Meeting House in Tucson on June 11, 2000 to provide humanitarian assistance and public policy advocacy for migrants. The next day I announced to my church board that since I didn't play golf, I would be giving my free time to Humane Borders. When I asked how much of my time they wanted to give to the project, the answer was fifty percent. I was stunned. There was almost no discussion. The church wanted to be back in the mix. Local physician Dr. Abraham Rudell Byrd, III was an elder serving on the board. He made the motion. After the vote and the adjournment, a sweet elderly woman, Ruth Manning, came up to me. She told me, "You go out there and save all the lives you can. But, if I am in the hospital, I expect you to come and see me." Such is the sentiment of a life-time of Christian living.

If you dollar-denominate that gift of my time and add to it the gifts of facilities, location, utilities, parking, security, offices, internet, phones, and more, then First Christian Church's contribution made it the largest single donor to the ministry of Humane Borders during those ten years. The congregation remains the largest single donor to date. Church members of sister congregations in Tucson would often send substantial contributions to Humane Borders and even undesignated gifts to the congregation because it was involved in social justice issues and their congregation wasn't.

The two-fold mission of Humane Borders was to erect water stations in the desert for humanitarian assistance and to advocate through media and meetings with public officials and administrators on public policy changes. Before we set out our first water station, Humane Borders was recognized by the Internal Revenue Service as a nonprofit 501(c)(4) social welfare organization. Other groups I've worked with – and groups that continue to work along the border – focus on similar kinds of things: direct service to migrants and/or policy advocacy. Some provide shelter for migrants seeking political asylum, others routinely give briefings for religious and political leaders, while others lobby legislators. Many provide forums and encounters for U.S. citizens with people from Mexico and Central America. A few provide services for journalists including references, tours, and media archives. Some organizations provide a wide variety of services.

Drawing from the discipline of social ethics, this book combines insights from ancient texts and their interpretations and meanings, social science and public policy. Social ethics marshals arguments essential to frame public policy in rational, moral terms. I begin with what I consider the rational assumption that borders should

be humane. The gun-toting Minutemen in Arizona and Texas didn't approach the border that way, and the Border Patrol's sustained, flagrant human rights violations reveal that neither does the Border Patrol. At the time, I was married to Sue Goodman. She was an amazing partner and an invaluable asset to the work. She and I came up with the name Humane Borders as a way of inviting others to think of the border differently. We wanted them to think of it ethically. Before long, she and I were on the Phil Donahue Show on MSNBC publicly extending that invitation. The trajectory from concept to organization, to notoriety and to service was rapid.

Religious discourse is messy and often, perhaps, it should be avoided. However, religion is not monolithic, and religious actors in the political sphere employ many strategies to implement their visions. Many are useful. On the border, some groups want to be vocal. Some talk to reporters, others do not. Some want to be seen as resistance groups, others don't. Some want to build coalitions. Some work collaboratively, others alone. Some seek legal, corporate status and protection, others shun it. Some want to work with and even within denominational structures, others do not. Still others want to identify primarily with human rights groups. Some are identified with target populations as their appropriate niche. Some work on the immigration status of individuals, some on political asylum for the few who are eligible, some on providing Sanctuary. Some work on opposing or seeking to transform U.S. policies. Today, a few are participating in an iteration called New Sanctuary, about which I have serious misgivings, but which I have come around to support. For me, and for most of those with whom I have worked, the emphasis has always been on the needs of the migrants first and the policies second, though that is always difficult to measure.

Humane Borders was from its beginning an organization that focused on the delivery of goods and services directly to the migrants. Second, it interacted with persons who implemented policies. Frequently, I would say things like, "We believe the 25th chapter of the Gospel of Matthew is the final exam for countries, and we believe that the US hasn't even studied for its mid-term." According to that text, the U.S. is being judged for not giving water, food, clothes, welcome, comfort for the sick, liberty or at least solidarity with the imprisoned. Some of us take our theological cues from other texts and other religions, but for most of us, our motivations are derived from our faith. When speaking across religious lines, our conversations are informed mostly by the language of human

rights discourse. However, when you scratch the head of the person speaking human rights language, deeper, more profound motivations often emerge that are religious or spiritual in nature.

Theology articulates faith. In most “book religion” traditions, theology can fairly be described as a conversation between the human and the divine. Social theology, however, is the focus of this book. Social theology is the connection between the theological conversation and the public policies that matter to theologically – centered peoples and denominations. Social theology takes theology into the world of public policy and individuals who join that conversation are generally exercising a form of spirituality. Spirituality is involved.

The word spirituality implies following, adhering to, or devoting oneself to something or someone. The goal of social theology becomes, then, the ethical measure of our spirituality. Both theology and social theology are spiritual, they are simply expressed differently. That goal is usually expressed in the two-word phrase “social justice”. Social justice has grown in its meaning to convey far more than a reference to Catholic social teaching and distributive justice.

Generally, when religious people engage in matters of public policy, especially social policies like health, education, welfare, immigration, it is usually with the goal of helping teach the world how to care for itself. That is what I mean by social justice. Usually, neither market nor government eagerly welcomes undertakings of this kind. A vibrant conversation between market, government, and faith can, however, contribute to the world as we know it, to bring into being something new, salient, compelling, imaginative and human into the policy mix. All three sectors of the U.S. are needed.

At no time in human history have faith communities or the many organizations associated with them been the sole social organizations for the provision of goods and services, nor have they been sufficient in size and scope to meet the needs of all. Regardless of size, faith groups will never be adequate for the tasks of implementing public policy. To do a complete job, government, market, charity, family, civil society, neighborhood, and individual initiatives are needed. From my own religious perspective, that is good because it was not the nature of Jesus’ ministry to be theocratic in any way.

Efforts to institute laws for the public qua religious law should always be resisted. The Samaritan paid the innkeeper (the business

persons) for the care of the man who was found beaten along the road. On the other hand, it is Jesus' work, because the goal is the kingdom and reign of God, in which all institutions reflect and re-fract the will of God by revealing the nature of Jesus' ethics. From a social ethics perspective informed by the prophetic traditions, it is the role of faith traditions and faith-based groups to be vigilant and to observe all of society.

Criticism of faith-based groups is often centered on the idea that the government has abrogated its responsibilities (government failure) by encouraging religious nonprofits and churches to take up the slack. That criticism misses the mark. In many, if not most cases, the government never accepted the responsibility, and, as noted, the religious sector has never had the necessary resources. Markets do not take care of everyone (market failure). Often, unless government, at whatever level—federal, tribal, state, county, or municipal – works cooperatively with religious institutions or other nonprofit organizations, no service delivery will be accomplished. Ironically, in the field of migration, many of the goods and services provided by faith-based groups are actually funded by governments. One reason is that governments usually lack the access to the target populations that religious and nonprofit groups enjoy. Markets object that they generate all resources and that charity should be left to individual discretion.

I gave a commencement address at a private school in Telluride, Colorado. A fabulously wealthy drunk parent objected to me talking to the kids about the nonprofit sector. "If we didn't give you all that money, you would have nothing. The government doesn't have anything of their own to give you either. We do that, too." That vision of wealth and the wealth of a people is as totalitarian as the governments we have fought in the name of preserving our liberties. Some of us from a different perspective say it this way instead, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof."

A large role assumed by religiously-affiliated nonprofits (RANPOs) is modeling new ideas for the general public as well as the political public, the nation, and the state. Several of the organizations with which I have worked were created for this express purpose, to model a different way. My first congregation was First Christian Church in Freeport, Texas. It created "La Escualita" (little school), a bilingual school to help migrant kids catch up to the other local kids in school. It met on Saturdays and some evenings. It became a model for the Texas Education Agency. Texas provided a model

for what became Head Start. What happens locally can be felt a very long way away, though it may take time.

In my personal experience, Southwest Good Samaritan Ministries in Los Fresnos, Texas and Humane Borders in Tucson, Arizona are notable. There were many others with which I had significant experience over a third of a century: the Catholic Diocese of Brownsville, Texas; Casa Oscar Romero in Brownsville, Texas (operated by the diocese); La Posada Providencia in San Benito, Texas; Project Arise Muñiz near Alamo, Texas; The Samaritans in Tucson, Arizona; Casa San Juan Bosco, Nogales, Sonora, Mexico; Community Center for the Attention of Migrant Needs (CCAMYN) in Altar, Sonora, Mexico; Emigrant Safety and Service, Granbury, Texas; and Migrant Status, Incorporated, Tucson, Arizona. I have many weeks of experience with dozens of others, several of which do not exist today. Each has merit, but it is difficult to point to one that has significantly shaped border policies or that has promise for doing so. I am in the hope business, but most days I'm realistic enough not to be too optimistic.

The Social Gospel is a theological heritage that was incredibly optimistic. It grew out of the realities of the World War I and the Progressive Era. As the U.S. was ramping up to World War II, people like theologian Reinhold Niebuhr developed what he called a "Christian Realism" which was extremely tempered, focusing on sin more than hope. More recent scholars like Jürgen Habermas have been mostly positive. The more recent Liberation theology is a theological descendant of several theological traditions and philosophical assumptions. The intellectual children of Liberation Theology include feminist, black liberation, and *mujerista* theologies which sometimes also eventuate into social theologies. A social ethics that drinks deeply from these traditions, the Frankfurt Critical School movement, and many of the more recent post-modern philosophical insights is a gritty ethics. Some of the faith-based groups in the US and some of the NGOs in the world know this granular ethical perspective.

There are reasons to look to religious groups and nonprofits for help with border policies. Nonprofit scholars tell us that nearly every major human service delivery system in the U.S. was first modeled by faith communities. These include hospitals, mental health services, educational systems, social welfare organizations, community development enterprises, and more. Michael O'Neill has reported in *The Third America* that most of the social movements in the US were first articulated by faith based nonprofits. Almost any measure of efficiency, effectiveness, or equity that can be utilized

to measure public policy areas where faith-based nonprofits exist reveals that the co-production of public policy reduces costs and that people are treated well. This is not to say that there are not criticisms to be made of faith-based groups working in public policy areas. Like other interest groups, nonprofits can act in their own selfish interests.

Religious institutions have a lot of experience, knowledge, insight, and creativity to bring to the immigration policy brief, which includes migration, border policies, trade policies and more. These organizations have wrestled with major questions: how shall we treat those who are different from us according to nationality or political and economic power? How shall we try to reshape the world of business, politics, and international relationships? In what ways do the scriptures, reason, tradition and practice inform our answers? These are questions of value, ethics, and human concern. To be fair, we ask them of nations and of ourselves, individually and socially.

A major assumption upon which this work is based is irrefutable. Neither market nor government has a corner on virtue, morality, or goodwill. It is possible, though, that on occasion, either may exceed religion with higher standards of morality. Religious groups do often behave just like other political interest groups. Every election cycle the tiresome debate about the unconstitutional concept of separation of church and state emerges.

The Jeffersonian high wall of separation between religion and politics is actually a lousy political concept. I'd prefer to see a high wall of separation between government and Wall Street. Good walls do not exactly make good neighbors. One group yells to protect government from religion. The other group yells to protect religion from government. It changes on Thursdays in odd years and most days in between. New metaphors are needed. The high wall of separation is neither Constitutional nor a good idea. The history is clear, though, that religious groups have made significant contributions of ideas as well as goods and services to the public square which should be heard, considered carefully, and often reinforced.

One example: When the State of California and General Motors divested themselves of stocks in companies doing business in South Africa as a strategy to end Apartheid, my own church-related university did not. Still, it was a group of nuns, or preferably "sisters", who developed the Sullivan Principles that led groups like GM to be responsible in their investment practices. In the public

policy debates, it's always appropriate to see who is leading and who is following. Theologies and ideologies must be continuously compared and re-examined to keep the discourse fresh.

The order of this book is simple: stories, theories, suggestions. Beginning in chapter one, I describe the border, the organizations like Humane Borders, their technologies, how they interacted with governments, media, and their neighbors. The middle chapters include some of my doctoral research which was my personal handbook from which to work in the creation and operation of Humane Borders, and in the final chapters, I write what I think a theology of migration might look like. To conclude this work, I have dedicated a chapter to the so-called "Hoover Plan" which includes many suggestions about how a new migrant-driven reform could evolve politically and socially. I conclude the book with some of my aspirations and hope.

When it comes to social theology, social ethics and the work of religiously affiliated nonprofits, most people rightfully don't want to go there. I simply avoid religious language most of the time in public. While in the green room waiting to go "ON AIR", the longtime local news anchorman Guy Atchley came in and asked me why I didn't use more explicitly religious language in news reports. I told him the truth. I said, "I'm in Arizona, and I want to communicate." Arizonans are not particularly religious, at least not institutionally. In Tucson, Arizona there would not be enough police to direct traffic if all the nominal Roman Catholics (the largest religious tradition in Southern Arizona) tried to go to church on the same Sunday.

Religious language is usually a problem. It doesn't always communicate even within the same denomination. A friend of mine is a physical chemist. He tells me that chemical physicists and physical chemists have significant problems communicating. An outsider would think differently, but it is true. I once was asked by a Catholic theologian to take a Catholic filmmaker aside to tell him that his version of Catholic theology was dark, foreboding and inaccessible to the public. Also, it was basically inconsistent with Catholic social teaching. I was the outsider trying to arbitrate between two distinct Catholic positions. I regret those moments in part. I don't like having to do another's bidding. Instead, I try to use a public discourse language helpful to all.

I've been in meetings that were predominantly Presbyterian, Methodist or Disciples of Christ and observed theologically trained people talking past one another. Even so, the arguments of religious groups should not be quickly dismissed. If you're the outsider

or the insider from a different position, just ask. Most theologically trained people will talk to you a long, long time for free.

Theology can communicate to the general public and the political process in significant ways that can be interpreted and implemented with or without theological language, often in the more publicly acceptable and accessible language of human rights. Theology is versatile. Look at the national political cartoons around Christmas and Easter and many other times to see just how versatile the concepts really are.

I've learned a lot about the border in more than 30 years of work. I've tried to describe in this book the U.S.-Mexico border phenomenon, particularly the Arizona-Sonora border with which I became most familiar.

I frequently stand before groups large and small from all across the U.S. and in Mexico to speak about the border. Most people with whom I interact agree that somehow, national security, stable labor, human rights, political noise from the border, and border violence are real concerns that must be worked out. Yet, most public policy activity is directed at expelling migrants and deterring their entrance, even by walling off the U.S. from Mexico. Some denominations are only now beginning to write statements on these issues. They are more apt to write press releases than denominational statements that could be used to teach and inspire discussion. The border today looks increasingly like the line between Israel and Palestine and many other places in the world. Geographers are noting with interest the incredible efforts to wall-off parts of the world from other parts. The author of the line "good fences make good neighbors" abhorred fences. Fences destroy relationships.

Journalists love to cover the border because they can report what they see and they can see anything they want to see in the borderlands. Some lead the way. A few of them are very much worth noting. Karla Gomez Escamilla in Tucson consistently does great border reporting. She has reported on the border tirelessly for more than 15 years and done wonderful work. Linda Valdez has reported on the border, editorialized about it, and written columns about it for the *Arizona Republic*. Her voice is very consistent. Reporter, filmmaker, and documentarian, Pedro Ultreras excels in his work. John Carlos Frey has captured a great deal of the emotional and intellectual energy that goes into constructing a border narrative. Yet another is Maria Del Pilar Leon of EFE. Perla Trevizo is on her way to being the very best print reporter ever in Arizona. Many have excelled.

The journalists' rendering of the border is fascinating. Journalists can find whatever their editors want them to see, even though the editors are sometimes thousands of miles away. I lay out in this book a lot of the topics that need more discussion, including the deleterious effects of the misuse of authority, jurisdiction, and power. We need journalists from far away to come and see for themselves because even we who live near the border are sometimes too close to see things, and we need a voice from beyond the border to influence responsible decision-making.

The most pressing, observable, phenomenon in our time should, of course, be border deaths. People everywhere should see that the deaths are morally reprehensible, a direct product of public policy, and an epiphenomenon (a story above the story) created by totally dysfunctional policies that should not be acceptable to the citizens of the U.S. These deaths speak to what kind of country we want to have and what kind of people we want to be and/or become. Apparently, both market and governmental actors which lead to these deaths need moral instruction. A decision by economists pushing a bill or a decision about law enforcement can equally lead to more deaths. Death in the desert is morally wrong, religiously wrong and ethically wrong. They are wrong in every way. Markets and governments conflate into a political economy that is always illegitimate when their policies lead to death.

I call for the border to be a part of a larger discourse. All of the so-called border groups have to participate in that larger discourse whenever possible, but they focus on different things. They emphasize relief, advocacy, resistance, and transformation. I comment upon and describe some of them in reference to several points: groups working in migration policy, groups that use theology as part of their activism, and groups that emphasize transformational politics in migration policy.

Many actors have responded to the human tragedy in our deserts and worked to change the policies of marginalization and oppression which continue to create the chaos we know by many words: the line, the border, this side, the other side, the north side, or the ports of entry. I review some of the nuts and bolts of some of the groups I have observed and I suggest agendas for the effective social activist to get at what political scientists call the art of the possible.

In Southwest Good Samaritan Ministries in Texas, we developed a whole new organization around an already serving charismatic leader, himself a Cuban political refugee, the Rev. Feliberto

Pereira. We secured new staff, developed new revenue streams, wrote new bylaws, established a larger, working board all while expanding – but not disrupting – all of the current ministries of the existing program. The work of Humane Borders was, by contrast, *de novo*. The creation of various coalitions along the border has represented periodic attempts to bring together seasoned, experienced, professional persons with large supporting organizations and networks. These entities have had successes and failures, often dependent upon the largess of government agencies.

Humane Borders is but one group among many, but I spent most of my waking hours and many of my sleeping hours thinking about it for more than a decade. There are lessons to be learned. I trace the development of water stations and all the gear and people that were needed to make Humane Borders work. Some social change agents need more hardware than others. I do not attempt here to write a history of my work along the border or of any of the organizations I've worked with. I do focus on some of what has been done in Humane Borders and in some other groups in order to help those who want to create new, successful nonprofits, particularly those that are religiously affiliated.

Helping migrants is a gear sport. I explore some of the technologies and research that have been embraced by governments, by activists, by Humane Borders and others in order to make a difference in the migration discourse and to attempt to model for the public ways to manage the deadly migration. The how and why of the many technologies have increased legitimacy and raised public estimation of the capacities of the organizations. Conventional media, internet, social media, public meetings, knocking on doors, worship services and all of the forms of idea-sharing are also technologies. Some are more sophisticated or complex than others. Global Information Systems (GIS), smart phones, and satellite-based personal location beacons have all received international attention. Law enforcement has deployed nearly every conceivable kind of technology and various groups have made use of search and rescue techniques, water stations in the desert, mapping of migrant deaths, public education, and public information systems. Even with the use of all of these various technologies the death rate still continues to climb. Technology is not just hardware, it includes the know-how associated with the volunteers who have figured out how to help the migrants. The removal of tons of migrant trash left behind on desert lands, the teaching of safe driving that minimizes damage to the desert, the mapping of migrant

deaths, the presentation of press conferences, the development of websites, list serves, newsletters, the writing of books and more all represent the technological sides of border group work.

Some of it appears as simple and unassuming. Nonetheless, the Smithsonian Cooper-Hewitt Design Museum in New York recognized the design of Humane Borders' water stations in 2016 in an installation entitled *Design for the Other 90%*. Water stations save lives of people whose most valuable technology is the ability to walk carefully and knowledgeably in the desert southwest.

For three decades, I have observed interactions with elected officials and public administrators, two distinctly different groups of actors who have been essential to the success of many groups. In the south of Texas, city and county governments probably influenced the work of religious groups helping migrants and refugees as much as the presence of thousands of federal agents.

On both sides of the border, elected officials can be expected to be rational self-interested actors, but also very human and less predictable. Politicians can be politicians, but they can also be some of the most influential spokespersons for articulating common community values. A former Pima County Supervisor Danny Eskstrom, once said to me, "Reverend, you and I are in the same business -shepherding flocks." Then he smiled and said, "Mine's bigger than yours" – just like Humphrey Bogart told Sidney Greenstreet when the two men were comparing handguns in *Across the Pacific*. It was a power statement. I'm quick to criticize elected officials, as far too many of us are, but I also have an admiration for those who chose public service.

Most politicians and public administrators embrace sets of public values. Those who are elected are continuously trying to find the right metaphors that resonate with the public. The administrators are more often tied to the public values of equity, efficiency and effectiveness. As those who interact primarily from the legal-political side, they are also usually friends of the market and civil society. Public administrators are particularly important actors. They exercise life-giving and death-dealing administrative discretion along the border within an American political system that should at least embrace a code of ethics that calls for promoting life and creating order where there is chaos. Trouble is, the public seems to have accepted death in the desert and death-dealing policies away from the border as an accepted part of their everyday world. The emotionally immune are not the most easily mobilized for reform.

There is no place on the southwest border that is anything like the Tohono O'odham Nation, the desert people. The place and the people represent a special case and a special place. Politically, Indian Nations are semi-sovereign, dependent nations of the United States with specific rights enumerated by Congress. The Tohono O'odham story merits different treatment from that of non-indigenous governments. Seventy-six miles of the US-Mexico border cross traditional O'odham lands basically east to west. In some years, more than half of the migration into Arizona crosses O'odham lands, south to north. Often, more than half of all of the recovered human remains are removed from those lands. Questions about migrant safety, reform proposals and religion in migration all find different articulation when it comes to the O'odham people and to their elected and traditional leaders. The nation and the outside dominant culture have different ways of thinking. Nonetheless, the O'odham have become a part of the U.S. pecking order of economic actors setting both the terms and the means of public discourse in the larger national discourse. In this writing of this chapter, I have consulted indigenous scholars and theologians who support my accounts.

Journalists of all stripes, media using all platforms, writers of every genre, and creative people from all walks of life love to come to the border to see what is going on. The pervasiveness of so many people trying to tell the stories on the border merit some serious commentary. Print, film, and radio crews from some 30 countries have made their way to Arizona to document the work of the organizations with which I have been affiliated. One day, I led five different film crews to the same water station at the same time. They came from CNN, France, Spain, Italy and Mexico. The Mexican film crew changed the identifying ID on their microphone and filmed a second, sidebar story on how the media were covering Humane Borders and the Rev. Dr. Robin Hoover thus leading to a sixth story for the day. If politics can be characterized by the dynamic progression and conflation of naming, framing, and blaming, then the media are natural political actors and must be understood by RANPOs and the leaders of RANPOs who want to accomplish things in this realm.

I see Journalism as increasingly advocacy-oriented. Humane Borders fits all of the sociological parameters of a social movement. Most journalists who came to see us took one side or another. One need only reference FOX News and MSNBC for examples of journalists and networks that are advocacy-oriented. Voice of

America and Mother Jones have distinct viewpoints. Many journalists in each of these media are clearly activists in their own right. Some efforts are made to separate news and editorial, but often it is easier for an editor to see it than it is for a consumer of the news. Even when reporters came to see us, their editors got their data a day or two later, and we saw stories about us that we really didn't recognize.

The best and the worst alike embody political understandings, visions, and biases. I've worked with producers whose analytical frameworks were purely ideological – and commercial at that. This development in what were once more “objective” journalism traditions can be understood but not completely condoned. It is fed, in part, by the demand that journalists operate in multiple platforms. Often, the different platforms have very different revenue streams. Even with the critique of journalism I offer in this book, my personal assessment is that well over 95% of the time the media coverage I've been involved with was good, if not exceptional. No one ever successfully “uses” media or manages media. With my degree in journalism, I know that I've been fortunate to be able to give the media what they wanted and needed. In exchange, the coverage has been very fair and productive toward our mission objectives. Still, border coverage and analysis has largely not served the public well nor has it served the people who choose to come to the U.S. illegally.

At the end of this book, I present reform proposals that have grown out of border organizations. However, the proposals offered here are my own. I do not in this chapter claim to speak with a “we” voice. However, many points are shared by several organizations. We agree change is needed. The chapter lays out a migrant-oriented approach to change.

No piecemeal reform will ever be adequate. A very large conceptual framework that includes guest workers, agricultural workers, human rights, national security, children, spouses, markets, globalization, and legalization is needed. In Mexico this is sometimes popularly referred to as “the whole enchilada.” Parceling out reforms in a piecemeal manner won't work and without some administrative relief through the efforts of public administrators, even legal reforms won't work. To paraphrase one of my colleagues in Christian ministry, the late, great Rev. Will Campbell, “We're up to our steeples in politics, and what we really need is a change of heart.” I cannot agree more.

Attempting to reform immigration policy whole cloth is what philosophers call a problematic – an intricate and complex problem. Regulating one variable at a time is insufficient, short-sighted, and even foolish. Yet, a disjointed incrementalism has reigned on the southern border and portends to reign into the future. We've seen no true comprehensive immigration reform, and we've seen no comprehensive border policy.

When Border Patrol Chief Robert Gilbert was in charge of the Tucson Sector he kept telling us that he had operational control of the border. We laughed. He said, "No really." Finally, he took out his wallet and showed us a card that indicated his job was to provide operational control of the border. "I'm doing my job," he said. "So therefore, the Border Patrol had operational control." Few people in the room accepted his claim. Many policies are being implemented concurrently, usually in a disjointed manner.

The United States Border Patrol leadership does not uphold public values and rarely considers religious spokespersons as being credible. The dollars spent on it make current operations inefficient. The numbers of people coming through the border and the numbers of deaths make it ineffective. The number of abuses of migrants by agents make it inequitable. CBP should welcome reform.

Activists and would-be government reformers alike are wrong to consistently focus narrowly on specific ideas along the border. Singularity of focus has its advantages in terms of parsimony; however it produces a superficial arrogance that cannot be condoned. Candidates, experts, and advocates say "X will fix the border" when "X" is merely another piece of wire on a dilapidated fence or another form to fill out at the port of entry. Instead, what is needed is a very large-scale, comprehensive vision of reform with many provisions requiring simultaneous implementation. That said, by merely manipulating only a few variables, the promise of immense change can be expected. I lay out my proposals for immigration reform. They feature a new visa program and a first – time – ever economic incentive for the fulfillment of visa compliance. By changing only a few policies and practices, a substantive overall change can be achieved. The proposed changes are derived from and consistent with many of the religious preferences discussed in the public policy sphere.

In postmodernity – or at least the postmodern condition – we are reminded that there is little new under the sun. Everything including the copy machine is a copy. When we create, we cut and paste.

Border life is an iteration of lives lived in other places and times. We live in an empire, and we should spend some time recalling walled cities, walled frontiers, slavery, international trade, warriors, priests, populists, and politicians of years gone by in places near and far. We need to recall the empire of Rome and understand and critique Rome from the perspective of the Galileans in Jesus' time. For the theologically inclined, many modern empire scholars like Virgil Elizondo and Warren Carter make these comparisons.

In 2002, BBC's Elva Narcia invited me to participate in a forum in Mexico City. BBC assembled five of President Vincente Fox's highest – ranking officers and the national ombudsman, my friend, Dr. Jose Soberanes Hernandez. Another friend and fellow human rights award winner Padre Flor de Maria Rigoni, founder and leader of the Casa de Migrante in Tapachula, Chiapas, Mexico was there to represent the southern border. A number of human rights activists including Nobel Peace Prize winner Rigoberta Menchu Tum was present along with Fabian Venet, formerly of Sin Fronteras. The broadcast started early in the morning and ran long into the afternoon. It was moderated by well-known journalist Joaquin Lopez-Doriga Velandia. Because so many dignitaries like Gustavo Mohar and Jorge Castañeda were participating in the group gathered for this international broadcast, the highest ranking U.S. State Department official in Mexico City was sent over for the day. On a break, I turned to him and asked, "So, Michael, what is it like to represent the most imperial nation the world has ever known?" He quickly added, "Well, Robin, there were the Romans, you know." I said, "Yes, but the Romans didn't expect everyone to like them." He responded, "That has been a problem."

A few years later Tucsonans read a morning headline quoting the local Border Patrol sector chief who sounded like a French Foreign Legionnaire: "We Will Seal the Border." We laughed at him. I could barely conceal my laughter when I was on the phone with him later in the day because he told me that his intelligence people knew exactly how many people were crossing the border every day. BORTAC (Border Tactical) agents knew, he said. They would dig in their holes in the ground and count everyone who passed by. Hence the laughter. Ten legions of brutal Roman Soldiers couldn't seal the border in the Tucson Sector alone.

U.S. policy makers keep trying more and more personnel and technology and we see the same results. The number of crossings are way down at this writing but that is more of a function of the economies of the U.S. and of Mexico than of enforcement. The

one thing that has changed is that the rate of migrant deaths has risen dramatically from 2000 until 2016. The Border Patrol continues to push migrants who cross into even more inhospitable terrain. This is true all along the border. The empire can change where migrants cross, but not that they cross. Enforcement does have effects but they are enormously difficult to measure. Today, more Chinese enter the U.S. than do Mexicans. Most of them come legally and overstay their visas.

The desert has never been hospitable, even when the ancient ones learned to cache water and irrigate with canals. How the Native American Ha'Ced and the Huhugam peoples managed is hard for modern people to understand. Our technologies are different. It's hard to say who was more adaptive. But, without "swamp coolers", the Central Arizona Project Canal that brings water south from the Colorado River, and Freon, most people would never have settled in Arizona. Just about everything in southern Arizona will bite you, burn you, sting you or arrest you. Nature and the lack of U.S. political imagination have led to untold human misery then and now. We can do better.

The border needs reinterpretation and re-imagination. Whoever can do that wins – at least for the time being. Like justice, public policy is only a temporally settled discourse. In 1924, the Border Patrol was in the U.S. Labor Department. In the '60s, it was moved to the U.S. Department of Justice. Merged with Customs, it is now in the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Those are reinterpretations. Each merits a raised eyebrow. Using government agents to enforce corporate labor interests is suspect at best. Defining all persons who cross the border as security risks is dehumanizing. How can migrants prove they are not terrorists? The creation of DHS was one of the largest power-grabs in modern U.S. political history. I am unaware of any terrorists apprehended and prosecuted along the southwest border. So-called persons of interest have been identified. But to CBP, I'm a person of interest. Any time 24,000 employees are assigned to look for something, something or someone will probably turn up. All should be mindful, though, that Timothy McVeigh didn't cross a border. A large portion of all terrorism is home-grown.

Conflating terror and migration is lunacy. The U.S. lacks both the political will and the financial resources to do anything consequential about stopping the migration. Former Secretary of DHS Janet Napolitano essentially said the same. She also said it when she was governor of Arizona. President Obama has never even

commented on the deleterious effects of border enforcement on migrants and the human and civil rights of citizens forced to endure the indignities of constant scrutiny by the Border Patrol.

The border is a political problem before it is a law enforcement problem. Most observers only see the questions surrounding enforcement. The same analogy is seen in the relationship of political leaders and the military. The most famous quotation to that end is from Carl Von Clausewitz: "War is the continuation of politics by other means." The point is that the border is not a problem for the Border Patrol to solve. Rather, it will require politicians, members of civil society, public administrators, educated voters, activists, religious leaders, human rights leaders, law enforcement, and other nations – particularly Mexico – all to sit at the same table and to know one another's concerns. A majority consensus is needed across a broad spectrum. Failing this, countless more migrants will die. Politics as usual, with well-financed lobbies and narrowly focused interests, will not advance substantive change.

I write about politics broadly conceived, religion and politics in particular. Politics guides government, the market, and the third sector as well as the relationships between them. It's all political in that sense. Religion guides individuals, congregations, denominations, and provides steering currents in social organization that should not be overlooked. Both the legitimacy and the success of the U.S. political system are at stake.

At the most basic level, politics is simply how people work things out. All the groups with which I worked were political because they wanted social change and worked toward it. I, and others, want to take death out of the immigration equation specifically and provide migrant safety and service broadly. There are many factors in the equation: trade policy, labor policy, environmental policy, health, law enforcement, criminal justice, human rights, civil rights, family reunification, social justice, national security, geography, treaties, indigenous rights, water politics, bombing ranges, and that worst of all obstacles – the candidate for re-election who single-mindedly pursues it by running to the extremes to be nominated and then tries to live up to promises when elected and fails. All of these things are artifacts of human policymaking. They are political in every way.

Politicians want to stay focused on clusters of issues that are important to constituents. The cluster of "border issues" is huge, and everything is connected in some way to everything else. One can be hopeful, in part, because fortunately there is no true right-wing

or left-wing approach to the border. The border is political, but not partisan. I've been looking for major reforms since the '90s, but all I saw were the repressions of the 1996 federal legislation that originated with the Clinton administration, an unprecedented buildup along the border in the 2000s under the Bush administration and a super-aggressive interior enforcement during the 2010s under President Obama. It is difficult to envision an imminent migrant-favorable reform. Candidates continue to discuss migration reform. Promises are made before elections. But nothing changes except for the worse.

Partisan identification is not a good indicator of a person's or a party's positions on immigration. The most open-borders folks are Wall Street Republicans, not humanitarian groups along the border. The most closed-borders people I've ever encountered are to be found in extreme environmental activist groups who consider the presence of humans to be pollution, therefore no one should be allowed to come to the U.S.

Most of the major legislation concerning immigration – legal or otherwise – has been bipartisan and centrist, primarily economically benefitting the U.S. Most migrants come to the U.S. seeking to have a better chance at economic progress or to reunite with family. Many, especially now, are seeking the protections of the U.S. because of violence, as in Syria and to a lesser degree Central America. A long-term national interest perspective is needed again. Without it, more migrants will die. Mexico and Central American countries will have to be at the table. Morality and democracy are related, but they are not the same.

Through the years, the U.S. got cheap labor (slaves by another name for the empire), and intelligent, well-educated people (often millionaires) for new capital and some of everything in-between, whether documented or not. For a long time, the individuals who had the hardest time getting in were middle-class people who were perceived as a threat by main street USA. The U.S. is addicted to high-tech workers because it doesn't want to support the educational and health systems that are required to generate our own university-educated citizens. The low-end agricultural workers have usually been welcomed regardless of legal status. The rich, well-educated are welcomed even more. Visa requirements are biased in their favor. Conventional interest group politics will not solve the moral questions that have emerged in the current system. Something new is needed.

God is political because God acts in human history. God has a vision of how people should work together to accomplish life. One cannot read the Hebrew Law and Prophets in scriptures and not reach this conclusion. These are not writings about public piety. I write out of one of those possibilities of life together: a view of the world informed by the Christian faith. My positions will be recognizable to those who study the sacred literatures of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. God's prophets, preachers, anointed ones and favored ones convey to the masses of believers and followers a vision of how things should be in the world.

Each religion does not carry with it an explicitly embedded theocracy or even a polity or regime that is deeply influenced by religion. In fact, these religions have flourished under nearly every kind of government imaginable. A student of the political judgments of religious groups should come to an understanding however that religions are very concerned with the world around them and that they are, to some extent, economic actors. That is, they will act in ways that will further their visions, and they will respond to incentives. They may never get their visions implemented, but that is no reason to ignore them. Most of the time, they model some of the possibilities available for social changes on large scales. Rational choice theory takes us a long way in that conversation, but not far enough. I do include some rational choice arguments. The primary analytic is much broader than that.

Religious denominations and their institutions should not be discounted in public discourse merely because they are religious. In fact, the proliferation of hundreds of thousands of RANPOs working in public policy areas can be a tremendous asset to elected officials and public administrators as well as policy entrepreneurs.

RANPOs want to work things out for migrants and for all, and there is much to work out because that amorphous, penetrable, and porous netherland we call the border is an intersection of authority, jurisdiction, and power. It is a line that is increasingly, and foolishly, being defined more by national security politics and less by concerns for life, justice, trade, economy, environment and more. Borders have meant different things in different times and places. Our border meant almost nothing in years past. Nothing. For a long time, our border was a nebulous frontier that generated very little interest. Even today, with many more agents, drones, walls and all the rest, any persistent migrant makes it across, gets frustrated and goes home, or dies. In the 2000-2010 decade, there were years when more people successfully crossed the border in

my neighborhood than lived within the city limits of Tucson. That's more than 500,000 people a year: men, women, and children, even infants. The numbers are much, much lower today.

Since the financial crisis of '08, the numbers of crossing migrants have diminished dramatically. The economy of Mexico has improved, gone down, back up. The biggest problem is the strength of the dollar currently. The U.S.-Mexico border is now at a net-zero migration rate, meaning that as many people are leaving as are coming. In the early 2000s, the U.S. was probably experiencing net population growth of about 475,000 new undocumented persons each year. Significant numbers of migrants are still crossing today, many successfully. This is in spite of efforts by the U.S. to push new frontiers beyond our borders. It is no accident that Mexico has built some barriers along its southern border. The U.S. pressures Mexico to restrict visas from countries like Brazil that have used Mexico as a pathway to the U.S. The one consistent feature of the policy is that death in the desert has become U.S. policy, rather harsh when one considers that crossing the border is not a crime but only an administrative violation.

One of my personal theological beginning points is the belief that humans are created morally ambiguous, not *tabula rasa*, as it were, but without clear courses of direction. It's one of the assumptions that gives millions hope. Humans must be taught the way and the many ways of living and being together in the world. In my vision, community is not "natural". Community is the byproduct of collective experience and intentional design. Many are the teachers we can seek. Markets and governments are possible candidates but neither is along sufficient. I argue that the third sector has much to teach the others. Each has offered elegant and broadly sweeping social and political theories. There are others.

In the past, political analysts divided the many peoples of the earth into the east and the west, as though regional combinations of ideological influence could compete in east-west spheres of influence. Certainly market capitalists had their dreams. And Marxism is, as novelist Tom Wolfe points out, one of the most hopeful of all religions. That should be no wonder; Karl Marx got a lot of his ideas from Moses. Today, however, the peoples of the earth are increasingly divided north and south, as in northern hemisphere and southern hemisphere. Just as the east needed the west, the far too often dependent south, needs the co-dependent north. That drama is intensified along the border where I live.

Huge “steering currents” shape the border. The economies north and south of the line provide incentives for a push-pull politics that leads to increased migration. Various circumstances including economics, weather and family push migrants north. Incentives from the north that can rival the push factors also pull migrants north. U.S. cultural imperialism in Mexico and Central America engenders desire in the youngest to be in the U.S. A trip to a mall in Central America or a ride down Main Street is instructive. Men with short-barrel 12-gauge shotguns guard the perimeters of the Burger King Restaurants and Kentucky Fried Chicken outlets. Places where larger financial transactions take place are guarded with high-powered assault rifles. Armed, uniformed Border Patrol agents in our deserts don’t really scare migrants. They’ve seen “America” protecting its interests in their own home towns. Racism and militarism are garish, unmistakable features along the border and in migrant hometowns. One can go into colonial towns and see market, government and religion arrayed around nearly every town square. The relationships change a bit over time but the tensions remain.

Religion is there. Christianity is certainly growing faster in the southern hemisphere around the world. Liberation theology is not by any means dominant, but liberation theologians are still crafting elegant analyses of what is wrong with northern institutions like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization. That approach is dwarfed by corporations bent on rapacious economic practices and it is being challenged by micro-credit approaches that suggest teaching the same practices to the poor will solve the problems of poverty and wealth disparity.

Economic analysis requires an approach. In academia, science equals method. Muhammad Yunus received the Nobel Peace Prize a few years back for his work on micro-credit. From his perspective, the desired economic transformation depends on who is using the tools of capitalism. Adam Smith’s concepts of inherent human avarice inform many students of the economics of migration. It may be the case that it is no longer the tool (capitalism) being used but rather the ones (the poor) using the tool that become the referent for ethical discourse. It may be that poor women empowered in a sewing co-op somewhere should be applauded as they engage in the outrageous usury but on a micro-scale which we previously denounced. Islam forbids even charging interest. Economics is about bottom-line resource allocation, not morality.

The market brings its norms, principles and perceived laws wherever it is asserted. Governments embody rules, principles, and processes that interact so tightly with the market that the two are sometimes indistinguishable. Both the tools and the users of the tools, however, operate within large systems that may be better described by the economist John Maynard Keynes. I cannot answer my own questions in these matters. I offer no endorsement of any particular economic vision. Suffice it to say that large macro-systems have strong influences on the individual transactions and motivations within a nation, disposing individuals, families, and villages within a nation to migrate. Fortunately, religious peoples have flourished within many systems. I remain unconvinced that approaching this problematic in an ideological way will not be successful. We don't even know how to do pure ideology. Smith, Marx, Keynes and others are all often misread or poorly approximated or operationalized in public policy. It will remain difficult to evaluate each system fully.

The U.S. is marked by three sectors: government, markets, and non-governmental-non-market organizations. This Third Sector, defined in part by the religiously affiliated nonprofits, was modeled on guilds, associations and the church in the west. This sector is a voice that offers to teach both market and government and to serve itself as a policy entrepreneur. One hopes the church will assert new community values in the south that lure the north into new ways of thinking. But I write from the west and the north, and here I maintain that the costs of late modern capitalist political economies are measured by faith communities and the work of these communities warrants public attention and analysis. In order to flourish, markets and governments need vibrant religion. And, systemic value expression should welcome critiques.

Economic incentives certainly are a large part of the big engine of the migration. Motivations are engendered by the sights and sounds of cultural imperialism. The border is complex. But fortunately, there are those persons whose religious upbringings and study lead them to link their theological orientations to matters of public policy, in this case, to the immoral border that leads to so many deaths of men, women, and children. The numbers of deaths climb, and the rate of death is rising dramatically. Ironically, migration itself may be an innovation of religion. The argument is simple: the earth is God's. You can't go where God is not. When you get there, you'll find more of God's people. Go, my children!

For the curious, I come to this inquiry and project very honestly. This book is a reflection of what has seemingly been a near life-long project. The positions that I take are my ideas about how things should be and I hope they are fair. I have worn many hats. First and foremost, I am an ordained minister of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). I have served congregations for 33.3 years, most notably for 11 years in a congregation more than 100 years old that has a long, rich history of working for social justice. First Christian Church (FCC) in Tucson, Arizona founded the Arizona Children's home in 1912, ministered to both Works Progress Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps camp workers during the Great Depression, worked tirelessly with the migrant farm workers near Tucson and Marana, Arizona in the '40s, '50s and even '60s. A lot of the mission work of FCC has been dreamed up, implemented, and funded around thousands and thousands of meals served in the church's fellowship hall.

FCC worked cooperatively to establish health clinics in Tucson and to promote a statewide health care initiative. FCC helped found a high-rise housing complex for poor elderly. The seventh chapter of Habitat for Humanity in the U.S. was founded in the congregation. The Tucson Peace Center was founded in the Fellowship Hall. During the Central American wars of the late '70s, '80s, and into the '90s, First Christian Church was a Sanctuary church. Members sheltered Central Americans in their homes. At every turn, the church has been intentionally seeking ways to provide care for "the least of these", an important concept in the foundational Christian ethics text of Matthew 25. Church basements are to social entrepreneurs what backyard barbeques are to electoral politics.

Consuls from four different countries would call and ask to use the church as a quasi-public place so they could meet their co-nationals in a service setting in what they call a mobile consulate. People would just show up at the back door of the church with a question or a concern. One began his request to me with these words in Spanish, "I know that this is the church that helps the people..." As I was choking up a bit, I didn't even hear the rest. I just asked what I could do for him. A frequent call was for the church to provide some hospitality for someone just dismissed from a local hospital who needs to wait to be reunited with family.

I didn't start out to be an activist, yet I was recognized as one even in high school while opposing the Vietnam War. Ironically, out of 450 high school seniors in my home town, I was given the

American Legion Award for citizenship because the teachers voted to affirm the way I opposed the war. My first political act as a college freshman at Texas Christian University was when I began picketing a Safeway grocery store in solidarity with the United Farm Workers. TCU kids were rich then and wealthy now. I had been working nearly fulltime since I was 15, and I knew what it meant not to get a fair shake from a job. I could attend TCU only because of my church affiliation, big scholarships, plus a fulltime job.

The education I received in my local church school in Big Spring, Texas made it easy for me to discern when I was following the prophets and the gospels. Some of those church leaders would have been surprised by my take on ethical issues. I still wrestle in my mind with some of the things they taught me but I salute those men and women.

It's almost silly how I became an activist, protesting a war that was killing my friends, boycotting table grapes in solidarity, giving away rice, beans, water, beds, showers, phone cards, prayers, and friendship. Practicing hospitality and building community should not be labeled as activism, but it has been. Being a simple activist has put what I say and do into nearly every major media market on Earth. It's a simple form of morality, really. Sometimes it's just a matter of pointing on a map to where the water is. I think of it as a ministry that everyone should engage in, not just activists. For me, it's a matter of following the Christ. It's spiritual. The quickest way to become a social activist, I suppose, is to do what is right – not to just follow the most “au courant” issue.

After being on all the network news channels, most of the cable news shows, and mentioned in news and editorials from the *Washington Times* to *Al Jazeera*, I suppose that the social activist title is warranted. All along, I maintained that I wasn't partisan, however. Being political is not the same as being partisan. On one broadcast of John Kasich's *From the Heartland* program on Fox News. Kasich, the Governor of Ohio, went fishing: “Rev. Hoover, I'm joined here with my guest, Stephen Moore from the Cato Institute (now the Wall Street Journal), and I know he's conservative. Rev., I just assume, well, what are you, Rev.?” “Well, Mr. Kasich, as recently as July of this year, I was featured in *Mother Jones Magazine* as a “Hell Raiser”, which was the same month I was featured on *Voice of America TV* for making a model response to the immigration problem.” “So we don't know, do we?” John concluded. “No, sir,” I responded. In case readers are wondering, though, I am a Yellow Dog Democrat. I told that to President George Herbert Walker Bush

the day we shared the dais at a Texas Tech University commencement. He slapped his leg and declared, "It's been a long time since I heard that." A Yellow Dog Democrat is one that will loyally vote for an old, yellow dog if that's what the party nominates.

From my perspective, Phil Donahue captured it best. He walked up to me when I was seated on his television stage with Rev. Al Sharpton, Arizona rancher Roger Barnett, American Border Patrol's Glenn Spencer, my wife Sue Goodman, Frank Sharry, then of the National Immigration Forum and Pat Buchanan of, well, Pat Buchanan fame. Phil stuck out his hand, took mine and said, "Rev., you wouldn't be offended if I said you're doing the Lord's work, would you?" "No sir, that's the way I see it." Doing what is right is the only legitimacy one needs. It grants both warrant and wisdom for the next act. Ultimately, it is the doing that matters more even than the believing.

Doing what is right requires learning what is right. In ethics, it is most often what ethics call act-deontological learning. The Ph.D. dissertation I wrote at Texas Tech University just before I went to Tucson turned out to be the handbook I would use for the creation of Humane Borders. That development made me a lucky guy. Few academic types get to live out their research endeavors. It is my hope that the analysis I bring of the border and border groups will help those who want to venture into other areas of social action.

Before formal university education, I grew up in the mythological state of West Texas. There I learned at an early age that highways, cotton fields, ranches, oil fields and many other things in my part of the world were what they were precisely because of migrant labor from Mexico.

I learned, too, when I was in the eighth grade sitting in booth in a truck stop with my father who was talking to an elder in my church, that there were some significant human rights abuses associated with the migration. That day, the conversation I was not supposed to be hearing was about a local man who had a large chunk of his penis bitten off by a Vietnamese refugee/migrant woman who wasn't going to take his sexual abuse anymore. Both agreed there was some justice to that. I thought so, too. No one can deny the abuses of migrants were common and that they are not to be tolerated in any reform measures we undertake now. However, not reforming immigration policies is also an intolerable abuse. It leaves everything up to individual citizens and not to whole communities or the public. The lack of substantive public discourse is abusive. Not reforming the system perpetuates the

status quo. When I was growing up, employers told the migrants, "Here's where you work. You sleep over there. Here's how much I pay. These are the hours you work for that money, and by the way, we have sex on Thursdays at two o'clock." This story was unfortunately all too common and contemporary iterations abound. I saw it in town, in factories and on the ranches.

While attending universities, I worked in hospital nursing, in public relations and in construction. In Dallas where I was a commercial construction superintendent, the work of building buildings would have come to a standstill without migrant labor. My company paid construction laborers \$8 an hour with benefits as long ago as 1978. Adjusted for inflation, that was a lot of money. Nearly forty years later, many communities have raised the minimum wage to more than \$10, some to \$15. In Dallas, a black Baptist preacher would get migrants Social Security numbers that didn't kick out of the system. When my co-workers came by and asked questions of the guys working for me, they usually got no answer. The joke in the office was that I had a crew of really good workers but that they were all apparently deaf. They weren't deaf. They just didn't speak much English, and unlike so many US citizens, they didn't make excuses or try to fake it. They worked their butts off and I worked too. I have my scars and injuries from those days to prove it.

Many still remember Lou Dobbs' nightly rants on CNN. Night after night I watched these things so I would be prepared to give counter arguments when needed. I compared my formal education and my work-a-day experience to people like Dobbs. Dobbs kept telling us that he brought the middle class position to the table. As a pastor, I say that's a very limited vision. Unless we bring the view of the wellbeing of at least North Americans – most of whom are not middle class according to US measures – we're only fools and setting ourselves up for future failures. Dobbs denounced multi-culturalism, pluralism, and many other things he failed to appreciate. He's just one step behind the cultural imperialists like activist Phyllis Schafley, Ann Coulter and Tom Tancredo. He is a former Republican US Representative, gubernatorial candidate, and even Republican presidential candidate. Harvard's political scientist, the late Samuel "Mad Dog" Huntington, was part of that crowd.

Hopefully, these remarks are sufficiently self-disclosive. I've shared where I'm coming from. Self-knowledge is important, but it is insufficient. I find I have to figure out where the various reporters, filmmakers, documentarians and academics are coming from

when they visit the border. The questions I always ask are like these, “What are you looking for? How do you understand the border? What’s the problem you’re trying to solve?” And when they begin answering the questions, I start probing for what kind of rationality, what kind of analytical framework is being used. I can testify that a reporter from *The Economist* has a very different way of looking at the border phenomenon than does, say, former tv personality Naomi Judd, who talks about a Christian response to the border that makes sense to her viewers.

Even some of the most traditional—supposedly fair-minded and objective—publications have decidedly strong assumptions. It helps to note that it’s the *Wall Street Journal* that on or about July 4 every year calls for open borders so that there will be a flat labor market in this hemisphere. That’s another perspective. It helps to note, too, that it has been some of the rabid environmentalists who have shouted that we need to close the borders because people mess up the environment and therefore, we don’t need any more people. Their sentiment is that people are pollution. They want the border completely sealed.

From which of the many ways we could frame things will we choose an answer to reform immigration/migration policies? Will we let economics rule the day? Theories of globalization? National Security? The Constitution? How about populist politicians or partisan politics? Will the politics of the nation currently ensconced as cultural imperialism hold sway? What influence will the power of the words of Jesus have? This is the man who said, “Love one another as I have loved you.” Those are the words of a man who grew up in a migrant household. He was a migrant, in fact a refugee. What voice will the migrants have in our nation? Is not the U.S. predominantly a migrant household?

The purpose of this book and the contribution that it will hopefully make to the conversation is centered primarily around the wisdom of the church in particular and the wisdom of persons of good will in general. Will these voices be seriously considered in the debate? Why? Because a future punctuated by more migrant deaths is as un-American as anything. What happens on this soil is of concern to us all.

CHAPTER TWO HUMANE BORDERS I

"You want a border? You can't handle a border!"
--Paraphrase from a man in a movie guarding a wall.

The border is a problem? For whom? Why? Sociology of knowledge tells us that the answers may say more about the questioners than the realities. There is no single answer or description of the border. Think of throwing darts at a dart board. It may be that no one dart hits the bulls-eye. It may be that several darts land equidistant from the bulls-eye in different quadrants of the board. Each is the same distance from the center, but they are perhaps twice as far from each other. That's what is meant by indeterminate meaning and why some of us call for a very large conversation about the border. So far, no one has nailed the meaning of the border. Some of us are closer than others.

I lecture about the border in universities, in congregations and at public and governmental gatherings in the U.S. and Mexico. I've hosted officials, ambassadors and scholars, denominational, ecumenical and interfaith leaders. I have received and assisted film crews, documentarians, on and on. The Q and A focuses on national security, labor programs, human rights and the political noise on the border. More recently, there is a lot of talk about the violence south of the border. Persons of color ask questions differently from the mostly white, educated, middle-class folks we see. White persons want to "fix" the border using "American" ingenuity, forgetting, of course, that most of the people in the Americas are brown and also american. It should be noted, however, that there are persons of color who want a fully-militarized border. No reform will be easy or satisfy all people.

Deeper questions emerge for some, questions that come from faith, philosophy, ethics and various visions of how things should be in the world. Some faiths are open, others nationalistic, some tribal, some hospitable. Unfortunately, one can use ethics to justify almost anything. As you can imagine, many of the university and congregational conversations sometimes spiral off topic.

Through years on talk radio, cable television and Q and As in public, I've developed quips, retorts and sound bites that are designed to help folks think some more and hopefully turn the conversations to the experiences of the migrants. When questions are loaded, I try to reveal the assumptions. I try to keep the questions "located" in the larger conversations. I want folks to understand the plight of the migrant, especially in the context of the U.S. Empire. Socrates would approve.

I trace the contours of some of these questions and offer some analysis of the migrant experience. Many I speak with have expressed appreciation for the accumulated understandings of volunteers working with border groups and at least they accept what we say as having a certain kind of validity.

I've worked with volunteers and organizations along the U.S.-Mexico border since January 1986. Elected officials from other countries, film crews, children, and desert-dwelling homeless folks have come to see what border work is about. Homeless members of and visitors to my congregation in Tucson would go on 300-mile trips to service water stations in the desert. I was humbled, to say the least. They had a unique empathy for the migrants.

During and after hundreds of weekly meetings, conferences and presentations, and various times when we partied, worshipped, and times when we reflected on finding dead migrants in the desert, we developed a lot of responses we routinely rehearsed for others and for the public. Even a trained historian would have difficulty grasping the breadth of the issues we dealt with. I ask the reader to consider my more than a third of a century of experience and my first twelve years in Tucson as a source of information, and I ask the reader to accept that this reporting is as fair and accurate as possible, even though it is only one dart on the board among others. It is a dart thrown with a lot of practice and it is hopefully much closer than many. Many are familiar with the word or the philosophy of pragmatism. I can approximate that some days in my daily living. I prefer the word and the intellectual tradition of Pragmaticism. Over time, we embodied the responses we shared with others.

When I go down the list of questions starting with "How many of you think national security is a major issue we have to deal with in the U.S.?" I get a huge show of hands. Then when I parse it out, I always find there is huge disparity about what should be done to achieve it. "Arm everyone." "Expand human rights around the world." "Build the wall!" "Lay land mines!" "Tear down this wall."

Diverse answers are given in conversations about all the major issue areas. This little table might be helpful to some:

	One Extreme	The Other Extreme
National Security	Build Walls	Build Relations
Labor	Issue Visas to All	Send Non-Citizens Home
Human Rights	Promote and Defend ALL Human and Civil Rights	Recognize Rights of U.S. Citizens Only
Political Noise	Refuse to Pay for Any Migration Costs	Absorb ALL Costs of Migration
Violence in Mexico	Legalize Drugs in U.S.	Militarize Border/ Send U.S. Armies into Mexico

These are not clear Left-Right, Liberal-Conservative, Republican-Democrat issues. People from all stripes hold all kinds of positions when it comes to border issues. The most volatile and most difficult issue to discuss is, of course, racism. Racism has had a huge place in immigration/migration policy all through the history of the U.S. An attempt was made to move the U.S. from a race-based quota system for visas in the mid-'60s, but some scholars conclude that even with that, the functional results remain race-oriented.

For instance, families more often than not petition for relatives from their country of origin, and the resulting racial distribution remains relatively the same over time. What is said in election campaigns matters because candidates tend in the long run to survive in office based upon their promises and campaign rhetoric. Racist remarks, the concept of "us" and "them", carefully crafted code phrases and outright gaffes which reveal candidate's more personal feelings emerge in every campaign. Charles Lindbergh received major criticism for his support of America First Movement before World War II. Donald Trump's 2016 presidential bid is associated with the most transparent racism in electoral politics in many decades.

A huge linguistic mistake is to speak of brown or Mexican as a "race". Scientifically, there is no such thing as race. However, operationalized as skin color or other anthropological characteristics, one can observe many things that help us to understand what different people mean by race. The word Mexican refers to a nationality, and as rich as the culture is, it is arguably only a country of origin. There are racial differences in the political class, the business class and the indigenous in the south. Mexico is a very racially diverse country. Asians have lived in Mexico and Central America for more than 400 years. Persons of color from the African continent were arriving in Mexico and Central America in the same decades they arrived in the U.S., and not all were slaves. Mexicans can be of any imaginable racial heritage. Still, the U.S. debate over migration/immigration includes racism. It is evident even in the Border Patrol, in the coded language spoken in talk shows, in the death threats I have received. I took it seriously when a writer at the Southern Poverty Law Center called to warn me of explicit internet postings targeting me, including pictures of me, my wife, my house and my vehicle.

Borders in the U.S. won't be humane unless we find some middle ground. The deaths in the desert are the single most deleterious effect of the deliberately chosen public policies that, taken together, we call border policy. It has been difficult to hold up the deaths to the public when people are clamoring over fear, racism, economics, sovereignty and a host of other intense human and political motivators.

Sue Goodman and I were the first to come upon the remains of Prudencia Martín Gomez, a Guatemalan national, in the desert on a hot July day in 2007. We were walking just west of the Trico Electrical Line where it crosses the Ironwood Forest National Monument. Prudencia was 18 and on her way to surprise her fiancé in Oakland, California. Prudencia had crossed 42 days earlier and the elements were not kind to her. We saw her long, black tresses still attached to most of her skull, the open rib cage where carnivores and insects had their way. The sands of the southern Arizona desert received her body fluids, leaving a waxy stain like a votive candle left at a shrine. Her blue jeans, shoes and socks protected her sufficiently that the heat mummified her tissues from the waist down.

She had become ill along the way. Her traveling companions left her with plenty of water. They noted what she was wearing and a metal number attached to a nearby utility pole. They shared in-

formation with her boyfriend. Finally humanitarian groups in Tucson began searching. That's how we found her weeks later. There have been thousands of Prudencias and their presence in the desert is a moral indictment of the U.S. The indictment is not just about deaths in the desert but also about the exploitative U.S. policies in the Americas.

In the early '90s, the U.S. decided to get tough on the border. Walls, barriers, uniforms, vehicles, surveillance. The border was increasingly militarized and the migrants were being intentionally pushed away from cities and roads into the Arizona desert. The number of deaths skyrocketed. Today, there are fewer deaths but the rate of death is up dramatically. Clearly, if all Medical Examiner data were standardized and compiled for all deceased migrants whose bodies were discovered within 100 miles of the border, more than 3,000 would be documented in Arizona from 1999-2015, roughly 200 recovered bodies each year. Many died in Mexico before getting to the border or on the way back after having encountered resistance or other difficulties. Some are stabilized in hospitals, deported and die in another country.

Even understated government statistics account for more than 400 migrants per year dying on U.S. soil along the entire U.S.-Mexico border. Government statistics are wrong because they are not all inclusive and they are not standardized. If a county doesn't touch the U.S.-Mexico border, migrant deaths are not counted. A number of my colleagues have sat in the conference room of Customs and Border Protection in Washington, D.C. Our very legitimate, academically justified complaints about how deaths are counted have never been received as credible. Our personal and educational credentials dwarf those who count the human remains for the government. In one recent year, Brooks County, Texas recovered the remains of 221 migrants who did not appear in CBP records or any any footnote about counting migrants.

Those dying in Arizona are among the more fortunate in that large percentages of them are identified and their bodies or remains are frequently united with family members. This is true only because of the generosity of the elected Pima County Board of Supervisors, which exceeds its legal requirements. In contrast, the City of El Centro, California, Imperial County and the Border Patrol Sector did a horrible job of identifying migrant bodies recovered from the desert and the All American Canal that flows from Arizona across much southern California. Their only effort was to line up hundreds of anonymous graves in a dirt field with only a brick as

a headstone. In spite of those who help migrants stay alive and those who honor the fallen, it is hard to share any optimism about the prospects of changing this situation.

The issues that must be addressed in migration reform proposals noted in the previous table rarely receive much social scientific analysis, and when it is presented, the public rarely receives it. Until the plight of the migrant is understood better, reform proposals will not be oriented toward a reduction in deaths. There's no real evidence that even the Border Patrol takes the current situation seriously. It merely blames everything on the smugglers, which is extremely naïve. Agents don't accept any responsibility for their own death-wielding policies and practices. If the story is bad, blame the smugglers. If the story is good, take credit. If the sun comes up, point to the obvious and say, "Look what we did!"

Even if all of the so-called border groups could get into the same room and wave a magic wand to reform policies (assuming they would reach a consensus), migrant safety would have to be a major concern for many years. The reason for this is that legislation would have to be passed, rules written, policies implemented, migrants educated about their alternatives, on and on. There is no easy fix. There is a whole social science associated with studying public policy implementation. Implementing new policies would be monumental. Humanitarians have a lot of work ahead.

Reform will inevitably come and leaders will be tinkering with changes for decades when it does come. Scholars entering the field now will have job security for decades writing analyses of what went right and what went wrong. Humanitarian groups need to retain their nonprofit corporations and even expand. The groups need to continue to put out water in the desert and renew efforts to find new locations. They need to advocate for change, to talk to politicians, to inform publics, to host desert pilgrims, to compile data, to analyze it, to generate financial support, and to prepare for each new day in the struggle.

The deaths in the desert are a direct result of U.S. law enforcement practices and those practices include discretionary choices made by the U.S. Border Patrol. Agents can say that they didn't "drive" migrants into the desert, but year after year after year, as the results of policy implementation are made more and more clear, the argument has no integrity. In August 1994, the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Service, Doris Meissner, signed off on a report that accurately predicted large numbers of migrant deaths in the Sonoran Desert if the current policies were contin-

ued and extended into other sectors along the U.S.-Mexico border. Those predictions were correct and even understated. Agents volunteer to enforce this policy of death. Agents of force should be suspect.

This is a personal struggle for me. I've loved, supported and honored veterans of U.S. military service since I could walk. My father was a disabled veteran and spent more than 28 ½ years of service with the Veterans Administration, now the Department of Veterans Affairs. He took an early service-connected disability retirement. As a little one, I sat in the laps of veterans who had no laps, who had ridden with Teddy Roosevelt. I even worked at the same VA Hospital for some time. I served vets in Texas during the evacuation of Saigon. I learned my hatred of war and death from veterans. Today, with an all-volunteer service, one has to question motivations for volunteering to implement fatally flawed, endless wars. Philosophically, Alasdair MacIntyre taught us that reflexive patriotism is no virtue.

Up to six years after the report was signed, one could read on the INS website about the so-called Southwest Strategy. The report cited the efforts to force migrants out into the open desert where "they would be more easily apprehended." Humane Borders leaders then, and many activists today, declare those practices immoral. Reportedly, Meissner questions those policies in retrospect. One out-of-town volunteer overheard me mention Meissner on the phone. When I hung up, she said, "Last I heard she was washing her soul in a think tank." Others find her open to reform discourse.

The border is broken. The laws in place are questionable, punitive, illogical and counterproductive to the needs of this nation, its commerce, its image in the world and its most basic core values. Humanitarian groups have responded to the deaths in the desert. Their work is insufficient to mitigate the death-dealing policies, yet they continue.

In late November 2000, Humane Borders raised its first flag over a desert water station. That station was "up" for only a short time but it was used during the first night it was up. In March 2001, water station operations began in earnest. By 2009, there were 106 stations of differing kinds: flags over water holes, flags marking water on private property, flags over water stations in Mexico, and the usual, more common, flags over water barrels on public lands. Often, we provided equipment for stations operated by others.

Water Station, Inc., in California, led by Dr. John Hunter, began placing water in the California desert on public land many

months earlier and used slightly different deployment strategies. The Samaritans in Tucson, the Green Valley Samaritans, and No More Deaths all deploy water in varying quantities and by various means. Over the years, individuals contacted us from Arizona, New Mexico, California, and Texas reporting that they, too, were deploying some quantities of water in various locations. In south Texas, stations modeled on those created and operated by Water Station, Inc. are now being deployed under the leadership of Eddie Canales at the South Texas Human Rights Project.

From the beginning, Humane Borders chose to be very intentional about working within the law. In fact, some of the most basic orientations such as this distinguished us from other groups. Humane Borders chose not to be a resistance movement. If that route had been chosen, water station permits, insurance, public funding and extensive respect from the public would not have followed.

Under my leadership, and during my tenure, the choice was made to play a role as part “insiders” and part “outsiders”. This is a simple way of understanding an important theory in religion and politics regarding the ways that religious nonprofits and groups often collaborate and lobby. For us, it meant that we would choose to go inside a conference room and have open, frank, and even confidential conversations with elected officials, public administrators, law enforcement or any other group. We could then go to the curb outside, in front of the cameras, and denounce the general practices and policies of the agency we had just visited. We did so with an openness and integrity and with an understanding between us and the representatives of the agency we were working with. We were there to change policies and practices which we expected they would enforce, after the changes. If we invested a lot of time working with one official such as a sector chief of the Border Patrol, we knew that Washington would soon just send someone else new to take his or her place soon enough. We would soon be back to square one.

I led Humane Borders volunteers to be agents of a politics of transformation, with at least an emphasis on changing policies. Many activists work to change laws and policies through the legal-political model. That remains an ultimate goal but we also wanted to make use of the good will, the discretion, and the additional persuasive power that comes with having good people in important places work with us and not against us. My activist friend Tom Hayden who once filled my pulpit calls it soft power. In every bureaucracy, there are many people who can and will work with

right-minded people to help effect substantive changes. That is the assumption we make, and if the assumption is false, our work is futile.

The movement of migrants, mostly Mexicans, from the south to the north has been problematic for decades. There are many players, many laws and much history. The Bracero Program, designed to bring large numbers of Mexican workers to the U.S. temporarily, was begun in 1942 and formally ended in 1964. It provided for a very significant amount of legal, relatively organized migration from "sending" communities to "receiving" communities and back again. The program also established patterns of undocumented migration. The phenomenon of coming and going back and forth across the border is called circularity. The implementation of this program familiarized a large number of people with effective routes and the know-how of migration.

The cities and villages in this hemisphere from where so many migrants come are called sending communities. Many sending communities have established relationships with receiving communities all across the United States, relationships that now span four generations. The Bracero program ended long ago, yet informal ties are at least as strong now as the formal ties were in the early years. Scholars have traced the effects of the Bracero Program, the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act, North American Free Trade Agreement, and the militarization of the southern border. These measures and others led to the enormous migration of the last two decades. Additionally, U.S. policies in Central America have been significant contributors to northern migration.

In 2002, I stood in a classroom full of sixth-and seventh-grade kids in the poor community of San Pedro Cholula, Puebla, Mexico. They're just like kids in the U.S. A couple of girls had written their boyfriends names on their hands with a BIC Pen. The boys were cutting up before class. Everything was as normal as any U.S. classroom I've seen. The person leading our delegation asked all of them in Spanish, "How many of you have a member of your family living in New York?" Every hand in the room went up. He then asked, "How many of you plan to go to New York when you get older?" Again, every hand in the room went up. This sending community had been yoked with employers in Queens, New York since 1942 through the Bracero Program. Many of these kids already knew the name of their family priest in New York because they have heard stories about him all of their lives around the dinner table. We stopped and asked one kid why he planned to go to New

York. Grinning at me, he said in perfect English but with an intentional East L.A. accent, "Just to check it out, man!" What began as an economic migration has, for many, become a rite of passage. It's now part of the regional and transnational culture of western hemisphere migration.

Many of these migrants and future migrants have built a database and common stock of knowledge. They know the best time of year to cross the border. They know the best places to cross, which doors to knock on, which numbered utility pole, which fence post, or cattle guard to stand by in the desert when waiting for a ride, and which highways to use as they make their ways north before they turn toward their final destinations. Sometimes, they even know which Border Patrol agent to call for unlawful assistance.

I've heard many, many lectures from U.S. law enforcement, especially CBP agents, on the evils of humanitarian groups transporting migrants. Agents and officers would speak to us in threatening tones like those the chief had shared with me. But, the reality is that they can't even police their own. The score is clear: prosecutions of humanitarians is 0. Successful prosecutions of agents of the Bureau of Customs and Border Protection number several every month. There are so many the U.S. Office of Inspector General has to choose which ones to prosecute. In recent years, the Border Patrol has grown dramatically while the number of personnel in the Office of the Inspector General has remained the same. Simply put, there are not enough police to police the police.

In 2009, I let two migrant teenagers born in Mexico stay at my church as a courtesy to the Mexican Consulate in Tucson. They had official papers with them from one DHS office or another. These very credible young men, one of whom grew up from age two in Florida, were shot at by two Border Patrol agents in the night, on the northern end of the Tohono O'odham Nation Reservation west of Tucson. The agents emptied the magazines in their hand guns, shooting around the boys like a scene in an old western movie. These youngsters stayed a week in my church before the Inspector General decided to exercise his prosecutorial discretion and go after bigger fish. He agreed that the agents had misbehaved and merited prosecution. He refused to act.

When interviewing individuals from the Mexico City area who have crossed year after year, some have reported that, "Yes, Migra (immigration) stopped me. I lost three days." "Did you cross again?" "Of course. I called, and they kept the job open for me." For this man, and for many, both the deterrence and the apprehensions

are just a cost of doing business. The cost is rising. The Border Patrol policy of prevention through deterrence has become suppression through oppression when you add CBP agent activities in Mexico and Central America.

Many sending communities send their youngest and brightest kids to the U.S. to diversify their family businesses. They learn things and they either send money home or they bring it back in person. The young travel in the company of friends, neighbors, and loved ones who teach them how to cross the border. The lore is rehearsed and passed on. It is no wonder that Border Patrol agents have such a difficult time asking a group to finger their guide or coyote. Many of them are not feared by the migrants, the agents suggest; rather, they are loved, and the group will not give them up by identifying them in the field or when they get to the Border Patrol station.

Today, though, most migrants are traveling with what I call purely commercial arrangements. A return to more "normal" percentage distributions might be anticipated when the U.S. economy improves and more persons begin crossing north again.

Sending communities have established patterns of where to cross the border. Some traditionally cross near Brownsville, Texas, others near San Diego, California, and still others near both Douglas and Nogales, Arizona. There is an inexorable flow of humanity making its way across the U.S.-Mexico border. This flow of people is one of the largest migrations in the modern world. More than half of that migration in any year is through the Sonora-Arizona desert. More than one half of the migration is going right through Tucson's backyard, and most of it is never observed by law enforcement or the public.

Who is coming to the U.S. has changed over the years that I have worked along the border. My first contact with migrants was with the Bracero Program in the '60s. When that stopped, migration didn't stop, so it became the new underground migration. Then the Central American Exodus beginning in 1979. It was huge. In the '90s, when the City of Dallas proper had a population of 990,000, there were at least 40,000 people living there from El Salvador alone. Similar shifts in urban demographics were common across the U.S.

A fuller understanding of who is crossing the border today is needed. When I began consistently working with migrants in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas during the '80s, border life was more stable. Many migrants were employees who came back and forth across the border- legally or illegally – every day. For instance,

maids would wade the Rio Grande to work in El Paso, Texas and return to Juarez at the end of the day, the week, or the month. They were “borderline” commuters. Many others were former Bracero Program workers and their sons and daughters, who continued the employment relationships established many decades before. Generally, they were very poor people who were desperately trying to improve their situations. Many were skilled craftsmen. And, of course, there were many, many Central Americans of every walk of life crossing the border of the U.S. empire to escape the terrors and horrors of life in their countries of origin. Most were fleeing wars that were supported by the U.S. What was true then is once again true. The U.S. has a lot of personnel running around Mexico and the northern triangle of Central America. In 2016, more than half of the border crossers are now from Central America.

Most people in the U.S. have not a clue about the violence people are fleeing. The violence is real. It is deadly. It should be recognized by the U.S. for the political reality that it is. People and institutions should be organized to respond accordingly. Marta Sanchez of Mexico has organized the “Mothers Caravan” for more than a decade. Mothers of disappeared children—mostly sons—walk from the Guatemalan border at Tenosique, Mexico to Mexico City and back to Guatemala at Tapachula. Their stories are horrible. A mother has lost her son. She inquires of various officials. She is told that the son is disappeared (kidnapped or dead). She doesn't know which. She is told later her son is alive. Then, she is told he is dead. She is offered ashes as proof. She wants DNA analysis. Oh, well, we were mistaken. Those aren't his ashes. Years of anguish follow and a decade of activism helps others find the courage to question their governments and the collusion of their governments with the maras. The maras are gangs who learned their gun culture in East Los Angeles, California. In terms of influencing the daily lives of the Central Americans in the north, their influence is at least as strong as that of their governments. MS13 and M18 control most activities in many geographical areas. They are gangs in every sense, but they are also transnational criminal organizations.

One of my mentors helped found the Center for Survivors of Torture in Dallas, Texas as a result of his work with migrants on the border. One of my most memorable groups of asylum seekers included a prominent Mexican citizen. He showed his wounds to the suspicious but impressionable U.S. administrative law judge at the Port Isabel Processing Center in South Texas. After seeing the fresh scarring and the wide-eyed hope, the judge granted the man po-

litical asylum, something that only rarely happened then and seldom happens now.

Today, the typology of border crossers is more complex. To be fair, I have changed, and I have had a higher level of sustained interaction with the migrants in recent years. I certainly see the migrants differently than I did. But that does not account for all the change seen in any typology one might produce. The migration is more complex and who is typically coming across the line has changed quite a bit.

For about 20 years, some 80 percent of the persons crossing the southwest border were Mexican nationals. The next four countries represented in the numbers of migrants apprehended were: Honduras, Brazil, El Salvador and Guatemala. Some other Central and South Americans cross. Next, very small numbers of migrants from around the rest of the world who use Mexico as a land bridge to the United States were counted. Every once in a while one or more Chinese will tackle the desert. Border Patrol agents call them "exotics", yet another of the many hunting terms the agents use to impersonalize what is happening and their role in it. Through 2014 and into 2015, the migration changed considerably. Now the ratio of Mexicans to Central Americans is once again about 50/50. The migration to and from Mexico is now a net-zero migration. That is, as many people are returning to Mexico as are entering the United States from Mexico.

Migrants vary by age. I have encountered families and groups with three generations in the desert. We didn't always stop to do extended interviews. To do so could have attracted attention. I once encountered a man whom I suspected to be between 55 and 60. He was leading a group of his extended family and friends of more than 40 persons. The youngest in the group included infants in arms carried by young mothers dodging mesquite and Palo Verde tree branches. The babies I saw were probably still breast feeding. The older man recognized me from news accounts on Mexican television. He said to me, in a way that the others could hear, "Imagine being in all the world, needing water and finding you." I choked up then and I choke up now re-telling that story many years later. It is a disgrace that honor comes from a simple human act such as giving away water.

Clearly, while the poorest of the poor have been observed crossing the border for many decades, we have been seeing persons with greater skill sets crossing, too. In the 21st Century lots of artisans, chefs, welders and other highly skilled workers are crossing

the border. Among them, one finds physicians, attorneys, the university educated and successful business persons.

One day, a group of volunteers waited along Highway 86 on the Tohono O'odham reservation with two migrants for their Border Patrol ride. I thought they were a couple, a man and a woman. We tried to flag down some Border Patrol, but they just waved and drove on. About an hour later, the one who I thought was a woman went over to the highway fence to relieve herself while standing up. I noticed something that convinced me he was a male. One of our volunteers said that the person at the fence was a sex worker from Caborca, Sonora. His vocation was teaching women how to please their men. Somehow I don't think this man would have gotten a special work visa to maximize his employment in the U.S. or have secured political asylum. However, he reflects some of the diversity among border crossers. I confess. I told the others as we were leaving, "I need to learn more Spanish."

A Mexican government agency has identified more than 200 "sending communities". These are communities, large and small, from where migrants routinely leave to cross into the U.S. primarily because participation in their local economy is insufficient to sustain them. Many sending communities today are the same as they were at the beginning of the Bracero program. Some program and policies have long-lasting unintended consequences. However, some communities have fallen off the list and others have been added as the economy has changed within Mexico. NAFTA rules, coffee tastes in the U.S., globalization, regional improvements, industrialization, changes in petroleum production all lead to changes in the geographical origins of migrants.

One is reminded of the popular U.S. political comment, "It's the economy, stupid". The economy is the greatest engine of the migration but when we interview large numbers of migrants, we find that they know where they are going, what work they will be doing and discover they may have crossed many times before. Migrants are by and large very adaptive. Many are wives and children who want to be reunited with their husbands and fathers who have stayed a long time in the US. Many are crossing because all of their male family members have done this before, when they were their age. Over time, the migration north becomes more complex and is less likely to be described by any simple typology. A significant amount, though hard to estimate, is now motivated by social or cultural concerns of the migrants. Families want to be united, and the young repeat the histories of the older ones, as we observe

over 150 or more years of migrations from Europe. Chain migration, legal or otherwise, exists among the Irish and a number of other nationalities as well.

The know-how or business of crossing the border does change. Previously, coyotes were local guides who made a few bucks leading a family or group around the border fence, through a pasture, around parking lots, through alleys to the bus stations in town. That business changed dramatically. The U.S. Border Patrol changed it. CBP is proud of the change, but fails to see any downside to it. Any deaths that result are, according to them, attributed to bad decisions on the part of the migrants. If they were truthful, they would say they push them into the desert so that their death will be a deterrent.

By shutting down previously easily accessible urban areas and pushing the migration out into the open desert, the U.S. Border Patrol created the need for the services of coyotes in their present iteration. The Border Patrol uses the cost of coyote services as one metric of success, much like the price of cocaine on the street was once used to measure the success of the drug wars. But there is no correlation between the price of coyote services and the number of people crossing. The number of crossers has remained relatively constant. It has not come close to a tipping point where the price of going across the border will affect the number of persons crossing. The strategy of pushing migrants into the worst parts of the desert for walking is no more effective than the drug war. Money for the services of coyotes is provided occasionally by U.S. employers, making the BP effectively responsible for the systematic transfer of billions in money to the cartels. Our policies made "El Chapo" Guzman a wealthy man. It remains to be seen how much information from him will be made public.

Whether or not a group of migrants will secure the services of a coyote depends, in part, upon which part of the desert they choose to cross. Some of the migrant trails require local knowledge and extreme stamina. In the summer of 2006, a man who had a multiple-entry visa issued some years before went back to Mexico to help with a sick loved one. Healing was slow. He stayed too long. After unsuccessfully attempting to cross the border at the Nogales, Arizona Port of Entry with a now-expired visa, he then decided to cross the border walking through the desert like millions before him. He had gone back and forth across the border probably six times over the years without incident. By 2006, Border Patrol enforcement had changed many routes. When he crossed this time, he

went through an area where few cross because the Border Patrol generally doesn't patrol terrain that high up in the hills. He didn't know the area. The area was difficult. He died.

In a less serious vein, we were interviewing a custodian working in a local church congregation. He, too, had traveled back and forth many times. We asked him if the Border Patrol ever got close to him. He said, "Oh yes, but I just went up the hillside. They're not going to follow me. They're union." No matter one's politics, there is humor in that. There is some truth to the notion that there are plenty of migrants to catch, so there is obviously an incentive to catch the easy ones first.

Many migrants start out on their own. "Go into the Altar Valley. Walk downhill. Stay between the mountains. Look for the very tall red and white communications tower with the flashing beacon on top. There you can turn on your Mexican cell phones that roam in the U.S. and call for your contact or your loved ones to come and pick you up." This is the way many thousands of migrants still enter the U.S. every year. Even if all smuggling rings are broken up, the migrants will still come.

Border Patrol targets the guides who lead groups, but it's actually inhumane to take away one's guide in the desert. It's the same as taking a navigator off a boat load of refugees. Those statements are both confounding and inflammatory; however, sometimes the effect of law enforcement is to directly contribute to the death toll by removing from a group the person who has the knowledge to lead the rest of the migrants across very difficult terrain.

Those who use the services of human smugglers, known variously as coyotes, guias and polleros make all kinds of arrangements with migrants. There is no one way, place or time to cross the border. I tell reporters that if you can dream it, it's happening on the border. Smugglers have disguised vehicles to look like UPS, Sears, FedEx delivery trucks and even Border Patrol vehicles. Often, stolen vehicles are used to deliver migrants some distance before letting them out to complete their walk.

Migrants have made arrangements with coyotes that are the equivalent of closing a deal with a travel agent. A colleague of mine stood in a Honduran community several years ago and watched as a migrant cut a deal for about U.S. \$4,500 – which is now very cheap – to be taken to Maryland, where a poultry-producing job awaited him. Brazilians used to fly into the U.S. with fake papers. Others fly to Mexico City and make arrangements to cross

the border in Texas or further west. With extra cash they may not have to walk so far. Money makes a difference.

Some migrants wait until they get near the Arizona border to make arrangements to get coyotes, usually in Altar, Sonora, Mexico. In some cases, the migrant trail may have begun in Central America, then through Chiapas where small vans called "combis" are lined up in valleys with the words "Altar and El Sasabe" printed on the side. From all over the world, people arrive in Altar, Caborca, and now Sonoyta, Sonora, near Yuma, and make arrangements to cross the border. In south Texas, migrants may have made their connections to their coyotes long before coming to the border. Their friends, cousins, and neighbors may have used coyotes before. Or, they may have been recruited en route.

Traveling for many days with like-minded people, the migrants pool their limited knowledge about the journey ahead and increase their resolve to make it. When they get near the border, they ask around among the locals, or talk to those who run guest houses called *casas de huéspedes* where some of them spend a few nights. Often, the locals and the houses are tied to the human and drug smuggling business. The migrants usually are at the mercy of the coyote's discretion to choose the time and the place for crossing the border.

Migrants have become commodities, and as they are commodified, the coyotes have begun treating them differently. "Yeah, yeah, everyone is going to America. Everyone is going to get rich. Give me your cell phone now. Get in the van." Coyotes may use one guest house to gather one group of migrants, have a young man round up some more from the town square and use another to get them up to the border. They may pool that van load with another van load, and finally hand 40 migrants off to the man who is actually going to walk them to Three Points, Arizona, near the tall, red and white communications tower. Three Points is also known as Robles Junction. Like travel agents and other providers of service, including vendors, everyone gets a cut of the action. Increasingly, criminal interests associated with the drug trade are taking their cuts, extracting "head taxes", and informing migrants who will be taking them across the border when, and where these things will take place.

Two independent news reporters, Sacha Feinman and David Rochkind, spent some time in Altar, Sonora, Mexico to learn how the migration economy works. They went to Altar on a Pulitzer grant for a journalism project. They explored the local economy of un-

documented migration. They found that organized crime is inching deeper and deeper into the migration, into the guest houses, into the operators of the vans that carry migrants to the border and into the migrants themselves by imposing what many would call a head tax for the privilege of traveling in an area controlled by the cartel, which is locally now simply called the mafia.

During my tenure at Humane Borders, the nonprofit focused on migrant safety, and as far as we could discern, there were still deaths of migrants in each of three groups: those led by commercial smugglers, those guided by persons familiar to them, and those who ventured out on their own. Each group's configuration likely has its own statistical variation regarding safety, something we will never be able to measure accurately, but it seemed to us that a moderate-sized group that has a lot of extended family members and/or neighbors is most apt to travel more safely together. No matter the configuration, once in the desert, each migrant has to watch out for him or herself and everyone else in the group if the venture is to be successful.

A lot of media coverage of border news is, in some form or another, government-manufactured news. The interviews are with border agents, elected officials, sheriffs, city council persons, teachers or some other governmental employee. Over the years, my impression was that the public internalized the dominant story of the Border Patrol and blamed all of the consequences on the bad people called smugglers. Each time government-manufactured news includes the story of a migrant guide in the desert, it should be remembered that the Border Patrol created the need for the guides by intentionally pushing the migration into the desert away from the safer, populated areas. Death is now the predictable consequence and it is now part of the strategy of the Border Patrol. Migrant deaths are part of the strategy of deterrence.

If every group used the services of commercial coyotes, the Border Patrol might have better success in being able to prosecute the smugglers. As it is, many are inclined to think that the market for smugglers is reaching a point at which the price will not increase much more. With more resources, a migrant will simply choose to obtain very high-quality fake travel documents and cross the border through the somewhat porous ports of entry. However, no end is in sight. The price of a desert crossing is continuing to rise, and that fact alone will lead the guide of a desert group to focus on getting the bulk of the group across the desert even if some folks get left behind. It's a matter of economics.

A migrant who is successfully working in a northern U.S. city may be assigned by his employer to go back to Mexico, find more strong young men he knows, and bring them back to work. The young man starts with friends and neighbors with whom he may have been playing soccer just a few years ago. He may be getting a bonus for the work he is doing, in addition to getting to go home briefly. He may be the favorite son of a community or neighborhood. All in all, he fares well, and he carries with him the hopes and dreams of the old neighborhood. This man is not going to leave a migrant behind in the desert just because the man is a coyote. He may, in the purest sense, love the people he is leading, smile as they travel together in his eagerness to show them how things will be when they get "there".

He feels the joy of sharing the American dream that has motivated millions before them. He's smiling because, from the time he left home the first time until now, his life has become bigger, his horizons larger. He is a trusted agent of his employer. He may have become a loan officer of sorts, and he is confident that he is now a seasoned, knowledgeable, rugged outdoorsman with a lot of responsibility. He's a man now, and it is a heady mixture for a young, strong person. He carries with him his family's approval, blessing and pride. He probably also takes his priest's blessing and the prayers of his congregation. His desire to succeed may not match the U.S. Border Patrol agents' desire to find him in the desert. The agents are employees. The smuggler and his troop are on an adventure. Many of the agents experience boredom. Many sit for hours in a vehicle in the same spot for an entire shift, a practice known as sitting on your "X".

The ingenuity of the migrants, guias, coyotes and cartels is without limit and is similar all across the border. There are some differences along the border, but there are also similar patterns, no matter where migrants attempt to cross. When I go into communities on the border, usually accompanied by journalists and/or volunteers, and we interview migrants, we are able piece together a puzzle. It doesn't matter which of the towns along the 1,954-mile border we enter, the stories have a lot of similarities. Usually one or two persons in the groups that are forming to cross have crossed several times. Year after year, I have encountered migrants in the U.S. and in Mexico who have crossed as many as 10 to 12 times over a decade. Some have tried to come here through legal means or at least have inquired about the possibilities, and resorted in desperation to cross the desert. There are very few legal ways to cross. Until

federal laws and the politics of crossing are more closely aligned, border states will record many more migrant deaths.

It's so often asked why the migrants don't come to the U.S. legally. Friends have stood with me at the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City and observed migrants trying to obtain interviews for visas to come to the U.S. A tall, blonde preppy guy comes out and stands before 200 people and announces the two names of individuals who can be seen that day. The immigration restrictionists in the U.S. yell and scream about migrants, about how they should get in line and come to the U.S. the legal way. We can honestly report that there is no realistic line for most who would emigrate to the U.S. to live or to work. Mexico gets the short end of the stick on the quota system for visas. Change that, and many more migrants will arrive legally. Make the visa system proportionally equal in terms of the population of some other countries, and the number of deaths and the number of illegal crossings would plummet overnight. Note that Mexico receives the same annual number of visas as the Dominican Republic and Botswana. It hardly seems fair under those circumstances to listen to tough restrictionists yelling about coming here legally.

A group of ministers came to Tucson from all over the U.S. in a delegation sponsored by the Lilly Foundation to learn about the U.S.-Mexico border. An old timer in the bunch told us about the days in the '60s, when so many worked to make things equal for people from other countries. Each country received the same number of visas. That was "equal" in his mind. In math, equal can mean arithmetic mean, median, or mode. Considering population sizes, giving India and the Dominican Republic the same number of visas is anything but equal. Giving Mexico, our next-door neighbor, the same number of visas as India or the Dominican Republic is an insult and leads to apprehensions and deportations that cost about \$15,000 each. If migrants could come here legally, an enormous savings would be immediately realized. Equal could mean equal opportunity, equal access, equal according to need. Equal can mean many, many things.

Each nation is given a quota of visas for persons to migrate to the U.S. They are not evenly distributed. The quotas are a political football. Northern Europeans, who are for the most part white, get special favor. Most migrants who would choose to come here the legal way would have to wait for a period of time longer than they have lived. Teenagers in Mexico may be grandparents before they can arrive in the U.S. using the legal means available to them.

There should be no rational expectation that a child will wait that long. It's no wonder that so many young migrants quickly give up and choose to cross the desert.

They're young. They're strong. And actually, statistically, many of them do make it. The odds are that they will make it even if they have to make several attempts. For many, the decision to cross the desert is a rational choice based on life experience. However, crossing it is not what they expect. It is probably not in their life experience to walk for four or more hours and not see a house, a person, a car, livestock, or any other signs of life. Many are traveling from areas we would call jungle and have no lived experience with deserts.

Far too many migrants are operating under misconceptions about the border crossing that lead to fear and acts of desperation. Some believe it is easy to cross the border. Their friends and families have crossed successfully many times before. Many of them probably crossed in safer areas in previous years. Over and over again, we interview young, five-foot-tall Mayan beauty queens south of the border who are wearing sandals and strappy tops with bare shoulders. One reported to me, "Reverend, I'm going to be in Las Vegas in four hours." Wrong. "No, *mija*, you won't, and you might even be dead by then." Many of them believe that life is going to be grand just across the border. Actually, for some, it will be. For too many it will not.

Some migrants have significant or at least minimally-informed understanding about the legal requirements to migrate. Many know the lore about law enforcement at the border. Most know something about the crossing itself. Still, many of their questions amaze us. "Is it true the Border Patrol will shoot you if they catch you?" "Will the ranchers really catch you and keep you on their property?" Even the CBP tries to scare migrants with horror stories. Yet, as we observe, the young people are willing to come even after hearing stories of murder, kidnapping, and seeing U.S. made public-service announcements meant to discourage their efforts. A colleague met a six-year-old carrying a machete nearly as tall as he was. He reported to me, "No one is going to change that kid's mind." You want to say "no", "emphatically no", to these stories, but there have been many shootings of migrants by Border Patrol agents, even by agents sticking their guns through the border fence to shoot teenagers. In recent years, ranchers have threatened to shoot migrants. It's difficult to imagine that migrants will

still try to cross when they have these expectations of Border Patrol and rancher behaviors.

In these encounters, we try to explain things. Statistical probabilities just do not address the fears of the questioners. But imagine! They're headed into the desert without knowing the answer to their questions. Human rights groups along the border have documented all manner of migrant abuse. Civil and criminal cases designed to assign blame grind slowly through the courts every year. I arranged for a friend to care for a victim of torture as a courtesy to the Mexican Consulate while the torturer was tried and found guilty. Some blame gets assigned along the way, but rarely.

Migrants often believe they have no rights in the U.S. They do have some. Mexico has undertaken a variety of programs over the years to inform migrants of their rights by handing out small pamphlets with information. Consular offices, Coalición de Derechos Humanos, Border Action Network, No More Deaths, the Samaritans, and other organizations in and near Arizona all help to get out the word. Efforts continue all along the border, especially by organizing groups like Border Network for Human Rights in El Paso. Building on the ignorance of many, the restrictionists use this practice to build resentment in the U.S. by using the documents as evidence of Mexican government support for the migration.

A federal law enforcement agent for one of the land managers once came upon a group of ninety-eight migrants walking in the very far west Arizona desert. He was alone and probably terrified, though he told me he was just "sort of" nervous. He really didn't know what to do, so he just hollered in his best Spanish for all of them to sit down. They did! He couldn't imagine it. When he told me this, I said, "Wow! When I was growing up and the police came to my neighborhood, they only got the ones they could catch." The agent smiled and said, "Same with me." The Mexican nationals generally give strong deference to authority.

Some of the migrants believe that once they are safely across the border and some distance away from it, there will be no problems. It is as if, in their mind, just being on the other side of the line is all one needs to be safe and secure in the new world. They'll walk along the roads, wave to motorists, walk into convenience stores and ask to use the phone. As far as they are concerned, they've made it, and they have no reason to be concerned about anything. Not true.

For many years, the Border Patrol claimed a "high intensity enforcement zone" of twenty-five miles from the border. Now,

Customs and Border Protection claims one hundred air miles as its high intensity zone, which contributes to their discretion as to how to handle suspected foreign nationals and as to how to approach U.S. citizens. One hundred air miles from the border reaches into Los Angeles and into Phoenix at least as far as Sky Harbor Airport. A third of all U.S. citizens live in that zone. That's jurisdictional market share! In recent years, ICE agents removed record numbers of undocumented persons from the U.S. The claim that U.S. President Barack Obama is the Deporter-in-Chief requires a bit of statistical analysis, but the core claim remains valid.

From having no knowledge of what a desert is like, to thinking that once across the line, all will be well, the migrant faces a staggering learning curve. And still they come. They come with hearts full of hope and as we know, there is no greater political force or personal human motivator than hope. The lack of knowledge, however, is very dangerous to the migrants.

One of the cold, hard facts about crossing the border for those who do use the smuggling infrastructure is that the migrant is not in charge. The coyote will tell you what to bring, what to wear, where to sleep, when to walk, when to talk, when to pee and whether you are to urinate into a water jug for later use as a beverage. The coyotes have more authority than even TSA agents in a post 9-11 era. Imagine! The coyotes go where there is infrastructure for smuggling: safe houses, caches of supplies, roads, lookouts with walkie-talkies, known trails, known routes around Border Patrol seismic detectors, knowledge of where the drug traffickers are walking that day, on and on. Individuals who place their lives in the hands of these coyotes are very trusting, indeed. Even with a "tour guide" who is totally in charge of your life, you are probably in much better hands than if you tried to walk by yourself. Absent training, quality maps, and/or lots of local knowledge, the trip can be very dangerous and very deadly.

The simple truth is that there are good coyotes and bad coyotes. It doesn't pay to get a reputation as a guide who leaves persons behind in the desert. One has to imagine walking among the cholla cactus in the dark, feeling a bit sick or needing to have a bowel movement or both, stopping, and then being unable to catch up to the group. The leader, or the group, may not even know you have fallen behind until the sun comes up. A migrant may be in desperate condition, and a coyote has to convince one or two others to lead this one to safety. Maybe the one stays, and the other one goes for help, only he doesn't know the way to

the road and gets lost himself. As the migrants are pushed deeper into the desert by the Border Patrol, farther from roads, the formula for disaster becomes even more potent.

All along the border, infrastructure exists for the smuggling of people and goods. The city of Altar, Sonora, Mexico has infrastructure and more. This community grew from 6,000 in 2000 to approximately 20,000 in 2011 mostly because of the migration. The movement of migrants through that area is now spread out more from Agua Prieta in the east to Sonoyta in the west. In the '80s and the '90s, most of the migration across the U.S.-Mexico border was through the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas. The population growth was driven first by migration and then by the drug trade, now both.

Altar and surrounding communities in Sonora, Mexico represent the mega-infrastructure of people smuggling. Altar has been the single largest staging area for migrants wanting to unlawfully enter into the United States. Other cities and towns held that distinction a long time ago, but now and for the foreseeable future, it belongs to the communities from Altar to Sonoyta. One of the reasons why is because approximately 86 percent of the land in Arizona is public land of one kind or another, whether federal, tribal, state, county, municipal, or various right-of-ways. Much of it is protected by a variety of environmental laws.

These two facts mean that the law enforcement strategies designed for San Diego can't work along the Arizona part of the border. In San Diego, walls, fences (even secondary and tertiary fencing), sensors, lights, roads, ditches and other physical barriers were erected to reduce the numbers of migrants crossing. The result was that migrants went east. From El Paso, migrants moved west. The Lower Rio Grande Valley and the area around Laredo have experienced episodic shifts in migration but nothing like the shifts during the last 20 years in Arizona.

During the tenure of Department of Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff, environmental laws were waived to allow fence building, but access to and across the lands remains difficult for law enforcement. It was the largest waiver of environmental laws in U.S. history. Along the Arizona-Sonora border, the physical barriers cannot be built and monitored in the same way. Vehicle barriers have been built in areas where, in the past, smugglers of people and contraband simply drove through pristine desert and created wildcat roads. In Texas large gaps in fencing are associated with the political connections of land owners.

The Sonoran Desert receives less than 12 inches of rain on average each year but there are portions of the desert that in some years receive no recorded rain. The only source of moisture some years is from the humid air pumped up by the sun from the Sea of Cortez. The variation in the rainfall is attributed largely to geography and winds. A vehicle that crosses this desert – particularly in the far west desert – may leave tire tracks that remain visible from above for more than 20 years. That's delicate! Not all of the desert is like that, but it is an indication of a situation that simply cannot go unaddressed. Installing law enforcement infrastructure like that which has been deployed in the San Diego area has been an absolute environmental disaster, not to mention a political debacle. Still, that is where the politics of border control remains. Since the Secure Fence Act was signed, 632 miles of fencing and vehicle barricades have been built. Adding this new construction to the existing, mostly urban, fencing yields a total of more than 700 miles of fencing along the 1,954 mile border. In Arizona, only some 30 miles of border remain without a vehicle barricade or pedestrian fencing. Perhaps more disturbing is the fact that Mexico is now taking up the project of building fencing between Mexico and Guatemala! In mid-2015, DHS Sec. Jeh Johnson indicated that there would be no more fence building as it no longer makes sense. Perhaps, he was considering the \$500,000 a year/mile maintenance fees projected just to keep the existing fences.

It is sad to note that some years even more migrants die along Mexico's southern border than its northern one. Some migrants take vans to Mexico City, fly to Hermosillo and take rough-riding 15-passenger vans. Others come in first-class tourist-type buses, shiny new Chevy Suburbans, or even taxis from nearby communities. Migrants may have already made deals to get across the border before arriving in Altar, but many of them make new plans after arriving and talking to locals and coyotes, especially as the commercial interests increase. Most migrants arrive in Altar and then make their final plans for crossing. In many cases, the cartel finalizes plans in ways the migrants would never choose.

Altar is a journalist's dream, sort of a poor man's foreign correspondent junket, but it's even closer to the U.S. than Miami is to Havana. I'm going to describe it because I know it best. For the trained eye, there is a lot of difference among the Mexican communities along the U.S. border with Mexico. There are also a large number of similarities. I describe Altar, too, because it was the starting point for one of the largest sustained migrations on

earth. There were times when the rate of migration in the region was over one million per year. In 2001, Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument Superintendent Bill Wellman said, "When visitors come here 50 years from now, it won't be to see the cactus. It will be because this was their Ellis Island." For more than a decade, I took large numbers of journalists to see Altar up close and personal. I've led reporters from CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, British Broadcasting Company, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Al Jazeera and a number of others. I've accompanied a dozen or more documentary filmmakers, working alone or with colleagues, and several dozen print journalists.

Humane Borders volunteers have accompanied 50 or more reporters and crews over the years, and on several occasions, the services of a Spanish-speaking volunteer have been secured to assist in many interviews and provide local knowledge. Several volunteers learned what the term "fixer" means: whatever the journalist or filmmaker needs, you make it happen. We were accommodating because we saw as part of our mission the telling of the story of the plight of the migrant away from the border. Those exact words were used the night Humane Borders was founded.

This must-see town was a very sleepy little community at the dawn of the new millennium. Now, there's construction everywhere, lots of new vehicles, and satellite television dishes. This is due to the smuggling businesses that were created by the U.S. Border Patrol when their enforcement deliberately pushed migrants into the open desert.

Termites are king in the desert, so all construction is masonry. Visitors park near the church, which occupies a part of the zócalo or square. Our Lady of Guadalupe is the name of the church, and it honors the Virgin who is the patron saint not only of Mexico but of all of the Americas. She represents in some circles the best of Mesoamerican spirituality and hopeful Catholicism.

The church is also masonry, covered in plaster, and attractively re-painted every few years. The architecture is Spanish, not Mexican, but the interior is appointed with a distinctive Mexican flair. The floors have been re-done in recent years with marble tile. The pews are naturally finished wood and highly polished. The church is modest and accessible to all who enter. Every day it is open to the migrants. Along the walls, there are bulletin boards that display important information for migrants, including the dangers of crossing the border, the human and civil rights of a migrant

in Mexico and in the United States, and information about the church-run shelter or "albergue."

If all local congregations were as responsive to the changing needs of the people around them as this one is, congregations would play even more important roles in the migration on both sides of the border, and a greater role in our social and political lives as well. The Altar congregation has a social theology on steroids. When I travel in Central America and southern Mexico, locals tell me the evangelical churches (Protestants) are far more vibrant and growing compared to the Catholics. "Why?" I ask. "Because they tend to meet real, concrete human needs: daycare, education, advocacy, etc." The Catholic Church in Altar is certainly a major exception to that general observation, thanks in part to one priest who served there for more than five years. His successor is Prisciliano Perez Garza. Prisci, as he prefers to be called, grew up in the area. He has distinguished himself in being able to be an advocate for the migrants and surviving the violence in the mini-region. Prisci, a representative of the Mexico's Human Rights Commission, and I went to a nearby village called Saric one day. There we met with a woman who had suffered the loss of 14 of her extended family to the violence of the cartel wars. With the Golfo Cartel at one end of the town and the Sinaloa Cartel at the other, who came and went to the community was completely controlled. One day and night there was a gun battle that began while Prisci was saying mass. It continued for hours, and reportedly, as many as 21 died from gun violence. The Mexican Army approached from the south and prevented anyone from escaping in that direction. The army's strategy was containment, not enforcement.

Pope John Paul II and others asserted a universal human right to migrate the same as does the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, that right is conditional even in the minds of the pope and the cardinals who are providing constituency service to hundreds of millions of their people. When the government is good and the livelihood is acceptable, a would-be migrant has a moral obligation to stay with friends and family, to make a country prosper. Early Christian teachings speak of the believer's obligations to bless the nation and make it prosper. But when the conditions warrant, such as the failure of a government to provide for its people or for conditions to be so bad that one has to go to another place in order to survive, then one has the basic human right and conceivably the ethical requirement to migrate. With that funda-

mental right comes the moral obligation of the “receiving” country to treat the migrant with dignity, welcome and opportunity.

These concepts were preached often in the Altar church by Father Rene Castañeda, who led the church for more than five years into what is a major social justice ministry. Under his leadership, the congregation reached out to the migrants who gathered in the city square where the church is located. He helped develop a diocese-wide program of associated ministries for migrants all along the border between Sonora and Arizona. It grew to involve many parishes in significant ways. Hanging in the church is a large banner that displays a prayer for the migrants. It's one of the first things that leads visitors to take out their cameras. The prayer on the banner grows out of the Catholic social teachings on migration.

The square is like the city's living room; people are always re-arranging the furniture. Over the last decade, a wrought-iron gazebo has been erected, taken down, re-located. A new masonry stage has been built. The square once featured open-air cafes, grills, and drink vendors. Now it features raised planting areas. Locals report that the highest air temperature ever recorded in North America was recorded near Altar: 147 degrees Fahrenheit. Every year, it also freezes in Altar. Daily temperature swings can be as much as 50 degrees, so the migrants are always trying to adjust their clothing for their journeys.

The streets to the north, east, and south of the square are lined with vendors displaying their wares in booths made principally of welded one-inch-square tube steel and plastic tarps drawn tightly over the steel and tied down. The items for sale are monotonously similar from one booth to another. Black back packs, black ski masks, black gloves, black socks, black jeans, black shoes, and black shirts – though many of them bear sports logos, religious symbols or some other splash of color. One sees more camouflage these days, but still the ubiquitous U.S. ball caps remain, with all of their bright colors. Many include U.S. symbols: flags, eagles, NYPD, and NYFD, sometimes the names of cities and universities. Migrants choose the black apparel because it is common where they are from, and because it increases their chances of being able to walk dusk to dawn without being seen. The logos feed both the migrants' sense of the American dream and the misperception that the migrants will more easily “blend” in the US.

Most migrants use one-gallon water jugs purchased right off the counter from a convenience store. The problem with them is that they look like white flags when the migrants walk across the

southern Arizona desert. They are reflective. Many migrants paint their jugs a dark color or wrap them in some dark fabric. An entrepreneur in Altar began bottling water in dark jugs. Water jugs are not the environmental problem many assume. In the intense heat of the desert, over time, the jugs crumble and eventually become a powder. What is a problem is the flexible plastic caps. These can be ingested by livestock and cause a number of problems.

When migrants use the light-colored jugs, we can see from some distance what their source of water has been. If it is clear, it's from the store. If it is yellow, the migrant is recycling his or her urine. If it is green, the water has been taken from a stock tank, and it is colored by moss and algae. If it is brown, the water came from a rut in the road that collected a little rain water. Some humor is needed for the pain we feel. On a 300-mile water station-servicing trip, a guy from the back of the vehicle exclaimed, "Wow! Did you see the jugs on that migrant?" There was laughter for, well, at least a decade now. The migrant was male, by the way.

Into the backpacks go tortillas, cans of tuna, mayonnaise (depending on the region of the migrants' origin), personal hygiene products and often a near-complete change of clothing to be used when the migrant finally gets the ride into the Promised Land. One thing some Border Patrol agents do when stopping a car is to not only look and ask questions, but also to lean close so that they can smell the car and the people. Someone who walks a long way through the Sonoran desert will have a distinctive odor that comes from desert vegetation such as creosote bushes but also from many other plants. In the first several to dozens of miles from the border, that odor helps an agent identify illegal entrants. We know what these backpacks contain because we have picked up thousands of them on our side of the border.

From a stone wall convenient for sitting, it is easy to watch people in the Altar square from a comfortable vantage point. Clearly, some migrants don't have a dime to spend. Others come to the tables at the open-air restaurants and order more food than can be eaten and some take taxis to the few, nicer restaurants.

On any side street, one finds small stores selling the items one needs just to get by for one to three days while the migrants figure out their plans, plus the things they will need to cross the border. Farmacias (Mexican pharmacies that usually sell most everything without prescription) sell birth control pills to women because of their fear they will be raped on their journey. The women have to face many kinds of violations. When I visit the shelter and the

casas, I raise my voice, raise my arm and finger to tell the men loudly that they have a moral obligation to help the women on their journey and not to harm them. Not very far down any street, one can find casas de huéspedes, or guest houses. Most were built between 2003 and 2011. There is one casa north of the square that houses up to 300 migrants each night during peak migration. A few nicely plastered rooms have been built for group conversation and watching television.

But when it's time for lights out, no commercial sleeping arrangement is quite like this anywhere I know. In several rooms, small tubular steel frames support plywood sheets covered in carpet. Each migrant does not get his or her own sheet of plywood for the night. Absolutely not. The migrants bunch up together, side by side, and lay like cigars in a box. One can only imagine. No showers. No clean clothes. Very little ventilation, since the door is closed against the cold, and often frigid, air during peak migration. It doesn't smell like a humidior! Locals, including Fr. Prisci, report that it is more like the bottom of a ship bringing slaves to the U.S. centuries before.

Each house and business in town has a large, round polyethylene tank on the roof. U.S. visitors wrongfully think this is a poor man's water heating system. It is not. These tanks are the water supply for each home or business. They are black so as keep light from shining through the water. That reduces the chance of an algae bloom in the water. The black tank actually cools the water, which is chlorinated by the city to reduce microbial growth. There is no city water tower to provide constant pressure.

Humane Borders used the same technology in desert water stations, except the color of the tanks was blue. If and when the city is pumping potable water, then the float valve in the tank lets the water in, just like the tank of a toilet in most U.S. homes. Often, the residents have a vendor pump water into their rooftop tanks. When there is no water pressure, the homes still have water pressure by gravity feed. Water is metered, so occupants of the houses can control their costs by rationing their own water usage. Each house is made of modular concrete block or "slump block", which is a larger, softer homemade brick. The homes have poured-in-place concrete beams, lintels, corners and door posts. Often the roofs are concrete. When money is available, the inside is plastered, often quite well. Usually, the outside of the building is plastered last and usually many years after the construction began. Because of the booming migrant businesses – food, lodging, travel supplies – the construction business has been good. Following the downturn in

the economy in the U.S., far fewer persons were traveling through Altar, significantly dampening the local economy. Those conditions also opened the doors for more organized crime to take root. The cartels expanded their market share by force.

All ministries have histories. The local church observed in 2000 that there were migrants everywhere about town, that many were very young and very poor. The church began a new ministry, with C.C.A.M.Y.N. as the acronym: Centro Comunitaria Ayuda Migrante Y Necesidades or Community Center for Attention to Migrants and their Needs. At first, the name began with the words, "Catholic Center". That was changed in just the first few weeks. The church wanted to serve everyone. Many migrants are not Catholic. Evangelicalism is growing quickly in Mexico. Evangelicalism is a common term in Mexico to refer to Christians that are not Catholic. It does not have the same meaning in the U.S.

The creation of the Altar shelter was a response not only of the local Catholic Church, but also the bishop of the diocese. It began as one house where migrants, especially vulnerable families, could eat and sleep. On a walk through the square on any day, one may find three, and possibly, four generations of migrants who will soon cross into the U.S.

The shelter began serving food, providing some over-the-counter medical assistance, advice, religious services and advice about the dangers of crossing the desert such as the types of cactus and the dangerous insects and snakes. Soon, Catholic Relief Services got involved and a significant construction project began. Currently the shelter can accommodate up to 100 individuals each night. Each of the basic offerings of the shelter has been increased. A small infirmary was established. A meeting room that doubles as a dining hall was built. A kitchen proportional to the need was built. Guest books are signed. Information is collected. The organization keeps a number of statistics on names, who comes from where, ages, sex and so on.

Even with increased capacity, such a shelter is never large enough to take care of all who need help. The numbers of folks going north have ranged from 150 a day to more than 6,000 a day over the last 15 years. In fact, more than 35 so-called guest houses, some small, others large, now operate in Altar. During peak migration, locals would rent out beds in their homes. Almost all of the casas are family businesses. Some of the casas de huéspedes resent the church's shelter because it is seen as being in competition. This is the case even though the owners of the casas are

in church themselves when the doors are opened. A sizeable gift by an enormously wealthy U.S. citizen, Howard Buffett, enabled the shelter to secure staff and continue to operate in an effective manner. It has to be noted that all migrants often suffer predatory economic practices from the citizens of Altar. Some end up in the church shelter because they've been wiped out by folks in and around the town for whom rapacious economics is a religion.

In the town square, and increasingly along the side streets the vans line up to take migrants north to El Sasabe. Many of the vans have all but the front two seats torn out so that home-made wooden benches can hold even more people. These 15-passenger vans frequently carry up to 24 persons. The cost of riding the 63 miles to the border varies but is rising dramatically. What was once a \$15 trip is sometimes now as much as \$125.00 USD. The cartel takes a huge cut.

In August 2010, I helped two videographers crossing the border from Altar into the U.S. They each paid \$2,400 USD to their coyote plus \$150 each to ride in the van. Most of the van ride fee went directly to the mafia.

Migrants load up the vans and begin their journeys. To look into the vans and deep into the eyes of the migrants is to see an unusual mixture of fear, excitement, anxiety and hope that I can only describe as sheer wonder. Today, I judge there is a little more fear than wonder.

Just a few miles down a two-lane, black-top road van drivers turn onto the "toll road." A five-by seven-foot kiosk like you would find at an urban parking garage in the U.S. is in the center of this mostly two-lane dirt road from Hell. Inside, an operator lowers a 3/8" hardened steel chain once the toll of about three U.S. dollars per vehicle is paid. A driver making the round trip from Altar to Sonora pays twice. The owners of the toll road are making out like bandits, especially during the first few months of the year. Their costs are only the employee at the kiosk and the operation of a highway-type road maintainer that runs only in good weather.

Between Altar and Sasabe are seven large cattle ranches. After the toll booth, drivers have to negotiate cattle guards built decades earlier. Since each rancher wants to preserve as much water as possible and all the water runs downhill toward the U.S., each rancher has built a berm where the toll road crosses the property line to the north. A cattle guard is built into the berm. Drivers have to approach slowly because they frequently cannot see over the cattle guard, and the cattle guards are wide enough

for only one vehicle at a time. Drivers have to be alert to determine if a cloud of dust is coming their way so they can approach the cattle guards with some sense of security. I used to try and “get air” on the front wheels when crossing to the terror of some of my passengers, especially those in the back seat.

On many trips along the 63-mile dirt road, we would find at least one van over on the side of the road with mechanical problems of one kind or another: bad tire, overheated, broken suspension. I’ve often thought that except for the speed of modern vehicles, this road must have had some similarities to the wagon roads leading out of St. Louis, Missouri during the hegemonic western expansion in the U.S.

For many years, 21 miles south of the border, there was an orange eight-by ten-foot metal canopy supported by four steel legs. One to four members of the Mexican federal safety organization called Grupo Beta would stop each van and ask of the migrants their place of origin. The groups of migrants were advised to stay together, to watch out for dangers, to look out for the little ones.

During those years, I explained to folks that the Beta Group behaved as crossing guards. They really functioned to kept the migration moving. If someone fell behind or needed special attention, Beta would get that person to the right service provider. Today Beta group spends more time south of the Tohono O’odham Reservation looking for migrants in distress. The metal canopy is gone, but millions of migrants passed by it before it was dismantled and moved. Some of us think of this place as a portal to the U.S. that deserves to be included in a memorial.

Beta Group members are not to be mistaken for U.S. Border Patrol counterparts, no matter how often U.S. journalists make that comparison. Members of the group do not enforce laws. They implement migrant safety protocols. Many, if not most, have gotten caught up in the spheres of influence of the cartels. Beta works to a small extent to help the U.S. Border Patrol with certain problems, such as the special needs of a migrant who has been returned voluntarily from the U.S. side and, in some cases, to provide extra eyes and ears on the south side of the line. My extensive personal experience and often anecdotal accounts confirm that Grupo Beta is often in cahoots with the cartels. I frequently visited this checkpoint, known as El Tortugo. Even though the road does not go through El Tortugo, the name has stuck for this checkpoint, much like a traveler marks off waypoints on a map. Sometimes food vendors would set up coolers with burritos and drinks. Large numbers of migrants

take the opportunity there stop to relieve themselves in the desert. One day the remnant toilet paper made the area look like a recently stripped cotton field. Dr. Alberto Escalante is a physician who runs a clinic in Altar. He is also a rancher whose ranch house is visible from the checkpoint. He told me that some days he could make more money from selling burritos than practicing medicine.

A number of us have thought of this place in religious terms as one of the "thin places" where the human meets the divine in some fashion. The sheer enormity of the Tortugo Checkpoint is hard to grasp. Good records were kept at Ellis Island. No personal records were recorded at El Tortugo checkpoint. But we are convinced that the numbers of migrants traveling that road in many years were greater than the annual totals of migrants who passed through Ellis Island. Without question, in some years more entered through southern Arizona, if not El Tortugo alone. Only an east-west fence with a cattle guard marking the end of Dr. Escalante's ranch and the beginning of another, a road to the east to El Tortugo. A road leads also west from there to places known as El Rillito – the little river, Pozo Verde – the green well, and La Sierrita – the little (mountain) range. Still, a sense of its presence remains for those who saw it as it once was.

The desert is filled with saguaro cactus, organ pipe cactus, barrel cactus, cholla cactus of several types, and some prickly pear cactus. Lots of other, smaller cacti abound. Palo Verde and mesquite trees are plentiful. Over-grazing by cattle has made the floor of the desert nearly bare. The contrast in land management south of the border and north of the border in the same valley is dramatic. On the U.S. side, the desert is almost lush, with semi-successful efforts at reestablishing native grasslands.

At El Tortugo, some vans turn to the left and head west and north to find their way south of the Tohono O'odham reservation, the second largest reservation in the U.S. One third of the historic land of the Tohono O'odham is south of the border. The O'odham say, "We didn't cross the border. The border crossed us." The border crossed east-west. The migrants cross south to north. Millions have crossed in the area.

El Sasabe is a small village of about 4,000 people south of Sasabe, Arizona, population 52 at last count. It has the usual local police station, a state police office and a small detachment of the Mexican military living in a building not as large as a very small National Guard Armory in the US. One primary and one secondary school adjoin in the heart of the community. A colorful cemetery –

without a doubt the most colorful place in town – catches the eye every time one drives by. Several casas de huéspedes, restaurants (something of an exaggeration), and small tiendas (stores) offer the last services for the migrants as they prepare to cross. Migrants begin arriving by about 10a.m., and the last vans are usually making their way back from El Sasabe to Altar before 5p.m. Many van drivers refuse to drive in the dark, for good reasons. The migrants group up, grab a few gallons of fresh water, and head off into the Promised Land. First, they must cross through the Border Patrol agents each deployed a few miles apart. The migrants walk quite a distance east or west of the Port of Entry. Both the U.S. officers and the Mexican officers have a pistol shooting range on each side of the border just to remind each other that of their presence.

One of the godfathers of the Sanctuary Movement, Jim Corbett, once said that the purpose of the Border Patrol was to keep would-be migrants standing in line to get jobs at the maquiladoras (factories) south of the border so that American companies would be guaranteed a steady supply of cheap labor. Toward the end of his life, Jim's hands were disfigured by a crippling form of arthritis. I would touch the back of his hands to greet him and receive his wisdom. However one might evaluate Jim's words, they would always lead to a higher level of thinking about these matters.

What do the migrants, the coyotes and the Border Patrol have in common? Keeping the U.S. market for fear alive, and trying to keep women and children from crossing the border. Keeping people from working legally keeps up contributions to Social Security without having to pay out benefits to individuals who will never receive benefits. The illusion of order on the border has a certain political utility. Over the years, the lived experience of being at the line has changed.

When the migrants were running through the border communities at night, the residents would complain to the mayor. Fences were damaged, dogs were barking, water hoses were left on, automatic security lights go on and off and Border Patrol vehicles roared through neighborhoods, sometimes with sirens, but certainly with lights. It's was enough to make many U.S. citizens want change.

There was a certain logic for the Border Patrol to clamp down on some of the urban areas along the border. They brought order to the communities without added, local expense. And, for some communities, there was a cost-benefit analysis in the minds of some that made the presence of the Border Patrol more palatable. The

agents came to town, rented apartments, bought pizza, drank beer, rented movies, went to church, and generally stimulated the economy. With more than 4,400 agents in the Tucson Sector of the Border Patrol, 1,100 of non-uniformed support personnel, government contractors working on border infrastructure and the promise of more to come, the Department of Homeland Security is a very big employer. Local politicians of all stripes leap to support larger local payrolls even if they are federal.

Add to that the multiplier effect of employment: service stations, car washes, dry cleaners, aviation mechanics, communications specialists, building services people and the construction contractors. Stir in the Yuma Sector, the Immigration and Customs Enforcement employees (uniformed and support personnel), the port inspectors and soon border enforcement is among the largest employers in all of Arizona. It spreads itself out so that every community gets at least a little bit of the pie, diffusing the resentment of those who are stopped on the highways by enforcement officers over and over. Law enforcement in southern Arizona is a public works project. It's not a project that works but it does bring home the bacon. Read the print in the papers about it all and, well, you begin to understand the story of the Tower of Babel – an earlier, huge, endless public works project awaiting God's gift of confusion.

Since the Border Patrol academy in Artesia, New Mexico can't crank out new agents fast enough to satisfy many, local, state, and federal officials seize the opportunity to bring in other payrolls including groups specializing in unmanned aerial vehicles to bring home dollars. Government contractors all across the state use southern Arizona as a site to perform research and development projects for low-intensity conflict, some would say low-intensity warfare. Local universities are now feeding at the government trough, too. Then there's the National Guard which comes and goes.

I recall watching National Guardsmen thumping tires at the Brownsville Port of Entry back in the late '80s, during the time when INS officials were saying that the Guard was not on duty anywhere near the border. I have photos in my archives. Once pressured, the government said, "Oh, they are there to learn about drug interdiction." By the 1991 fiscal year, the U.S. was already pouring tens of millions of dollars annually into operations along the Mexico-Guatemala border.

In the face of the many who call for deploying troops and/or the National Guard on the border and the politics of being able to be seen as doing something about the border while bringing money to the border, many a politician finds the whole mixture rather seductive. He or she can take advantage of the good will of men and women who have volunteered to serve their nation and their state in emergencies and have them come and sit and watch the migration or build fences. In May 2006, President Bush sent National Guard troops to beef up the Border Patrol's capacities. Most of the Guard troops were deployed to Arizona.

Then Arizona Governor Janet Napolitano, who became Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, applauded. The purpose of sending the Guard was not to "stem the tide of the migration", but rather to appease those on the right who were squawking for their leaders to do something. It's hard to see how any analysis will ever champion President George W. Bush or Secretary Napolitano or Arizona Governor Brewer in the long run for these expensive and ineffective moves perpetuated against our neighbors. National Guardsmen were flown into Tucson International Airport and spent many of their nights in four-star resorts in and around Tucson at taxpayer expense. Having these large payrolls in the state are just as seductive as having a new private or federal prison in the area.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 began a legalization program in the U.S., instituted some workplace enforcement and slightly beefed up the Border Patrol. This was during President Ronald Reagan's second term. During President Bill Clinton's administration, the people who were newly legalized under the provisions of IRCA 1986, had the rights of citizens, so they petitioned the INS for millions of their relatives for admission to the U.S. It is precisely this single event that leads learned politicians with memories to scream against any kind of amnesty program. Many speak of providing a legal status without citizenship as an alternative. There are variations. The most important one includes extended visas.

How big is this migration? That is extremely difficult to answer. There is not a turnstile through which everyone enters and no one has an effective way to count those voluntarily returning to their country of origin. The U.S. census is a wonderful source of data but it only gives us a snapshot. In any case, the migration is not as big as most would be led to believe by listening to media or expert witnesses giving their reports to Congress. Numbers are a funny language, so attention has to be paid to how I report the numbers

needed to understand more about the migration. Also, some of the numbers have to be qualified. Generally, in the short term, a lot of people come and a lot of people go home. In the first decade of this century, the U.S. probably grew by the equivalent of about one good-sized city every year through undocumented migration alone. The growth was not just Latino, but from nearly every country on earth. There is evidence that the migration is nearly net-zero today, perhaps even negative. These are national trends, not just along the southwest border.

Good data are hard to find. Yet good sources do exist. There are at least four trustworthy sources of general information: First and foremost, the U.S. Census Bureau does the best work. It's amusing to me that members of Congress are always quoting the Pew Hispanic Research Center, where scholars like Jeffrey Passell do great work, but it's unusual because the primary source of Pew's data is the government's own Bureau of the Census.

The migration once was characterized by what is termed "circularity". Migrants would come, work and go home in cycles. Many would follow seasonal agricultural work like cutting grain, or shearing sheep, then go back to the family, the community, and the church. The migration still has some of these characteristics, but much has changed. Since 1993, both the cost and the danger of going back and forth across the border with regularity have led to many migrants choosing to stay here for longer periods of time.

The average length of time a migrant stays in the U.S. grows every year. Estimates in the mid-'80s suggested that migrants stayed an average of two years. Some estimates today put that number as high as nine years. The longer the stays, the greater the costs borne by municipalities. The longer the stay, the more likely the migrant will make claims upon a wide variety of public resources. Being a decade older increases the likelihood of emerging medical conditions, including disease and accident. Many people still illegally cross the border for relatively short periods of time. And, the new fencing keeps them in the U.S. because its presence makes crossing the border often more dangerous and more expensive. Comparisons are often made to the Berlin Wall. It was designed to keep people in. The effect of the U.S. wall is the same.

A number of excellent studies have documented the growth of the U.S. Border Patrol presence. That is not my goal here but at least a few facts need to be rehearsed. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 called for an increase in the Border Patrol presence along the border. Specific areas were targeted for en-

forcement with limited resources available. Some policy entrepreneurs, such as Sylvester Reyes, who was the Border Patrol sector chief in El Paso in the early '90s, attempted some demonstration projects such as Operation Hold the Line. He went on to serve as a U.S. Representative and frequently was sought by media as an expert on border enforcement. He is now in retirement. During his time in El Paso, he showed, for a brief time, that large numbers of forward-deployed agents could deter daily back-and-forth crossings of the Rio Grande. This strategy was copied along the border south of San Diego.

A lot of infrastructure had to be requested for the Border Patrol to effectively use this deterrence strategy. It's pretty hard to hire a young agent to sit in the same place day after day and do nothing. In order to build up the capacities of the Border Patrol, fences would be built, stadium-style lights would be erected, horse patrols expanded, new equipment invented, seismic detectors installed and much more. Still, some things never change. As one 25-plus-year veteran of border law enforcement told me, "Few moments in life are as intimidating as having an armed man on a Morgan horse appear ready to run you down." The number of horse-mounted agents has increased in recent years. In some areas, special stables had to be constructed and special feed had to be given to the horses so their diet wouldn't spread and support new, unwanted vegetation in wilderness areas adjacent to the border.

The hot spot on the border in the early '90s was San Diego. More Mexican nationals crossed there than anywhere else. Of course, one has to ignore the everyday, back-and-forth crossing from Matamoros to Brownsville to make that statement, but it at least seemed that more of the long-term migration was taking place in and around Tijuana. So many people were crossing that national morning network news coverage began showing live shots of large groups of men, women, and children, all storming the San Ysidro Port of Entry at the same time, endangering both themselves and motorists. Yellow caution signs were erected in many places in California showing a man, a woman, and a child running. The idea was to get California motorists to contribute to migrant safety by not running them over.

The El Paso project of Sylvester Reyes looked good to some congressional law-and-order types. The much larger Operation Gatekeeper was implemented in 1993. Scholars including Wayne Cornelius have carefully traced its development and the deaths it has caused. The problem is that Gatekeeper, border analysis, pro-

gram evaluation, and entrepreneurial members of Congress are still using the same set of circumstances, the same data sets and the same responses, while pouring billions upon billions of U.S. taxpayer dollars into the mix and getting only one result: more migrant deaths. There's more to it. I assure my critics that even if and when the migrant deaths go down, we'll still be looking at the inhumane nature of the border. It causes not only deaths. It causes untold human suffering. Perpetuating the pattern of death and suffering is not only inhumane, it is immoral.

Our experience of the Tucson Sector of the Border Patrol has been mixed. Who the Chief Patrol Agent is matters, but not a lot. CPAs do have discretion, though. All public administrators do. Administrative discretion is the area where nonprofits can affect change. David Aguilar was Chief Patrol Agent of the Tucson Sector in 2000; he presented himself to the public as a professional man with a great sense of community relationships during his tenure. He demonstrated marked respect for the faith communities, though it was often deceptive. The chief would order background checks on people scheduled to attend meetings days before he arrived. Intel and public relations (PR) types would accompany him. In those settings, there is little difference between Intel and PR. Chiefs routinely conduct surveillance on the public to inform their courses of action.

The PR angle was one factor in why Aguilar was promoted to Chief of the US Border Patrol and later to Commissioner of Customs and Border Protection. Chief Michael Nicly was very different. In the words of one of his public information officers, "He put himself on an island and let everyone throw rocks at him."

Chief Robert Gilbert was affable enough, though he seriously didn't want to work with humanitarian groups. He told a group of religious and civil society leaders one day that he had a friend killed on the border by a rock thrower. He said he never wanted to have to answer to a citizens review group of any kind, and that if he was required to be responsible to civilians, he would turn in his badge. We concluded that he didn't understand Senior Executive Service (SES). Several of the humanitarian groups finally cut off communications with him. He was more eager to play politics, and when he left Tucson he carried some scars from trying to do so.

Victor Manjarraz, Jr. was all business, very militaristic, and a good advocate for his employees, but he ducked the media and most of the community. Chief Richard Barlow sent an undercover agent to secretly videotape a press conference, a move that

engendered no enthusiasm from border groups. I challenged an undercover agent with a camera at a closed press conference I called. He was known to us only as Eric. The local Channel 4 (NBC) television station outed him in their evening broadcast. Chief Barlow also lied to us saying that he would respond to all complaints from humanitarian groups. I filed one with him and a duplicate to the U.S. Office of Inspector General in Tucson. Never heard a word back. Leadership in law enforcement does matter. Some are leaders, others not. More often than not, though, the leaders fall back on their roles and fail to see how they can be effective community leaders.

Since Humane Borders was founded, the size of the patrol in the Tucson Sector has more than tripled. The actual number of agents went up and down through the decade. In 2000, the number was about 1,500 agents with about 200 non-uniformed support personnel. On September 11, 2001, the number of agents in the sector was about 2,080. Since Douglas, Naco, Nogales, Sasabe, and Lukeville are not the most strategic places from which to defend the U.S., the numbers were drawn down to nearly the 2000 levels. At the beginning of 2016, there were 4,400 agents and 1,100 non-uniformed support personnel.

In 2000, there were seven aircraft in the sector's "wing". Now there are more than 25. In 2000, the agents were using antiquated hand-me-down technologies, mostly from the military, including a few sets of night-vision goggles, a few hundred seismic ground sensors, and not too much more. Fencing was crude and built only in the urban areas skirting the ports of entry. Ports of entry have been beefed up in recent years with various kinds of cameras, monitors, sensing devices. The port inspectors have been trained in more technologies and in the application of different rules. Near some ports of entry, there are high tech camera rooms with cameras that can be manipulated to assist agents on the ground who have radio contact to the camera room.

By 2010, DHS and sector personnel had spent nearly a billion dollars on one iteration or another of a so-called "virtual" fence. The first effort at building a virtual fence promised to give the agents in the area a huge amount of real-time information that would almost guarantee total apprehensions in the areas where the technology was deployed. It was a catastrophic flop. The second, more expensive version got better at distinguishing between cows and cars, but not much better. Tinkering is still ongoing. A third-generation virtual fence is currently being deployed. Agents

would get excited about each new iteration of lasers, ground-based radar and other technologies. Agents with major and colonel rank would report to me, "Don't worry, Rev., we're going to stop the deaths with this new equipment. You won't need to worry about the migrants anymore." Not.

The Border Patrol has had an annual construction budget that nearly any government agency short of the Pentagon would covet. New station offices and new sector offices have been built, complete with conference rooms and exercise rooms for the agents. Each is appointed with complementary landscaping, parking, security cameras, and shaded structures for vehicles. New migrant processing centers and detention facilities have also been built.

All of this, and still there has yet to be any measurable difference in the migration. No difference. Period. This cannot be said often enough. Since 1994, with all of the buildup of personnel and technology, there has yet to be any substantial decrease in the successful annual migration of people from the south to the north that is causally linked to enforcement. No change. None whatsoever.

Some 11 million undocumented persons live in the U.S. According to many estimates, there are about 7 million Mexican nationals in the U.S. The annual net growth of undocumented Mexican nationals in the US grew to a high of somewhere between 255,000 and 300,000. The numbers include people who have come to the U.S. legally and overstayed their visas. These numbers are much lower today due to a major decline in the U.S. economy and some factors in Mexico and Central America's northern triangle. The government could easily reduce much of the burden of the Border Patrol along the border and reduce much of the misery of people in the desert by merely giving Mexico a larger quota of persons who could travel here legally.

In one of David Aguilar's testimonies before a Congressional subcommittee, the chief inelegantly referred to the migrants as "clutter on his radar screen." That can be received as significant if not profound insensitivity to the people in the desert, but it also indicated that he knew that these people were not a threat to national security. If the committee could help him move that out of his way, he said he would be better equipped to work on national security.

I hope that the Border Patrol hires some very professional analysts who can someday actually help them with critical program evaluation and general data analysis. They may have such personnel but data is never shared with students and scholars of the bor-

der. I hope that someday all of their information will be accessible to the public. Much of the border news is based on what the folks in the Department of Homeland Security or a Border Patrol Sector office issues in press releases. The data are often dismal. By law, the U.S. government and its many agencies are not allowed to have public relations machines. Functionally, they do have them and they are sophisticated. Community relations officers, sector chiefs, public information officers, and even the highest-ranking officials all opine widely and often overlook facts on the ground and the analyses of interest groups and academics. Ignoring facts is ultimately to their political detriment. Local media try to include counter arguments from representatives of the community. But when the oft-repeated local lore including Border Patrol media machine reports become the basis for testimony before Congressional committees that is not refuted by reputable members of the academy, problems emerge.

Apprehension data are one example. They are grossly inaccurate for describing the migration. Interpreting Border Patrol data is as dangerous as interpreting the Bible: you can come up with just about whatever you want. In the Tucson Sector of the Border Patrol in the early 2000s, it was common for the same migrant to be apprehended 15 or more times before local CBP station personnel would call the federal courts to see whether someone wanted to prosecute this person for repeated entry-without-inspection violations (EWI). EWI violations alone are administrative violations, not criminal acts.

In the 2000s, the Border Patrol generally reported 750,000 to 1,500,000 apprehensions in a fiscal year along all borders, but as far as we can tell, that probably represents only about 500,000 to 900,000 different individuals. This was the finding of a young journalist intern at the *Wall Street Journal*. He volunteered with us and at one point, he submitted a Freedom of Information Act request to the Department of Homeland Security for data and analyzed them. Many of those individuals are removed from the U.S. through a process called "voluntary return," in which the migrant simply signs a document saying he or she won't come back. A digital photo is added to the migrant's record which is also digitized. In addition, a set of digital laser fingerprints are made. Sometimes the migrant literally gets a McDonald's "Happy Meal" and is returned to the nearest port of entry.

I refer to this practice and phenomenon as "shepherding". The agent picks up the sheep from one pasture and puts it into another.

er pasture and says, "Stay there." Only, the sheep – and that's a good image of a person in the scriptures, not a condescending one – comes right back. This happens over and over again until the migrant makes it through or gets tired and goes home. Agents are often just as tired of this as others are. The Border Patrol practice is simple: return the sheep to a different pasture and the day's work will be over. The country will be safe and secure.

Sometimes, however, the agents choose to mess up the smuggling networks, traumatize families and breed as much Mexican resentment as possible by returning migrants to a distant pasture. The migrant can be apprehended in one corridor and returned several dozen corridors to the east or west, where it is assumed – often incorrectly – that they lack the ability to communicate easily with families or migrant guides and they won't be able to return. The development of the cartel connections works against Border Patrol assumptions.

Yet, it was once proposed to use lateral repatriations to actually end all repatriations from Arizona, returning all migrants through ports of entry in other states. We were sure the bus operators would love it. The huge downside of this is that parents and children, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives far too often are separated and sent to different port cities. Why does the government give these agents the discretion to do things that would not be tolerated in any state in the union? This practice is inhumane. Several groups, including congregations, have been considering the logistics of setting up high-speed internet terminals in a number of strategic locations on the south side of the line to facilitate family reunifications. What the Border Patrol doesn't realize is that this will also lead to the sharing of significant data about their current deployments. Every decision on this side will be met by responses on the other and vice versa. The Mexican government has begun funding call centers, some located in the U.S., where families can contact each other following these destructive and resentment-building separations.

During summer months, the Border Patrol tries to disrupt the coyote system by flying migrants to the interior of Mexico. Supposedly, it's voluntary, but what can be said if a big man in a green uniform with a gun who got up on the wrong side of the bed asks you if you want to volunteer? What would you say if you had never ridden in an airplane and knew you could ride the bus back to the border a couple of days later? What would you say if you were tired, need-

ed to get back home to regroup, get some money so you could try again? Answer: Yes!

Under a guarantee of anonymity, a Mexican consular staff member charged with protecting migrants' rights and the integrity of their decision making reported to me several times that the U.S. Border Patrol frequently coerced migrants to get on the flights. She was told by her bosses to certify the voluntary nature of the migrants' responses. This is a very expensive border control practice, and it just doesn't work all that well.

I thought it would be a whole lot cheaper and more effective to interrupt the crossing as it is happening instead of trying to interrupt its inevitable repetition as I told Asa Hutchinson who was Deputy Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security on a cable news program. One way to do that would be to find some retired folks with small planes – of which there are plenty in southern Arizona – give them some fuel and let them call in sightings of migrants on hot days. The program of repatriating migrants by air is defended by CBP on humanitarian grounds – even without good evidence but the numbers of deaths are still setting records. So, it is hard to perceive any program effectiveness. The focus should be on the migrant in the desert and not on disrupting connections the migrants have to support the migration.

Another extremely controversial practice employed by the U.S. government is Operation Streamline. This is an unusual intertwining of federal courts, U.S. magistrates, Immigration and Customs Enforcement, Department of Justice, Customs and Border Protection, Wackenhut (now known as G4S), U.S. Marshals, and the Bureau of Prisons. It's a small cottage industry. G4S is a corporate descendant of security services that can be traced all the way back to the Pinkerton Detective Agency in 1850. I left out the many local attorneys who are involved. One of them apologized to me for participating in the debacle, citing his lack of income as the reason.

Monday through Friday in the federal courthouse in Tucson, Arizona, 70 or so undocumented migrants – with or without criminal records – are paraded into the courtroom in shackles. The purpose of the proceeding is to criminalize behavior. The offense is called Entry Without Inspection. It is an administrative violation that migrants commit when they cross the border without documents and fail to enter through a U.S. port of entry. That administrative offense is prosecuted under Section 8 of the United States Code of Criminal Conduct.

The migrants are equipped with wireless headsets for simultaneous translation of the proceedings. Informed consent is supposedly established by the magistrate asking lots of questions to make sure everyone knows why they are there, whether or not they have some reason not to be there, that sort of thing.

The proceeding has been fine-tuned in small ways following rulings of the Ninth Circuit Court in San Francisco, but generally, the following holds: A group of migrants is paraded in front of microphones with local attorneys who have visited with each of them briefly – too briefly. Questions are asked by the federal magistrate, answers given by migrants and only occasionally by attorneys. Sometimes points are clarified. The sentence that the US has requested is usually imposed by the magistrate. Each group is paraded out of the room, still shackled, by U.S. Marshals.

Conventional courtroom decorum is observed. Over time, I've brought hundreds of visitors to the courtroom. They are shocked. Occasionally, someone is turned away from entry to the courthouse for inappropriate clothing. Occasionally, someone speaks out from the gallery in the courtroom and is removed. Sometimes, silent gestures are made that result in the gesture makers being walked out of the building. A pastor was visiting the court. Upon hearing some comments from the magistrate that she thought offensive, she made a near universal hand gesture in her lap, below the line of sight of the pews in the courtroom. It was meant to be a private communication to me and me alone. However, sitting off to one side, a Border Patrol agent saw it. He rose, approached a U.S. Federal Marshall's Service agent who promptly escorted the good reverend out of the courthouse admonishing her, "Don't come back, or you will be cited for contempt of court and banned from ever re-entering." A U.S. federal magistrate once privately told a Tucson area-humanitarian worker in the courtroom following the prosecution of some 70 migrants that "This is precisely how the Holocaust worked." One can hear echoes of psycho-historian Robert Jay Lifton's explanations of how the Holocaust was perfectly legal. Legal and moral are two different things.

One day in Washington, D.C., I was with a Customs and Border Protection officer who was bragging about the efficacy of Operation Streamline proceedings in Tucson, Arizona. Others with me pointed out that there is no academic analysis of that efficacy. Agents can measure recidivism, but not the deterrence effect. I looked him in the eyes and asked him, "What percentage of Mexico's birthrate does the annual prosecution represent?" He

couldn't understand that I was denouncing the proceeding because, even if he deters a few from re-entry, the total numbers prosecuted pale in comparison to the numbers of migrants who will take their places. The only legitimate argument that could be made for continuing this project is that it is the functional equivalent of a public works project that retains a large federal payroll in a state with a deplorable economy.

An ugly dynamic of the migration – ugly because it leads to so many deaths—is the feminization of the migration. More women are now coming, and they die at a higher rate than do men. It is unknown whether the Border Patrol spends much effort on trying to analyze just who in the families are coming to the U.S., but several journalistic and academic attempts have been made to analyze the percentage of women and children crossing in Arizona. Susan Carroll was the best print border reporter in Arizona. She was the border reporter at the *Arizona Republic* and earlier, the *Tucson Citizen*. She now works at the *Houston Chronicle*. She arrived at the conclusion that in 2003 some 11 percent of the migrants were female but they accounted for more than 23 percent of the total deaths in the desert that fiscal year.

Robin Reineke, director of the Colibri Human Rights Center, reported in 2015 that approximately 25 percent of the deaths for the past 10 years have been women. It is assumed that more women are crossing because their male relatives are staying longer in the U.S. Fences, infrastructure and militarization have kept many migrants from going home, so their families predictably try to join them. The militarization of the southwest border has accounted for far more deaths than Hurricane Katrina and 9-11 combined.

Reporter Brady McCombs, formerly of the *Arizona Daily Star*, produced similar statistics and reported undeniable facts from the Pima County Medical Examiner's Office. In hot months like June and July, as many as 30 percent of the deaths are now female. That is extremely disproportional to the percentage of women who are making the journey. For a variety of reasons, women are simply not as adapted to the heat and the stress as the men, who may have spent long stretches of their lives working outside in fields and in construction. Another consideration may be social. Many of the female migrants may have had a more sedentary, sheltered, care-giving role before or even during the current journey. The women may be carrying extra food and water for children on the journey. It has also been documented that women are far more susceptible to desert death if they are menstruating. Today,

it is generally believed that some 16 percent of the migration to Arizona is female, an increase over previous years, and this may significantly contribute to the rising death rates. It is too soon to statistically measure the effects of the desert crossing as the percentage of Mexicans crossing declines and the percentage of Central Americans rises rapidly.

The U.S. government has reacted to the migration in such a way as to provide something for nearly everyone – or at least the many interest groups that ask for governmental responses. What the government has done roughly mirrors the general population's reaction. Under President Clinton's administration, the government passed arguably the harshest federal immigration legislation in U.S. history. In 1996, the so-called "IRA-squared" law reclassified simple misdemeanor offenses to make them aggravated felonies if committed by non-citizens. A very minor offense by a 16-year-old foster child of two of my former church members resulted in his going to Mexico to avoid being repatriated to his country of origin, Honduras. He came to the U.S. as an infant, didn't speak Spanish and has no friends or family in Honduras. He spent many months in detention. By self-deporting, he could at least stay geographically close to his foster family. This law also dramatically extended the discretion of local law enforcement agents to remove someone from the U.S. The law was passed as part of what was stylized as an "anti-terrorism and effective death penalty law". Sometimes legislation is just a way of oppressing a targeted group for political gains. The consequences of the law have nothing to do with the stated purposes.

In recent years, more than 300 anti-migrant measures have been enacted by state legislatures all across the country in an attempt to regulate the migration, or in many cases, to institutionalize racism and hatred of others. Some communities in the U.S. loosened up access to goods and services for migrants. Other communities, and now whole states, have tightened up the supply of goods and services. The presence of migrants in a state creates all kinds of opportunities for good things to happen. Unfortunately, political opportunists are currently the biggest beneficiaries. Things change. It wasn't that long ago that the state of Iowa took out a full-page ad in the New York Times welcoming migrants.

Generally, the government has been quiescent about the migration because, at the federal level, the financial contributions of the migration to the federal coffers have been significant. Most

states have 25 to 30 sources of tax revenues, including income taxes, special district taxes, excise taxes, use taxes and sales taxes.

Depending on locales and circumstances, migrants pay taxes as do others, directly or indirectly. Employers whose businesses experience increased productivity because they hire migrants pay income and property taxes (as well as all the other taxes). When the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was separate from the Department of Homeland Security, then U.S. Rep. Jim Kolbe was fond of saying, "Employers are more afraid of the IRS than they are the INS." That may still be quite true even as INS has morphed into CBP and ICE.

Social Security and Medicare taxes are among the big-ticket items. Many of the taxes routinely collected by the feds from migrants will never be paid out. The funds may be collected but the account identification numbers that don't match. Social Security may be collected but never vested, with the required 40 quarters of earnings. One doesn't have to be a U.S. citizen to hold a Social Security card, but it would be a fairer world if these people lived long enough to be able to collect the benefits for which they both toiled. Even among migrants who are in the U.S. for a long time, there is a lower life expectancy among migrants than among the general population.

There is a financial disincentive on the part of the U.S. government to reform the current system. Many members of Congress don't want to follow the money, so they accuse one party or the other of pandering to the so-called Hispanic vote. The Hispanic or Latino vote is not as monolithic as many assume.

Numerous journalists and academics have suggested to me in conversation that the largest single complaint that many anti-migrant types bring to the table is the complaint that somehow migration "mongrelizes" the United States. At its roots, the conversation concerns itself with the ethnic makeup of the country, its language and its current cultural mix. I'm always curious about that. Scholars tell us that at least 700 nations were known to exist in North America in 1492. Most of these nations have living descendants, and people from every country on earth have migrated to the U.S. Add to that immigrants of every race and combination, and I defy anyone to come up with one representative of "the American race." I still laugh at Samuel Huntington every time I see t-shirts worn by Native Americans with the words: "Practicing Homeland Security since 1492". The same is true in Mexico. As noted, in Mexico, Mexicans are white, black, yellow and indigenous,

along with every combination possible. There is no Mexican race and no American race. Mexicans are Americans, and they are, in fact, North Americans.

Like humanitarianism, vigilantism is sedimented in law, in the police powers of the general public, in the rights of individuals to bear arms, and in the kind of state initiatives we have seen in the so-called Protect Arizona Now Initiative, known in Arizona as Proposition 200. Similar proposals have been on ballots in Colorado, Alabama and elsewhere. California had Proposition 187 years ago. A hate movement using legislation across the country has spread a gospel of fear. Many efforts have connections to white-supremacy groups and are tracked by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

How will change be effected? The ill-defined political culture of Arizona and the comparatively small influence of main-line denominations and the peace Protestants make this a difficult challenge. An immediate burden falls, then, on the less politically active Hispanic voters and activists to effect change.

The required discourse is about alterity: others and otherness. If citizens are going to react to people without papers, they need to also look at themselves to see why they are reacting the way they are. They need to ask themselves if they like what they see. The U.S. is not made by race, color, creed, religion, sexual orientation or national origin. Why are persons without papers treated so poorly, especially when it has been clearly demonstrated they are eager to work and celebrate family life? It has also been clearly demonstrated that they are not terrorists.

First of all, no one along the border likes the migration. It defines much of who I am, but I don't like the migration. Many understand it, but none really likes it. There are some people who benefit from it, but even employers, unions, and migrants all want the laws changed.

Law enforcement doesn't like the migration, because it confuses the mission of the officers. Some object to what we expect of local law enforcement because they understand themselves to be peace officers and not federal agents.

Land owners and public land managers dislike the migration because of the environmental degradation by migrants and law enforcement. Humane Borders volunteers offered to pick up trash on 500,000 acres of national park lands in Arizona, but the superintendent of the park says, "No, I don't even let my rangers go out there." We've countered that we're in the desert all the time, and we have no problems with people we find in the desert. She said we

might run into bad folks. We countered again, We wouldn't know if someone was a drug runner or not. She responded: "They're the ones with the AK-47s".

Health care providers don't like the migration because of resulting unreimbursed expenses, though it should be quickly noted and understood that most of the unreimbursed expenses come from humanitarian waivers issued by federal inspectors at U.S. ports of entry and not from migrants who find themselves in trouble in the desert.

Elected officials don't like the migration because it pits one group against another. The migration makes claims on scarce public resources like education, criminal justice, healthcare, infrastructure and of goods and services. U.S. President Bill Clinton changed many offenses at the federal level to aggravated felonies, not just because it made him look tough, but because locally, migrants could be prosecuted and placed into removal proceedings quickly. Continually expanding enforcement discretion leads to problems. When power is explicitly given to U.S. citizens, they use it except when it comes to voting.

Faith-based groups don't like the migration and immigration laws in general because of families get separated and stressed out. Immigration laws were generally intended to focus on family reunification over the last several decades, and not on anti-terror efforts. It should be noted that even federal officers end up with pretty high prosecution rates for falling in either love or lust with non-U.S. Citizens. We need to be able to separate some of this out in future reform. Faith-based groups need to look beyond families and toward the economy and the types of political authority that are being manifest. The feds need to look more closely at the communities and the effects of their actions upon communities, neighborhoods, and families.

Human rights groups abhor the migration because the migrants have such little recourse, almost no civil rights and little judicial review in the American legal system. One of the reasons for this is that the United States is not a signatory to the basic human rights conventions that other nations consider paramount. Would that we could celebrate the open society we envisioned at our founding. The Mexico-U.S. migration is second only to the current European migration in terms of death.

U.S. efforts to try to control migration have failed miserably. Since 1993, the numbers of federal agents have tripled. The numbers of agents posted to the southwest border has more than dou-

bled. Technology, aircraft, and other assets extend the reach and impact of those agents. Yet, the reduction in the number of migrant apprehensions after 2010 has been associated primarily with the decline in the U.S. economy. In fact, the academic community will tell you that except for a couple of episodes that are explained by external influences, the number of people annually crossing the border has remained relatively constant since 1993. The bottom line is that the issues of racism, migration, enforcement, the goals of a reform plan – none of these issues is being successfully addressed in public discourse and the migrants continue to die at an alarming rate. The migration will not change unless conscionable people help reform it. A social ethical approach will help integrate values and project a better future possible for citizens, officials, and non-citizens alike.

CHAPTER THREE HUMANE BORDERS II

But a Samaritan while traveling came near him; and when he saw him, he was moved with pity. {34} He went to him and bandaged his wounds, having poured oil and wine on them. Then he put him on his own animal, brought him to an inn, and took care of him. {35} The next day he took out two denarii, gave them to the innkeeper, and said, 'Take care of him; and when I come back, I will repay you whatever more you spend.' {36} Which of these three, do you think, was a neighbor to the man who fell into the hands of the robbers?" {37} He said, "The one who showed him mercy." Jesus said to him, "Go and do likewise." (Luke 10:33-40 NRSV)

Fifteen thousand visitors passed through Humane Borders during the years I was involved with it. To nearly every individual and group I would say, "Humane Borders was founded June 11, 2000 with a two-fold mission: to reduce the numbers of migrant deaths in the desert and to change U.S. policies that place the lives of these persons in peril...." That's how I would begin either a fifteen-minute briefing or a three-hour impromptu lecture on our work. I did it so often that I forgot many of the other organizations which are also part of the subject of this book, which is social theology.

When I walked into the Pima Friends Meeting House in Tucson the day Humane Borders was catapulted forward with consensus votes and disparate ideals, I carried in me fourteen years of part-time migrant ministry along the border. I observed, participated in and significantly shaped several faith-based organizations working in migration policy. I began creating nonprofits in 1986, and I incorporated Migrant Status, Inc. in late 2015, nearly 30 years later.

Faith-based organizations were the focus of much of my doctoral research and my dissertation. But there were also long nights of listening to migrants tell stories, and long nights of hearing migrant helpers recount their work, their understandings, and their hopes concerning the interstices of theology and politics.

For one of my ordained colleagues, his simple hope was to get U.S.-owned factories in Mexico to keep pregnant workers out of the lead-soldering work at U.S. owned electrical-parts assembly areas, or to at least give them time to wash their hands before they eat the lunches they brought and thereby consume lead which will be absorbed by the growing fetus. For one it was a matter of wanting to be able to explain to children decades hence why she did or did not help out in a historic crisis. Everyone in her community was talking about migrant teenagers being rescued from a locked, hot semi-tractor trailer blocks from her house. For some it was a matter of being the right answer to the next question. For others, it was the finest hour of challenging the U.S. policies that were damned more quietly than publicly, at least in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas.

My many experiences with religiously affiliated nonprofit organizations along the southwest border of the United States provide me an opportunity to take a look at the contributions they make and what they do. Their contributions are many. They include direct service provision to migrants, contributions they make to community organizing efforts along the border, the contributions they make to public education, consciousness raising and the many rolling commentaries they provide to the media. Media love to talk to some members of the clergy. Many are known in the community. They are articulate, work with lots of people in the area and more to the point, they have access to specific populations. One could walk into many congregations and ask about migrants and get only a blank stare. Finally, from time to time, these organizations bring different players into the same rooms. At one church meeting, there can be folks representing federal, state, county, city, media, NGOs, and more. I held one in October 2010 that had all of these entities represented. Representatives from the State of Sonora in Mexico and from the government of Mexico from Mexico City also attended.

What I observe in nonprofit organizations actually extends to many groups that are faith based but that choose not to become corporations and assume all of the responsibilities associated with that. For the purposes of this study, however, I am generally limiting myself to the corporations, and will comment on the unincorporated groups only sparingly.

My first encounter with one of these groups was with the Southwest Good Samaritan Ministries. I began spending significant time in the Lower Rio Grande Valley in Texas in January 1986. During

the '90s, while conducting research for my dissertation, I saw liabilities everywhere I looked. With the help of some friends and some denominational leaders, I led SWGSM to incorporate, create a new board, hire another staff member and make arrangements for future interns. Funding came with the working board, and many volunteer groups began to contribute to various building projects.

In 1996, I worked with the Sisters of Divine Providence in San Benito, Texas to completely reconstruct an old farm house, making it the main structure on their multi-acre tract to provide shelter for families seeking political asylum in the U.S.

Throughout the '80s and into the '90s, it was my pleasure to work with various groups of Disciples of Christ and some Catholic groups to help provide hospitality at the Catholic Archdiocese of Brownsville-operated shelter named for Bishop Oscar Romero. The Hi-Plains Area of the Christian Church in the Southwest Region of the Christian Church based in Amarillo organized congregations to raise funds for a project called Disciples Beans. The first 40,000-pound truckload of pinto beans left Amarillo in 1991 and headed to the valley to feed migrants in distress. Lubbock, Texas was my home. One evening I made a call to my mentor in Fort Worth, Texas and told him about it. In my mind, he was grinning. He immediately asked me, "Did you have to file an Environmental Impact Statement?"

Proyecto Libertad is a legal services organization that was founded in response to the Central American Exodus. Southwest Good Samaritan Ministries and Posada Providencia provided housing for folks going through the legal process to secure the gift of protection from the U.S. We helped with driving, phone calls and a host of personal items that made the many months of waiting bearable.

Project Arize in Colonia Muñiz near McAllen, Texas is a small community organizing group that was founded and run by an Irish nun, who died in 2009. The organization continues. I led church volunteers from Lubbock, Texas and Austin, Texas to build a 1,000-square-foot ramada (open air pavilion). It was then the largest structure in the colonia. A colonia is an unincorporated portion of a county. Before we were finished building the ramada, which took two weeks of volunteer labor, mostly youths, it was reserved for every quinceañero, every baptism, and every birthday party coming up in the colonia.

Upon arriving in Tucson in January 2000, I was immediately introduced to BorderLinks, in my mind the premier border education or-

ganization in the country. The American Friends Service Committee was just blocks away and it had a significant presence in organizing around border issues. Soon, I also met Rev. John Fife of Southside Presbyterian Church who became famous for the congregation's participation in the Sanctuary Movement.

Many are the organizations and many are their stories. However, they share lots of familiar patterns to their stories. The Catholic Social Mission, part of the Catholic Diocese of Tucson, was making significant efforts along the border and in the community during my Humane Borders years. The same can be said of Fronteras de Cristo in Douglas, Arizona and across the border in Agua Prieta, Sonora. Of course, the organization with which I have the greatest knowledge is Humane Borders, around which I organized my life for some 10 years. The scope of work of Humane Borders brought me into daily contact with one or more of the many organizations working for social justice in Tucson, along the border, and across the U.S. Of significance were The United Methodists (in the Southwest Conference and in the larger church), Coalición de Derechos Humanos, the Samaritans, and eventually the Green Valley Samaritans, to name a few in southern Arizona.

We networked with dozens of national and international organizations that shared common interests. For example, we worked with the Religious Task Force on Central America in Washington, D.C., and we worked extensively with Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services. I tell this story from the strength of my association with Humane Borders. Humane Borders was from its inception both intentionally and purposefully an ethical political actor with one foot in its social, religious, historical location and one foot clearly in the American political system. It was always an institution interacting with other institutions while focusing entirely upon providing direct service to individuals.

At our first public water station, the south station at Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, I sort of twirled around in an iconic Lawrence of Arabia-style gesture saying, "Look, no roads, no wires, no people. Oops! there are a lot of people out here. That's why we're here." In the same television interview by NPR's Ted Robbins, the monument superintendent Bill Wellman said, "Most of our relatives got here one way or another and not all of them legally." Ted put the camera in my face again and asked, "Rev. Hoover, why are you here?" I quickly responded with an unrehearsed quip I made up in the moment that became my most famous quotation: "We're here to remove death from the immigration equation."

Several of us thought at that time, and many continue to think, that if the deaths of the migrants were somehow taken out of the picture, then most of the other things we find offensive about the border would mostly vanish. What would be left would probably not be offensive enough to create and sustain a large volunteer effort to change things. I was speaking of the imperative to eliminate the deaths. One human rights group leader told me in 2010, "If you're successful in doing that, we'll have even more difficulty in organizing." That's a problem for those who use late-modern, capitalist critiques. If the source of agitation is out of the way, then it is presumed that little can be done to continue work in the cause. This is a false assumption. To this date, the biggest problem on the border is the fact that the U.S. government chose and continues to support a policy that includes migrant deaths as an essential part of a border strategy. It does not appear there will be significant changes any time soon. Activists have job security, and many more migrants are going to die.

Go into a room filled with Border Patrol agents and border activists and ask questions about who is responsible for the deaths in the desert and you get something of an animated conversation. I know. I've been in those rooms several times. The answers are many: Coyotes (human smugglers). It's the migrants' fault. Migrants shouldn't make the decision to try to cross the desert to get better jobs, reunite with their families, and escape bad situations. It's the U.S. policy or policies. It's the agents. It's the humanitarians attracting the migrants to their deaths with water. It's Minutemen and copycats re-routing migrants into more desolate areas. Mexico wants and encourages the "relief valve" of migration that enables migrants to send money back into the Mexican and Central American economies in the form of remesas, or remittances, usually sent to families. On and on. One can compare and contrast elements of culpability *ad infinitum*.

I watched one attorney yelling at a Border Patrol official with a star on his collar who was actually trying to reach out to us as a group. The attorney yelled, "Why don't you just line up the migrants and start shooting them? It would have the same effect." All through the years, there have been palpable levels of anger all along the border.

On the other side, I've had some unusual experiences. At the Shell service station in Sells, Arizona, a number of Humane Borders volunteers and I were stopped to get gas. We had three vehicles and two trailers. Most of us were walking toward the station to get

refreshments. The purpose of our trip was to take a trailer load of new equipment to the west desert. A mouthy agent was talking to another agent while fueling their vehicles. He did not see me, but he surveyed the situation – with our vehicles, all of the equipment on a large trailer and volunteers walking from the fuel pumps to the convenience store. He exclaimed very loudly, “Well, if it isn’t the ‘fucking love crew.’” Just as he finished, he saw me. I challenged him to come over and talk about it. He hurriedly left without a word. By the time our group returned to Tucson, we started wearing that epithet like a merit badge. We’d wink at each other and say, “We’re the F-ing Looooove Crew!” We kidded about making t-shirts, but we knew they would be misunderstood.

Somehow, the “love crew” and the agents needed to get along. I can envision a professor with a group of students: “Students, answer the question on migrant death culpability and then turn in your blue books to me.” And, I can envision a student asking, “Can I have an extra blue book? One won’t be enough.” In a certain, limited sense, the answer the question is actually “all of the above”.

I’ll reference only a few things: The U.S. economy attracts migrants both through legal systems and illegal systems. Employers bear some of that responsibility. U.S. monetary policies, trade policies, labor policies, enforcement policies and many other policies bear some responsibility. Agents are merely implementers of policies but these days, they are also participating in the construction of the policies, decisions as to which kinds of technology to fund, what types of training are needed for agents and more. I’ve yet to meet anyone who has made the trip across the desert who reported that it is now safer than it was in previous years. Insofar as having water in the desert makes it hypothetically appear any more safe, I’ll accept some responsibility if the Border Patrol will accept the same for the many, many millions of dollars spent for Border Search Trauma and Rescue agents, helicopters, surveillance systems, etc. That is, if anyone talks about it, including all of the anti-migrant news pundits like Sean Hannity, Bill O’Reilly, and others who say, “I don’t hold it against them. I would do it, too, if I had to feed my family.” It heartens me to think of the Fox News folks understanding that this is more about family values than terrorism. You can rightfully blame some things on commercial human smuggling. What is truly at fault is the fact that all of the players in this drama are doing the same thing year after year, that the deaths are predictable and to be expected and that there are no huge concerted efforts to do anything about it.

As many learned more about migrants and migrant deaths and about U.S. policies and politicians, we founded Humane Borders in Tucson. The deaths grabbed our attention, but it was the policies that were creating the deaths in the deserts of southern Arizona. The fact of so many deaths, an intentional byproduct of deliberately chosen public policy, creates a moral crisis that will only be addressed by people who find evaporated children to be morally offensive. These are not soldiers of a conquering army. They are not terrorists of any kind. They are workers following the American dream – or delusion as the case may be. They are individuals with strong family values trying to reunite with their families. They are persons following the paths of their parents and their parents before them, finding work and returning home to share the resources they have earned. Most of the denigration of migrants by law enforcement is directly related to poorly interpreted statistical artifacts and an unequal criminal justice classification schema that treats migrants differently from U.S. citizens. For instance, as already described, the exact same behavior that is classified as a misdemeanor in the U.S. justice system can be classified as an aggravated felony in the federal judicial system used to judge migrants. Our systems and analyses are unbalanced. The treatment of migrants is unequal. There is no Golden Rule on the U.S. southern border.

A lot of the migrants who came in the 2000s represented the tail end of a baby boom in Mexico that made gray-haired Baby Boomers in the U.S. very wealthy during the Clinton and Bush administrations. They are the ones who wash the cars, lay bricks and tiles, roof houses, landscape condos, cook food and vacuum floors in the casinos. And they are, even in U.S. Sen. John McCain's words, "God's children, too." I've almost never agreed with any of McCain's policy proposals on anything, let alone immigration. However, I can personally vouch for his understanding of the tragedy of migrant deaths. A European reporter paid him a visit in his Phoenix office. He reached to a very recent Tucson newspaper story about the deaths of migrants. Words were underlined. Statistics emphasized. That reporter drove directly to my office 115 miles down Interstate 10 and recounted the story. He was visibly moved, and he said the same of McCain.

The '90s and a little beyond were former U.S. Labor Department Secretary Robert Reich's dream. The breadwinners in one family may have been working in a lather's union building walls, installing acoustical ceilings, literally making the places where we live and work. In the '90s, in a booming economy, the guy who had been

previously installing metal ceiling grids, installing insulated and fire-proofed ceiling tiles stopped doing that kind of work. Instead, he was selling copy machines, computer-aided graphics machines and printers to the company that was using migrant labor to do the back-breaking work. The new generation of worker in that lather's union family was now a hi-tech worker.

I usually wear a small black cross made from woven nylon string. I was in Tapachula, Chiapas, Mexico in the fall of 2006 visiting the shelter run by Doña Olga Sanchez in Tapachula for the many amputees who have lost their arms and legs riding the trains north to the U.S. from the southern border. A young fellow who couldn't have been more than 15 had both of his legs amputated "as high as his privates." He cheerfully sat in his wheelchair weaving crosses while his friend played on the guitar. As I was drawing out his story in our interview, he asked me if I was a minister. I said, "yes". He told me that I didn't look like it as he put the cross around my neck. Then he said, "Now you do." Several documentaries have been made in recent years about each of the trains the kids simply call "the Beast". Pedro Ultreras made a film about it. Oscar Martinez wrote a book about it.

As recently as September 2009 in the Homeland Security subcommittee on border security, then U.S. Rep. Mark Souder of Indiana, the ranking member at the time, said to David Aguilar, then Chief of the U.S. Border Patrol, "Chief, let me get this straight. Your strategy is to make it as difficult as possible for persons to cross the border, to make it as expensive as possible for persons to cross the border, and to push border crossers to the edges of the desert." Chief Aguilar agreed.

If any government agency made any other migrating species' journey as difficult as the Border Patrol's campaign against migrants, there would be immense public outrage. By making it more expensive to cross, the Border Patrol is feeding the criminal element along the border and creating a confluence of migrant trafficking and drug trafficking. And pushing migrants to the edges of the desert is code language for making the migration deadly. There is no other interpretation. What the C-span audience heard from the ranking member that day in testimony is the position I conclude is held by both parties: that death is an intentional element of the U.S. border policy.

The people of Humane Borders found these positions of the U.S. government morally offensive and wanted to encourage as many people as possible to concur so that changes could be made in

U.S. policies. The desire was to change not just these policies but more.

Scriptures seemed to come to life in front of me. I read from Isaiah 49 in my bible: "They will neither hunger nor thirst, nor will the desert heat or the sun beat upon them. He who has compassion on them will guide them beside springs of water."

In my photo albums, there is a photograph of a 4-year-old child behind a chain-link fence. I would give credit for the photo, but I am uncertain. The site is a detention center on the Tohono O'odham Nation's land. It is jointly operated by Customs and Border Protection, the Chuk ut Kuk District and the Tohono O'odham Police Department. This detention center would not pass inspection by any human rights organization in the world. We have video made by award-winning filmmaker John Carlos Frey of a Border Patrol agent saying that there are sometimes 400 individuals crammed into this enclosure measures only about 22 feet by 48 feet.

The roof is uninsulated sheet metal. The floor is dirt and covered with bird and animal feces. We have pictures showing a five-gallon propane tank and two one-gallon plastic containers holding gasoline stored there. There are two "toilet" partitions made of unsealed concrete blocks with plywood doors providing a four-foot high screen for privacy. If you or I were in public, you'd hold it until you could get to a proper place to do your business. Out of intense compassion, the agents leave one gallon jugs of water on the dirt floor for all to share. No cups.

And the ultimate obscenity of this facility is on the other side of the wall. U.S. Border Patrol agents sit in air-conditioned comfort on plush pneumatic office chairs watching migrants on closed-circuit television. There are clean, handicapped-access restrooms a few steps away with vending machines for snacks and cold drinks. Their cameras can see into the toilet enclosures. One day I was there with an enrolled member of the Nation. There were no migrants in the cage and no agents in the "processing center". I used the private, tiled, clean restroom, breathed the refrigerated air for a few minutes to cool off and purchased two items from vending machines before going back outside. I thought to myself that if I were in that migrant cage, I'd smear my own feces on the cameras and make the agents come out and watch us in the heat.

I publicly spoke those exact sentiments when a number of us in Tucson made an appearance before the Pima County Board of Supervisors to protest building a new federal detention facility on the lands of the Tohono O'odham Nation. That facility was not built,

but another is being considered. Plans changed to build a center in a more acceptable location. The problem is that it should not be built behind the veil of Tohono O'odham sovereignty, where the public cannot observe the goings on, where democracy is not honored.

When Humane Borders was founded, two missions were adopted; two foci of one mission to improve the status of the migrants. First, our desire was to respond with humanitarian assistance to the migrants risking their lives trying to cross the U.S.-Mexico border. Second, we wanted to advocate for changes in U.S. policies that placed these lives in peril.

Tucson offers a unique perspective on migration. The city is not on the border and the distance away from it provides some critical perceptual distance. The residents of Tucson have long looked south to their neighbors and, for many, their neighbors are also kinfolk in Mexico. They have observed for centuries a complex migration that is not only economic, but also social, cultural, religious and sometimes nationalist. The migration has rarely been deadly. Many in the city of Tucson are convinced that we can live with migration and manage many of its deleterious effects.

There were no recorded deaths of migrants in southern Arizona before 1995. The Border Patrol wants us to understand that the 1995 observation is a statistical anomaly, that there have always been migrant deaths. The Office of the Medical Examiner in Pima County disagrees, even though it concurs that the counting of migrant deaths did change, beginning in 1998. Undocumented Mexicans dying of heat-related deaths were simply not noted in the mid-'90s.

Death in the desert as we know it now is new, even though a few people have died in the desert every year. U.S. citizens, even well-informed locals, find themselves in trouble and die. The temperatures are extreme. It is the migrant deaths that concern us most. Without us, they have no advocates.

Early Spanish explorations chronicled some deaths along trails leading west. Quite a few died crossing southern Arizona during the California Gold Rush. What is new are the changes brought about by strategies adopted first by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and continued under the current Department of Homeland Security. Under the authority of both, the United States Border Patrol began implementing new policies. Migrant deaths increased rapidly. Faith communities in Tucson watched with interest and con-

cern until, in early 2000, a number of meetings were held to begin exploring possible responses.

As BorderLinks' landlord, I took a great interest in working with the organization. Various student groups, local pastors, some veterans of the Sanctuary Movement, staff members of BorderLinks, and occasionally, a visit from representatives of like-minded groups from around the U.S. all contributed in differing ways to creating the moment that led to the founding of Humane Borders.

On Pentecost Sunday 2000, which fell that year on June 11, some 85 people met in the Pima Friends Meeting House in Tucson. A facilitator led the group in a Quaker "Query" methodology in which everyone participated in answering just two questions: What could we do to respond with compassion to the migrants who were risking their lives crossing the U.S.-Mexico border? How could we work together to change the system that was putting these people's lives in peril?

Those two, huge, global questions needed operational responses that could actually be implemented. That very day, the group came up with a handful of answers. I still have my small Moleskin notebook with the questions and answers as I wrote them down.

First and foremost, it was decided we would put water in the desert in a public way. We didn't know how to do that, where to do that, how much it was going to cost, or that we would have to have millions of dollars of insurance to do it. Nor did we know that the leaders of United Church of Christ Insurance Board would years later cancel our insurance coverage because we weren't doing "traditional Christian ministry." That royally pissed me off, and it is not an injury that I have shaken off. Nor, could we believe our ears when we received no support from our denominational executives whose advocacy we sought in order to maintain our insurance coverage. I guess they thought those verses about a drink of water were merely metaphorical. We didn't know much of anything about anything at all. But we had the resolve in that room on that day to put water into the desert for migrants. We certainly had no idea just how controversial putting water in the desert would be or how powerfully it would attract thousands upon thousands of volunteers. Water is basically what Humane Borders is all about, but there is much, much more. If we just had the water from a few swimming pools strategically placed in the desert, we wouldn't be seeing hundreds of deaths each year. I included that assertion in an op-ed one Sunday only to be met with derision by local migrant

activist and attorney Margo Cowan who was serving as the counsel to the Tohono O'odham Executive.

The second thing we would do is challenge or change policies of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Before Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano, there was Secretary Michael Chertoff and before him, Governor Tom Ridge. Ridge is the guy who made the U.S. safe with his five-color rainbow warning system, plastic sheeting and Duct Tape, I have to add that he didn't want the U.S. to resemble anything like a rainbow. I never thought I would be nostalgic for the former immigration regime, but the commissioner of the INS at that time was Doris Meissner. And by comparison to what we have had since 9-11, she was a saint. She at least had a conscience about migrant treatment, especially women and children. I first met her in the 80s when she operated shelters in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas to accommodate the Central Americans coming across the river. My association with her later opened doors for us.

Third thing we discussed was a symbol. One leader suggested we use the Big Dipper constellation along with the North Star. Water was added to the stars. This was supposed to tie us to the abolitionist movement in the U.S. Unfortunately, in the Spanish-speaking world, the Big Dipper and the North Star don't mean a thing. The Big Dipper is known as The Bear in Spanish. It's also The Bear in the Hebrew Bible. Leave it to us preachers to be biblically illiterate. U.S. folks frequently take things historic, claim them, and transform them until they are virtually inaccessible to others. At least the North Star was understandable.

The fourth item we settled on that day was to become an organization of organizations. The idea comes from Industrial Area Foundation organizations around the U.S. that follow the many so-called Chicago style community organizing models. I was part of a steering committee that led to the organization of what was called the West Texas Organizing Strategy, the largest geographical Industrial Areas Foundation organization ever attempted. I understood many of the goals of the folks in the Pima Friends Meeting room who offered the idea of becoming an organization of organizations. Honestly, as the years progressed, I never put enough energy into it to make it happen. It was nearly impossible to keep up with everything else that was happening. We tried to keep everyone on board, though, through newsletters, weekly meetings, email list serves and other kinds of networking. In terms of institutional memberships, budgets, and other considerations, we fell

short of that goal. Operationally, we significantly transcended this goal. Support eventually came from all over the U.S. through congregations, religious orders, denominational agencies, businesses, human rights organizations and others.

Procedurally, the fifth item was to appoint a steering committee, which included: Tracy Carroll of St. Francis in the Foothills United Methodist Church, David Perkins of the Pima Friends Meeting, and myself as pastor of the First Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

The next evening at my church board, I was amazed at how much support was indicated for the new, as yet unnamed, organization. There was, however, from time to time, some questioning about the new group, my participation, and the support from the church. Nothing ever got past a few casual comments to me as far as I know.

A few Humane Borders meetings later, in a gesture toward ecumenism and interfaith concerns, a few meetings later, Dr. Cecile Lumer, Kitty Ufford-Chase, Fr. Bob Carney and I were elected the first officers. A few months later, Sr. Elizabeth Ohmann, Tim Holt and Paul Fuschini replaced them. From day two, the day of the church board meeting, Tim Holt of our congregation was very active. He served every day until his death in 2009. Sr. Elizabeth was intimately involved with the organization beginning with the exploratory meetings in April and May prior to the founding in June. In the fall 2010, she was recognized by Humane Borders as the Volunteer of the Decade. Paul Fuschini is the husband of Tracy Carroll and he gave up to half time for many of the years he served. Sue Goodman, my wife at the time, and the Rev. Randy Mayer were added when we needed to expand the size of the board to six people for insurance purposes. Even as a corporation with bylaws and other corporate trappings, a close circle of faith-based volunteers with intimate knowledge of the history of the organization was maintained for the first decade.

The sixth thing we did that fateful day was to agree to work bi-nationally as soon as possible. In the minds of some, we failed miserably. In the minds of others, we far exceeded the goal. We did not become an organization of organizations, nor the umbrella organization organizing and representing all the small organizations on both sides of the border of which we dreamed. I don't think that vision will ever be realized. There are many organizations along the border and I have come to agree with Jennifer Allen, formerly of Border Action Network, and others that, all told, we are probably stronger for it. Humane Borders became an internation-

ally famous organization on its own working with nongovernmental organizations, agencies, universities, government officials, public administrators and religious leaders. Humane Borders has been stronger and accomplished more because of its independence and its very focused mission, though that waned in recent years.

Humane Borders conducted international press conferences in Mexico City and met with very high-level Mexican government officials, including Gustavo Mohar and Jorge Castañeda, out in the desert. Mohar is in intelligence, and Castañeda is the former foreign minister. Our leaders worked with and were recognized by the Sonoran government and by their commission created just to help migrants. By working intimately with Mexico's National Human Rights Commission and hosting international conferences and meetings we exceeded expectations in this area.

The seventh thing we did at our founding was to affirm the desire to be a faith-based organization. This was accomplished but not always in explicit ways. When Bishop Minerva Carcaño, now of the California-Pacific Conference of the United Methodist Church, calls the members of her clergy and her church leaders to participate in a "Walk in the Desert" with her in the unrelenting July heat, they do. They know why. They know their desert faith roots. She brought a gathering of six Episcopal bishops from the western U.S. for a study visit on the border. I guided all six of them on a multi-day trip through Sonora.

During our early years, professors Jacque Hagan and Helen Rose Erbaugh, then both of the University of Houston, came to visit and write about the role of religion in the life of the migrant. We led them around the desert to see prayers scrawled under bridges, in culverts and on train trestles where the migrants hid out for a few hours at a time. Though Humane Borders is only religiously affiliated and not religiously sponsored, our professor friends helped us to see that Humane Borders has incorporated a lot of religious elements. The use of religious language and the lingua franca of religious groups working in human rights areas found significant expression in newsletters, in many weekly meetings, in nine annual Migrant Memorial Services and in some of the vigils we held with student groups. Religious language motivates volunteer service, financial support and increased participation rates among the volunteers. When I left Humane Borders, the memorial services and marches were dropped. In fact, many of the continuously nurtured relationships with the faith communities were dropped. Humane Borders

is functionally now only minimally related to faith communities. Leadership matters.

One of the most overtly religious things Humane Borders did was to intentionally seek to mobilize religious individuals, organizations, congregations and denominations. Appeals were made to congregations for financial support. Meetings were often held in congregational settings. I took a very large list of congregations in Arizona compiled by some community organizers in about 2000. I meticulously went through the list of thousands of congregations and identified as best I could the congregations affiliated with the 17 denominations that are major players in public policy areas. Letters requesting contributions were mailed. Some of them all but told us to go to Hell. Nationalism can easily overcome Christianity. Collectively, though, we would net more than \$3,000 each year from the mailings and many of the congregations moved over into the regular donor column.

We networked with pastors as natural leaders in faith communities with histories of undertaking this kind of work. We even successfully took an emergency resolution to a joint meeting of the United Church of Christ General Synod and the General Assembly of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Why? Because, as noted, faith communities provide most of the goods and services in the U.S. when it comes to political asylum seekers, the resettlement of refugees, Sanctuary and general advocacy for new arrivals. Still, they could offer no help when our insurance was cancelled a few years later. The resolution carried no weight. The General Minister and President, Richard Hamm, said late on the night before the vote as the Administrative Committee was making agenda preparations, "I support the measure because it doesn't cost us anything." The GMP in 1980 told a few of us that as newly ordained ministers, we could count on our denomination supporting our ministries and granting us access to all of its institutions. However that was never true during my 33.3 years of ministry.

A number of our volunteers and supporters, including women religious and mid-level denominational executives, regularly submitted articles for publication in various in-house publications which significantly expanded the awareness of our work around the nation and even the world. Their work educated others, stirred up some controversy, led to more donations and gave each of them a voice in shaping the work of Humane Borders.

One year, the two nuns who worked with Humane Borders every week made their annual trip back to the home of their religious

order. Following their participation in a lengthy radio show and some newspaper coverage, they became the talk of St. Cloud, Minnesota even though they are from Little Falls, nearby. Soon, the newspaper ran a poll for their readers 2,500 miles north from the U.S.-Mexico border to decide whether these nuns from the Order of Saint Francis ought to be putting water out in the desert to save lives. People in Minnesota were calling us to spread the word through emails to get even more people to email the newspaper and vote for the nuns. Denominational publications and radio outlets regularly sought out contributions and interviews from Humane Borders leaders and volunteers.

A number of volunteers, supporters and friends created various kinds of explicitly religious contributions: artwork, poetry, songs stationery. One artist painted a migrant crucified on a saguaro as a couple obtained water from a water station nearby. It is entitled "Tears Without Water." A Phoenix playwright attending Arizona State University featured Humane Borders as a counter to his perception of rampant, pervasive Arizona racism. Opening night, the consul general of Mexico in Phoenix and other community leaders were in attendance, as were some of us, and the play was received with thunderous applause.

Many congregations made supporting Humane Borders part of their intentional ministry. Most notable, of course, was First Christian Church in Tucson. Other notable congregations which became regular donors included St. Pius X Catholic Church, St. Cyril's of Alexandria Catholic Church, Emmanuel Presbyterian Church, Southside Presbyterian Church, St. Mark's Presbyterian Church, St. Francis in the Foothills United Methodist Church, all in Tucson. Pinnacle Presbyterian Church, Community Christian Church in Tempe, Shadow Rock United Church of Christ and Church of the Beatitudes in Phoenix were rock solid supporters and the Church of the Good Shepherd in Sahuarita was helpful.

For each of nine consecutive years, on the last Sunday of September or the first Sunday of October, a memorial service for the migrants who have died in the desert was held at First Christian Church. It was basically a Christian service, but more by who was participating than any specific liturgy. Our chaplain, my colleague in Christ and the conscience of every community she served, Sr. Elizabeth Ohmann, usually gave the pastoral prayer. Her prayers took the breath away of those who were there. The prayers prepared us to hear the names of the dead and the numbers of the dead – equivalent of that of the passenger list from a large jumbo

jet. In the 2010 fiscal year, the number was nearly as many as died in the Murrah Building in the Oklahoma City bombing.

The names of the identified dead were read. The others were remembered by saying, “desconocido” (unknown). A few in the audience responded by saying, “Presente!” (Here!). The deceased may be unknown, but in the Body of Christ, they are remembered. This annual service was discontinued when Humane Borders moved to the House of Neighborly Services, a faith-based social service nonprofit in Tucson. Humane Borders began to turn away from its faith-based roots – or at least existing relationships – and began affiliating with explicitly political resistance movement groups in town. After I left, I was aghast to see a Humane Borders water station at an Occupy Tucson encampment. Leaders from the first ten years would never have allowed that.

The eighth thing we came up with was to tell the story of the migrants away from the border. Humane Borders excelled at this. One day, we had four Humane Borders leaders each giving media interviews in four locations across the same county. Over the years, a very high percentage of the interviews were given by me. My journalism degree helped. By being totally accessible to the media – Midnight syndicated radio talk show programs and 4a.m. Tucson interviews with drive-time reporters in New York – I was able to make significant contributions to the national and international discourse on the migration and to discussions about immigration reform. I insisted on rescheduling some calls from Europe so I could get some sleep. My record was eighteen interviews in one day. Two of those were in-studio, live satellite uplinks. Such focused conversations make for a long day.

Along with the many goals we laid out that founding day in 2000, our focus was on action, or at least, some of us made that the ultimate goal and won out. The mission statement that grew out of two months of conversations merely referenced the faith of the volunteers and moved on to list action statements. The mission statement begins: “Humane Borders, motivated by faith, will work to create a just and humane border environment.”

In my doctoral research, I looked deeply into the influence of religion on the work of some 1,100 U.S. organizations providing goods and services to various migrating populations. An important finding was that although religion is a major motivator and justification for organizational decisions, theology can and does vary widely, yet people with widely divergent beliefs can agree upon

the very same actions to be taken as next steps, and on the goals toward which they move.

The statement continues: "Members will respond with humanitarian assistance to those who are risking their lives and safety crossing the United States border with Mexico. We encourage the creation of public policies toward a humane, non-militarized border with legalized work opportunities for migrants in the U.S. and legitimate economic opportunities in migrants' countries of origin." These goals remained unchanged in the first decade of the organization. The final affirmation in the statement is: "We welcome all persons of good faith." There the idea was to speak not of religious faith but of ethical practice. We used good faith here to speak of the ways good faith is used in business and in contracts rather than in some undefined religious sentiment. Volunteers accepted that mission and thankfully, we had to excuse less than a handful of those who were overtly working against us. We were infiltrated by a few people representing the Minutemen and a few ideological wackos who wanted to expand our mission. Still, those people – out of many thousands – were few. Thousands episodically attended weekly meetings over the years and took part in water station servicing trips. We never took attendance because we thought those records might be used against us some day.

It was the policy of the U.S. government at the time to intentionally push the migrants away from urban areas and into the open deserts. Not all of the dead migrants are recovered from the desert each year but the bodies and remains that are recovered indicate, in most years, a steady increase in the numbers of deaths. The rate of migrant deaths is increasing.

The urgency of doing something about immigration/migration policies is paramount in southern Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and California. Border issues frequently are in the top five political issues in these states. For years, Tucson has been the epicenter of much of the debate. It had the most crossings, most apprehensions, and most migrant deaths. The Tucson Sector of the U.S. Border Patrol is responsible for patrolling 268 miles of the border with Mexico. For many years, half of all of the USBP apprehensions in the U.S. occurred here. Up to one half of all of the known migrant deaths occurred in this sector for more than a decade. These conditions cry out for organizations to model alternatives. For us it started with acquiring an organizational form to match the mission. By the end of 2000, Humane Borders became an Arizona nonprofit corporation. The nonprofit form of Humane Borders was particularly important. I

pushed for incorporation as a nonprofit in Arizona and for seeking nonprofit recognition from the Internal Revenue Service. At a minimum, the nonprofit extends the legal fiction of a corporation being a person with certain rights and responsibilities. Perhaps most essentially, it limits the liabilities of the corporation to the assets of the corporation and generally limits liabilities of directors under laws of the state in which the corporation is established. These were deemed quite important in the controversial environment in which we would be working.

Only my signature was required to incorporate Humane Borders. We intentionally kept the organization as long as we could to just four officers. Tucson attorney Bill Walker who helped us with the paperwork also served as our registered agent. Several in the larger group thought of corporate status as a burden. That always created tension with me because I wanted the organization to have more of the flavor of a successful, working board similar to many mainline Protestant congregations but that never really came to pass.

The corporation adopted bylaws, which are only internal governance documents. Rarely were the bylaws consulted, which is bad practice in the long haul but while we were all on the run every day, the bylaws didn't matter too much. Regardless, almost every single decision we ever took was consensus based. Every single agenda item we thought we had thought out carefully could be overturned in the larger Wednesday night meeting. Many were. Our governance was a model for participatory democracy.

The corporation was recognized by the Internal Revenue Service as a 501(c)(4) organization by the IRS. The "C4" status was chosen because, unlike organizations that are classified as charities, a C4 can spend significant resources lobbying and attempting to influence legislation in a variety of ways, provided the organization avoids direct, partisan activities.

A 501(c)(3) (C3) organization cannot lobby because it is considered a charity. C3s are also classified as Section 170 organizations, making the organization eligible to receive tax deductible contributions. We chose the C4 recognition so we could lobby. We believed that most of our contributions could be directed through various member organizations, which were primarily local congregations for whom the our tax status made no difference. That proved to be the case, and the benefit perceived by some of the benefit of the C3 was irrelevant. In 2011, Humane Borders reorganized as a C3 organization in hopes of expanding fundraising op-

portunities. Many C3s and C4s exist as sister corporations to accomplish more diverse goals than either can alone. My successors chose not to do that and to proceed with getting the C3 recognition by the IRS. Their hope of changing to a C3 so that HB could effortlessly raise money for Humane Borders was never realized.

The structure of an organization is important but so too is the manner in which the organization functions. Weekly volunteer meetings were the skeleton on which the organization hung for many years. Every Wednesday evening at 5:30, rain or shine, and even on many holidays, Humane Borders volunteers met either in room 109 of the second floor of First Christian Church or in Fellowship Hall. The weekly agenda was always action oriented. A number of "special" meetings were held at my house. Some of them for holiday observances, some for study.

Reports began with introductions. We attracted new volunteers nearly every week. For some, one week was all they needed to find out this was not the kind of group they wanted to be a part of. There were other groups in town to receive their gifts of time and talent. We reported on our trips to the desert to service water stations, reporting the gallons of water deployed, the conditions of the stations, any migrant encounters, encounters with Border Patrol, etc. The exchanges were very interactive, lively, full of passion, anecdotes, laughter, and inspiration as the trip leaders gave these reports.

Announcements were made. They varied from national news reports about border incidents, deaths of migrants, to the purchase of a new water truck, or anything else that would pique the interest of those attending. Over time, the agendas were standardized with a space to report on all water stations operations by jurisdiction: federal, tribal, state, county, city, private, etc.

As Humane Borders grew, so too did some of the headaches. If ever there were interesting documents to lose sleep over, it's the tax returns for a social welfare organization. Our treasurer, Tim Holt, kept immaculate database-driven books. He always felt that some zealot from the government would come and complain about two cents here or there in order to hurt the work. When it comes to the financial management of a small nonprofit, the executive director must have a hands-on working knowledge of the financial records and/or have a treasurer like Tim, who saw immaculate accounting as both an asset to the corporation and as a potential liability to the corporation as well. Tim counted all the pennies and kept every conceivable record. Collapsing all of the categories into the

boxes the IRS requires is a challenge. Grants, contracts, individual contributions, depreciation, fund-raising, lobbying. Our system was sophisticated enough to handle an organization 100 times larger, a point that was not lost on us. Tim's work was a major gift to the organization and so was Tim, as driver, officer, worker and negotiator.

The requirements for operating a religiously affiliated nonprofit according to the regulations of governments is every bit as complicated as for any small-or medium-sized business. Nonprofits generally don't pay taxes, but all of the requirements of withholding and the proscriptions on political behaviors and the reporting thereof are as complex as in the standard for-profit model

Corporate status can also be an invitation to a lawsuit, of which there was one. Fortunately, corporate status also protects the assets and actions of its leaders. Ed Kahn, a Tucson Libertarian attorney, sued Pima County government and named Humane Borders in the suit. It alleged misuse of county funds used to pay for a county contract with Humane Borders. The attorney lost the suit and the appeal. He also had to pay the attorney costs and our attorney, Bill Walker, served pro bono.

In 2009 as the Tea Party was coming onto the scene, I was set to make a speech at the east campus of the Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland, Ohio. The Tea Party and Minutemen-sympathizing folks marched and carried signs that caught the attention of the campus police, so I was escorted to the lecture hall by armed police. I can't imagine what the environment for the emergence of Humane Borders would have been like had there been even more craziness afoot when we were founded.

The lived experience of doing the business of Humane Borders was much more mundane. We had to go into small offices, study maps, negotiate water station permits, open bank accounts and pledge our lives away, purchase and equip trucks. I signed off on at least five of the trucks that Humane Borders purchased using my own credit. Everything that goes into a significant-size office had to be dealt with: phones, fax lines, Internet, vendors, copy machines, equipment, furniture, files and computers. The small nonprofit is as complicated as the medium or larger one. The only difference is scale.

Corporate status enabled Humane Borders to secure the services of interns from around the U.S. and abroad. Students could come to Tucson and have their participation and service at least minimally protected by the corporate status. For some, we could

make work-study arrangements with the University of Arizona. These students were a major help to the organization.

Humane Borders brought a moral voice to a rather empty, sterile playing field. When the religious in a community are organized, public attention is directed toward their participation. That was so noted in an *Arizona Republic* newspaper editorial. An aide to a Pima County Supervisor complained after we sent a volunteer to help secure the vote of that supervisor on our annual contract. The aide, who didn't care for us, exclaimed, "You sent a nun in here! A nun!" Yes, I did, and if you want to get the job done, send a nun. We were blessed with our two, and they had friends. One should not underestimate the power of moral authority.

Another instrumental way to get some attention is to have several members of the clergy show up for a meeting. Their presence gets the attention of Border Patrol Sector chiefs, local officials and media. I remain convinced that clerical collars are some sort of magnet for microphones. I don't even own a tie. I don't identify with the business community.

Media representatives know that even in the world of less-than-national-average religious participation, religion is deeply ingrained in the community, that the media reflects the community, and that religious congregations can articulately project into the community a voice to be reckoned with.

Employees of secular organizations want the moral voice to be expressed. Employees of the Nogales Port of Entry called me a day before July 4 one year with a request for me to complain to the Western Regional Director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The only food the detainees were being fed was the food employees were buying for them from vending machines and purchasing outside of the facility. The assistant area port director in Phoenix had actually sent a memo to Nogales saying that because of budgetary concerns, it was OK to keep migrants in custody long past the mandatory time requiring meals. The initial complaint stemmed from a pregnant woman who was being denied food. Employees called me on a speaker phone and said, "We called you because we knew you would do something about it." On that vote of confidence, I did. Johnny Williams was in charge of the Western Division of the INS. He was the only one I told but he sought his pound of retribution before the week was over.

Williams arranged for a story to be leaked – that the water in our water stations was too hot, in fact it was killing people. The media loved that. They helped us, though. Before the day was over,

they were broadcasting live from satellite trucks at the stations. On-camera personalities were shown using thermometers to measure the temperature of the water in our water tanks. It had been atrociously hot that day, 114 degrees in the west desert. Still, the highest temperature was only 98 degrees, slightly lower than normal body temperature. The moral voice was that we were doing the moral thing. Before the day was over, trauma surgeons at the local university teaching hospital said, "The water would have to be 120 degrees or more in the tanks before we had problems, and even then, we would still argue for having the water instead of not having it."

Moral authority is insufficient if the president or executive director or other leader of the organization is not ready for crisis management. This certainly was a crisis, even though only a brief one. At risk were public goodwill, congregational support and public financing. But, these kinds of crises cannot be merely calls to caution. They are, instead, calls to diligence and the knowledge of what one is doing.

Even within the various denominations that were represented within Humane Borders, many of the officers and volunteers have served as a moral voice within their denominations. Nuns have histories of pushing bishops. Pastors advocate for support from mid-level judicatories, and some bishops pull their pastors along. Members of congregations knuckle down and work their wonders in contentious committees.

Those who have a moral voice retain it only so long as they are willing to use it. There must be no fear of making judgments. With that comes a responsibility to make the judgments clear, pointed and inarguable.

When I had a meeting with INS Commissioner Doris Meissner in August 2000, it was the moral voice I shared that most interested her. Public administrators don't like to have members of the clergy criticizing their practices and calling for reforms. The civil servants know that those religious leaders will go straight to a media microphone. Members of the clergy also have traditions of keeping secrets. But their base, their source of power, if you will, exists precisely because they have few secrets. Congregations and theologies are not based on secret practices. In fact, their success is precisely related to the fact that everyone knows what's going on. Yet, I presented no threat to her.

In the adjacent meeting room was a large group of INS agents who were about to be commissioned. She made them wait nearly

an hour just so she could talk to me. Seated with me was an intern from Coalición de Derechos Humanos, David Aguilar, and Gus de la Viña. I could see Aguilar's boss wincing several times as he heard my complaints against the Border Patrol. De la Viña never spoke to me directly. We talked about my Ph.D. dissertation, about the status of the migrants being returned to Mexico and a number of other topics. Once Meissner remembered our previous associations and she "located" me in terms of my service, she turned to Aguilar and said, "You can work with Dr. Hoover." That is public-administration speak for "Work with this man."

A few days later, after an early September Labor Day, Aguilar came to my office in First Christian Church in uniform and armed with a pistol. He immediately went for the jugular. He said to me clearly: "If you return to your former ways, I'll be the first to handcuff you." And I replied without hesitation: "If I can't give a cup of cold water in Christ's name to a migrant dying in the desert, we have a lot bigger problem in this country than immigration". There was a significant difference in the tone of the Commissioner and the tone of the Chief Patrol Agent of the Tucson Sector.

Religiously affiliated nonprofits have many resources to bring to the public they wish to influence, in addition to the moral voice. Religious groups have many, many strategies for change. They have had to live with and within many government regimes and in many kinds of economies in many cultures. Certainly one of the most famous typologies of how religious groups can relate within a given setting was expressed by H. Richard Niebuhr in his study *Christ and Culture*. In more contemporary language, a group can find success by standing with marginalized groups through solidarity, by practicing resistance and by seeking transformation of the structures and mechanisms, as well as of the hearts of those who are oppressing others.

Most congregations have a mix of facilities, staff, programs, leaders, volunteers, bank accounts, reputations, access to specific populations, and many other, often dramatically varied resources. These resources are accumulated over time, but they also include resources that can be projected into the world at a moment's notice from networks of associations and cooperative efforts. Each congregation has a narrative, a history, a theological heritage, a set of particular practices that distinguish one congregation or denomination from another. When members of the clergy and/or lay leadership are sitting at a table crafting responses to a perceived injustice, for instance, they sit ready to bring an almost in-

finite number of, though still scarce, resources to bear on human problems. Though congregations and denominations have never had enough material resources to dramatically address poverty, for instance, they can provide some help, education, counseling, training, and so on. Most of all, they provide hope and point to help.

The strategies for changing situations that have served or could serve a religious group are almost as varied. When the presence of a wrongfully marginalized group of people is observed and a group seeks to work for their wellbeing, several strategic options emerge. Questions are asked: Shall we stand in solidarity with this group? Shall we resist those who would marginalize them? Will public protest calling on the legal-political system rectify the problem? Shall we welcome the marginalized as a witness to others? Do we just need to provide the Band-Aids these people need to stand on their own? Will structural analysis and structural problem-solving be required? How about transformational politics? Each of these strategies has served many populations in many difficult moments in the history of religious groups working for the benefit of others. The last one, though, is the most comprehensive, and certainly the one that requires both the most resources and the most strategies. It certainly requires the most persistence and determination.

Transformational politics requires the most comprehensive approach. I am a social ethicist. That means I work in three fields: theology, social science, and public policy. Social ethicists look at macro social structures and mechanisms and evaluate them according to an appropriate ethical referent system. From what some of us call the “book” religions, if one begins reading the law and the prophets, one will find that they spent a lot of their time on who has a claim on what, who gets paid how much and when, weights and measures, whose land is whose, how close to the fence line one should glean the fields, and how we individually and collectively should accommodate, support, and love the poor in our midst. The prophets tell us who is clean, who is in debt, who’s “in” and who’s “out”. The wellbeing of the one affects the many and vice versa. Additionally, one’s relationship with God is predicated on one’s relationship with one’s neighbor.

The questions asked are not just system questions, though systems analysis can be very helpful. They are not just sociological questions about the target population, though any attempt to change their conditions absolutely requires knowledge of the phenomenology, or more simply, the lived experiences of the people

in question. Those who want transformational politics have to ask serious political questions, often of themselves as well as of the system. Transformational politics, the kind that actually changes systems, is not for the faint hearted. In fact, many members of the clergy in the trenches, so to speak, will tell you that a profound, fully formed spirituality is required.

I formally interviewed a number of executive directors of organizations that work in migration policy. To a person, each reported scriptural texts that were important for them and anecdotes of how they had formative experiences that led them to this work. They each indicated a sense of calling to the work; many acknowledged thinking that they could have fared much better financially had they chosen other employment. One cut off his doctoral studies because he got so involved in the work. Working with migrants who were sleeping on the floor of his office was more important to him than preparing to teach in a university. That was in the early '80s. Rogelio Nunez is still at work with Proyecto Libertad, the same organization, today. Proyecto Libertad is located in Harlingen, Texas.

The number of factors influencing migration and migrant deaths is almost staggering. Personal motivations are not the same as motivations on a macro scale. What is important here is the unit of analysis. The individual is not the same as the system. Politicians like to speak of one person as if that person represented everyone. Examples of farmers or members of the military might have worked 50 years ago, but not today. So few citizens are involved in farming or military service, that the examples make no sense. However, each U.S. citizen's appetites and purchasing practices matters. Trade policies matter. International banking mechanisms matter. National security matters. On and on. The deaths we see in our desert are epiphenomenal of many policies, conditions, artifacts of geography and I would add religion, culture, values. The list is very long. While I've added things like religion and culture, these very things have within them the seeds of a new future that is capable of being transformed. I'm not trying to offer some sort of sophisticated sociological theory. Rather, I am, perhaps, merely suggesting that when a few people find that they want to change something, they can reach for the very resources that have rendered the situation problematic and use them for the transformation.

Recall that slaves in the U.S. used the religion of their oppressors as basic elements for their own liberation. I point to Algeria and many modern liberation and freedom movements. Gillo

Pontecorvo, the Italian director of *The Battle Algiers* in 1966 showed the religious movement that precedes the political. Many would argue they were co-terminus, but I believe that the religious comes first. Other liberation movements have similar histories, and many resolutions of conflicts, especially those that avoided significant bloodshed, were also informed by older traditions of biblical justice. It would be impossible to measure the impact of someone like Bishop Desmond Tutu in the politics of South Africa, but it was immense.

It at least seems to me that all of the border issues fall into the categories of inquiry clearly established by the Hebrew prophets. And when we begin to study public policies related to the borders, we find that the U.S. doesn't stack up too well in the judgment of the prophets. For instance, the percentage of persons granted political asylum in this nation is abysmal when compared to other nations. The U.S. rarely responds with per capita rates of granting asylum compared to many nations. The U.S. instead points to all the relief dollars spent. It's often tragic that the relief dollars are actually loans to countries so that they can, in turn, buy U.S. products and services. The U.S. continues to breed artificial dependence around the world. The number of political refugees that are annually resettled in the U.S. is also tragically low. Moses foresaw the need for entire Cities of Refuge. Some of our prison complexes probably rival them in size, but they are hardly a substitute. There is liberty in asylum. Apparently, many of the conservatives who denounce modern sanctuary city policies haven't read the scriptures.

Reading some social science helps one discover that a lot of the claims made by the various parties to public policy discourse don't stand up to scrutiny, either. In fact, if one were to do a program evaluation or longitudinal public policy implementation study of U.S. border policies, one would find them to be both dismal and ineffective. The Government Accountability Office (GAO) of the U.S. government has done just that in multiple studies. The GAO and several universities have concluded that when it comes to migration, the U.S. Border Patrol doesn't affect the total migration numbers, only the location where the migrants cross the border. Immeasurable human suffering and thousands of deaths have followed as a consequence.

Today, one cannot look solely at federal policies. State policies must also be included. So far in the 2000s, perhaps a thousand separate pieces of anti-migrant legislation have been voted on in city councils, county governments, state houses and in state bal-

lot initiatives that deny migrants business licenses, rental property rights, language rights and much more. Migrants do pay taxes, all kinds of them. It is ironic to note how fast the U.S. has forgotten the slogan, "No taxation without representation".

In addition, city councils and county boards of supervisors around the U.S. are regularly voting on resolutions that affect those who are among us as migrants. Nearly every state in the union has had something about migration either on the state ballot or expressed by candidates campaigning for office. State legislatures have been considering and voting on a host of issues that deal with the migration and the rights of citizenship and/or residency in a state. In 2011, numerous bills copying Arizona legislation known as Senate Bill 1070 were introduced around the country. Legislatures began considering attacking the practice – well ensconced in law – of extending citizenship to anyone born in the U.S. Texas is now denying birth certificates for children born in the state whose parents could not produce acceptable identifying documents. My friend and famous attorney/activist Jennifer Harbury is currently representing many of the families of these children.

Most bills concerning migration/immigration/citizenship are bogus because they don't expand rights of U.S. citizens. None of the bills would do anything about controlling the migration. And none of them can do anything about protecting or expanding human rights, particularly since the United States doesn't recognize nearly as many human rights as do many nations.

Arizona "takes the cake". It's small in a lot of ways. It's more red than blue, but slightly purple in areas. With a small electorate, only a few signatures are needed to get propositions onto the state ballot. Arizona is a perfect laboratory for social policy experimentation. I know something of what I write. The Arizona proposition campaign to direct federal tobacco settlement funds directly to poor children's health care needs was operated out of an office on the second floor of First Christian Church in Tucson.

The famous Arizona SB 1070 gave broad police powers to sworn officers in the state. Before the bill made its way through the courts, there were dozens of proposed pieces of copy-cat legislation cropping up all across the U.S. The Arizona governor, then Jan Brewer, was sending shrill messages on the airwaves and in newsprint informing the world that migrants were being beheaded in the deserts of Arizona. The cartels were spreading out into the desert on the north side of the border. A cadre of "true believers" led by persistent anti-migrant zealots like State Sen. Russell Pearce

emerged. Anti-migrant politics was flourishing. Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio's famed history and repeated success at the polls is based upon his oppression of Latinos and he continues to be investigated by state and federal authorities and make frequent court appearances.

It's easy to conclude that the avalanche of legislative proposals at the federal and state levels is epiphenomenal of anti-migrant and anti-immigrant sentiment. I take an even dimmer view. Most of the political behavior I have observed comes either from opportunists or haters. The opportunists are throwing rocks at people they don't know, who, from my personal experience typically, have better family values than they do and have no political representation. The "anti's" are playing that all-American game: Kick the Dog. Those who express hatred toward migrants join the opportunists and evoke memories of early days of violent discrimination and repression in other countries.

The thousands of people who came to volunteer with Humane Borders were from all over the world: Sweden, India, Korea and most places in between. Most of them contributed a minimum of a few days of volunteer effort. We received dozens of short-term interns and some who stayed with us a full year. In Tucson, there was a sustained level of support from some 300 plus core volunteers whom leaders would see at least several times a year. Some gave many hours a week of their time. In Phoenix, under the leadership of the Rev. Liana Rowe of the United Church of Christ, more than 100 volunteers were organized and trained from several participating congregations.

The breadth of support from individuals, congregations, denominational organizations and even local governments has been impressive by all measures. By 2010, there were more than 1,400 regular donors who carried a lot of the burden of sustaining Humane Borders. A Mississippi River of small contributions and literally thousands of \$100 donations came through the mailbox in the church office throughout the first decade. It was the life blood of the organization. Our treasurer, Tim Holt, would look up and point upwards. "She's looking out after us." Without that help, Humane Borders would not exist. During my tenure, those donations were tied directly to the writing, printing, and mailing of some six or more newsletters and mailings each year that were several pages in length and full of news and commentary. Among the denominations, the United Methodists were the strongest leaders. Over a five-year period from local sources and international funds, the

United Methodist Church contributed more than \$100,000. The disaster relief funds of the United Church of Christ and of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) made annual, sustaining contributions. The Presbyterian Church USA and some Roman Catholic organizations made both episodic and sustaining gifts. It must be noted that many of these “denominational” agencies are either fully or semi-autonomous and their donations did not represent denominational approval.

It is worth noting from a social science perspective that it is generally the left-leaning, mainline Protestant types that are giving the most support for an organization that generally does not provide services for conationals or coreligionists. Simply put, these are not Unitarians dying out in the desert. Generally – almost universally – these are Roman Catholics and Latino Evangelicals. I once told a Tucson religion and values reporter that if I were local Catholic Bishop Gerald Kicanas and I had 400,000 at least nominally affiliated members in my diocese, and I wasn't doing more for the people in the desert than is currently being done, I'd be embarrassed. I stand by that in the sense that I want to see more done. Far fewer United Methodists in Arizona do far more for migrants on a per capita basis. I'm was even more embarrassed by the lack of mobilization by the Latino community. More than 35 percent of the people in or near Tucson are Latino. One of the jobs of religious institutions is to teach the world how to take care of itself. That includes one denomination teaching another. If any religious leaders are awaiting permission, Pope Francis seems to be leading the way. He has spoken frequently on the topic.

The single most important source of support for Humane Borders was First Christian Church in Tucson. One half of my salary and benefits were donated to this cause from June 2000 to November 2009. Second has been the support of Pima County Government. Every year, since 2001, Pima County has issued a \$25,000 contract with Humane Borders to erect and maintain water stations in remote areas of the desert, in response to a declaration from the Pima County Health Department that a state of emergency exists in the desert. Pima County's support has been controversial. In one recent year, a grant for water stations was not awarded. I will always remain grateful to the First Christian Church Board and to the Board of Supervisors for doing the right thing.

Humane Borders once operated as many as 106 water stations on federal, state, county, municipal, and private lands, some in Mexico. The numbers are dramatically lower now. The stations on

federal lands helped us set up best practices in all of the various jurisdictions. Three-ring binders full of correspondence, maps, permits and other documents related to these stations soon occupied at least six feet of shelving in the office. Obtaining and maintaining permits, insurance and necessary documentation was a phenomenally difficult job in itself.

In the first 10 years, Humane Borders dispensed no less than 180,000 gallons of water in remote, strategic areas. At the height of our operations, at least 80 servicing trips were made each month during the critical water station season, May 1 through September 30. Some of those round trips were 300 miles long.

The administration of Humane Borders required a working non-profit board. Many boards are designed to just "assign" and "approve" people and things. The board members of Humane Borders had to contribute time and energy in a sustained way in order for the scope of work of the organization to be maintained. In addition to the traditional officer positions, several other positions on the board were functional in character: external relations, special counsel and Washington representative, Phoenix coordinator, development, faith relations, research, chaplain, internet, education, and one or more members at large. The organization was blessed with volunteers who didn't have high-maintenance egos.

In the beginning, I publicly characterized what was done in the desert as "passive humanitarian assistance" to stave off the inaccurate perceptions of many that we were out to enable the migration or to further the entrance of migrants into the U.S. Truth be told, if I and most of the people in Humane Borders could have our wish, it would be that people could flourish where or at least near where they were born. I made comments in interviews that were not much different from the official position of the United Nations, though in practice, our positions on migration would be seen as far more open, tolerant and accepting. However, even in the U.S., the highly mobile population of citizens is significantly disruptive and even destructive of family relationships. When large numbers of workers head to North Dakota to work the Bakken oil fields, many disruptions follow. It would please most of us working in the migration policy sphere if there were not a large sustained migration through our backyard. But that is not the case, and huge economic and social steering currents will persist.

Individually, we do get to minister to a number of the migrants in a very active way. Over the years, any one of five foreign consuls who had my phone number on speed dial would call me to inquire

if the church could provide temporary housing for one or more migrants. Sometimes family members have traveled to Tucson to be with their hospitalized family members. Several times I have been with them when end-of-life decisions were being made. Sometimes migrants have undergone procedures and treatments, been stabilized at the hospital, and are – by law – required to be dismissed from the hospital. Hospital staff members would call and inform me that a person not fit for travel back to a country of origin was in need of special help. The church would take them when we could. Sometimes we made arrangements for other care providers to take them.

As a former nurse, I provided care for a young Guatemalan man named Badillo. In the darkness of an Altar Valley night, Badillo had an encounter with our famous “Macho B” jaguar that was later killed by United States Fish and Wildlife Service. He ran away from what he called “tigre” (the jaguar), but he ran into cactus. He drove some saguaro spines into his knee and continued to walk until he developed sepsis. Somehow he made it to the road to a hospital and to surgery. He needed 28 days of intravenous antibiotics. I and a few volunteers took great care of him. A retired physician checked in on him, a volunteer from University Medical Center checked his IV, and I administered the antibiotics for four weeks. If he had been deported according to the law, he would have died.

The ministry of hospitality continued briefly through a program I created called Migration Ministries at First Christian Church. It was discontinued when I left. Ministry of this sort is particularly dependent on leadership. From time to time, the office received calls informing us that migrants with special needs were in the hospitals. Many of the groups in Tucson continue to respond as they are able and with the facilities they have.

A teenager named Efran lost both of his legs in an accident on a train just south of Tucson while he was en route to work with his uncle in Phoenix in his roofing business. A man in a rehab center read about Efran in the newspaper, called our office, and sent money to us so we could buy him some toys for Christmas. Several people in the community worked to make his stay in Tucson as pleasant as possible, and the Mexican Consulate even collected funds and held them for Efran until he was 18 to help pay for an adult-size prosthetic to be fitted when he returned to Mexico.

Humane Borders also developed a major migrant education program by printing and distributing warning posters for migrants.

The most basic level of ethics is informed consent. One can Google Humane Borders maps and find them on many websites 10 years after they were introduced. More about these in the next chapter where I review our technological work.

One of the staples of our work was what our favorite local television personality called “media therapy.” A reporter, Sal Quijada, who worked for KGUN9-TV would call from time to time to see if we “needed to put someone in the spotlight in this continuing border story.” Sal was working his sources when he made those calls, but by choosing whom to call, he was upholding his ideals of journalism: to hold elected persons and administrators to a high level of accountability, to make public policy visible and to showcase efforts to solve complex social problems.

By the time I left Humane Borders, the hosting of groups and delegations had grown to the point that nearly every week of the year, volunteers would make at least one significant presentation, take a group to survey water stations, or pick up migrant trash in the desert – three ways to learn facts about the migration. Humane Borders generally quit hosting groups when it moved to the House of Neighborly Services.

In recent years, the amount of research done by Humane Borders has greatly expanded. The expertise of some in the organization, most notably Dr. John Chamblee, has led to publications and contracts that have enabled Humane Borders to make contributions to the process of identifying deceased migrants.

First Christian Church facilitated direct, personal, pastoral care to migrants over the years. Church staff, elders, the two women religious (the preferred term for nuns) routinely volunteering for Humane Borders and various members of the clergy associated with Humane Borders all answered calls to come and help. Thousands of hours of time have been donated by volunteers bringing food and sharing meals with migrants. The stories flow out from the migrants as food is shared. These kinds of encounters strengthened the resolve to deal with the bigger job of making migration policy reforms that are migrant-centered; that is, designed to remove these people from peril in the desert.

Even before the first permit to operate water stations in the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument was signed, the chief ranger there was encouraging us to contact the staff at Cabeza Prieta National Wildlife Refuge. “They’re good guys. They will want to help, too.”

We started conversations with several federal land managers in the late winter of 2001 and on into spring. The first permit set forth many of the ground rules for all subsequent stations. We would use blue flags to get the attention of the migrants. Blue is the most unnatural color in southern Arizona. It's also a symbol of water. The tanks would be blue, too. The tanks would have valves that can be easily operated. At first, we used spring loaded valves until we concluded that the valves were worth enough money in Mexico for thieves to steal them. We eventually switched to simple, cheap nylon valves. In our permits, we agreed to service tanks once a week and to be on call to fix or replace equipment as soon as possible. The stations were located where migrants were walking, or where the land managers wanted them to walk. The first permits included strategies to help the land managers by encouraging migrants to walk in non-wilderness areas. When we serviced the stations every week, we would check chlorine, water volume, operation of the valves and provide necessary signage and so on. Additionally, we picked up trash all around the stations.

We were well into the process of establishing all of the necessary paperwork to expand operations onto the Cabeza Prieta National Wildlife Refuge in spring 2001. An intern was very close to closing the deal for us. When the final presentation was made in Ajo, Arizona, the manager, Don Tiller, thought that the intern had left the building. Actually, she had stepped to the restroom before making the 125-mile trip back to Tucson. As our intern was walking from the restroom door to the exterior door of the building, Tiller was leaning on the door jamb, looking back into the meeting room talking to the remaining members of his staff. She overheard him say: "You don't understand. I've been told not to tell them "no." Someone was already paying attention to what we were trying to do in the desert. We're not sure just who. Someone in the regional office in Albuquerque? Or Washington?"

The first permit required many things, including for us to provide maps in Spanish to people in Mexico detailing the locations of the water stations. Apart from buying some detailed maps of southern Arizona, this was our first map project.

The first official permitted stations were deployed March 7, 2001 at Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. We completed our written application to the neighboring Cabeza Prieta National Wildlife Refuge (CPNWR) on March 27. In a letter dated April 18, we were informed that operating water stations in CPNWR would have a deleterious effect on the mission to provide habitat for the

endangered Sonoran pronghorn antelope. On May 23, personnel of the U.S. Border Patrol picked up 14 dead migrants and gurneyed 12 migrants that appeared like living mummies into the regional medical center in Yuma following a helicopter ride. Many who survived permanently lost tissues from because of dehydration. Water in the desert means life. Period. If people are there, water must be there, too. A few weeks later, the Border Patrol gave us a briefing in the same room in which the USFWS decision was made to deny migrants water. They declared that the entire group of 26 walked within three-quarters of a mile of one of the proposed water station sites. The politics of that debacle continue to stun me.

The wildlife refuge was wrong. It's regional office was wrong. Washington was wrong. Later on, Federal District Judge John Roll in Tucson ruled in favor of the Refuge in a wrongful death lawsuit. His decision was factually wrong. The Border Patrol agents on the ground were both right and moral. Their immediate response was to advocate for putting rescue beacons in the desert as a means of providing rescues to migrants in distress. They couldn't quite see putting out water at the beacons, but they, too, wanted to respond to the moral question posed by the migrant deaths. That concern is no longer evident. Without asking anyone in Humane Borders, I immediately endorsed the rescue beacons. I still do, and as recently as the fall of 2010, I have continued to call upon the Border Patrol to deploy more of them even as they denounce technologies I promote. Beacons have one major thing in common with the water stations: there are far too few of them. I tell more of this story in subsequent chapters, but the death of these 14 migrants contributed more than anything to the visibility of Humane Borders on the national and international scene. They forever changed my life.

Nearly one sixth of all of the migrant deaths in southern Arizona that year occurred in that one, fateful group of migrants led by a totally incompetent guide. The story of this group is memorialized in Luis Alberto Urrea's famous book *The Devil's Highway*.

Years later as the data was scrubbed, (many painstaking hours poured into making maps, reading reports from the various medical examiner offices, checking and re-checking Border Patrol data). Scholars and medical examiner office personnel are certain that on average, more than 200 migrants have died in each of the first 15 years of Humane Borders operations as a result of migration policies. That is immoral. Unfortunately, the policies are sustainable so long as officials continue to deny that death is an intentional component of U.S. border policy.

Humane Borders volunteers erect and maintain water stations today across more than 250 miles of border and as far north of the border as 65 miles. Statistical analysis reveals that the presence of the water stations in the desert is significant in reducing the numbers of migrant deaths. And it's obvious to those who work with the data that many, many, more water stations are needed to respond to the particular conditions in our deserts. Currently, the death locations are, on average, moving west. Substantial numbers of them are once again on the land of the Cabeza Prieta National Wildlife Refuge.

The station sites are selected by examining the death location data and then finding the nearest accessible terrain where permission can be obtained to operate. The deadliest terrain of all remains the Baboquivari (or as I'm sometimes wont to call it, the barbeque trail) across Tohono O'odham Nation lands. The stations are actually so well known that we raised a new 30-foot-tall flag pole at a new station, and in less than two minutes, a young migrant ran up to the station with an empty jug telling us in Spanish, "They told us to look for the blue flags."

The group who actually committed to doing this work had to figure out how to do it and then how to maintain it. What seems obvious today was not so obvious when we began. We first worked out of the back of my own four-wheel-drive pickup purchased just a few days before the first deployment. I spent my own money to make that possible. By the summertime of 2001, we purchased and equipped a trailer with a 325-gallon tank, a pump, hose reel and tools. By the end of the year, we had also purchased our first truck. At the end of 2010, Humane Borders was operating four specially equipped water trucks and one pickup. We also had a few donated vehicles used by our interns. Each of the water trucks has been splayed out on my driveway and garage at home at one time or another to be built, re-built, or repaired. Major repairs have been done on each of them in the ramada that was located for years on our church campus. The ramada was built not only as a memorial but also as temporary shelter from the sun for those working on the vehicles. The sun has a way of making socket wrenches too hot to handle in the summer. It was very useful, but it was torn down while FCC was working out its master property plan.

Each vehicle can carry a six-person crew. All but one has four-wheel drive. That one has four wheels in the back that make it pretty dependable even in sandy terrain and muddy ground.

Taking proper care of the water is quite important. Water chemistry is actually a very complex subject. For the first 10 years, the water we used was taken from the public water supply at First Christian Church. Humane Borders' water handling techniques were blessed by a professor at the University of Arizona who was more than qualified to check our work. We sanitized the tanks, used air-gap filling techniques, drained the tanks completely, used approved valves, hoses, etc. In the desert, we completely flushed out the tanks. Then, they were filled with fresh, City of Tucson chlorinated water. Through a complex process, the City of Tucson blends Colorado River water by pumping it into the aquifer in one location and taking it from wells farther away. Migrants are getting a taste of the water some of them will be drinking at the end of their journey.

The water tanks are 55 to 58 gallon food-grade polyethylene tanks. In the early years, most of the barrels were recycled Coca-Cola syrup barrels. When full, they weigh approximately 450 pounds. Each must be cradled in a wood or metal stand that can withstand the wear and tear of the weight, the servicing and the weather.

Maintaining the water stations and equipment was a lot of work and required many thousands of volunteer hours each year to keep barrels and stands painted, flags repaired or replaced, trucks running and equipment maintained. A few stations required a little more work each year. Several water stations in certain locations were vandalized repeatedly. Through the years, we just put ourselves back into the work and replaced the vandalized station. We once put out some hidden game cameras thinking we could get pictures of the bad guys. They were stolen. One Border Patrol agent told me he used the water to wash his truck.

When the first stations were deployed at Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, Chief Ranger Dale Thompson handed us two heavy 30-gallon trash cans to place at the sites. This enabled the migrants to dispose of their trash there. Surprisingly to me, the cans began immediately accumulating trash. It was part of our work to clean up the area. From the beginning, we worked with many land managers, both public and private, to clean up trash sites whether or not they were located near water stations. The trash is unsightly and had to be dealt with. But the trash really isn't a major environmental issue.

We had been trying to obtain permission to operate on Tohono O'odham lands for a long time, or to be able to have meetings,

at least. The legislative chairman asked us to pick up migrant trash along the road that leads from Topawa to Baboquivari. We had already picked up many tons of trash. This was particularly important to him because there was to be a funeral, and all would be driving along this route to the cemetery. So, on a Fourth of July, I and others mobilized 40 plus volunteers to pick up migrant trash along Fresno Canyon Road leading to the main cemetery for the Baboquivari District. But after several hours of very hard work, all we had was a dumpster half-full of beer bottles. Migrants don't bring bottles of beer, at least not bearing the labels we saw. This is what is known as working in bad faith. In that moment, it was against our mission statement to continue working with the Nation. We existed to provide drinking water, not drinking cleanups. All of our work was to pick up just O'odham trash. Most of the trash was actually in the cemetery. The leadership was playing us. They would not return phone calls. And they returned our mail marked "undeliverable."

Some ranchers are legitimately concerned about migrant trash. For those involved in livestock production, there are some very serious and costly considerations. I've found things like injectable drugs in the desert. These things are not good for cattle. There were many things we wanted to see removed from the desert, so we did it. In the first 10 years, Humane Borders likely removed more than 20 tons of trash from the desert floor. Usually, with the help of large groups of volunteers – church groups, university students or other groups – we traveled to desert sites where visitors could see some of what the migrants experience by observing what they leave behind.

We found sites that appeared like a baggage claim area at an airport where all the bags were open and there was no one to claim them. The migrants take with them clothing, personal hygiene products, shoes, small pieces of luggage, backpacks, food items, toiletries, love letters and bibles. They also take along precious family photos, identification papers, letters of recommendation, military service records – all the kinds of things that anyone might take along if one were going on a long trip or planning to stay away for an extended time.

Many times, we encountered migrants in the desert. I say it that way because generally, a migrant is not seen by a volunteer unless the migrant chooses to reveal his or her location. One can conceal oneself behind very small vegetation if one chooses. Migrants travel as individuals, couples and families. New relationships are established as the groups form small, medium, and very large groups,

sometimes up to 100 migrants. Many of the folks who actually show themselves to us are those who have been separated from their groups, often by law enforcement. Through the years, migrants have been found very near the border who were already in trouble, who have apparently been walking in circles, and people 60 miles from the border who appear to be in great shape, who have food and water, and who are just going rather merrily and hopefully on their way. We've found folks who were near death who had to be evacuated, including by helicopter. Migrants have run out of the desert hollering for us to "llama Migra!" (call immigration). They had enough. They wanted to go home.

All the volunteers were required to observe a "migrant encounter protocol." The protocol was established by Humane Borders to be as ethical and responsible as possible. We shared it with Border Patrol as a declaration of what we would do. It was not negotiated with them, but it was well received. There are a few limitations on what volunteers can do to be of assistance to the persons encountered. Volunteers can ask if food, water, first aid, or other emergency measures are needed. These could be provided. All Humane Borders vehicles were stocked with food, water, and a complete first responder's medical kit. Not all of the volunteers could use all the equipment, but they could call a hospital, or BORSTAR, or an ambulance service and get talked through an emerging situation. To date, no one has suffered from a volunteer's lack of medical – several of our group had training – and often, migrants and even volunteers benefited from the supplies on hand. We've had some retired male volunteers coming back from the desert without their shirts, hats, or socks. They had seen migrants. They gave away clothing, hats, money, food, cigarettes. They had a good day.

Generally, helping someone to find his or her way into the U.S. is a proscribed behavior. That is, driving a migrant to the airport is forbidden. However, we routinely did a few things that walk right up to the line of legally defined behaviors. For instance, we did a small-scale orientation designed to help the migrants think clearly. "Does the person/group know where he/she/they are?" "How long or how many days have you been walking?" "Do you really know where you are going?" "Are you prepared to continue for several more days?" These questions and others serve several purposes. We begin to plant doubt in the migrant's mind that they can continue – especially in the hot season.

We routinely started this inquiry, but truthfully, most of the time when we encountered migrants in the desert in the summer, they

had already decided they wanted out of the desert before they approached us. Probably up to 95 percent of the time, we made the call to the Border Patrol – at the migrants' request. Some percentage of the time we convinced the migrants that it would be in their best interest to take the ride from the Border Patrol and come another day, hopefully another way.

It was very common for volunteers to provide food, water, basic first aid, a water-soaked towel for cooling down, a clean place to sit. It was also common for us to wait upward of an hour with the migrant(s) while the Border Patrol dispatched an appropriate vehicle to the area. Sometimes, it was just a matter of flagging down the next agent along a busy road, though sometimes when we all waved, the agents just waved back and continued down the road! One day was particularly busy for the Border Patrol. I have stopped a Humane Borders truck often on super-hot days when Border Patrol are with large groups of migrants and asked them if they needed water, medical, or phone. They were almost always grateful.

Generally, none of our volunteers ever drove migrants out of the desert for any reason. And, early on, as president of Humane Borders, I gave the Tucson Sector of the Border Patrol blanket authorization in writing to stop any and all of our vehicles for inspection any time, day or night. What did happen from time to time – but actually very rarely each year – was that one of us encountered a migrant who, in our judgment, could not wait for medical care. In those few cases, we called the Border Patrol dispatcher and indicated where we were and said we were headed to a particular hospital. Some of these transfers were made even at the dispatcher's suggestion, because the nearest officer might be a supervisor in a car who couldn't get to us where we had gone in four wheel drive. So a few times a year we did drive someone to a hospital or to an agreed-upon pick-up location to remove the migrant from peril. We did so with the gratitude of the migrant(s) and the agents(s) involved. Border Patrol agents usually did not interfere or even contact us further when we were going to a hospital. If the agent had apprehended the person, the Border Patrol would become responsible for the costs of the hospital care. When we arrived at the hospital, we simply notified the nearest consulate and someone from their protection services office would take over. When the migrant was well enough to travel they were usually reunited with family.

Our many stories, adventures, and routine trips into the desert made Humane Borders the perfect vehicle for all kinds of journal-

ists, documentary filmmakers, radio reporters and others who wanted to sample the desert experiences of the migrants. Artists, poets, novelists and short story writers have accompanied us on our many trips. One writer of children's books accompanied us several times and took his horse and trailer along. An entire chapter is devoted to media later in this book.

Because of our unique experiences and presence in the desert, all manner of groups flocked to the facilities of Humane Borders and First Christian Church to study the border. Typically, groups were comprised of church or university-related volunteers who would stay in rooms of the church, use the commercial kitchen, eat in our Fellowship Hall, use the showers, make many trips to the desert, work on equipment and vehicles for us, clean and paint barrels, pick up trash in the desert and watch border documentary films to round out their experience. Some made journeys into Mexico, to Agua Prieta, Sonora or Nogales, Sonora. A few even ventured to the town of Altar, Sonora.

During my tenure, interns and staff annually made scores of presentations to groups: orientations, overviews of the work, and for those who were interested, wrap-up sessions for extensive question and answer periods, or even theological reflections in intimate settings where scriptures were read and prayers offered. Museum-quality displays were set up at conferences and assemblies of religious groups: the General Assembly of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the General Synod of the United Church of Christ, universities in the U.S. and Mexico, and at the offices of Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services in Baltimore, Maryland. The utility of these installations was questionable. Extensive investment in interpretive installation may or may not be effective in raising money or interest, relative to the amount of time put into the work. For the right target audience, they are quite useful. They enable a longer look and a deeper drink from a set of ideas than does a brief news article. To invest heavily into this kind of presentation as a long-term strategy for consciousness-raising probably yields little return.

What has been beneficial is "tabling" – hosting a table or booth at a meeting – the presence of the right person pointing to the displays and asking for modest, reasonable gifts. Sue Goodman of Humane Borders staffed a booth at a joint meeting of women from the United Church of Christ and the Disciples of Christ. She handed out envelopes printed with: "buy one day's worth of gasoline," which was operationally defined as \$100. That simple campaign of direct engagement plus a similar newsletter-based program pro-

duced enough money to buy nearly a third of the year's gasoline. Some of those donors became regular donors.

A static display is not without benefit, though. Sue and I staffed a display area at the General Assembly of our denomination for several days. Several years later, a group of volunteer chaplains and retired members of the clergy who saw it came to see us. One has to be patient. Some seeds grow faster than others.

From time to time, representatives of Humane Borders were sought to give testimony at events or make panel presentations. Those gatherings that were well attended or had their proceedings published following the meetings were the most effective. Volunteers and officers of Humane Borders have made presentations and given testimony before Congress, at the United States Civil Rights Commission, in many universities, at denominational business meetings, and at many staff meetings for representatives of local governments. U.S. State Department representatives would bring elected officials from other nations to hear me make presentations. When I spoke the truth about some matters, the representatives would leave the room in protest – leaving their guests behind.

When I was writing my Ph.D. dissertation on the politics of faith-based groups working in migration policy, I predicted that by the 2000 election, immigration would be in the top two or three front-burner issues. Then, I revised my estimate forward to the 2004 election. No such luck. 2008? No. 2012? No. 2016? Probably not. When John Kerry and the rest of the Democrats were in Phoenix to debate, almost nothing was said about immigration. I had occasion that year to speak very briefly but very directly with Kerry four times. Nothing. When Kerry and Bush later debated in front of CBS TV journalist Bob Schieffer in Phoenix, the four times I had talked to Kerry to equip him with some language about the migration didn't show. The forever non-inquisitive President George W. Bush wasn't paying any attention to the strength of the immigration debate in Arizona. However, Bush knew what had to be on the table for reform. Kerry apparently was either a slow student on this issue or totally uninterested. Now that we've had so many election cycles behind us since I began studying immigration in earnest in the early 90s, I'm in no position to predict when immigration – or more appropriately – migration policy reform will emerge as a major election issue. Much will be said in front of the 2016 election, but no one should have high expectations.

To the extent that immigration has become a salient political issue in recent years, it was because of 9-11. But it is also a politically

salient item in part because Humane Borders successfully contributed to the politicization of the deaths of migrants. We've held up our arms and said, "Death in the desert is wrong" for so long that some of our arms are aching. I argue that the national – sovereignty issue guys like the former Minutemen literally stole some of their plays right out of our playbook and called national attention to other border dynamics. I'm not the first one to assert this. The former consul general of Phoenix, Carlos Flores Vizcarra, was the first to point this out to me back in 2004.

In the first decade of this century, Humane Borders put out a phenomenal amount of water in the desert. Presentations to schools, groups, and large gatherings of all kinds of people were made. Humane Borders hosted large and small groups and even families who came to learn about the border. We spent huge amounts of energy making our maps into warning posters. We worked a lot with Mexico's National Human Rights Commission. We nurtured our relationships with Mexican government officials, groups and academic institutions. Without my presence at the helm of Humane Borders and access to First Christian Church facilities, group visits plummeted. I do regret that, but when a founder leaves, changes are inevitable. Humane Borders and First Christian Church continue to host some smaller groups. I continue to make frequent appearances at U.S. and Mexican universities and at meetings of Mexico's national human rights commission.

Many academic papers bear the names of our volunteers. Three of our interns went on to write master's theses, several wrote dissertations. Two went on to finish seminary and be ordained as Presbyterian ministers. Humane Borders earned a place of invitation to lots of tables to talk about the migration. The trip to Mexico City to hold a press conference about our warning posters in 1986 was reported by Al Jazeera two days in a row, a trophy for any group of do-gooders. We held up the mirror and allowed the Bush and Obama administrations to see themselves as the heartless fools they were and are when it comes to migrant safety. The voice of Humane Borders has been among those in the forefront of showing how migrants who continue to cross make a mockery of attempts to redefine life on the border, in terms of national security.

Humane Borders not only implemented its vision, its membership and leadership expanded that vision. It carved out a social space in which a substantive public discourse could take place.

Money follows mission and relationships. As we developed more relationships with United Methodists and as they mutually sought us

out, special gifts from the United Methodist Committee on Relief, conference funds and contributions in the form of special offerings from individual congregations accounted for more than \$80,000 in contributions in 2006 alone. Gifts like these are episodic at best, but they enabled Humane Borders to continue capitalizing equipment and vehicles. I shouldn't list all of the donors but there have been some exceptional individual gifts, and some of them from people we conclude were themselves poor migrants.

I finally decided to step down as president of Humane Borders, Inc. for several reasons. I wanted to be freed up from the daily responsibilities of truck maintenance and other logistical claims on my time. I needed to rest my back, which still suffers from an injury in 2003 when I jumped off a truck in Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. I felt pulled to write this book and pursue other venues to share the story of the plight of the migrants. Without question, I was driven to spend more time pastoring my congregation. Resigning would free me to work on special projects, visioning for the future and continue to develop media representation. Humane Borders' leadership provided me with the title of Founder and Media Representative to do this work. Soon thereafter, I was recognized as president emeritus. All that said, I was the one in the know about the history and up-to-the-minute developments and I was on site. That is why I was most often consulted, regardless of my official status with the organization. Retirement was more a state of mind than a reality.

Mark Townley, a member of St. Mark's Presbyterian Church and an Intuit software engineer, was the natural choice to replace me. Mark had distinguished himself, was liked and respected and he exhibited much-needed traits to keep the organization on an even keel. Repeatedly, he exhibited leadership, insight and the temperament needed to work well with volunteers, elected officials, public administrators, media and others. The demands of this kind of organization are many, and few are the places where one can learn how to do the work. Significant familiarity with the politics of local congregations certainly helps.

Following his tenure, I served an additional nine months while we expanded the board from 6 to 15 members, and sought and elected Felipe Lundin to serve as president with Mark as vice president. This was one of the biggest mistakes of my adult life. Felipe had been in charge of the largest department of Pima County government, but he apparently chose not to learn the ropes to run Humane Borders. One of the greatest gifts we received was to se-

cure the services of Doug Ruopp, a public school teacher, as our operations manager. We needed him and valued him highly and we told him so.

Part of the genius, if you will, of Humane Borders was that it attracted so many individuals who could find a way to quickly plug into the organization's many schedules and the myriad activities in which Humane Borders engaged. Any interested and motivated person could find something to do. Media, volunteers, colleagues, migrant contacts, elected officials, public administrators, record keeping, rescues, organization, coordination, travel, deep personal contacts, hosting tables at events, fundraising. There was something for everyone in this group.

Religiously affiliated nonprofit organizations (RANPOs) like Humane Borders are, or should be, substantially different from other kinds of organizations. RANPOs are, by definition, non-market and non-governmental organizations. Yet, they are, in a way, run something like businesses and similar to governmental bodies. They are required to be corporations, obtain recognition by the IRS, comply with federal accounting standards, keep records comply with governing documents that meet certain standards and so on. Graduate schools all across the U.S. offer courses in this and train leaders. Internal meeting processes are usually democratic in character and certainly in substance. They can vary dramatically according to organizational form.

This is rarely recognized by those who are not familiar with religious groups. Often, they confuse structure with authority. Before Jerry Falwell died, I used to enjoy asking political science students, "Do you think the Roman Catholic Church or Jerry Falwell's congregation and/or Liberty University is the most democratic?" The question stumps them. No contest. Falwell was more autocratic than the system of papal authority ever considered. Strong leadership is required, however, to smoothly move an organization forward. Organizations with missions, structures, leaders, officers, corporate paper and other accoutrements can be as flexible and responsive as any organization.

Religious organizations vary, but almost all of them over time thrive on associations, relationships and revenue streams that keep them open to the outside world. The nonprofit distinction is perhaps the most telling characteristic. Money does not profit the folks who run the place, and the bottom line is not profit. Unlike governments (federal, state, local) that exist under the notion of legitimacy because they have the consent of the governed, nonprofits have no

tax revenues and are totally dependent on the voluntary giving, the resources of their members or grants and contracts with other entities. That is also a true form of legitimacy. Though the number of people to whom a RANPO is accountable is smaller, the dependent relationships still lead to strong accountability.

When I was speaking with an IRS representative whose office was on the Mall in Washington, D.C. about finalizing Humane Borders' nonprofit status, she was all ears. I had to convince her that no for-profit organization in its right mind would buy expensive trucks and recruit hundreds of volunteers to routinely drive thousands of miles to service water stations with just the \$25,000 we receive from Pima County government to support our work. Twenty-five thousand dollars buys only part of a fully equipped water truck. It takes more than \$25,000 to operate the same vehicle for a year. I had to make her understand that we would be in the red after the first week. One of the requirements of a nonprofit is that it doesn't directly compete with for-profit entities, an arrangement that is yet another measure that the "political economy" still reigns supreme in the U.S. Through the tax codes of the federal and state governments, the political economy continues to tighten the screws on religion.

Humane Borders was established as a religiously affiliated nonprofit for a variety of reasons. The founders were primarily representatives of faith communities. Tucson already had a variety of traditional religious nonprofits such as Catholic Social Services, the non-sectarian Jewish Family Services and the Lutheran Social Mission of the Southwest, had a history of working with narrowly defined immigration groups. With religious affiliation, fundraising from congregations and denominations was reasonably assured. From the Sanctuary Movement of the '80s and '90s, Tucson already had a history and significant acceptance of faith-based activism. The groundwork was laid by the Fr. Ricardo Elford, Fr. Ramon Dagoberto Quiñones, the Rev. John Fife, Jim Corbett, among others. A number of human rights activists and organizations were always eager to promote many of the same ideas. Those who created Humane Borders knew from the day it was founded that theology would be used to express activism of a particular kind.

Other faith-based organizations have been formed in Tucson and in southern Arizona to work in the migration policy area since Humane Borders was established. To date, none of these have chosen the nonprofit corporation model. In the opinion of many, it is to their detriment.

CHAPTER FOUR TECHNOLOGY

"I don't know how it works!"
—The Great and Wonderful Wizard of Oz

Technology is not just a piece of hardware, it is the application of disciplined study. Know-how is technology. Disciplined study can be as simple as the lore handed from father to daughter or as complex as geographical information system software on a computer that can make millions of matrix algebra calculations for a social scientist who applies data to a project. It can also be as simple as a mailing list or a satellite-based panic button for search and rescue operations.

A U.S. Park Service chief ranger on federal land was showing me a picture of the most recent body he had recovered. He called it "Road Kill on the Road to Economic Freedom." He commented on how resourceful the migrants were. I said that the dead migrant was why we were putting out the largest office water coolers we could for new employees in the U.S. economy. Together, we were adapting knowledge to emerging situations. Effective religious nonprofits employ a variety of technologies. The RANPOs I have worked with have employed many kinds of technology, from courtroom advocacy to modern underground railroad activities. Among the border groups I know of, Humane Borders has utilized the widest variety but the legal service organizations I've worked with in immigration policy have used the most complicated.

On a very hot day in July 2000, my colleague in Christ, Sr. Elizabeth Ohmann, and I traveled to Sells, Arizona, the capital, if you will, of the Tohono O'odham Nation. We met with then chairman of its Department of Public Safety, Lawrence Seligman, who is not a member of the Nation. He was interested in putting out emergency water barrels on Nation lands. He had spoken with the O'odham Legislature about that, telling members that it would be very reasonable, effective, and appropriate to place 55-gallon barrels of water in strategic areas to stop migrant deaths. Some on

the Nation were for it, others against it, a trend that has continued since 2000.

He told the two of us an eye-opening story. A Mexican man and his son were walking across the Nation through brush land. They got into trouble from the lack of water. The father had enough presence of mind that the two of them literally buried themselves up to their necks in the dirt to avoid complete dehydration from the extreme temperature rise in their bodies. I don't know the science of that because in some areas, the ground temperature can be higher than the air temperature. According to Seligman, the man's father had taught him to do that in an emergency. Seligman discovered these two men just in time to save their lives.

Often, the political commentary observed on television that is disguised as entertainment ceases to be anything but repulsive when situations like these are encountered. Dismissing deaths in the desert as just-desserts for law breakers is unthinking, unfeeling and un-American. A white U.S. female working for the O'odham Police Department found a live baby on the breast of her dead mother on the reservation. They were Yolanda Gonzalez and her infant daughter Elizama. That story spurred the imagination and resolve of many in southern Arizona to try to do something. To this day, no Humane Borders water stations are operated on the reservation. The only water specifically placed there for migrants was what Mike Wilson put out with the financial support of Humane Borders and the frequent assistance of his friend David Garcia. Wilson often sought a volunteer from Humane Borders or visiting media types to accompany him for his own safety. Some of his work is detailed in a subsequent chapter.

The Tohono O'odham Nation leaders we talked to said they did not want to put out water as will be detailed in a later chapter. It remained for us to figure out the best way to deploy water in the desert in those locations where we could obtain permission. In early August 2000, I saw an Associated Press photo in a Tucson newspaper of a man in California who was starting a pilot project to put out some water in the California desert near the city of El Centro. He was signaling the location of the water with a blue flag on an improvised pole made of electrical conduit. He said that an old timer desert guy sitting in the local café made the original suggestion.

The man in the photo raising the flag to save lives was Dr. John Hunter. He described himself to us as a redneck "actionist". His brother, Duncan, was a member of Congress for many years. Now

John's nephew, also named Duncan, holds that seat in Congress. The older Duncan was a Republican candidate for U.S. President in 2008. He was the candidate endorsed by Ann Coulter, the rabid, right-wing political commentator who is one of the nation's most outspoken immigration restrictionists. I find the affinity for Ann Coulter to be indicative of the family's politics.

Hunter worked on the first election campaign and the many re-election campaigns of his brother who made his career in part out of building fences between California and Mexico. The older Duncan Hunter was the author of the Secure Fence Act in 2006. The brothers knew the effects of the fencing, but neither wanted to see migrants dying in the desert. The deaths challenged the legitimacy of their politics. So John Hunter put a lot of effort into solving the migrant death situation in California. He was helped by his brother. He worked first by putting water in the desert and later by putting cables across the All American Canal to reduce migrant drownings. Again, the politics of humanitarian aid is more about people and less about ideology.

I invited John Hunter to come over to Tucson for a meeting of Humane Borders that was held on September 10, 2000 in Agua Prieta, Sonora, Mexico. Before Hunter got there, Tim Holt and I had perfected our version of Hunter's flag and flag pole that we copied from the AP photo. To this day it is the standard flag pole and flag. All along the way, the many groups who work in the desert have had to work out various ways of doing things. This was also true of the people working in the Sanctuary movement. They had to figure out how to meet, conceal, and transport refugees across the border and get them to safety in homes and churches across the US. Those providing basic hospitality, legal services and many of the other goods and services that RANPOs provide had to work out how to do things.

Humane Borders developed quite an array of technologies to accomplish its goals. These included water stations and water trucks, working with media, advocating around a lawsuit and developing mapping technologies.

The flag pole is made of three pieces of standard, 10-foot-long electrical conduit called EMT (extruded metal tubing). The three conduits, one 1 inch in diameter, one $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch, and one $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch were easily combined to create a telescoping pole approximately 29 feet high. The three conduits slide into each other. A two-foot-long, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch thick slick steel rod, the type that is used for setting concrete forms in construction, is driven into the

ground leaving about 4 inches showing. The flag is attached to the top ½ inch conduit using pre-drilled holes. Tye wire, the type used to tie steel reinforcing for concrete applications, is used to fasten the flag to the pole. Like John Hunter in California, our original flag was a 3' X 4' piece of blue polyethylene tarp purchased from local hardware stores. In recent years, we switched to making blue, sport nylon fabric flags. The flags were sewn by volunteers from all across the country. Some retired flags have borne the signatures of all the members of a group of volunteers to take back home as a souvenir and to be used as a pattern to make more flags. Volunteers in Tucson install the necessary grommets. We changed to nylon because the poly flags disintegrated rapidly in the desert sun and occasional wind storms. The wind would spread fine, blue filaments of debris all over the desert as the polyethylene tarp material unraveled. People come first but we have been very sensitive to the desert.

John Hunter arrived in Tucson one Saturday evening in 2000, stayed at my house and made two church appearances the next morning. The first was at First Christian. The ABC affiliate KGUN9 set up a studio-sized camera in the aisle of the church while we appropriately sang a first line from a famous hymn: "In Christ there is no east nor west, in him no south or north, but one great fellowship throughout the whole wide earth." We rigged a temporary blue flag in the chancel of the church for show-and-tell that morning to educate our church members.

Hunter spoke to the congregation, saying that if one finds a man who has been run over in the street and who is bleeding and injured, you are obligated to run to him and bind him up Samaritan style long before you have a conversation about whether or not he should be walking, where he was walking, or who had run him over. He told the congregation that your own personal responsibility is the compelling factor in the emerging condition. Desert humanitarian aid is triage for a security system designed to kill. It's against the law to booby trap your house against intruders, but the U.S. booby traps its border against migrants.

John was immediately whisked away to join the worship service in progress at Southside Presbyterian Church. He returned to our parking lot and we drove in a caravan to Agua Prieta, Sonora, Mexico, an hour and a half away. About 100 people met there for some two-and-a-half hours. At the end, we raised another blue flag, at the Mexican church with our new friends who hosted us. John was quite suspicious and wary. He sensed then that this was

a bunch of folks who talked but who weren't ready to do the work that was needed. His instincts were, in part, right.

The pro-immigrant humanitarian-oriented people in southeast Arizona resisted and opposed many of the things we did. Chief among them was Rev. Mark Adams. Over the years, he opposed water stations, water station flags, our nonprofit corporation, talking and working with the Border Patrol and securing permits to operate on federal properties. He opposed deployment of water stations on Arizona State Trust land near Douglas, Arizona. He resented Tucson as the appropriate center of efforts to help migrants. He once convened a group of people from the Bisbee, Arizona area and proceeded to yell at a group of five of us for two hours without allowing any dialog. Some of the opposition was among those we would have welcomed as our own; some was from those the media stirred up.

Back in Tucson, we did a phone interview with KTAR Talk Radio in Phoenix about why it was important for all of us to be doing this kind of work regardless of politics. I share these brief vignettes to remind the reader that, unlike a corporation rolling out a new product, we had to do all of these things in community.

Through the fall of 2000, Humane Borders was incorporated, we established an office inside First Christian Church, held several meetings, called folks, organized and did all the things a new group tries to do. We employed the technologies of nonprofit organizations to give birth to ours.

In really short order, we made new friends and contacts all across Arizona from Yuma to Phoenix, from Tucson to Douglas and across four ports of entry into Mexico, but we still had no idea how to actually deploy water stations in the desert.

John Hunter's water stations in California had flag poles and flags. At the bottom of each pole, he placed a few one-gallon jugs of water. His stations were designed to use a lot of poles and flags in arrays that were roughly parallel to the border. They are very efficient and effective. The idea was that a migrant would not be able to pass through the array of poles and not see one, either to the right or the left. That approach was not possible for us on the lands where we were proposing to work because access to sites is much more highly restricted in southern Arizona. The areas where we needed to be were often classified as wilderness by Congress.

Our very first water station was quite a contraption. Much was learned from it but probably no one will ever do one quite like it again. In very late November, north of the little community of

Rio Rico, Arizona along the Santa Cruz River and the railroad right-of-way each of which runs northward and downhill from Mexico, we placed our first 30-foot flagpole and flag. Beneath it, we set a 33-gallon trash can and filled it with one-gallon jugs of water, dry socks, a jacket, gloves, food and probably some other things. I recall someone dropped in some beef jerky. That would have been my favorite treat. Before noon the next day, most of the supplies had been taken and a thank-you note written by a surprised and grateful migrant. We were hooked on the project of saving lives. A few days after we took it down, I thought of it as a migrant Christmas tree with migrant presents below.

Standing there the evening of the deployment just before sundown were the Rev. Randy Mayer, a UCC pastor from Sahuarita; Tim Holt from First Christian Church; Sr. Elizabeth Ohmann; me; Bob Hessel from St. Mark's Presbyterian Church; Sterling Vinson of Southside Presbyterian Church; and local newspaper reporter Jack McGarvey from Rio Rico. I muttered something about social justice, about how those who give water get their reward, about doing some of the kinds of things that Jesus did. In the twilight, tears and emotions welled up in me in surprising ways. They still do when I see the stations or recall setting up stations. This is such a simple technology of hospitality and it occupies such an important place in the religious lives of many people in southern Arizona and even Phoenix.

Social strategies for change are also technologies. From the day of Humane Borders' founding into the late fall of 2000, the growing core group of Tucsonans and a few others from across southern Arizona who had been working together wanted to place water stations in the desert whenever and wherever they would be effective. We wanted to manage the worst effect of the migration: death. Others wanted to be a resistance group, an underground railroad, and others never really figured out what they wanted. Turns out that some of the newer "friends" we mobilized along both sides of the border chose to go another way than we did.

At a fateful December gathering of folks in Tucson in 2000, a few of us had what those of us Christians in the south grew up calling a "Come to Jesus" meeting. That is, with extreme evangelistic enthusiasm and persuasion, we invited others to think the way we did. Some were convinced that placing water stations in the desert would invite the Border Patrol to stake out the stations. Others wanted no visibility for themselves and their current activities. A Bisbee resident, Dr. Cecille Lumer even came up with the cam-

paign, "The Pole Polarizes". She was right. It did polarize, and she and Rev. Mark Adams anchored the negative pole. Rather than withholding our blessings, the core group in Tucson chose to do anything and everything, work with everyone and whenever we could. The rule for us was that the only rule was "yes". Yes was the answer to everything. Yes, we would put out stations. Yes, we would work with land managers. Yes, we would work with the Border Patrol. Yes, we would be open, public, visible, have no secrets. Yes, we were going to be transparent, accountable, and all the rest. We adopted all this as a way of being in the world, which is to say, we adopted an "open" technology. But there were people we had to decide we couldn't work with. It took time to express and maintain that position.

This internal openness turned into an external openness as the proposal to place water in the desert was publicly tested through a Washington Post editorial by Reed Kareem, a Tucson writer, in January 2001 even before our very first public water station was erected. The headline captured a lot of the energy around at the time. It read, "Catch-22 or Catch 222,000?" The question placed to the reader was simple. "Are we the kind of nation that will try to apprehend migrants?" "Yes." "Are we the kind of nation that will try to keep them from dying while we're doing that?" "Yes," again. The goal of putting water in the desert was seen as consistent with U.S. public values. Yes, the U.S. now knew how to do these things thanks to John Hunter in California and an emerging group from southern Arizona. Fernando Quiroz was the executive director of American Beginnings in Yuma, Arizona, an organization that helped immigrants and undocumented persons with many services, mostly representation in immigration courts. At a meeting in Tucson one Sunday afternoon, Quiroz addressed a large gathering of volunteers. He said, "Putting water in the desert for migrants isn't rocket science, but it took a rocket scientist (John Hunter) to teach us that we needed to do it."

Apart from beginning the organization, the single most defining moment in Humane Borders' history was what we call "the death of the 14". The story of the deaths of these men has been told in the national bestseller *Devil's Highway* by our friend author Luis Alberto Urrea, whose writing style makes the reader love the migrants, our desert, the Border Patrol and everyone and everything else – but hate the migration itself. There's a politics to this story that has to be examined that Urrea doesn't report. I could never reach his conclusions. Border Patrol agents are culpable for the actions

they take within their jurisdiction and for the technologies they employ. All of the land managers in southern Arizona are responsible for what happens on their lands. The Border Patrol has a larger jurisdiction, of course, making their responsibility greater in both size and scope.

The politics referred to by Urrea is about an uncaring coyote, a stupid pollero. A pollero is a "chicken-handler". The migrants are called pollos or chickens. It's a term of art similar to calling a cow-hand a wrangler. The politics also included the ass-covering bureaucratic mindset in the U.S. Department of Interior, the lurid interest of the media, Border Patrol agents who couldn't see the utility of saving lives in the desert with water, and many other "side-bar" stories. I've taken a lot of intense heat for making judgments of these sorts in public, but that, too, is a technology. Taken together, threads that weave these incredible stories together paint a whole-cloth narrative that someone needs to turn into a blockbuster movie that could change U.S. border policies. Movies have more influence in U.S. culture than books. Together, these 14 deaths catapulted Humane Borders into the lens of international media, turned what was then the largest sustained migration in the world into an international discourse on human migration, pointing many fingers at the U.S. government. They raised new questions about religiously affiliated nonprofits and their relationship to public policy. They fueled racist groups and they incensed the cultural imperialists. Finally, they questioned the legitimacy of a sovereign government that espouses life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. All three were questioned. When the 14 died in the desert, the government had no hope to offer to the marginalized, no real plan to secure the state and no clue how to change even one of the hundreds of variables that might lead to making the border humane.

The lack of values-driven technology in the desert led to the deaths of 14 migrants in one day. Building and deploying simple life-saving apparatus to save lives should have been a real no-brainer. The story of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife's decision to deny permits for water stations and the following debacle is rather simple, even mundane. Most evil is banal. Even before the deaths of these migrants, we in Humane Borders were talking regularly with Bill Wellman, superintendent of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, and Dale Thompson, OPCNM's chief ranger. Both encouraged us to work with their neighbor to the north and west, Don Tillman, the superintendent running the Cabeza Prieta National Wildlife Refuge (CPNWR), part of the United States Fish and Wildlife

Service lands. Mick Byers was an older, non-traditional Masters of social work intern from Arizona State University. She had a friend she described as "friendly with the environment", so she had learned the lingo and drills such as not stepping on Pleistocene dung beetles, pottery shards and such.

She made contacts and set up meetings. Her report to me was that among the staff of CPNWR there were several responses to our ideas about putting water in the desert. Some wanted to accommodate us. Others didn't want anyone or anything "out there" in "their" desert. To our credit, we only suggested placing water stations in the non-wilderness, public-access areas in sufficient quantity to see if it would be of help to the migrants crossing the desert so that they would not die. The refuge is 860,000 acres of mostly pristine desert. The indigenous people known as the Ha'Ced (with several variant spellings) once lived there. Ancient sites have been identified where some of them lived in the few protected areas with watering holes called finajas. In modern times, the most significant use of the land was in providing a site for fighter pilots to test their air-to-air combat skills.

In geographical terms, this desert is upland of the Sea of Cortez. At different times of the year, humidity provides some parts of the desert with its only moisture. In the west end of the refuge, rainfall can be lower than three inches, in the east end as high at nine inches. In some areas, no moisture is recorded for a year at a time. It takes twenty years of wind, vibration and moisture are needed to erode the evidence of vehicle tracks in some parts of the desert floor. In other areas, deep "moon dust" is found. Driving along in a three-quarter-ton four-wheel drive pickup truck in the ultra-low gear, a driver can stop in this sand, open the door and step a foot deep into a powder that is granular if examined closely but almost as fine as talcum powder.

Migrants, explorers, folks looking for shortcuts from Mexico to California, and probably indigenous peoples since time immemorial have died here along the way. The one road that crosses the Cabeza Prieta (Spanish for "dark or disturbed head") roughly runs parallel to the border and just a few miles to the north. It is called The Devil's Highway because of the many deaths that have occurred in the area. That was the source of the title of Urrea's book. But never have so many died there as in recent years and now that the federal government has deliberately chosen to push the migrants into the open desert, deserts like this mock the human as a survivalist species. Author John Annerino of Tucson, Arizona

wrote and later updated his book *Dead In Their Tracks*, a well-written account of the human experience of crossing this desert. He crossed the Cabeza in the summer just to see what it was like. It is not pleasant.

This is a fragile and deadly place, one that has itself been injured. Pilots of large planes would pull “tow darts” constructed of plywood on quarter-mile long stainless steel cables and fighter pilots would approach and practice shooting at them. Thousands of these things litter the land. Whatever is done there now must be respectful of the desert. No wonder the staff of CPNWR didn't want migrant traffic there, didn't want water stations there, didn't want anything there to change. No wonder they resented the few Border Patrol agents who were then working the area. To this we can only say, “Sorry, but desires and reality are often different”. The geopolitics of migration must ultimately dwarf environmental politics and bureaucrats. On this we agree with the former DHS Secretary Michael Chertoff. No one wanted to see the results when he waived environmental laws and bladed the desert to build species-harming barriers in the name of national security. What we disagree on is which human value he chose first. First should have been the value of saving lives. The federal staff should have embraced us and welcomed us as part of the land management strategy as many others did. Those higher up the administrative chain could have intervened and still should intervene to provide comprehensive administrative relief to this internationally embarrassing and highly public and offensive situation.

Addressing social ills through the courts is yet another technology. There was a \$43 million wrongful-death lawsuit that came as a result of the deaths of the 14 migrants, I think some of the story needs to be told to correct what much of the news reporting distorted over the years.

Humane Borders' entry into the far west Arizona desert unfolded this way: Early in 2000, our intern Mick Byers attended a meeting in Ajo, Arizona in the offices of the Cabeza Prieta National Wildlife Refuge. She thought she had struck a deal and that Humane Borders would begin deploying water stations along the Daniels Arroyo Road and up to Charlie Bell Pass. That would place life-saving water into the north-eastern area of the refuge. Consideration would be given to placing water at a later date along the road called the Devil's Highway which runs out to the west. The other part of the refuge under serious consideration for water station deployment would be the road that runs through Christmas Pass.

That road, and those stations, would have presented a major challenge logistical challenge to Humane Borders. First, one must drive to Tacna on Interstate 8. From there – only with prior permission from the Barry M. Goldwater Air Force Range – one drives across the Range and onto the refuge in a high-clearance, four-wheel-drive vehicle carrying three spare tires. The very rough roads are not maintained with motor- graders or other machinery. The distances are great, the speed slow and the likelihood of mechanical failure significant.

We finalized our proposal in a letter dated March 27, 2001. We received a letter from the refuge dated April 18 and signed by Don Tiller. In it, we read the disheartening word, “no”. The reason given for telling us “no” was that stations would have a deleterious effect on their mission to provide habitat for the endangered Sonoran pronghorn Antelope. I have only one West Texas hunter’s word for those little critters: “Pull!” Why? Because May 23, the U.S. Border Patrol recovered 14 dead bodies from the desert and twelve survivors of their ordeal who were so dehydrated they looked like living mummies. In that moment, I decidedly became a speciesist, that is, when it comes down to choosing people or animals, I choose people.

The Tucson Sector of the Border Patrol extends from the New Mexico border to the western edge of Pima County. Twelve of the fourteen deaths occurred inside Pima County and inside the Tucson Sector. However, vehicle access was better from Yuma County, the Yuma Sector of the Border Patrol and the nearby Wellton Border Patrol Station. Air support for the rescue operation came from U.S. Customs and the Yuma Sector of the Border Patrol. The survivors were brought to the Yuma hospital. That is why the 14 are referred to as the Yuma 14. The operations were actually being coordinated, in part, from Tucson.

Tucson Sector chief David Aguilar had his staff contact me and ask me to come quickly to his office so I could be briefed. I went but I still had no idea of the scope of this event. The chief briefed me and assured me he was doing everything he could to find any remaining migrants who might be alive. To their credit, the agents working on the recovery went through many, many tires, tore up vehicles and ran on foot for miles in scorching heat to try to track down any survivors. God love them for their efforts. In many other countries, I imagine all 26 would have died. On this point, I agree with Luis Urrea. Nonetheless, I hold this nation up and I expect the best from it. I expect something better than this if not in the

field, at least in policy. The policies that led to the deaths were not Aguilar's, though he subsequently had his hand in creating border policies which systemically led to migrant deaths. He ultimately took the helm first as Chief of the U.S. Border Patrol and later as Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Patrol. But, this nation can do better – and worse. It has done both.

I stopped by the offices of the *Arizona Daily Star* to share some details after my meeting with Aguilar that day. Reporter Carol Ann Alaimo wanted to get “feeling” statements from me. I wouldn't give them, and I'm not sure I had them yet. I had data. It was like my days working in a surgical intensive care unit in Texas when I was frequently called to the emergency room to help. I was calm and cool until it was all over. Only then would I process feelings. I'm sure many of the agents were the very same in that. And, like the days when I blink and recall helping to crack chests and performing internal cardiac massage on nearly dead people, I'm sure many agents blink and see walking corpses that even Hollywood couldn't accurately portray. I know death. I'm acquainted with it. In hospital settings, I've treated eight patients with gunshot wounds in one shift and pushed eight from one unit to the morgue in another. I feel for the agents who are called upon to do these jobs, and I salute the angels who volunteer to serve as BORSTAR agents – Border Search, Trauma, and Rescue even when I critique other parts of their work.

From the Star's parking lot, I quickly drove like a fool to the KGUN9-TV studio. Producers had called and wanted me to open the five o'clock sit-down with the news anchors. I was met in the parking lot where I was “miked-up” as we ran past security and into the studio where I had a seat waiting for me. Local anchor Guy Atchley and his co-anchor Colleen Bagnell, and I talked for about five minutes about this breaking story. Video was beginning to stream in from network affiliates in Yuma. I never saw the video of that broadcast but from that moment on, my life changed.

People around the globe wanted a piece of this story. One day not long after, I had five foreign film crews standing around me, interviewing me at the very same water station at the same time, asking the same questions, and we repeatedly used that location as a backdrop to speak of the 14 deaths. Maria Hinojosa who was then with CNN was among the journalists there. I suppose I got better at the proverbial “feeling” question but our goal and my approach, was to share data in a way that was useful to media. We tried to get the story very straight and as accurate as possible.

I want to continue to believe and embody the myth of objectivity in news as long as it is useful.

This story stayed hot for months. In some ways, it still is. Soon the Humane Borders offices were essentially running a news bureau. Journalists from around the world came to ride with us in the desert, ask questions, take pictures and put some video and/or audio up on the web. The media coverage of this topic is episodic, meteoric and seasonal. A single incident will capture attention in a news cycle. Sometimes the coverage of a part of the story will shoot off the scale. Most of the time, the coverage has been based on reactions to new government initiatives, the beginning of the "death season", or a government fiscal – year roundup story. When the end of the fiscal year rolls around the media from far and wide still call to ask about the migrant death counts.

Every time the government rolls out a new technology for agents like pepper ball guns or four-wheel all-terrain vehicles, or every time some new venom-spewing cultural imperialists impugn people they don't know and urge U.S. citizens to hate them, the media call the border groups. Many of the stories and the questions and answers are very predictable.

A year after Don Tiller told us "no", two attorneys from Yuma, one who was truly committed to the cause, and a personal injury attorney who had deep pockets, filed a wrongful death complaint on behalf of the families of the 14 deceased migrants against the federal government. As a country, the U.S. has what is called sovereign immunity against prosecution. That is, the federal government has to give permission for someone to sue the government. That prevents spurious lawsuits and keeps courtrooms from completely clogging up, but it also gives The Empire near total control. The wrongful death complaint became a full-fledged wrongful death lawsuit in federal district court and moved forward. A year and a half after that, a judge in federal district court in Tucson, Arizona ruled that the manager of the refuge rightfully exercised administrative discretion in denying our water station permit application. I will never agree with that decision. It was a significant mistake in his otherwise distinguished career. Judge John Roll acted on word from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife that included a reference to a compatibility study that was never conducted. Even federal agencies and judges should do more gumshoe detective work and make more effort at checking sources. No USFWS compatibility study was ever undertaken at CPNWR. Period.

Years later, I was sitting in the CBP conference room in the Reagan Building in Washington, D.C. with quite a wide variety of folks talking about migrants, among other things. I was about to leave to go to a senator's office. The man representing USFWS put his hand on my arm and said, "We need your help with the groups in Arizona (meaning specifically No More Death's on-going tussle with the Buenos Aires National Wildlife Refuge over placing water jugs for migrant there.) I just looked at him and said, "That's easy. Do it my way." If CPNWR, also part of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service had done that, 14 people would be alive today. USFWS did a hurried-up compatibility study in the Buenos Aires NWR and declared that the way Humane Borders puts water in the desert is the way to do it.

The 14 deaths started a year-long news cycle. The wrongful death complaint fueled another year-long cycle. The federal suit set it on fire, however. That story had legs: Deaths, "mummies", courtrooms. The drama Humane Borders was narrating was shared around the world. The story made it all the way to the Pakistani News, the Mandarin Chinese News Agency, Pravda, Al Jazeera and nearly every media market in the U.S.

Talk show hosts were interested. Most notably, Phil Donahue flew me and Sue Goodman, my wife then, to New York to be on an hour-long panel discussion. Donahue described our work to his audience. Upon our return to Tucson, the public information officer at Border Patrol Sector headquarters said, "You and Sue couldn't help but look like an angels in that crowd."

Even though I earned my journalism degree in '74, I continue to learn something almost every day about media, especially about the sociology of newsmaking. Media employ many technologies, and I'm not merely referencing the use of Skype, satellite trucks or social media. Reporters pitch storylines and storyboards to editors. Editors pick a certain reporter out of the stable to tell a story a particular way. Certain newspapers are not only tilted, they wedge themselves with an inclined plane into a particular aberrant account of a story. To their credit, the reporters who have spent time with us have treated us very, very well. And honestly, many of them came, interviewed volunteers, staff, and me and then called their editors and changed their approach. I was repeatedly told by some local reporters that what I was reporting to them was phenomenal. Media are part of the technology of which religious non-profits must become more aware.

Humane Borders archived over 3500 print articles that referenced Humane Borders. Dozens of hours of documentaries, news clips, news stories *Jim Lehrer's Newshour* to *Naomi Judd's New Morning* program, from Spanish-language pieces denouncing U.S. policies on migrant safety to British pieces making fun of the U.S. obsession with security, or rather, the lunacy of beefing up the ports of entry between barbed wire fences to either side. Most of the files – as well as my own personal files – have been preserved in the Special Collections Library at the University of Arizona.

Since neither the attorneys nor the government would talk about the administrative wrongful death claim-turned-lawsuit, and no official from Mexico or the U.S. would dare speak for the dead migrants or their surviving families, I became the primary spokesperson for this news story. I did 4 a.m. live interviews with Monica Crowley so she could share the story with her 7 a.m. drive-time audience in New York. I was usually full of caffeine and staying up to 11 p.m. and 2 a.m. so I could talk with various late-night, syndicated radio talk-show hosts, many of whose rants were being taped for later broadcasts. Some of those programs were live and went for hours into the night. I went on the air at odd hours to talk to BBC and to the Vatican and denominational headquarters around the world.

There were days when I accomplished little more than sitting or pacing, smoking my pipe, and thinking through the latest developments in the desert and how we should be reacting to them in the media. Many have been complimentary of the way I accomplished that and I think I became rather adept at it. One reason I was questioned so often by reporters was because I was so accessible to them. My cell phone was never turned off during the media frenzy. Instant access is very often what it is all about. If one is not accessible, the media will turn to another source in a heartbeat. Nothing personal, just business.

What we saw was that intense media activity can serve to strengthen an organization. The story gets shaped and sharpened. I used our officers, friends and the members of the church as my sounding board. The words became more pointed. I often joined the political game of naming, framing, and blaming. I came joked about Arizona's senior senator, John McCain. The joke that the media is McCain's main constituency. He seemed to speak to more media personalities than he did to voters.

The media coverage stimulated growth in volunteers, more media involvement, meetings with more elected officials, more public

administrators, more bomb threats, more death threats, more hate mail, more contributions by donors, and more public discourse about immigration reforms. Volunteers came to the weekly meetings in large numbers to find out what everything was about and how they could help. Google Alerts, Lexus-Nexus searches and Internet search engines led reporters to us. Humane Borders' website, as simple and straightforward as it was, provided many, many thousands of people important information about the migration. Students, interns, youth groups, and others found us because of media attention.

The migrants who died in that harsh Arizona environment May 23, 2001 should not be forgotten, nor should the impact their deaths had on the U.S. immigration debate. I include a reference to the 14 in my computer passwords as a daily reminder of them. We told the wildlife refuge they had company coming. It was true. They knew it. They had game camera pictures of migrants drinking putrid water from wildlife watering holes. As the U.S. continued to shut down the more urban areas on the border for the migrants wanting to cross, the more they chose to cross the open deserts. The more the Border Patrol made it difficult for migrants to cross traditional routes, the more dependent the migrants became on the coyote smuggling business. The more the migrant guides took over the migration, the more migrants died, but it must be kept in mind that it was law enforcement strategies that created the demand for the guides in the first place. There were more known migrant deaths in CPNWR, Ajo Block of the Bureau of Land Management, and the Barry M. Goldwater Bombing Range in 2015 than in any year since 2001.

The public lands of southern Arizona are not to be confused with the concept of a "commons." Many are familiar with the economics concept of the "tragedy of the commons," in which many parties seeking to work in self-interest end up (unintentionally or not) destroying the commons. These lands are public only in limited ways. The public owns them, sets rules for them, provides for their management, assigns staff to enforce the will of the U.S. Congress. But they are not public in the sense that anyone can go onto the lands and do whatever one pleases whenever one pleases, even if for noble and beneficent goals. We understood the limitations. The land managers either didn't understand or were not willing to act upon their administrative discretion to do the things needed to save lives. A number of individuals have been prosecuted in federal courts for putting water on the "public" lands of the Buenos Aires

National Wildlife Refuge contrary to the views of those entrusted with the management of the lands. We wished the land managers would choose human life over desert deaths.

The refuge personnel dedicated to preserving natural resources acknowledged that migrants were coming across the desert, "their" desert. It was their jurisdiction and their authority and they did have the power to enforce their mission with some discretion. The land boundaries and what is to happen there are set by Congress and Congress gave a few of them guns. One soft-spoken land manager pulled out his M-16 rifle to show me. But what happens there should be open for discussion by the American people. Citizens should be ready to stand up and say that the first thing a federal employee should be about is preserving human life. That should be an underlying assumption for every superintendent and every law enforcement officer on federal payrolls.

The morning after the deaths were discovered, I called the office of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service in Albuquerque. I asked if folks there would be interested in reviewing our application for a permit to install water stations. There was serious stammering on the other end of the land line. Then a, mild-mannered, consensus-building, process-oriented female group facilitator (I never caught her name) convened a meeting to which 21 jurisdictions were invited. It was held in the same conference room where Don Tiller spoke the words, "I've been told not to tell them, 'No'." She could have been the woman who spoke to Tiller. We'll never know. Don Tiller became a casualty of the fiasco but he could have changed the outcomes. He retired and no one at a higher pay grade ever suffered any repercussions. That is sometimes par for the course. Early retirements avoid a lot of bureaucratic and legal messiness. The attorneys interviewed a few of the USFWS officials, but it's amazing how much like the Pillsbury Doughboy the U.S. government is. A little pressure just leads to a giggle. Few sit up and sing when they need to. When a high ranking USFWS employee in Washington, D.C. with knowledge of all of this was retiring, he was asked about the Cabeza fiasco. He reportedly said, "That wasn't our finest day." Someone should have been singing.

The meeting in the CPNWR began with the facilitator trying to find the right words to refer to migrants, fearing she had walked into a mine-field of political correctness: UDAs (undocumented aliens), aliens, migrants, immigrants, illegals. What would we call them? I said: "Call them what you want. Humans would be good. Let's talk about saving some of their lives, though." Finding the right

terminology is difficult. The researchers at the Office of the Medical Examiner in Pima County chose "unauthorized border crossers". As a point of law, no human being can be "illegal". One can commit an illegal act, but one cannot be illegal. Even the politically correct unauthorized border crossers refers to a legal status that should not be the issue.

We went around the room. Everyone had his or her say. Except for the meeting leader, the room was filled mostly with men. Tone and language varied. It was telling, too. I could just imagine which ones had spent a lot of time in church school and the ones who, in another decade, would have been in the Klan or both, or even currently both. One called for more warning signs. Others called for more helicopters, more agents, observation posts, fences, on and on. It bears noting that as this came to be a few years later, some of the same people in that room were among the first to complain. There was no more imagination in that room than in of the general public: no studies to cite, no vision. I was last to speak. I said, "I want to promote low environmental impact, low technology. I vote for water stations to keep the migrants alive and I suggest that law enforcement do their work farther north toward Interstate Highway 8 where the desert is already 'disturbed'."

We had a second meeting. Most of the same people were there. Missions were invoked. Differences highlighted. Turf was defended. One man from Barry M. Goldwater Bombing Range questioned whether the meeting had any merit whatsoever. No records. No agenda. No minutes. No announcement to the public that the meeting was going to be held. It is true that we were not in compliance with the federal Administrative Procedures Act. No official notes were taken. That shouldn't have bothered anyone. It didn't bother me because there was enough discretion in that room for these people to work in concert with one another to respond to the emergency declaration issued by Pima County in 2001 following the death of the 14 calling for the placement of water stations in remote desert areas of Pima County. They could have dealt locally with the realities on the ground with which the land managers were having to work. This was a coffee clutch in a local venue. The feds had power in the form of discretionary authority they weren't using. Pima County was having to deal with dead bodies. I surmise that the feds aren't interested in cleaning up their messes on the border.

I'll always admire and love Chief Ranger Dale Thompson of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument for saying in that meeting:

"No matter what we are supposed to be doing out here, we should all agree that our number one mission is to save lives." Those in the room reflected their roles and training when they spoke. Generally, the law enforcement people wanted a law enforcement answer. The environmentalists wanted some new, general rules. The administrators wanted clear, decisive action out of Washington, on and on. A few, like Thompson, knew how their work fits into a larger picture. A few knew that this new migration in their part of the world was something they couldn't avoid and that they had a moral obligation to do something about it.

The environmentalists who that day and afterward opposed the placement of water stations on the Cabeza must ultimately share in the responsibility for the deaths of migrants on federal lands. In the case of Cabeza, USFWS was afraid of doing anything without checking with them, as evidenced in Cabeza's leadership inviting an environmental group's attorney to the second meeting about migrant safety. The influence of the counsel for the Defenders of Wildlife via speaker phone was greater that day than that of my cohort, the county's, or even the manager of the refuge. That's just wrong. And rather than agreeing that humans are at the top of the list of species to be concerned about, there are now all manner of incursions on the Cabeza of personnel and equipment from the Department of Homeland Security. Humanity lost out at CPNWR and continues to lose all across the borderlands from Brownsville to Tijuana.

One of the consensus statements made around the table was that no single land manager would act unilaterally without considering the impacts of those decisions on the adjacent properties. Ironically, the first federal land in the west desert to start vehicle barrier construction was Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. Many of us understood the reasoning that went into that decision but we still did not condone it. The unintended consequence was that people would drive south to the border and to pick up their human cargos, now doubling the numbers of wildcat roads on the monument.

At that second meeting, a Border Patrol agent briefed the group about all the migrants who had walked across the refuge. Agents back-tracked the entire 83-mile journey. That was quite a feat. According to the Border Patrol briefing, all 26 of the migrants had walked within three-quarters of a mile of the proposed water station site at Charlie Bell Pass, where the migrants should have come up off the desert floor through this mountain pass. One

source reported that one of the members of the group may have seen a set of headlights from a vehicle high up on the top of the pass. It could have been a visitor, a ranger, an agent. We'll never know. The incident was not that well investigated. However, if the water station had been deployed, all in the group of 26 migrants would have seen a 30-foot flag pole marking the water station. Several of us have stood in the location and surveyed the desert to the south and west and north. The flag would have been clearly visible. And, the locals in Sonoyta, Mexico had been informed about the flags. As the story came out, we learned that the guide for this group of migrants had been apprehended on the refuge at least two and possibly three times. Previously, when he was asked what he was doing there, he responded by saying, "I'm looking for a new route."

Also at that meeting, the Border Patrol revealed plans to place rescue beacons in the desert. These would be made up of a three-foot by three-foot concrete base holding up a 30-foot pole. One prototype had been quickly put together. On top of the pole, a blue beacon is lit at night and a highly polished piece of metal serves as a wind-blown mirror in the day. The light and the mirror were both designed to catch attention. A solar cell powers the beacon. A call-button sends a radio signal to a nearby radio signal repeater station that relays weak radio signals from buried seismic detectors. Each device has a signal frequency that notifies the dispatcher in a Border Patrol station of the exact location of the migrants who are requesting help. I immediately endorsed this idea and I have continued to sing the beacon's praises, except when they are poorly maintained and/or deployed in insufficient quantities.

The second meeting was much more focused. Where does water exist on the land? How does one get to it? Is it naturally occurring? Is it in a manufactured tank? Is it accessible? Is it in the ground? Above ground? Does one have to climb to tinajas higher than the desert floor? Are they migrant friendly? That is, can you open a water valve and drink, or do you have to squat and drink out of green slime like the antelope? One of the staff, who was both a law enforcement agent and a resource manager embraced our idea and stayed on top of it. We were left with the impression that a White House staffer had called and told the refuge to "get some water out there." He completed the mountain of paper work called a "minimal tool" that was needed to get approval for

Humane Borders to make a contribution toward life-saving efforts in the Cabeza. That was in June and July 2001.

We got approval in September of 2001. Vergial Harp from the refuge, Tim Holt from Humane Borders and I drove around the eastern end of Cabeza all day. Holt and I left Tucson at 3:30 a.m. We got back home at 9 p.m. We had driven more than 350 miles that day and 100 of those miles in four-wheel-drive in rough terrain. The new plan was not for Humane Borders to place water stations in non-wilderness areas as before but to place our blue flags on our metal flag poles over the refuge's existing water locations that included earthen water tanks and above ground, polyethylene tanks for wildlife. There were eight of them. We drove on trails not meant for driving, dry washes (riverbeds) not meant for human transportation and through desert sand "moon dust" not meant to support life. The flags continue to fly. Every so often, Humane Borders volunteers go out and check them or "re-flag" the waters on the land. Fifteen years later, even more water locations should be flagged. In fact, more above-ground tanks should be installed for human safety. Even more waters should be flagged. Better, government-maintained water stations should be installed and more electronic surveillance systems should be employed in this far west desert. No one has any business whatsoever crossing this remote part of the desert any time of the year. No one. Unfortunately, more are crossing and dying here every year as a result of increased enforcement and militarization to the east.

I asked Chief Aguilar if he could fly a chopper in there periodically and check on the status of our flags for us. He said, "Yes, it's in our mutual interest that the flags be seen." Aguilar's successors did not prove to be interested in migrant safety, however. What many of us would like is for the United States government to erect and maintain their own water stations on all federal lands. Similar efforts should be undertaken by state governments. The job of RANPOs is ultimately to teach the world how to take care of itself, not to do it themselves. Unfortunately, many times, RANPOs have to be the sole provider of goods and services that neither markets nor governments will provide.

In recent years, No More Deaths, a Tucson-based group, engaged the Fish and Wildlife Refuge in southern Arizona, the Buenos Aires National Wildlife Refuge. The group walked trails in the refuge, set out one-gallon jugs of water for migrants and picked up migrant debris including empty one-gallon jugs.

The USFWS compatibility study that was finally done nine years later was interesting. The study looks at the efficacy of placing water stations out for humanitarian purposes. In the summer of 2010, the study was released. It determined that water stations such as those originally proposed for Cabeza Prieta NWR in 2001 and those which had been in Buenos Aires in July of 2001 were compatible and were the standard by which other water deployments would be measured after I encouraged it to be undertaken. Immediately following the release of that determination, Humane Borders was permitted to install and operate even more stations in the Buenos Aires Refuge.

When the wrongful death complaint and a year later, the wrongful death lawsuit, went forward in the early part of the decade, the claim was made – not by us, but by the attorneys – that by tort law, land owners and managers have a responsibility to minimize known dangers. Some other points were made. I'm not a lawyer so I never understood all of it even after reading it. I am a political scientist, however, and I still don't understand the federal judge's ruling that Don Tiller had the administrative discretion to deny our original water station permit application. That judge was the Hon. John Roll who was murdered in Tucson, Arizona in a mass shooting during the attempt on Congresswoman Gabrielle Gifford's' life in January 2011.

Here's why I don't understand. Tiller denied a permit for an otherwise legal activity. I could have simply walked into their office and told them I going to be out there on the public roads within the Cabeza. The purpose of going into the office for the official piece of paper is for them to know I'm there. There's a record of my presence in the office, a small paper document to leave in the vehicle and one to carry with me all the time. The purpose is to promote communication across inaccessible locations. There is no cell phone coverage on 99 percent of the Cabeza.

By merely telling them I would be out there, I could have camped out. I could have driven up and down the roads at whatever speed I wanted, creating enormous clouds of dust – just like the Border Patrol agents regularly do. I could have played loud, continuous music like an ice cream truck. I could have stayed for weeks on end, helping anyone I wanted, feeding anyone I wanted, letting anyone I wanted to rest up in my tent. All perfectly legal. But to quietly place a barrel full of drinking water under a flag and check it once a week was against the mission of protecting antelope. I still don't get it. When Tiller wrote the letter, he used

the word “incompatible.” Administrators aren’t allowed to use that word without conducting a compatibility study and if a study is done, it is public information. Where is it? When Judge Roll in district court in Tucson made his ruling, he based it on nothing. There was no study. He referenced compatibility, but a compatibility study was not completed until 2010, nine years later. Now that the study has been done, the way that Tim Holt and I proposed to deploy drinking water in the Cabeza is the standard on another USFWS land – Buenos Aires NWR. USFWS officially states that the Humane Borders protocol for setting up water stations in 2001 is now the standard for putting up water stations. Can anyone appreciate the irony?

The attorneys – whose pockets didn’t feel too deep – chose not to appeal. The appeal would have been to the Ninth Circuit in San Francisco. That court is perceived by many as progressive or Liberal, but things are never that easy. The Ninth Circuit also has a long history of upholding administrative discretion. According to counsel, one would have had a harder time working this case over on the merits because of that bias. At least that was the decision by those who would have had to pay for an appeal.

Many media personalities wanted a piece of this story. I said “no” to a CBS 60 Minutes producer’s request for exclusive rights to the story. By the time she called, it had already gone international. In fact, they were really late. I had already given some 10 interviews, and it was not noon yet.

Attorney and journalist Dan Abrams had a show on MSNBC. I did a long “package” (as a block of time on a network is called) with him on a satellite uplink from the University of Arizona in Tucson. He was promoting the piece in advance by asking, “Should the U.S. be required to offer refreshments to migrants breaking our laws in the desert?” He started in on me like a pit bull. Even though I could only see a black camera box in the University of Arizona satellite studio, I mustered all of the moral authority I could muster into my visage and simply stared him down. He stopped mid-sentence and said, “I guess I’ve been insensitive, haven’t I?” I said, “Yes you have.” His tone immediately changed.

Many thought Humane Borders was the litigant. We were not. I did come to know both of the attorneys for the plaintiffs. I’ve shared meals with them, with one of them about nine months before the deaths, and with two of them after the deaths. Attorney James Metcalf had previously served as a U.S. Marine attorney. Ironically, he had also served as chief counsel for the nearby El Centro Sector

of the Border Patrol in California. He became a private immigration attorney and he was convinced that the government policies were not going to change until someone "sued the bastards." The policies still haven't changed. Metcalfe is now a U.S. magistrate once again representing the government. And the people around the conference tables in Arizona and in Washington don't seem to have learned much. Migrants continue to die – and at an ever faster rate.

Just as every activist organization must master its story, so, too, must it know how to implement its vision. Technology is a major part of both. Humane Borders had to create water stations, make flags and poles, invent special – purpose water trucks, design trash barrels, find specialized tools for maintenance and join the world of electronic technology that characterize most successful offices.

When we first met with Chief Ranger Dale Thompson and Superintendent Bill Wellman at Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument in 2000, Thompson, particularly, had already thought out much of the water system. Put the barrel on a stand, let gravity do its trick, and use a spring-loaded faucet of some kind so that the water can't be left on. We were nodding, "Yes." We had envisioned and discussed the same with the head of public safety, Larry Seligman, on the Tohono O'odham Reservation.

On March 7, 2001, we set out the first Humane Borders water tanks on the Monument. But nearly every week for the first six years, we were trying new and different things. We began by outfitting my own pickup truck with a bunch of 5-gallon water jugs in the back. We had a "duh" experience. We learned that one vendor made them with handles molded in the side. We would fill them using a simple spring-loaded water faucet at OPCNM visitor center. That didn't last too long.

By June 2000 we had a trailer with a 325-gallon tank, a hose reel and a two-cycle gasoline engine pump. And just as soon as we could, we got a one-ton truck with an 11-foot flat-bed that incorporated a 325-gallon tank, a four-cycle gasoline pump, a hose reel and a rack to hold the 5-gallon jugs. We still had to hand-and/or-shoulder-carry those 45 pound jugs about one third of a mile across the desert to fill the tanks at the very remote OPCNM south water station. Only later were we able to use wheelbarrows. Even they had to be adapted with puncture-proof tires. At first, we kept the barrows turned upside down and chained to a Palo Verde tree nearby. After wheels and whole barrows were stolen, we kept the barrows on the truck.

Progress and technical adaptation continued. Humane Borders grew to operate four pump trucks, each specifically built for different trips and different terrain. Each truck was a Chevrolet truck with a six-liter engine, a four-speed automatic overdrive transmission, with a gross vehicle weight of at least 9,280 pounds, with some rated at 10,000 pounds GVW. Each was equipped with four-wheel drive and a skid plate to protect the underside of the engine and transmission. We chose to have each vehicle equipped with a gasoline engine. Most of our volunteers did not know anything about diesel. The vehicles were each equipped with a standard hose reel holding up to 200 feet of commercial grade hot-water hose.

The trucks were also equipped with a satellite telephone, a GPS device, a paramedic's first-responder-style emergency medical kit with stethoscopes, blood pressure cuffs and even a so-called "officer down" kit. These kits are designed to be of significant help in dressing either bullet or stab wounds. How well we could respond in a crisis, was, in part, dependent upon our drivers and volunteers but it was our intention that they would not be out without the proper equipment. At least they could call for more information if needed and have the equipment available to be used as directed by individuals with more training. I talked a few drivers through minor medical problems and vehicle problems, too.

For migrant encounters, the trucks carried food packs, water bottles and personal care kits. These kits are assembled by church volunteers from around the U.S. and distributed through several denominational offices. They included things like a hand towel, tooth brush, toothpaste, nail clippers (very useful for removing cactus needles) and usually an assortment of Band-Aids. These kits have provided comfort to many migrants in addition to the care and concern that is communicated by simply making this gift to the person in need. Technology is not just "science stuff". It includes the know-how to deliver both goods and services to targeted populations. These trucks represent the best that we could offer the migrants in the desert, and they enabled us to present ourselves as best we could.

The RANPO that will provide goods and services needs to invest heavily in discovering the very best way to accomplish the elements of the mission of the organization. Finding the right technology for the job is a gift that RANPOs provide to the market, to civil society and to government.

There are actually a whole lot of technologies employed by many different people and organizations that contribute to mi-

grant safety. In October 2010, I held a meeting at First Christian Church in Tucson under the auspices of Migration Ministries. In response to my conversation with Alan Bersin, then commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection, he sent a high-ranking individual with the SBI-Net (the virtual border fence) project and one of his top employees on wireless communications. The local sector sent a deputy chief, a community relations officer, a public information officer and various agents. The Department of Interior sent Secretary Salazar's point person on border issues. Pima County government was represented by Supervisor Richard Elias and the county's head technology person. Mexico's Human Rights Commission sent two representatives from Mexico City. Sonora's Commission for Attention to International Migrants sent representatives. Local NGOs sent several people. The United Methodist Church sent its missionary who specializes in migration issues. First Christian was represented by five or six people.

In the course of a six-hour meeting we discussed a variety of technologies to improve migrant safety, starting with the agents in the desert. Border Patrol agents themselves are important for migrant safety. While it is clearly true that the presence of the agents has dramatically changed the routes that migrants travel, it must be noted that many migrants' lives are saved each year by the presence of agents. That's particularly true of BORSTAR (Border Search Trauma and Rescue) agents who are the Border Patrol's paramedics. At the beginning of 2011, there were 31 aircraft used in the Tucson Sector. Many medical evacuations from the desert are effected by pilots carrying spotters and BORSTAR agents.

All of the various detection technologies employed by the Border Patrol can also contribute to migrant rescues. Buried seismic sensors top the list. They detect movement and direction. They can also receive repeat "hits". A Border Patrol station operator gets a reading on, say, sensor 249. The operator broadcasts "249-1-6", meaning sensor number 249, northbound, for six hits. That doesn't mean six people. It could mean a cow is grazing in the area. But over time, agents develop local knowledge to help interpret the readings.

Humane Borders water stations have been studied by many different people and organizations. The most extensive study was a multi-authored effort led by John Chamblee and the Center for Applied Spatial Analysis at the University of Arizona. The water stations are a known, statistically significant way of reducing deaths in the Arizona desert. One would assume that all of the

other means of water deployment all along the border also contribute to life-saving that could be measured if data were fully analyzed. Individuals, No More Deaths, Samaritans, and Green Valley Samaritans, also leave drinking water out in the desert in a variety of locations. Even some of the people associated with the former Minutemen reported setting out water. We found some plastic jugs labeled by them. More than one corporation (I will not name them for fear harm could come to them) that has income-producing operations in the desert purposefully keeps water running in areas known to be frequented by migrants. Agents continue to respond to the buttons pushed on the rescue beacons operated by the Border Patrol.

Mapping technologies have been used to create warning posters to advise migrants of the locations of migrant deaths and the general locations of water stations. Other information is displayed including a chart of the deadliest months, emergency phone numbers and advice upon crossing the desert. These are not the types of maps that one would use to navigate the desert. Rather, they are designed to warn migrants away from particular corridors. Mapping technologies also yield information that is valuable to humanitarian groups to help them in the strategic location of water stations and water drops, and to see where to walk to look for migrants in distress.

Humane Borders gave briefings in Altar and Sasabe to groups that obviously included migrant guides, Mexico's Grupo Beta personnel and various state and federal organizations that interact with migrants. This way of expanding local knowledge hopefully contributes to knowledge that can save lives. Similarly, posters, maps and briefings have been regularly shared in shelters in Sonora.

The primary purpose of that October 2010 meeting was to look toward newer technology. John Chamblee, John Hunter and I developed a map in early 2005 that projected known migrant deaths and the locations of cell phone reception. We knew that most migrants die where there is insufficient cell phone coverage. We also knew that over a five-year period more than 50 percent of the Border Patrol rescues of migrants were initiated by migrants using cell phones. Hunter shared this with his connections Congress and in the new Department of Homeland Security. I shared it with Border Patrol. There was fear that somehow cell phone service would work against law enforcement.

In the 2010 meeting, we looked at ways to have migrants use just 911 emergency calls to get help. We explored adding 911

cell phone technology to the existing SBI-Net towers. The towers already had necessary environmental waivers that allowed the towers and routine access for the tower operators. The locations were equipped with necessary sources of power. The concerns expressed were about who owns the 911 signal, who owns the equipment, whether the towers could support the weight and how the connection could be established to the county that would answer the emergency phone calls. The locals (including sector level Border Patrol leaders) in the room wanted the technology. The staff from Washington D.C. in the room tried to make the case that this was not in their mission, they didn't have money for this and they couldn't answer the technological questions. The "death by committee" of good ideas is a time-honored tradition in many organizations. Long story short, we concluded the government isn't interested in saving lives. Months later Bersin told me personally, "I'm sure the good people of Arizona would spend money to save a rancher (referring to the death of a rancher near Douglas, Arizona) before they would spend money to save migrants." His words required no interpretation, but how could he measure an unknown like that? Apparently CBP was ready to trust fear of unknowns instead of the knowledge that phones save lives. Imagine a local cop directing traffic when a light is out and saying, "I can't do this. A bank robber might use my directing traffic to his advantage and escape."

More about mapping is in order. Certainly the most complex technology employed by Humane Borders during my tenure was mapping. We received GPS coordinates of the locations of dead migrants from the Border Patrol before we began operating water stations. In fact, a CBP community relations officer brought a 3-foot by 4-foot full-color topographical map showing all of the migrant deaths in the last fiscal year. Instantly, some of us recognized that if we had even better maps, we would have a lot more knowledge with which to work. The Border Patrol only needs topography and roads. They are generally not very limited as to where they can operate. We wanted to know more than just the locations of the migrant deaths based on topography, though that is very useful, too. We needed to know on whose land the deaths were occurring. We knew, almost intuitively, that if we could magnify certain areas of the map, we could understand local routes better. If we could make our own maps, we would be equipped with a better tool than we had.

I created the very first migrant death maps for our public use by using a simple computer software program purchased locally. I used red dots to indicate the locations of migrant deaths. Others joined this project. We began mapping when we had only a few water stations. We needed to know the roads and trails we were going to be using relative to the locations of the deaths and the water stations. We recognized immediately the power of the map with red dots visually representing the deaths to educate, shock and offend the public and recruit volunteers.

One of our all-time favorite volunteers, Kim Johnson, had a large printer known as a plotter that enabled her to print large maps. She and I would get together in front of the computer, plot the deaths as we received new information and then print the most current maps possible. The early maps were limited but very useful. Soon we were standing in front of them giving interviews to the local television stations. We were making copies on discs and sending them to museums and universities that asked for copies.

John Chamblee was finishing his Ph.D. at the University of Arizona and working with UA Professor Gary Christopherson at the university in the Center for Applied Spatial Analysis. Chamblee, Christopherson and I worked on a university computer to determine what kinds of map projections we would need to do the best work. We needed to know as accurately as possible where the death locations were, what was going on in any particular corridor, who the land managers were in these areas and the topography. We wanted to know how far from roads these people were traveling, how far from the border migrants were dying, and the answers to many more questions. We found that two different projections served us best. First, a topographical projection gave us the quickest interpretative picture of the deaths in the desert. Second, and more telling, the surface management responsibility projection map gave us the very best, most extensive information.

Soon, through the efforts of Chamblee, the privately held ESRI company – the world leader in geographical information system software technology – donated a \$20,000 computer program to Humane Borders for the purpose of mapping the known death locations and printing maps that served many purposes. The software was installed in a dedicated work station with limited access and a \$1,200/year fee was required just to maintain the program license. This work station was featured in an HBO Special documentary called *The Wall* made by Rory Kennedy.

The map used most often by Humane Borders for public information purposes is the surface management responsibility map. Fifteen years of data have now been plotted onto one map. In addition to those data, the locations of Humane Borders water stations and the locations of U.S. Border Patrol rescue beacons are shown. In some years, Humane Borders diligently entered water station data that recorded water usage, and other details.

The first thing that leaps off the map is the sheer number of migrant deaths. There are so many red dots in some locations, they are literally on top of each other.

The placement of a single dot on the computerized map sometimes took up to a couple of hours for volunteers like Mike Malone and me. The Border Patrol annually investigated and reported about 75 percent of the total number of deaths. The rest are deaths discovered by the public or by other law enforcement officials. By law, all deaths are reported to and investigated by the county Office of the Medical Examiner. Reports of the deaths are made from law enforcement to the OME, and personnel from the OME make their own report at the site where the body was recovered.

An agent will generally take a GPS reading of the death location but sometimes there are obvious errors in use of the GPS device or in the recording of the data. It could happen to anyone, especially me, but we laughed when one Border Patrol agent record gave the location of the deceased migrant in the middle of the Sea of Cortez. Sometimes the GIS specialist whose services we secured had to go back and read Border Patrol reports and OME reports and then do some logical estimating. For instance, a report may be incomplete: "MP39 south of corral". After some study of written narratives, we would determine that location to be milepost 39, and we would check the various roads in the area that have a corral near milepost 39. Usually, that's sufficient to locate the dot on the map. For the purposes of representing to the public what is happening in the desert, a red dot large enough to be seen on the map is probably about one-quarter of a mile across, according to the scale of the map. This makes for a very accurate visual representation. But for the purposes of doing statistical analysis, the very best estimations of locations were required. For some calculations, only the best known GPS data were used. Estimated locations were kept out of these numbers for most purposes. For each data point on the map, there was a confidence indicator that governed whether or not to use the data point for statistical analysis.

To some observers, the reported death total in ten years seems understated. That is true. The process of identifying bodies, classifying them as migrants and analyzing all of the information about each location continues. In the future, more dots will likely be added to the same reporting period as our information increases. Some of the activists have skirted that fact and exaggerated the numbers of the dead by trying to include missing person reports, adding reports of deaths according to sources outside the U.S., or generally trying to inflate the numbers without substantiation. Social scientists cannot count bodies that have not been recovered by authorities. Year after year, bones of humans continue to be found that are many years old. This suggests to all parties – law enforcement, medical examiners, activists, and scholars – that many bodies are not recovered each year. How many? No one knows. Did the skull and arm bone that showed up in the wash that was determined to be four years old belong to the skeleton that was found last year 400 yards away? That can't be determined without extensive testing.

Much can be determined by the data. One can observe where migrants are dying, on whose lands, in what patterns, in which months, and more.

County lines are included in the map projection. Counties differ in how they interact with the Border Patrol and with the migrants. In Santa Cruz County, for instance, Sheriff Tony Estrada was very kind-hearted with migrants in the field and also very cooperative with immigration enforcement officials in his jail. Many activists thought he was too cooperative. In Cochise County, Sheriff Larry Deaver was virtually a deputized Border Patrol agent. In Pima County, the concern was primarily directed toward stopping certain kinds of crime. Requests were made by Border Patrol to have Pima County sheriff deputies deputize its agents. We protested this move at a Pima County Supervisors' meeting and it was agreed upon an accommodation to create a Memorandum of Understanding, just short of the Border Patrol request. A special unit of the Sheriff's Department under then Sheriff Clarence Dupnik was detailed to work in close association with federal agents. However, before he retired, he disbanded the border crime unit in 2015.

Informed consent is the most basic level of ethics, so I decided one day to pursue the idea of taking a digital snapshot of much smaller portions of the Arizona death maps and creating warning posters to inform migrants of the real dangers of crossing the bor-

der. That was a fateful decision to implement what was at that time Humane Borders' social theological vision.

My friend Maestro Mauricio Farah Gebara was named in 2005 the Quinta Visitaduria de la Comisión Nacional Derechos Humanos in Mexico. He was Mexico's human rights general inspector for migrants. His job included the immeasurable task of improving the plight of the migrants leaving Mexico to find work in the U.S. and join family members there.

I met Farah Gebara in a gathering that included the Mexican consul from Phoenix, a couple of senators from Mexico and a few locals. Late one night in Phoenix, I was afforded 20-plus minutes to explain one of our surface management responsibility maps detailing the location of migrant deaths across Arizona. And I explained how this information needed to be shared with migrants so that they could make informed decisions about how to proceed as they crossed the Mexico-U.S. border. There was great interest. It was already 10 p.m., but my presentation stretched to about an hour.

Soon, Chamblee, two intern interpreters and I collaborated to make warning posters. The Rev. Randy Mayer of Church of the Good Shepherd UCC in Sahuarita and I began distributing them in May of that year along the border. The maps were made from the subsets of data from those maps. The local chief patrol agent of the Tucson Sector, Michael Nicly, enthusiastically endorsed the maps as a potential life-saving effort. The Border Patrol fully understood that if the migrants heeded our warnings and made different, rational choices, then the job of the Border Patrol would be made much easier, and the number of deaths would go down. And, it needs to be said over and over, Border Patrol agents don't like discovering and investigating migrant deaths. It's really tragic that most of the administrative decisions that lead to public policy center on apprehensions and not upon the public safety aspects of migrants.

News of our activities traveled to Mexico. In the early fall 2005, a meeting was held at First Christian Church with Farah Gebara and his entourage and three of us from Humane Borders. A decision was announced that had obviously been made prior to their arrival: they wanted to help us. They wanted to print and distribute the warning posters in the sending communities in Mexico. We committed that day to also distribute maps in Central America.

We agreed that an international press conference would be held in Mexico City. I could have flown to Mexico City, held the conference and returned in the same day. But when I went to the

next Humane Borders' weekly meeting, the response was tremendous: "I want to go." "I want to go." "Can we take our spouses?" It turned into a vacation/tour/political junket of some serious significance and substance. Everyone paid their own way.

Twenty-one signed up. More wanted to go. Reservations were made at the little Maria Cristina Hotel just a few blocks from the U.S. Embassy where I had stayed with human rights groups before. We invited a member of the editorial board of the *Arizona Republic* newspaper in Phoenix. She brought her daughter. We began informing journalists we knew in that part of the world. I had the presence of mind to go to the *Arizona Daily Star* to talk to one of the editors. I explained the history of the project and the purposes of saving lives through informed decision making to Ann Brown of the editorial board. Who could argue with trying to help the migrants to make better decisions about crossing the deadly desert? Wasn't that the purpose of all of the public service announcements paid for by the Border Patrol? Isn't that what consulates and radio talk shows were doing? Our poster was really explicit with irrefutable data. In Mexico City and in a side trip to Puebla, all of us were treated as if we were royalty.

We were met at the airport and escorted. We also made several side trips. I spoke of wanting to catch a bus and take my delegation to San Pedro Cholula, Puebla. It's a huge colonia with more churches than there are days of the year. Seems the Spanish who conquered the area were bent on replacing all of the pyramids the people had built with churches, so church building spread faster than Starbucks. Because of the level of violence in Mexico, the Commission thought it just wouldn't do for us to be out on the economy if we were to be their responsibility. So we were assigned a new Volvo bus with a driver. Media calls were getting more frequent. The excitement about this initiative was growing with us and in the public.

We toured Puebla and its cathedral. We were shepherded a couple of blocks to the state house of Puebla where we were received by federal representatives to the Legislature, various elected state officials and other unidentified personalities along with video and print media. Tears were flowing from the representatives' eyes. To them, we were an answer to prayer. They said they didn't know that there were white people in the U.S. who were concerned with the welfare of migrants dying in the desert. They were overwhelmed. Once again, the simplicity of who we were

and what we were doing was driven home. All of this for drinking water. Water means life.

On to Cholula. There, we met with the presidente municipal – what we would call the mayor – and several other community leaders. They brought to a large table several families of migrants. We heard and honored their stories. We answered what questions we could. We were then led to walk through three ancient pyramids, each built upon the other. On top of them all sits a church of significant size. It's not a tour for the claustrophobic. A tiny passageway takes one through many hundreds of years of work and history to a tiny opening on the other side. Several in our group chose not to go.

The next day, the bus and driver were at our disposal. A one day trip was made to the Pyramids of the Sun and the Moon at Teotihuacán, another to the Shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Side trips to the Museum of Anthropology, to parks, the huge Zócalo (Mexico City's famed city square), restaurants, and the Zona Rosa, It's a famous neighborhood named for its art and architecture, not for left-leaning politics or for being a red-light district as some speculate. Some in the group headed to the bull fights. Others went dancing in Garibaldi Square at night. In between there were more and more media contacts, calls to the staff of the embassy, an afternoon trip to meet with a high ranking official in the Mexican Government. Geronimo Gutierrez worked for the Mexican equivalent of the state department. He approved of our plans for the posters and sent a letter to that effect late that night to our hotel. It's illegal for foreigners to meddle with the politics of Mexico – as in most countries. This letter gave formal recognition by the Executive Branch of the Mexican government that the project worked out by the Commission and the Arizona NGO Humane Borders was sanctioned.

On our last night before the press conference, the commission sent a bus to bring us to the main offices of the commission. Dr. Jose Soberanes Fernandez, the titular head of the Comisión, whom I had first met in January 2002, received us. Each person in the delegation was introduced and made to feel quite at home. The project was discussed and final plans laid out. I tried to explain the maps and Humane Borders' work in Spanish. Mexicans are extremely gracious and forgiving. My Spanish was much worse then, though I often invent words to this day. That night I was explaining how we tried to keep migrants warm on the cold winter desert nights in shelters by providing them with "Cohibas". I was supposed

to say cobijas. Cohibas are Cuban cigars! Someone commented: "Oh, those rich Americans! They give migrants cigars to keep warm at night." It was decided that I would have an official interpreter the next morning.

The morning of the press conference, I had reserved a small meeting room at our little hotel. It had all white walls, no windows, inadequate lighting. Two tables were near the white wall with four chairs behind them. The rest of the room was arranged with theatre-style straight-back chairs. Then Pima County Deputy Administrator for Health Enrique Serna and Farah Gebara were seated to my right; a translator from the Comision was to my left. Everything was simple, even stark. People make entire careers from arranging meetings and holding press conferences. What they rarely realize is that the "what" of the meeting may be far more important than the "who" or the "how". Serna was a particularly strong public advocate. He had served as the administrator of the county, was the person who administered the contract we had with Pima County and was a friend of the cause of saving lives in the desert. Serna has some theological education and was an A.B.D. (all but dissertation) doctoral student in political science.

I spoke first to explain what the warning posters were and how they could help migrants make more informed decisions, such as not going across the border on foot from Sonora to Arizona during July, that sort of thing. That was all the information one reporter needed. He dashed out the door to the hotel lobby phone to call his newspaper. Serna made his brief presentation as a representative of Pima County government, describing how Pima County and Humane Borders had worked closely together for years together to reduce migrant death numbers. Farah Gebara spoke about the Commission, about its relationship with Humane Borders, and then he dropped the bombshell: the Commission would print and distribute 72,000 of the warning posters. That may have been in a media advisory sent out by the Commission, but I certainly didn't see it coming. Prior to his announcement, I thought that Humane Borders would be working alone but endorsed by the Commission. That moment, I learned that CNDH was to take the lead in the project.

The first question was from an Associated Press reporter. He took a picture during my answer and ran to the nearest phone to file his story. Within minutes, the story became "The Mexican government was endorsing a plan to distribute maps for potential terrorists to enter the U.S." We think back now and say that we might have distributed the posters first and held a press conference second

as the noise heated up. The results, though, would have been the same.

Without printing and distributing a single warning poster, the information on the set of four warning posters that were posted on our website went viral. They were up on websites all over the world before the day was over. Even the Minutemen posted them. Humane Borders' volunteer Hart VanDenburg in Minneapolis helped us with Internet things. He had come to Tucson to do a master's thesis on migration. He thought he was going to come and do an exposé on us. He thought Colorado Congressman Tom Tancredo was accurately describing the situation along the border. We converted Hart. The west coast man who hosted our website on his server urgently called Hart wanting to know if the surge of Internet traffic was going to be continuing.

Following the press conference, my phone rang continuously. As had happened many times, I would have calls on hold. I once had all three of the major television networks on hold. At the same time, Montezuma was having his way, as we say, with my GI tract. One can rationally anticipate but not predict just when that event will show up on the itinerary in Mexico, so I headed to my room. My physician prescribed a medication for me to have on hand for the entire group. Bad timing. My sharp tongue could have been of service for what happened next. The delegation went to the U.S. Embassy without me. Given where the Bush administration was on migrant issues, we expected to be welcomed and affirmed.

Instead, the security check there was the obverse of the hospitality of the Mexican government. It was particularly thorough. My friend and church member Mark Thornburgh was instructed to roll up his pants legs. He proceeded into the meeting with the ambassador with them still rolled-up thinking, "He must want them this way." Ambassador Antonio Garza finally came in wearing jeans and a flannel shirt, was embarrassingly inhospitable, and refused to even look the Commission's Human Rights Inspector Mauricio Farah Gebara in the eye. Garza had watched the press conference in the TV news. He was less than impressed. It's easy to conclude that he or a staffer with whom I had been in conversation had already briefed Washington, D.C. and he reacted in a manner that was totally negative.

This is how bitter critics of governments are born. The next day, Secretary Michael Chertoff of the Department of Homeland Security held a press conference to denounce the Humane Borders warning posters. His language was strong. I am the first member

of the clergy to be denounced by the Department of Homeland Security in a single-purpose press conference. Following his appearance, I got onto my blog and wrote: "Any nation denies children the knowledge they need to save their lives is guilty of child abuse." I don't think we ever heard from DHS directly again.

The following Sunday morning, four members of the delegation to Mexico who were members of First Christian Church all expressed to the congregation their embarrassment, disbelief, and even shame toward the US government. How the two governments acted in public and in private toward humanitarians was night and day. No indications from the U.S. government have been manifest in the 10 years since to convince us that our labors are honored in our own nation.

Dudley Althaus of the *Houston Chronicle*, with whom I had worked before, was at the press conference. Chris Hawley of the *Arizona Republic* wrote a reasonably balanced article. Linda Valdez of *The Arizona Republic*, who had traveled with us, clearly and accurately wrote about the whole delegation. It was with no hesitation and much satisfaction that I wrote letters nominating her for a Pulitzer Prize. For 16 years now, her voice has been the clearest and most consistent on border issues in general and specifically on migrant safety issues, human rights, and such. It was good that I had made a visit to Ann Brown, formerly of the in Tucson. She understood the purposes for the posters and why we went to Mexico.

If, as I contend, politics is a game of naming, framing, and blaming, one has to be aware that much of the naming, framing, and blaming comes from scripts written largely by persons of influence and power and often divorced from any concepts of rationality, reasonableness, or even understanding.

The day after the conference, our delegation was traveling back to the U.S., we were out of reach for the producers for shows like Lou Dobbs's daily fiasco on CNN. *Good Morning America* sent a film crew to Tucson to turn our conference room into a studio. With the warning posters hung in the background, GMA interviewed Humane Borders then vice president Paul Fuschini, who repeatedly made the point without being defensive that the purpose of the posters is to save lives. Tucker Carlson had his own show on MSNBC and he was wiggling out. Rachel Maddow, his program's frequent contributor in those days, defended us well. The very next day, the parlor at First Christian Church was turned into a tv studio.

Apparently, in those days, Google quit counting exact duplicates of Associated Press stories at 500. We found exactly 500

Associated Press stories about the “maps” that appeared in U.S. newspapers as if die-cut replicas. Same photo, same caption, exact same headline, same text without any edits, exact same layout. In newspaper markets already on the downside of their heyday, 500 replicated stories is a lot. The same story also spread around the world: Manchurian Chinese News Agency, the Pacific Rim, Pakistan, North America, Central America, South America, Europe, the front page of *Pravda* in Moscow, Aljazeera. It just went everywhere.

CHAPTER FIVE GOVERNMENTS

“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.”

--First Amendment to the Constitution of the
United States of America

This chapter concerns what I and some other activists who have embraced border work have learned about governments. It's a narrow focus. Governments are a blessing and a curse. I affirm government most days. I believe good government is possible and a must for a good social order. People like Grover Norquist president of Americans for Tax Reform who want to shrink government down to where it can be drowned in a bathtub have no respect for people, ideas, and possibilities of human association. Governments – federal, tribal, state, municipal (in descending order of authority) – provide structure, protection and resources. Granted, they generate some chaos, too. They can either help you or keep you from doing that which is moral, ethical, legal, imperative, and righteous. I get all of that but I'm on the side of government. What's my other choice, a world designed by markets? I think not, and I will consistently work against any such vision. The Libertarian vision is not helpful.

Often we think that elected officials are the ones who play politics and that professional public administrators are those for whom politics has no bearing. The truth is that administrators are political actors, too. Mix in the mythical high wall separation between church and state. Add all of them together, and many think there is no proper link between religion and politics. Not true. Public administrators and governments at all levels routinely interact with congregations and religious leaders.

Much of my life is shaped by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution quoted above. Few recall how much is in that sen-

tence: the no-establishment clause and the free-exercise clauses concerning religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the freedom of assembly, and the freedom of petitioning government for change. A proper understanding of those words is essential for the effective and ethical implementation of social theology.

The establishment clause protects the government. The free exercise of religion is not without constraint. Speech is not totally free and the press must have certain kinds of accountability. Corporations such as nonprofits do have oversight and compliance provisions in law – even – or especially – the religious ones, and religious institutions working in and with governments are constrained in their behaviors in many ways.

But this chapter is not about me or about church-state relations. It is about religious nonprofits that interact with governments for mutual benefit. The elements often flow together. Money can flow into electoral politics in the U.S. – even from foreign corporations – often without public disclosure, yet religious nonprofits have to file meticulous Internal Revenue Service disclosure forms and have them available to whoever presents himself at the door. Financial rules may abound but that does not mean that religious entities cannot be political. In the culture wars and in all elections, religious leaders routinely join in public floggings of candidates and political leaders. They can still work with people who put forth legislation. They can still pray with presidents. They can mobilize and educate the citizenry about the political preferences of the religious bodies they represent. The High Wall of Separation is about as solid as the porous border fence.

The world of politics and political actors is best understood in my opinion by the word used by so many postmodern philosophers: simulacrum. The basic concept is that things are iterations, copies, and/or made of the same stuff. The organizations I have worked with all along the border have had to choose with whom to work, at what level of government(s), and to what ends. It's not a job for the timid. Because of often intense interactions, some players will choose to be very public and very forceful in their endeavors. Is there anything that can't be political? Politics is how we work things out. Jesus was political. As I say, God is political, and so am I.

When I teach children, youth or adults, I point out the political context of the sayings of Jesus. A political reading of the scriptures reveals many parties and alliances for Jesus to choose from. Arguably, the account of the Gospel of Mark tells us that Jesus steered away from all of them to some degree while maintaining

affinities for part of several of them. The power structures and power houses around Jesus included the Sanhedrin, the Pharisees, the Scribes, the Elders, the Herodians, the Essenes, the Secarii, and the Romans.

These are unfamiliar to most until one compares them to modern interests. My point is that each of the groups derived their power from one or more combinations of what we today could call today statutory authority, social status, religious office, family, ascription from the masses, brute force, their ability to influence decisions – or some other form of power. The ancient Roman rule was not simple and uncomplicated as some might assume. Add to the politics of Jesus' day the layers of Jewish law and it is easy to conclude that the political world of Jesus was quite complicated. A short typology of the players in his time may prove helpful.

The Essenes wanted to be "pure". They tried to remove themselves from the social and political fray. Jesus did not. He only withdrew briefly when he was tired or reflective. The Sanhedrin governed daily life among the Jews but only because of the willingness of the Romans to bring order to some parts of the social life. The Pharisees were a party marked by a religious life that encompassed much of their daily activities. Their religion was a meta-narrative that provided commentary on so much of daily life. The scribes were part of the Sanhedrin, exercised little religious influence but were very influential because they could loan money to farmers and others. The elders usually derived their power from their social and financial status. The Herodians were those Jews who were clearly allied with the Romans. The Secarii were those who were willing even to assassinate political leaders if they imposed requirements too harsh to bear. Sometimes, I'm surprised there's not a Secarii Party in the U.S.! The Romans were those who had most of the concentrated, absolute power. The Romans generally allowed local options for locals to govern petty offences. Their world was organized around the differences between *Jus Rex* and *Jus Gentium*. *Jus Rex* was the law of the Empire. *Jus Gentium* was the term for the laws that applied in the locales where the Romans exerted power. Were all of the rules and laws that apply to federal operations and personnel aggregated into one place, the comparison to *Jus Rex* and U.S. law would be significant. U.S. law has built an even more impressive body of law to protect itself. Modern democracies generally protect themselves from change. The death penalty was reserved for the Romans to use. Life is no

more and certainly no less influenced by politics today than it was thousands of years ago.

Even though power in the U.S. is far more complicated than a simple typology of power in Jesus' time, the dynamics are clearly the same. The U.S. political system is marked by political parties, influential families, moneyed interests, elected officials, career civil servants, public administrators, cops, voters, teachers, tribal elders, corporate influences, extremists and mayors to name a few. All get a chip to play in the power game in the U.S., and the tragedy is in part not that religious leaders influence some politics but that faith communities fail to play with the chips they have. In some respects, religious people had more power in Jesus' time than they do now. And, I am not arguing that the US is not a secular state or that religion should have different structural advantages. However, religion has been disestablished several times in the U.S. to the point that some of the only power resources that remain available to the churches are those reserved to nonprofit corporations. Nonetheless, many political actors find it very important to interact with religious groups and leaders to achieve their own political goals and/or to exercise their faith as they see it.

I've interacted with elected officials at all levels of government in the U.S. and Mexico, from White House staff to the former president and first lady of Mexico. Many of the volunteers in Humane Borders had many decades of experience in politics, labor, community organizing, church judicatory service and so on. Additionally, we went international. We spoke with or rather formally briefed officials from Germany, France, Spain, Mexico, Canada, Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador. We hosted delegations, made presentations to NGOs, held conferences and utilized the media in constructive ways to increase appreciation of the human tragedies and moral questions raised by the migration. We had among us people who had worked with congressional committees, governors, legislatures and more. A major supporter of Humane Borders until his death, Arizona State Sen. Andy Nichols, a major church leader in my congregation, was the highest ranking elected member among Disciples of Christ at that time.

Soon after he assumed the office of the presidency of Mexico, Felipe Calderón Hinojosa embraced me and thanked me for promoting and defending human rights in the United States. Some of my proposals for immigration reform made their way to the West Wing of the White House in George W. Bush's first term. We met with ambassadors, consuls, U.S. State Department representatives,

governors and others at federal and state levels in Mexico and in the U.S.

We had a name and a status. Mexican senators came to visit us in Tucson. U.S. senators had their staff members call to find out what was happening on the border. The list is long but not as informative as the generalizations one can derive from the NGO-government interactions and the general behaviors of elected officials. What has been lacking is political leadership to actually change the system. I think they were looking for ideas and language. Unfortunately, migrant safety has not been a salient issue in the U.S. With few exceptions, politicians rarely mention the moral issues related to the migration. Only a few have taken the moral high ground to try to effect change.

U.S. Senator John McCain often said, "These are God's children" in reference to migrants and he mentioned migrants dying when he introduced immigration reform legislation. Most politicians have done what they always do in the public policy area – they try to get re-elected. U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders visited Tucson in October 2015 to campaign for the presidency. He hit every button on immigration reform as far as families go. However, he spoke not one word about borders, migrants, walls, safety, border patrol, or any of the other issues we've worked on for decades.

Many politicians and religious leaders alike take positions without taking action. Some fall in step with a few leaders and take the short course in policy preferences offered by constituents and interest groups. The short course: one sentence right out of the mouth of the legislative aide may sound like this: "Jones, Shimabukuro, Smith, Lightfoot, and Shultz are your biggest employers (and donors) in your district and they don't want to see any more migrants in the area." Thus, the politicians learn quickly and give the appearance of "representing" their district. With almost no notable exception, politicians act both collectively and individually in single-minded ways, focused only on positions that enhance re-election prospects. Winning re-election is perceived as an affirmation. Politicians often consider a re-election campaign like some sort of battle experience. If they win, they are victors, and to the victors go the spoils. Circular self-congratulation is rarely reflective of analytical, progressive public policy. Janet Napolitano's Arizona gubernatorial elections of 2002 and 2006 are examples. First, she tried to show she was tough on migrants, demonstrated no concern about migrant safety whatsoever, and then used her 63 percent

re-election margin as a justification for her positions while informing migrant activists that she shared their concerns.

There are notable exceptions. Presidente Calderón gave what was perhaps the strongest human rights speech I knew of for decades in North America on December 13, 2006 at Los Piños, Mexico City, D.F. Mexico. He spoke about the much – needed moral response to the migration phenomenon and revealed that his personal interest was heightened by the fact that he had relatives living in the U.S. who were undocumented. Within days of that speech, he began a war against drug cartels that has led to more than 125,000 deaths.

Former president George W. Bush was hailed from the time he served as governor of Texas for at least understanding the migration – understanding it perhaps better than any president who has served this nation. Bush understood it better than President Clinton, who passed the worst legislation imaginable for migrants living in the U.S. in 1966. Bush understood migration better than President Obama, the Deporter-in-Chief, and Forgiver-of-Border-Oppression. Personal experience does matter and does influence one's political posturing. It almost always colors institutional positions taken by politicians. That is, of course, one of the reasons reporters ask so many seemingly extraneous questions during campaigns. They fish. That's one of the reasons politicians have to educate themselves on the issues.

Humane Borders was honored to receive so many officials from various nations and to provide them with useful background experiences, "modeling" language and sharing analyses and perspectives. For instance: the former mayor of Cranston, Rhode Island, Steve Laffey, spent a full 16-hour day with me on both sides of the border in preparation for his run for the U.S. Senate. He lost his election bid, but his staffers knew to get him to the border to observe and learn. Campaigns would be more informed if they could take the Laffey tour.

A staffer for Obama called me early in Obama's first campaign to ask about border issues. I suggested his team needed to start with some show-and-tell on the border if they wanted to understand the migration and what to do about it. Obama's team still needs the same. His staff will never understand or see his hypocrisy. His term is nearly over and he never got it. For Christmas 2015, he announced a plan to deport more families from Central America, and he has no idea of the deaths and destruction that for which

he is responsible. The charge of child abuse has to go all the way to the top.

Both U.S. and Mexican federal representatives have celebrated Humane Borders. On the U.S. side, anti-migrant restrictionists have denounced, warned and accused Humane Borders of all manner of things. I have received numerous death threats. A number of Minutemen and their types have said publicly that I should be tried for treason and/or tied up or buried up to my neck in the desert and left to die.

In 2001, Humane Borders had better media coverage than many members of Congress. If we said something, it was published. Tom Tancredo of Colorado was the leader of a Republican caucus to reform immigration during that time. During a speech in New Hampshire, he included a denouncement of Humane Borders. I received a Google Alert on my Blackberry, contacted his media representative immediately by email and conveyed to him that we could duke this out in the media, or Congressman Tancredo could quit talking about us. The choice was his. I invited him to count the Google hits on Humane Borders if he thought we couldn't. We never heard from Tancredo on this issue again. I don't think he mentioned us in his 2010 bid to become governor of Colorado.

He never knew how much we influenced media coverage of his work. A *Rocky Mountain News* reporter was in Tucson to cover Tancredo's visit to Arizona with two other Republican congressional colleagues, Jim Sensenbrenner of Wisconsin and Steve King of Iowa to develop political capital from the tragedy of the death of National Park Service Ranger Kris Eggle. Tancredo gave remarks at Eggle's funeral in Yuma. Eggle overheard a Border Patrol call on his radio indicating drug smugglers were being chased by Mexican police into the U.S. The bad guys had also just murdered some people in Mexico. Tragically, Eggle was fatally shot by a high-powered rifle by one of the bad guys. He was hit the groin where his body armor afforded no protection.

As a member of Congress, Tancredo routinely read excerpts or paraphrased ideas from Harvard University's Samuel "Mad Dog" Huntington's book, *The Clash of Civilizations*, into the Congressional Record in after-hour speeches. He wanted to stop the migration any way he could and would denounce it using whatever exaggerated rhetoric he could muster.

I gave a *Rocky Mountain News* reporter a quote which he used: "Mr. Tancredo is mistaken. The death of the monument's park ranger was not really a border issue. This was a bad drug deal

that could have happened in any city in America.” The next morning, Tancredo and his colleagues were standing at the border near where Eggle was shot shaking a flimsy barbed wire fence and saying, “We need to build up America’s fences with Mexico.” I had already spoken with the chief ranger of the park service. The ranger deflated Tancredo’s ideas by saying that those fences were designed to keep out cattle and not people. He added his opinion that what was really needed was immigration reform. News reporters, politicians, and quotable actors can all be influenced by NGO leaders, especially when truth, moral rectitude, and compassion are needed.

We’ve also interacted with governors. Former Governor Eduardo Bours of Sonora, Mexico, always was a gracious host. On several occasions, he embraced and praised me in front of so many of his elected and appointed Sonoran officials. He knew that the water stations saved lives, that taking care of other human beings is one of the highest callings. And he said so.

Former California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, on the other hand, appeared on what was then the most conservative Los Angeles radio talk show one morning denouncing Humane Borders’ water stations saying, “What’s with these water stations? This has got to stop!” The very next morning, the Los Angeles Times published its main editorial denouncing the governor for his comments on the radio program in general and specifically for denouncing the water stations. The newspaper’s editorial board scolded him for not understanding that the water stations are for humanitarian assistance and that they should be left alone.

The former secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, former Arizona Gov. Napolitano, is a case study unto herself in regard to immigration. Before she became a federal prosecutor, many in faith-based activist circles appreciated and applauded her. As a former federal prosecutor, she thought she could bring in the migrants and prosecute them and prosecute the employers, and that would stop or significantly slow the unlawful migration.

I didn’t find it easy to work with her. She said “no” to us when she was governor and it came to crossing Arizona Trust Lands – created by Congress when the Arizona Territory became a state to provide state government revenues – to get to federal lands where we had permits to operate water stations. She said “No” to letting us operate water stations on Arizona Trust Lands.

She did express some interest in working with Pima County government and others to put cell phone towers in the desert to save

migrant lives. She could see the state working with various inter-governmental players and various private groups. But she also said things in my presence that made me wonder. One day in front of seven individuals from Humane Borders, she said "I don't trust anything Mexico says or does". I concluded that she only wanted the commerce. I've since said that she loves Mexican tomatoes more than Mexicans.

Billie Stanton Anleu was an editorial page editor at the Tucson Citizen where this opinion piece I wrote found life on March 26, 2007.

TALK CHRISTIAN
by Robin Hoover

Several years ago, six of our volunteers and I went to California to help "El Gordo," otherwise known as Hugo Cadelago, with a fundraiser for water stations in California and Arizona. I had the cell phone that worked, and the call came in on how we were to go to a warehouse and unload two tractor-trailers of water bottles, etc. After I embarrassed myself speaking English to 50 Spanish-speaking volunteers, El Gordo got up and said, "I love you, Reverend, but now it's time to talk Christian to these people. Oh, and don't just tell them how to get the job done. Tell them what it means." Thanks, Gordo, you were right. Now it's time to talk Christian to those folks pretending to talk about immigration reform. It's time to speak the language of values, ethics, people and our faith. Gov. Janet Napolitano addressed the National Press Club on Feb. 27. She gets some of this border, immigration, security, migration conflagration stuff, but we need to talk Christian to her. She says she knows the border. She has held the jobs. She has walked, flown and ridden horses over much of the border. She's been in the drug tunnels. She has supervised the prosecution of more than 6,000 immigration felonies. Fair enough, but there's little or no evidence that she knows the migrants. She's not spent time in Altar, Son. She has not watched little girls pray before the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Sonora before picking up a jug and starting out on a journey as dramatic for them

as Alan Shepherd's first flight on top of a rocket. We have no evidence she has soothed young boys missing legs from an encounter with a train. The governor's speech was perhaps as good as a politician can paste together, but politicians talk about migration from the perspective of enforcement, employment and/or human rights. They almost never mention the migrants, their needs, their desires, their hopes, their experience of suffering U.S. policies in their countries. And just what is the difference between the migrants we know from our journeys on the other side of the border and our encounters in the desert versus the migrants we meet in the grocery stores? Just a little bit of time and experience. The migrants blend in so fast, start looking, walking and talking like citizens so fast, it staggers the sociologists' minds. More than 100 years ago, it took three generations on average for many newcomers to become fluent in English. Today, the young ones are walking around with iPods and know things parents of U.S. teenagers don't know. Like most politicians – and I'm not picking on the governor – she just doesn't know better, and her speech is easy to pick apart. She uses statistics as if migration were a constant phenomenon with the same numbers of migrants starting journeys each day into the U.S. She said in her speech, "In 2006, in a 24-hour period, an estimated 4,000 immigrants would cross illegally into my state although that number has gone down by about a third since the National Guard was deployed in mid-2006 under Operation Jump Start." Come on, folks, we've been talking for decades about how the migration is seasonal. We're moving toward the end of the annual peak migration as we go to press. But I really want to telegraph to the governor and the other pols that during peak migration, the numbers exceed 6,500, and during the low ebb, they are fewer than 600. The National Guard came during a time when the natural flows were going down. And besides, governor, the people crossing the border illegally aren't immigrants. Immigrants are people who have a legal status. In addition, many of the people who come here legally aren't immigrants either. They come on legal, "nonimmigrant visas." I know it's confusing, but we could help you sort it out. Napolitano moved on to talk about crime and costs. Then she tried to tell us how she's saving the day: She's attacking fraudulent IDs, using new technology, working with

Sonora. On and on. Governor, please listen. More people will successfully cross the Sonora-Arizona border between Jan. 15 and May 1 than live in Tucson. Arizona is helpless to do anything other than symbolic politics that waste resources. We've tried to get you to take the moral high ground and work toward saving lives. It has the added benefit of bringing much needed human-dimensional debate to this situation. Well, she goes on to commit the worst offense of our politicians: She perpetuates the myth of national interest furthered by selfishness. U.S. laws concerning immigration are focused on "creaming" the very best migrants – bringing in the persons with the best skills, knowledge and ability, the best education and the best English proficiency. Then we want to keep them and make them like us. What the migrants need – and in the long term what the U.S. needs – is for people to come here, work and go home with new life experiences and resources to transform their countries. But that seems to be off the table. She explicitly wants to keep out the "bad" migrants and bring in the "good" migrants – the high-tech scientists and engineers. God must weep when she sees so many of her children not chosen for the team. So the governor's plan is to control the border between the ports of entry. Seemingly, it has never dawned on her that moving the migration back to the ports of entry requires political moves, not law enforcement moves. But then, we must remember, federal payrolls and infrastructure and technology stuff brings in lots of dollars. The governor next proceeds to give us a U.S. Chamber of Commerce lecture about making visas simple and ample, calls for a temporary worker program with no amnesty and directs our attention to Adam Smith economics. I'll spare you the rest, but it makes me think. When I was in Mexican President Felipe Calderón's home to receive the Reconocimiento Cum Laude of the National Human Rights Award, I called on the nations in the Western Hemisphere to learn how to share resources, opportunities and save lives. We already share blood (see 2 Chronicles 28:8). We are neighbors (see Luke 10). We need to talk Christian, Jew, Muslim and all the rest and even more. Our faith traditions, our Western heritage of dabbling in rights, needs to be the lingua franca of the debate. The languages spoken by the apologists of the market (economy), the nation (race, language, culture)

and the state (rule of law, rights) must ultimately be driven by a conception of human value and human recognition of the value of the humans who are literally both near and dear to us. Governor, senators, members of Congress, we're ready to talk when you are.

Since the beginning, that is, since the death of the 14 in Cabeza Prieta National Wildlife Refuge, the Pima County Supervisors have fully embraced the mission and vision of Humane Borders. Former Supervisor Ann Day a Republican and sister of former Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, originally had tepid support for our work, but it became quite cold. The Supervisors were led then by their Democrat chairman Raul Grijalva – now a U.S. Representative – the Board of Supervisors each took \$5,000 from their own office budgets to help Humane Borders get started. That \$25,000 contract meant several things to the supervisors who delivered impassioned speeches that day. The contract was simply good politics. It showed that the county was very concerned and ready to act immediately. It was the moral thing to do. Reflecting back years later, the pleas, the assertions of concern, and the justifications that were articulated by Supervisors Grijalva, Danny Eckstrom and Ray Carroll were some of the most passionate speeches by politicians I have ever heard. Sue Goodman included their words in the video made to commemorate Humane Borders' first 10 years of work. Things that were said that day remain in my arsenal of sound bites and model some of the arguments for immigration reform offered in this book.

There are not enough words for me to thank the Pima County Board of Supervisors for what they have done to respond to the migration. The annual renewal of the contract to erect and maintain water stations has been a major source of controversy, yet they continue to respond positively. Annually, the board authorizes the Pima County Medical Examiner's Forensic Science Services Office to spend large sums of money to identify the remains of the migrants and to facilitate the reunion of the remains with their families. Supervisor Richard Elias, who later filled Grijalva's seat on the board, got up from a Thanksgiving dinner in his home to go to the office and open it up just so a family could receive the remains of their loved one. In the cases when no identification can be made, the remains are disposed of with dignity and care. Some bone is cut and preserved for possible DNA analysis. The remains are cremated and put in a place of honor and care in a large cemetery

in Tucson. Extensive records are kept. One day, hopefully, the remains can be returned to their families.

The City of Tucson is a much smaller player in the migration but no less supportive. The city owns some 250,000 acres of land to the west. These lands are old cotton fields and other agricultural lands that have been returned to a more natural state where possible. Ownership of these lands controls what kinds of agricultural chemicals leech into the city's aquifer below. On these lands, the Central Arizona Project (CAP) canal terminates. The CAP brings Colorado River water to southern Arizona. Much of the water is allowed to settle into the aquifer to be mixed with City of Tucson well water.

Hundreds of thousands of migrants have crossed these city lands in their northward migration and some have died on these lands. The City of Tucson issued permits to Humane Borders to operate a few strategically placed water stations to help reduce the numbers of deaths and to serve as extra eyes and hands for the management of these lands. Humane Borders volunteers reported fences damaged or other concerns to city law enforcement. Volunteers spent many days a year organizing groups to remove tons of migrant trash from public lands.

The tragedy of our experience of working with elected officials in general has been that very few have embraced the high moral ground in the immigration debate or elevated the moral concerns to become platforms and positions in electoral politics. The Pima County Board of Supervisors is certainly the big exception. When Richard Elias was Chairman, he used Humane Borders and the Pima County Medical Examiner's office as a backdrop for introducing a "state of the county" video. He wanted the citizens of the county to know that fundamental issues about life and death are of central concern to the county. Other supervisors have raised funds, celebrated the work as faith-based ministry and helped in many ways. Supervisor Ray Carroll went on a desert trip with me and helped raise funds for Humane Borders. He understood the issues well.

Sen. John McCain has reinvented himself several times but to his credit, he has kept his focus on the deaths in the desert as a moral issue. When he introduced the original and quite famous benchmark McCain-Kennedy Senate bill on comprehensive immigration reform, he acted not only on behalf of his state of Arizona, but by the second paragraph of his speech, he was citing the phenomenon of deaths in the desert as one of the compelling justifications for passing comprehensive immigration reform.

Government in the daylight is best. Reasonable, respectful conversations should take place, though, without being broadcast far and wide. Discretion in conversation is good. Some of the story of Humane Borders can be told only by relating the basic details of conversations that shaped events. My desire is that I have not deeply offended anyone nor shied away from the truth in meetings with elected and/or appointed officials.

How do public good-deed-doers and their deeds fit in the legal-political model? The language of elected officials is cost-benefit analysis and the benefit considered is often that of the elected official. The values of elected officials include equity, efficiency, and effectiveness. These are public values we articulate in many different ways. One should learn what makes your elected official tick. Not all values are held equally by politicians. Some never use the word equity.

Migrants are dying, leaving debris behind as they journey, lying in the highway medians, being abused, working hard, paying taxes and drowning in irrigation waters. Whose rights and which kind of rights will we appeal to in this human conversation? Property? Human? Constitutional? Civil? Sometimes all the talk of rights is sterile. Humane Borders, Inc. has put out water in the desert to save lives. It works, but property rights continue to limit the effectiveness of organizations like Humane Borders.

Case in point: summer 2003. Migrants were dying in record numbers in Cochise County and Cochise County Supervisors weren't doing anything about it. I approached some of them unsuccessfully. Then Supervisor Paul Newman was certainly sympathetic, but without hope for action. I also approached both the federal land manager and the Border Patrol to suggest deploying water stations and/or some of the 12 rescue beacons they had in storage. Tohono O'odham Nation executives were invoking their sovereign rights and not giving permission for the beacons on their land in the west desert of Arizona. Being something of a Pragmaticist, why not use them in Cochise County?

Permits were issued and beacons were installed. But we couldn't get to the federally approved sites without crossing private, state, or leased federal lands. The private property folks cited unspecified liabilities. We couldn't cross Arizona State Trust land. One can go there with a simple hunting license to kill deer and javelina but not to save lives. Arizona Fish and Game leases the shooting range next door. "Their" land is leased from the same federal land manager who approved our permit. It seemed that would be our

opportunity. However, we couldn't cross "their" "public" land to save migrant lives – even though our water station would be more than a mile away. They invoked some sort of imaginary extra-territorial property rights jurisdiction. Imaginary law was commonplace among federal and state land managers when dealing with us. The letter said, "...we "feel" (truly a discretionary sentiment) a water station adjacent to the shooting range could result in a hazardous and undesirable situation." We've gotten letters like those from land managers before, like the one from the general who operated the 97 percent pristine desert lands of the Barry M. Goldwater Air Force Range where migrants continue to die more now than ever before. It seemed to many that it's a good thing 19 migrants died in Texas in 2003 because until then, Arizona had the one-day record of 14. A number of activists concluded that private property rights, racism and bigotry often rule in border politics.

Some federal land managers have helped a lot and have saluted the Tohono O'odham Nation leaders who finally gave permission to deploy a few rescue beacons. Hopefully the beacons will serve many migrants for many years. Humanitarians have been grateful to county authorities and municipal authorities who have chosen to save lives and financial resources at the same time. Still, much work remains to be done and no consensus exists today.

The State of Arizona has many elected persons, many appointed persons, and many public servants on the payroll. We found only a handful who dared show any concern whatsoever about migrant safety. On the other hand, newspaper editorial boards expressed great interest in migrant safety. Arizona has had a long day in the spotlight with anti-migrant sentiment, legislation and behavior. Arizona State Sen. Russell Pearce made his career in politics bashing migrants. He became the first state senator to be recalled in Arizona's first 100 years. Gov. Jan Brewer was no help. She mistakenly linked migration and drug violence, speaking often of headless migrants littering the desert. When DHS Secretary Napolitano was governor, she thought that criminal prosecutions were the solution. All of them were wrong on all counts.

The heavily Libertarian state of Arizona often wanted to resolve the question with the proper construction of property rights. Justice is not based solely on property rights. We believe that it is appropriate for nations to have borders to have jurisdictions and authority. No argument. We do not feel, though, that we can simply embrace United Nations or Roman Catholic Church positions that call for a fundamental, individual human right to migrate without temper-

ing that right and looking to larger justice concerns: context if you will. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares the right to migrate but it also recognizes the right of sovereigns to exercise control. The U.S. does that in many ways. For instance, U.S. citizens have a right to know the health status of someone allowed into this country, their criminal history and so on. We are sure of one thing. Justice will be measured in our time and place by how we respond to the plight of the migrants dying in our desert. Justice will not be measured by merely observing property rights. Jurisdiction, authority, and power have to be challenged with questions of normative value, vision and propriety. A social ethics approach to migration has many challenges.

Presidents of Mexico and the U.S. offer no hope for reforms. Neither did their predecessors. Security is the biggest value they espouse but we won't be secure until there's major reform. Media choose sides. Political parties articulate different goals. Politicians are often afraid of taking firm positions. At least Sen. Pearce was transparent. Literal and figurative turf wars will result in more deaths. I am glad we have had Constitutional rights as a faith-based group to put out water where we could. However we can't go very far. Justice anyone? Couldn't the Arizona governor or the legislature see to it that migrants have water on the land before these Christian, family-values neighbors to the south evaporate in our back yard? If we can't have justice, how about some decency?

These were some of the ideas that animated testimony I gave before the congressional Government Reform Committee's subcommittee on criminal justice, drug policy, and human resources. The hearing was held in the legislative chambers of the Tohono O'odham government in Sells, Arizona in March of 2003. What a day!

Submitted March 10, 2003

Testimony of Rev. Robin Hoover, Ph.D., president of Humane Borders, Inc. before the government reform committee's subcommittee on criminal justice, drug policy, and human resources investigative hearing entitled, "the impact of the drug trade on border security and national parks" meeting in Sells, Arizona march 10, 2003, at the Tohono O'odham Nation legislative council chambers at 10a.m.

Subcommittee chairman Souder and Congressional Representatives, thank you for being in Arizona, and thank you for the opportunity to present this brief testimony.

Humane Borders, Inc. is a faith-based organization that places water in the deserts of the states of Arizona and California. We operate under federal and county permits and on private lands to reduce the number of deaths in the desert and to reduce costs to local governments. In 2001, we received a \$25,000 contract from Pima County Government for these purposes. We advocate on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border for a political solution to the continuous human tragedy of death in the desert.

We also provide public education on border issues. I have included copies of our February 2003 "Report From the Border" for your files as well as 2002 maps indicating migrant death locations and location of our water stations. In limited ways, water stations are now part of the strategy of land managers to reduce the deleterious effects of the migration on public lands.

U.S. Border Policies are fatally flawed, and no matter how unintended, law enforcement strategies including INS operations continue to contribute to the death toll. Migrants are not crossing at Ports of Entry and urban areas, but choosing to run the gauntlet through the desert, or being led there by smugglers. In Southern Arizona last year over 200 men, women, and children died, the youngest known being 11 years in age. Unfortunately, no changes in border policies since 9-11 can rationally be predicted to lower the expected record number of deaths in the desert this year. Water must be placed in the desert and policies must change.

We work with federal law enforcement to remove death from the immigration equation. Our water stations give agents and officers more time to achieve their objectives of deterrence and apprehension, instead of spending time on search and rescue. We provide extra eyes and ears, and we frequently call US Border Patrol to effect rescues of migrants. Additionally, strategically placed water stations and frequent organized efforts to pick up migrant trash contribute to the protection of precious natural resources on federal lands. Our organization picked up over 300 cubic yards of trash last season alone.

Specifically addressing the goals of this hearing, I wish to comment on both macro and micro policies. First, in order to improve the law enforcement function concerning both drug traffic and national security, the inexorable migration of workers from Mexico to the US must be moved

from the deserts back to the Ports of Entry. This can only be accomplished with substantive policy changes. Neither further militarization of the border or significantly augmented law enforcement resources will accomplish this task. Such efforts only re-locate crossing points. It's like placing rocks in a stream. The water goes around the rocks. Well over 98 percent of the people federal law enforcement officers encounter in the deserts are workers whom employers reward with jobs, often arranged before they cross the line. These same employers successfully pressured Congress to eviscerate employer sanctions. Even if further militarization or enhanced law enforcement were successful, further employer dissatisfaction and policy resistance should be anticipated.

Second, on a micro level, current federal law enforcement practices routinely elicit complaints from US Citizens fearing life lived in this militarized zone. Regularly rotating Border Patrol agents from one station to another reduces cultural sensitivities of agents to resident populations. High-speed pursuits result in deadly auto accidents and additional costs. Agents and officers apprehend only healthy migrants to avoid paying local health care providers for services rendered in compliance with federal laws.

Moving the migration back through the Ports of Entry with necessary investigations, inspections and safeguards, informs us of who is here, where they are going, and what they are bringing. It is also the only responsible way to exercise national sovereignty. Moving the migration back to the ports of entry frees law enforcement resources to perform traditional policing functions in the desert and to change their assumptions about who is in the desert and what they are doing.

Anecdotally, one agent in this sector has also worked in San Diego Sector. He has been present at the recovery of more than 175 dead migrants. The first thing that goes through this man's mind when he gets a call on the radio is not to look for a terrorist.

So again, moving the migration back to the ports would dramatically reduce the impacts of the migration on natural resources, the impact of law enforcement deterrence practices on the lands, as well as search and rescue damage to the desert.

In Sum, the shift of roles and missions of federal law enforcement can be predicted to push the migration into

even more difficult terrain resulting in more deaths. This shift can also be predicted to increase violence between U.S. officers and both migrants and drug smugglers.

In our judgment, it is immoral to use the desert as part of a policy of deterrence. We believe that the U.S. government has a moral responsibility to reduce the number of deaths in the desert by erecting and maintaining water stations, by strengthening law enforcement, by maintaining search and rescue capacities, and by moving toward what our President has called "regularization" of the migration.

Probably the single most important political resource for religious actors in the public sphere is the perception of efficacy. Can the actor participate? Accomplish something? Obtain access? Organize?

All of the organizations I have worked with have had a healthy sense of political efficacy, whether they quietly put their heads down and did the work or whether they loudly engaged the public. Congregations quietly housed refugees in South Texas and moved hundreds of thousands of them north. The Texas Conference of Churches was able to aggregate interests, organize petition signing, issue statements. Shelters organized and provided goods and services. Many persons and organizations routinely interacted with officials including members of Congress and the commissioner of the INS. Humane Borders worked at all levels, in the U.S. and in Mexico.

In early June 2001, a Humane Borders press conference laid out an agenda to hold land managers accountable, to put out water in the desert and to invite all to participate in a public conversation about migrant safety. Days later, the Pima County Board of Supervisors announced it would contract with Humane Borders to help save lives. In July, the documents were signed.

Members of Congress invited us to the table to cobble reform proposals together. Through ascription, the media projected to the community that we were authorities on the circumstances of the migrants and workers on the inevitable changes in policy that would eventuate. Access in one playground led to access in another. We briefed federal agencies, our governor, elected officials and public administrators at all levels.

Just before McCain and Kennedy announced their famous bill to reform migration policies, their staffers were calling. A briefing was convened in Tucson with one of the attorneys, Brooke Sikora, who drafted the legal language. One day former Tucson City

Councilman Fred Ronstadt found an ironic donor – the Tohono O'odham Gaming Commission – to make a \$5,000 contribution, ironically processed by Ned Norris, current chairman of the Nation who has opposed placing water on the nation's lands. I journeyed to the desert to orient two members of the Board of Supervisors, and I met personally with several members of City Council. Some of us went to the Capitol in Phoenix to meet with legislators and senators of state government. We mingled a lot.

Everyone had an opinion but all accepted us at the table. Then Gov. Jane Hull of Arizona publicly said there would be “no water stations on state lands while she was governor.” So it was, but that changed soon enough. Though the stations cannot be permitted by the state itself, if a leaseholder wants to deploy stations, that is acceptable. They were acceptable because they did not represent an “improvement” on the land.

There are so many people – local, state, and federal who helped us – who came to us to be a part of doing what they perceived to be a moral thing – that we can't begin to name them. Tucson City Council, Tucson Water, some in the Border Patrol, federal land managers, federal law enforcement agents. In the span of a single day, I have worked on a new water station permit, fought off a pundit or two like Sean Hannity in a one-hour appearance on WABC-TV New York, and debated Assist. secretary of the Department of Homeland Security Asa Hutchinson on a satellite hookup that evening.

All of this is political behavior, in the sense of that it helps the larger community work things out. For the elected officials, we aggregated interests and made visible the concerns of the public. We modeled moral language and provided opportunities for officials to identify with issues. We also provided a moral voice that was not “denominational”.

We modeled public conflict as well as conflict resolution in the media. Once, a local political actor concerned about Humane Borders tried to pressure City Council along party lines. At a function where both city and county political leaders gathered right after that, the most conservative and the most liberal members of the City Council approached me in a group to say, “They tried to divide us in our support for you and your work, but we wouldn't let them do it.” Properly modeled in public the moral voice becomes a resource for those in office. One local politician often said to us, “We need activists like you because we can't say the things you can, and they do need to be said.”

But neither I nor any of the various RANPOs I've worked with have ever merely been "the" group that took the right positions and therefore became "the" effective organization. Moral certitude is insufficient. We had to push, push hard and push even harder. We did have occasion to tell some local folks – especially land managers who were telling us "No" – that they had better get their coat and tie because they were going to be on television at 5 p.m. It wasn't that we weren't effective. It was that the difficulties are huge.

In the big picture, though, it's easier when we know our role and others recognize it. I sat in Border Patrol Chief Patrol Agent David Aguilar's office one day and said to him: "I've done you a big favor. I've aggregated a lot of interest and energy, mobilized a lot of people and directed them to doing something productive – putting water in the desert to save lives. This could have worked out in a number of other ways." He immediately acknowledged the same and expressed his gratitude. Many, though, objected to us. Minutemen, members of Congress, local citizens, and others denounced us. The highest authority was the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. DHS Secretary Michael Chertoff forcefully denounced our warning poster project. I've worn that denouncement as an honor, like a merit badge.

One wants to be treated the same in all times, in all places, and in all manner of settings. In Mexico, however, the leaders of the various organizations I've worked with and I, in turn, have been treated almost like royalty for merely being humane and human to their co-nationals. I remember my friend the Rev. Feliberto Pereira, who spent five years in one of Fidel Castro's prisons in Cuba during the 60s. When the peso was devalued in 1995, Mexico didn't raise the budget in the prisons so they would have enough money to feed the prisoners. Guards crossed over into Texas to ask Pereira if he could bring them some bags of beans. They would, in turn, set up a stage, lights and a public address system and let him preach into the night to the prisoners. He wrestled with his soul. He didn't know if he wanted to go to a foreign country, especially to visit a prison. But he did. He lived the life of the free holy man and the frijole man in the same evening. I don't know if he ever figured out why I thought that was so funny.

One of the most important concepts for the political activist to understand is the extent to which local administrators and even elected officials can use discretion to get things done. We learned that administrative discretion can save lives or even guarantee more deaths. Some of the folks who gave us permission to set up

water stations were doing so using administrative discretion. The denial of permission to put up water stations at the Cabeza refuge was wrongfully based on using the same concept of administrative discretion. It is difficult for local administrators to sometimes discern just when to exhibit ethical behavior even when it might come at some cost to their position or even their career.

We have also learned that administrative rules and discretion can be used to create seemingly contradictory results. It was true that state Governors didn't want us to operate water stations on Arizona's State Trust Lands. But it was also true that when the state of Arizona issued leases for those lands to others – like individuals or Pima County – the lease holder then had discretion to issue permits to us to operate water stations. Many a prophet has complained that politics only rearranges things. True, but those rearrangements can save lives. Not all religious positions are equal. There is no one way to be religious in the world or in transforming the world.

One strong influence on Arizona politics is the Mormon church. Mormons, or more properly, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, have always had a strong influence on Arizona politics dating back to the days of the Arizona Territory. Its influence has continued and manifested itself in some ways in anti-migrant legislation in recent years. In 2004, there were enough Mormons, all Republicans, who worked together that their votes were sufficient to get legislation rolling to re-direct or block legislation they did not favor. If ever there were a case study for religion and politics theory, this was it, and it also was a case study in social theology.

The Mormons have a sweetheart deal with the federal government. Many of them don't "believe in" the U.S. Social Security system. So, they sign IRS Form 4361, which enables them to say that they object to participation in Social Security on religious grounds. Having signed that document, they are not eligible to receive Social Security benefits from the federal government. Serious social theology is at work here. Mormons believe that if you need social assistance, you should go to the church. The church will help you. If you don't go to the church and don't get help, it's because you are an apostate (non-believer).

Many Mormons are not supportive of taxpayer – supported social welfare, wondering why they should support both their church and the state system. The assumption is simple: if the person were a good churchgoer, then he or she wouldn't need social services. They have no problem helping their own and work against a state system for private help.

Most U.S. citizens know of the Mormons at least through their evangelistic/proselytizing model. Two, typically young, well-dressed white males, traveling in pairs knocking on doors. Frequently they ride bicycles, hand out copies of the Book of Mormon and spend up to two years in this endeavor. Over a period of 10 years, from the mid-90s through the 2000s, the Mormons built 10 temples in 10 cities in Mexico. They experienced meteoric growth in their church membership in Mexico through these practices.

A cognitive dissonance emerges, a cerebral disconnect of some sort, when Mexicans come to Arizona. The Mormon church fervently seeks to make believers out of Mexicans in Mexico. But the state legislative representatives who were members of the Mormon Church in Arizona made it abundantly clear that Latino migrants were not wanted in Arizona. There was a time when the Mormon Church was criticized for not allowing blacks in leadership positions. One could argue that it is time for the Mormon Church to consider whether the anti-migrant Mormon caucus in Arizona was representing the church at its best. Mormon's representation in the state legislature was way out of proportion to their percentage of the population by three or four times. Saying "Come on in!" in one place and "Keep the hell out" in another appears awkward. Mormon church leadership has been silent about any attempt to influence legislators on this issue, but not others.

The voices of government are also mixed. The manager of the Buenos Aires National Wildlife Refuge called. On the line with him was the regional solicitor from the Albuquerque office of U.S. Fish and Wildlife. The man who managed our permits in the refuge and who was open to issue us more water station permits was being overridden by an attorney who said he would deny having the conversation we were having and that no more permits would be issued. He said that unnamed policymakers had made the decision. When walking the halls or sounding off on the airwaves, government and/or religion can seem comparable. They're both bureaucracies. In fact, "The Church" should atone for the fact that bureaucracy as we know it was invented by religious leaders centuries ago!

Here I will not name names, but a high-ranking member of the Secretariat Relaciones Exteriores (Mexico's State Department) brought me a book with the names of all the Arizona legislators who are Mormons, their positions on issues, the communities they represented and so on. It was a significant piece of work. This official said: "We're bringing this to you because we feel you are the only person who would take on the Mormon Church." I said some-

thing feeble like, "Yeah, well, I don't want to wake up with a stake through my heart." If you don't understand the humor, look up the meaning of "stake" in the Mormon context.

The irony is that sometimes grand, sweeping changes can come from an organization, while trying to change some little things can take forever. When Robert Gilbert was the Chief Patrol Agent of the Border Patrol's Tucson Sector, he and members of his administrative staff consistently reported that they were not returning unaccompanied migrant women to Nogales, Sonora a city with scant social services, during the nighttime. And we consistently told them that they were. We had photographs taken – at night-time – of Wackenhut (now called G4S) officers returning unaccompanied women south across the border line. The photographs were taken by a TIME Magazine photographer. So many of these kinds of communications went unresolved to the point that many in the humanitarian community in Southern Arizona episodically suspended their communication with local Border Patrol administration.

Regardless of who has been in charge, I make – and many others will support – this judgment that over the third of a century I've worked along the border, the migrants are more tired, more hungry, more thirsty, in worse physical shape and treated more shamefully now than at any time I've worked along the border. This is in large measure a function of the redefinition of the border by policymakers and political leaders through the concept of terrorism, a lack of supervision and a lack of professionalism that CBP leaders should want to see on the face of their agency and in effect, upon the U.S. I judge it also to be due to the hiring by the agency of so many former military personnel. Arizona Congresswoman, Martha McSally, who is a former military officer, introduced a bill that recently became law encouraging the hiring of U.S. military veterans by the U.S. Border Patrol. This does not bode well. What is needed along the border is more professionalization and less militarization.

I'm a practicing Christian by choice and an American by accident of my birth. Up my family tree, I find relatives who have fought on the side of the U.S., but also folks who have fled other countries for doing things to their citizens that we are doing to ours now. I've had my hands on original battlefield dressings applied to our soldiers returning from Vietnam and I've also seen photos of dead pregnant migrant women many miles from the border, inside the U.S. Wars in which we engender an artificial sense of dependence of one nation upon another are just as shameful as an unjust war. The U.S. has no business marching our relatives and neighbors along desert death trails anymore.

We see this. The U.S. is just beginning to see it a little and understand it a little bit, but like a foreign war, the U.S. doesn't see the blood and guts. Her citizens can pontificate across the frothy top of a 10-ingredient coffee while talking to Walmart executives and coffee growers sitting in corner stores built and cleaned daily by Mexican and Central American migrants. But unless they stand, as my former wife did, with a grandmother shivering in 110-degree heat crying, "I never knew it would be this hard!", I suspect that their judgments will remain less than fully informed. To miss the passion is to miss the people. To miss the people is to close off another part of this increasingly balkanized nation, gated in places, boarded up in others, divided by resources and security cameras in still others.

One day I got more than a little upset at the way I thought the border was being covered by a local newspaper. I called a meeting. I invited David Stoeffler who briefly was the publisher of the *Arizona Daily Star* along with the local head of the Bureau of Land Management, the local head of the local Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services, a U.S. Border Patrol public information officer, some local immigration attorneys, a representative of a member of Congress from Tucson, some nonprofit leaders and others. Taking Humane Borders' lead, we collectively stated the case to the publisher of the newspaper that there's only one story. It goes like this: the border is broken. Only federal policymakers can fix it. We each have our own little concerns about the border and we each together, or individually, can only address some small parts of the problems. We asked the newspaper to quit putting us in stories to offer point-counterpoint perspectives because the big story remains in Washington, not Tucson.

With that, it is still time for Congress to hear the Arizona side of the story loud and clear: The border is broken. Only the feds can fix it. Much is being done by different interests. Some of us disagree in significant ways about how to fix it but at least we're talking. What will it take for Congress to see and hear what is happening to the point that members will hold hearings about human rights of migrants? About border deaths? I and several others participated by giving testimony in the first ever U.S. participation in the Universal Periodic Review of Human Rights self-study of the U.S. in cooperation with the United Nations. It was held in El Paso. That alone should have initiated Congressional attention yet it did not. I made my 10 minute spiel. Eight months later I was in the national offices of the Department of Justice in Washington, D.C. An attorney walked into the room, looked at me, smiled and said, "I know this one.

Who could forget?" He thought I had taken out a bat and started swinging that day in El Paso.

All will do well to remember that immigration is not a true left-right partisan issue. Certain kinds of ideas may resonate more with one group or the other, but in the history of immigration reform legislation, progress occurred only when there was strong bi-partisan cooperation. It may be the case that because immigration politics is not a traditional left-right issue that the faith communities can be the most useful. However, even that progress depends in part upon the willingness of government to be in dialogue. It's an uneven playing field when the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security has administrative discretion to come out in a single-purpose press conference and ignorantly denounce an organization like Humane Borders which has enjoyed local and international renown for bringing people together, including at the highest levels of the Department of Homeland Security.

For numerous elected officials: we have helped aggregate interests, made visible the concerns of the public. We modeled moral language, provided opportunities for officials to identify with issues. And we provided a moral voice that was not "denominational" or representative of one religion.

It was refreshing to us to be able to frequently interact with political actors from Mexico and other nations. Ambassadors from Central American countries visited us. We met with the president of Mexico, Mexico's human rights offices, special liaisons, academics, consuls, legislators from around the world conducting research. They encouraged us and noted what a valuable contribution we were making.

Precisely because the "border groups" have not been overtly partisan, there was no discernible risk for government officials to associate with them and even to work openly together. The relationship of nonprofits with government officials from any number of countries is similar to that of academic institutions. After leaving Humane Borders and starting Migration Ministries, Emigrant Safety and Service, and now Migrant Status, Inc., I was invited to an international conference on human trafficking especially as it concerned children and unaccompanied minors. The multiday conference was in Mexico City. Nonprofit leaders and academic types made several days of presentations. I was afforded the opportunity to sit with Margarita Zavalla, then the first lady of Mexico. Many of us will continue to interact with officials from several nations. Our hope is that religious NGOs can make significant contributions to the public discourse on migration policy reform.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CASE OF THE TOHONO O'ODHAM

“Neither can the elected tribal leadership insulate itself against the putrid stench of another hundred decomposing migrant bodies on O'odham lands. The Government of the Tohono O'odham Nation needs to purchase Biological Hazard suits for when its leaders leave the reservation, if they can't smell the stench on themselves, others can.”

–Mike Wilson – member of the Tohono O'odham Nation

The Tohono O'odham Nation is the only government to actively work against putting out water stations and providing humanitarian assistance to migrants. Those are the facts on the ground that make this government different from all of the rest.

For the first fifteen years of this century, approximately 43 percent of all of the migrant bodies and skeletal remains recovered from the deserts of Arizona came from the lands the Tohono O'odham Nation consider sacred. Seventy-five miles of U.S.-Mexico border slice through the traditional tribal homelands which lie in both the U.S. and Mexico. The O'odham live on the second largest Native American reservation in the United States. The U.S. side of their traditional lands is comprised of 2.8-million acres of land, larger than the state of Connecticut. About one-third of O'odham historic homeland lies in Mexico. The size of the reservation does not account for the very high percentage of migrant deaths, however. What does account for this number is the fact that the reservation is also the largest people-smuggling and drug-smuggling corridor along the entire U.S. border with Mexico. Law enforcement and court records support this assertion. From the very beginning, Humane Borders called for all land managers in Arizona to be accountable for the deaths in the desert. The O'Odaham leaders consider themselves exceptional and exempt from that. Exceptionalism is a complex concept.

The French scholar Alexis de Tocqueville, who visited the United States in the early 1800s coined the phrase “American Exceptionalism” in his classic work *Democracy in America*. He

pointed out that those who had established and were continuing to establish the new nation called the United States focused on a set of values quite different from those of European countries. Unfortunately, today the concept of American Exceptionalism has too often come to mean that the U.S. is somehow above the claims that others in the world would make on the US. It is now often a term connoting arrogance. That more modern usage now describes the O'odham's official self-understanding.

One can ask what is the proper moral behavior of americans? All of us who live in the Western Hemisphere are americans, exceptional or otherwise. It's one thing to have a theology, an ideology, or some sort of worldview that shapes one's self-perception and one's autonomous actions, or those of the group, state or nation. But it is quite another to do so in the larger context of the human community. The proper moral behavior of Americans, then, is a question of social ethics.

In April 2003, I wrote a very what many considered a controversial editorial for the *Arizona Daily Star* in which I laid out my argument – and my judgment – concerning the Tohono O'odham Nation's official decision to deny humanitarian assistance to migrants:

The season of death in the desert has begun, and the public is asking what is being done about it. With the cooperation of federal, county and private land managers, Humane Borders, Inc. is placing and maintaining proven life-saving water stations in the desert. The Border Patrol is responding in a number of ways through public information, personnel, equipment and infrastructure. On the Tohono O'odham Nation, though, no immediate promising responses are being made. One has to question why not?

For at least five years, the Tohono O'odham Nation has rejected ideas of putting water in the desert offered by members of the Nation. For three years, Humane Borders has requested that the Tohono O'odham Nation put out water, and those requests have been rebuffed as being naïve. Our organization has offered to erect water stations and maintain them at no expense. We have offered to provide equipment and supplies for members of the Nation to do the work without our presence on Nation lands. For two years, the Nation has refused to let the Border Patrol place proven migrant rescue towers on Nation lands. For nearly one year, the Nation has refused to let the group called the Samaritans search in strategic areas to rescue migrants. For nearly a

year, the Nation has thwarted efforts by an O'odham pastor to place water in the desert, even slashing the jugs of water he placed on tribal land.

At a two-hour meeting of district chairmen last summer, the following argument was laid out in great detail: 1) The Tohono O'odham are afraid of the migrants. Smugglers commit crimes, drive fast through communities all hours of the day and night, etc. 2) The O'odham resent the Border Patrol and other law enforcement agents. Agents reportedly have a bad bedside manner and treat members of the Nation as criminal suspects. 3) The O'odham spend enormous sums of money rehydrating migrants in their health facilities. 4) The Tohono O'odham police spend enormous sums of money and time for search and rescue operations. 5) The O'odham are a hospitable people who give away food and water every day. 6) Finally, water stations attract more migrants.

Humane Borders sees each of these points as very good arguments to place water stations in the desert: 1) Water stations can be strategically placed to encourage migrants to avoid going through communities. Rationally, if one needs water, would one choose to go to a water station or to a house where one's presence may be detected and reported? 2) With fewer migrants in distress, fewer Border Patrol agents can do the same work and tear up less desert. 3) If migrants are hydrated, they will not need their health facilities, nor will they need emergency treatment in Pima County facilities. 4) If migrants are not in peril, they will not need Tohono O'odham Police Department search and rescue services, and O'odham police can provide more traditional police services to members of the Nation. 5) No matter how hospitable the O'odham people are, the O'odham communities are not evenly distributed along the migration corridors to provide adequate supplies of water where water is needed most. 6) Finally, following two years of placing water on every federal property adjacent to the O'odham Nation, the empirical evidence is clear: Migrants do not die near water stations, and migrants choose where to cross the border not because of water station locations but because of where the Border Patrol is working and where supporting infrastructure exists. The farther west one travels in the west desert, the greater are the chances one will not be apprehended. Many migrants die, but most cross the border suc-

cessfully. Thus Humane Borders and the Tohono O'odham Nation are diametrically opposed on the question of providing humanitarian assistance to people perishing in the desert.

In March, the Chairman of the Tohono O'odham Nation read into Congressional testimony the Nation's decision to ask Congress for roads, fences, surveillance, and other elements of infrastructure to secure 76 miles of the Nation's border with Sonora, Mexico. We oppose militarization of the border. The U.S. government agrees that it is not effective in reducing the numbers of migrants crossing. Militarization only changes where migrants cross. The United States does not have the political will or the financial resources to close our border with Mexico, and should not support the creation of an international, and in this case, an intra-national partition. What is needed is a concerted humanitarian response by all concerned parties to the immediate crisis that is killing people and a serious effort to move the migration back through the ports of entry. Migrants could be given a limited legal status, security objectives could be achieved, and money could be taken out of the people smuggling business.

Humane Borders is a faith-based organization. In our judgment, no political status, no legal posture, no moral tradition, and no social ethic can absolve the Tohono O'odham Nation for not proactively providing water or allowing others to help.

This book is about morality, about making moral judgments concerning value, virtue, obligation, the common good, and so on. The judgment one reaches here is that the O'odham in their collective decision-making reflect the more modern form of exceptionalism. That posture leads to more migrant deaths. The O'odham leadership echoed one local activist priest whose single-note speech over the years was always the same when he described life on the border: "This has happened to us and we're afraid." The O'odham picked that up and made it their mantra. "The border crossed us". "We're afraid of the migrants. We're being occupied by the US, etc." Border realities are externalities for which they accept no internal responsibility.

I'm mindful of the story about the Australian who was about to go up in front of a judge on a traffic violation. He did his research and discovered that the judge had no driver's license and had

never operated a vehicle. He asked how the judge could pass judgment on him. The judge replied, "I've also tried rapists and murderers." In the domain of moral discourse, the O'odham claim of exceptionalism is, in the case of migrant deaths, indefensible. The O'odham government is morally responsible for many deaths of migrants on Nation lands and the O'odham government is not exempt from moral judgments because of its semi-sovereign political status or its status as an indigenous nation.

Migrant deaths continue to occur. Help has been offered. In May 2001, I spoke for Humane Borders at a press conference, the organization's first big media – and some would say – political event. I called upon all land managers, federal, tribal, state, county, municipal, corporate and private to be responsible for what was happening on their lands under their watch. This was the announcement of a strategy of engagement and an attempt to begin a program of management of the deaths in the desert. By engaging the land managers, we could show them how we could be effective partners in the management of the effects of the ongoing migration. The O'odham were deaf to this word and the words of the political leaders who spoke at that press conference.

The front pages of all the newspapers of record in the state of Arizona have all declared in their Sunday editions that the migrant trail crossing the Tohono O'odham Nation lands is the deadliest in all of the United States – and they have done so with four – color graphics. The O'odham chose not to work with Humane Borders nor any of the other groups dedicated to removing suffering and death from the sacred sands the O'odham profess to love. They even denounced those who were helpers and their historic friends.

Meetings were held in all 11 of the O'odham legislative districts. In some of the districts, several meetings were held. Delegations of Humane Borders volunteers would fit into one or two vehicles after being placed on district meeting agendas and travel to meet with elected leaders, sometimes with elders sitting in the background. Two of the districts voted with us, but they were the two districts that are not part of the contiguous reservation. They're the "Hawaii" and "Alaska" of the districts and they knew that we put water stations only where there were large numbers of migrant deaths. Their support was symbolic. For the San Xavier District, it may have even been strategic since it includes the tourist attractions of the San Xavier Mission, the casinos and the tobacco shops. They could see the direction of Tucson's politics more clearly.

A critical part in understanding this story is Mike Wilson, a member of the Nation, a retired U.S. Army Special Forces soldier who

served in El Salvador. Wilson has been a member of the famed Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson and for a while, he was a seminary student at San Francisco Presbyterian Seminary. Halfway through his seminary education, Wilson began serving the Presbyterian Church in the city of Sells, Arizona – the seat of government of the Tohono O'odham Nation. He was registered as an O'odham in the Baboquivari District. More migrants have died in that one district than all of the others combined.

Wilson established four water stations along the Fresnal Canyon Road plus a few others from time to time. Most of the migrants who cross the Reservation have to cross this road. It is used by a few ranchers, the Border Patrol, and a few persons who make their way to the famed Baboquivari Peak, the ancestral home of I'ittoi, the god of the O'odham.

Wilson put out one-gallon jugs of water with dates and labels on them. The used jugs were considered trash and they were traced back to him. A Border Patrol agent who had no authority over Wilson caused trouble for him because he did have influence. He inappropriately influenced the tribal police and the district rangers. That kind of collusion – increasingly the result of statutes, memoranda of understanding and intergovernmental agreements – is the problem with all of the current law enforcement cooperation along the border. In effect, the local police become part of a U.S. country-wide law enforcement agency without accountability. The Baboquivari District harassed Wilson. That district passed a resolution directing him not to put out water, and the chairman of the District in effect ordered Mike's church to fire him through connections he had to an official of the congregation. The Tucson CBS affiliate KOLD-TV has video of district rangers destroying his jugs of water.

One day in a parking lot in Tucson, in a phone conversation between me and the district's head of the Department of Public Safety on the Nation, I was threatened with banishment from the Nation's land and the same for Wilson, who was standing next to me. I handed the phone to Wilson to hear the same words. This public safety officer was the same man, Larry Seligman, who communicated with the O'odham Legislature that putting water out in the desert was a good idea. A lack of professional ethics has supported many a corrupt regime.

Wilson took this campaign of putting water out for the migrants to heart. Humane Borders supported him with reimbursements of about \$5,000 a year to cover mileage, equipment, and supplies. Volunteers from Humane Borders would accompany him on trips.

His faithfulness has been an inspiration to all of the humanitarians and human rights activists along the border. His witness has been useful as we who are not O'odham interacted with national judiciary representatives of various religious denominations. They were torn over the sovereignty questions and various operational concepts of self-determination. The story led to inter-and intra-congregational fights. There are times when the complexity of a situation does not allow for clear ethical choices.

Humane Borders volunteers worked on building the relationship with the Nation. We picked up tons of trash at several particularly unsightly migrant camps, filling many dumpsters. When Ned Norris, Jr. became Chairman of the Nation, he spoke to me on the occasion of the League of United Latin American Citizens and the Tucson Urban League presenting me the Rosa Parks Living History Makers Award. He referred to one or more of the occasions when I had been quite outspoken about the Nation's refusal to help migrants. He said, "I've misspoken before, too." I turned to him and said that I had not misspoken anything. In public gatherings, he continued to express the Nation's positions in a canned speech that showed no empathy and no sympathy whatsoever for the migrants.

Representatives from local businesses to ambassadors from Mexico and Central America frequently asked, "What's their problem? Why don't they have sympathy? Many of these migrants are their own people. Is it money? Is it race?" My friend El Gordo whose real name is Ugo Cadelago, was a prominent Spanish-language radio personality, threatened to organize a boycott of the O'odham's casinos. This caused an uproar among the white supporters of indigenous rights.

During a multiday location broadcast in Tucson, from the church sidewalk and parking lot of First Christian Church, El Gordo and his companions broadcast for hours over several days. Callers in semi-trucks and from coffee shops from around Radio Unica's broadcast reach began suggesting a boycott of the Tohono O'odham casinos.

It didn't take long for the apologists to appear: Attorney Margo Cowan came and insisted in taking over the microphone. Attorney Isabel Garcia, co-founder of Coalición de Derechos Humanos contributed some characteristic yelling. The two of them cited O'odham sovereignty, autonomy, proximity to the border, the suffering of the indigenous at the hands of the federal government, the dependence of the Nation on the casinos for the livelihood of many and other arguments. On that, all would agree, the boycotts

would have had a negative effect. That's what boycotts are designed to do. None would actually speak to the humanitarian crisis on the nation lands.

Mike Wilson said it best when he summarized the reactions of the Tohono O'odham Nation to the migration. He said that what has to be acknowledged by all in this special case is the failure of hundreds of years of Catholic social teaching and more than a hundred years of Presbyterian social justice witness on the Nation.

The Tohono O'odham have been in what is now Arizona and Mexico for more than 4,000 years. The voices of those who are not part of that people can be marginalized. Still, the conversation should take place. Humane Borders volunteers did not all agree as to what should be done. Members of the O'odham leadership were not of one mind. Indecision continues to kill people. One of Humane Borders' officers – a self-taught student of bureaucracy while serving in two branches of the military – often stated, "A non-decision is still a decision."

Officially Pima County wanted water stations deployed in strategic areas to save lives. The City of Tucson owns lands adjacent to the Nation. The city allows water stations on city properties scattered across the county. Water stations exist on all the federal lands adjacent to the Nation. And water stations are operated on state lands in the area as long as the leaseholder agrees. Even some private lands next to the Nation have water stations. What is it that the Tohono O'odham fear? Why do O'odham leaders take this position?

There are two answers: The first is money and the second is political leadership. Allowing water stations and/or other humanitarian efforts jeopardizes revenue from the smuggling operations and revenue from Congress. The O'odham don't want to appear to control the migration using O'odham police and other assets. Political leaders in southern Arizona have encouraged the political leadership of the O'odham to focus on being outraged by the migrants crossing tribal lands. By so doing, the O'odham are in a better position to make budgetary requests in Washington. U.S. Rep. Raul Grijalva, Democrat from Tucson represents them and previously worked with them while he served on the Pima County Board of Supervisors.

The politics is complex. There are roughly 25,000 enrolled members of the Nation. On most days, there are about 14,000 living on the Nation's Lands. About 10,000 of them live in or near Sells, the Nation's capital. Huge latitude is given by Congress, by the Nation's Executive, and by the U.S. Judiciary to protect and de-

fend the rights, customs, and traditions of the Nation, but also to allow almost infinite local discretion as to what happens on their lands. The O'odham are semi-sovereign. So great is the power of indigenous nations in the U.S. as established by treaty laws that the states that make up the United States are literally political lessors. Political actors fail to understand. George W. Bush even ignorantly campaigned on returning what he called "Indian affairs" to the states. U.S. executive administrations understand the intricacies better, but often to the general public's detriment. Issues of mutual concern can and should be worked out.

The most visible presence of authority in the area is the Border Patrol. In May 2003, then Chief Aguilar beefed it up. He put significant pressure on the O'odham by creating a high intensity enforcement area along U.S. Highway 86. Soon, we watched as the number of agents increased, helicopters increased, more O'odham police were hired and equipped. More observation posts were established and more night vision equipment was used. Some Border Patrol agents noted that this may have made it easier for corrupt O'odham police to smuggle more migrants and drugs because they knew exactly where the agents were and what they could and could not observe. It may be the case that the main reason there is no help for the migrants, no mercy shown, no compassion expressed by the officials representing the Nation is pure financial gain.

Accountability is the modern form of shame. Shame and accountability are both ways of saying, "You're not living up to my expectations." That is what I was primarily attempting in the editorial I wrote that was published by the Arizona Daily Star. I remain grateful to the editor, who approved the op-ed. Today, I am certain that it would not be approved.

Following the publication of that op-ed on a Sunday, the lead editorial written by Steve Auslander of the Arizona Daily Star was published the following Wednesday under the headline "Death By Reservation". In it, he placed significant responsibility for the deaths on the O'odham leadership. The following Sunday, attorney Margo Cowan, then the Counsel to the O'odham Executive, wrote an op-ed published under the signature of Henry Ramon, the O'odham vice-chairman. She also wrote a letter to the editor over her personal signature blasting me and calling for the good people of Humane Borders to distance themselves from me. I had not seen that kind of behavior among the so-called humanitarian groups before. I'll be better prepared the next time. What the op-ed and the letter to the editor both lacked was any factual re-

sponse to the claims I had presented. Cowan has made significant contributions to the cause of justice for migrating people in Tucson. She was among the first to notice people from Central America showing up in the Manzo neighborhood in Tucson. Decades before, she had advocated for migrants, human rights and for the Tucson community to do the right things in relation to the migrants. She has helped the cause of justice. However, she also alienated many people including me, with direct, unwarranted attacks.

Weeks later, Humane Borders was observing the third anniversary of its founding at my home. The local ABC-TV affiliate, KGUN9 was there with a satellite truck. That morning, the newspapers had headlines announcing seven more bodies of migrants were found on the O'odham Reservation. I expressed my indignation that the Nation continued to deny us permission to place water stations on its land or to help them place water stations on their land. I said that if I had the water in my swimming pool strategically deployed in small caches of water on the reservation, we wouldn't be having these deaths. Mike Wilson expressed his anger very forcefully in a tv interview. One local dignitary told me, "You certainly know how to party. Satellite tv and fireworks!"

All of this led to an attempt to "rehabilitate" Wilson as a loyal member of the Nation in a press conference put together by Grijalva and Cowan. At the same time, a meeting of all 11 of the Nation's District Councils was convened. At that meeting, the vice president of Humane Borders, Paul Fuschini, and I were shouted at in the O'odham language for two hours. Someone wanted to make sure I was at that meeting and nowhere near a press conference going on in Tucson 64 miles away at the same time. I've never encountered such institutional racism in my life as was expressed in that meeting. I've never been treated more rudely by elected officials in my professional life. A translator would have been useful. The chairmen had no reasonable expectation to believe that the proceedings had anything to do with dialogue, community-building, or civil discourse. Granted, there are many ways to communicate, but this was far from democratic or civil. The Tohono O'odham are not democratic. When I was invited to give testimony before the Congressional sub-committee that held a hearing in Sells, AZ, at the insistence of the Tohono O'odham Executive, my written testimony and my oral testimony had to be different. They controlled what went into the congressional record.

The day that the O'odham yelled at me and Paul Fuschini, I met with Tucson's NBC affiliate reporter Lupita Murillo of KVOA-TV just before the meeting. She was nearby at a convenience store

in case I wanted to speak to her afterward. But I needed to process some of my thoughts – and we also needed to get off of the Reservation.

Fortunately, children in the Nation are more representative of the people than their elected district chairmen. A teacher on the reservation had his seventh-grade kids at the Baboquivari School in Topawa write me letters. He thought the children would blast away at me. They didn't, and as a pastor, I know that what kids say in circumstances like this are reflections of the values of their parents. The letters would get to a "Momma says" or a "Daddy says" or "the Bible says" sentence in which the child made his or her judgment. In all but one case in which the child was simply trying to invoke U.S. law, they all wanted the migrants to be treated better on the O'odham lands. One letter said, "If I were in Mexico, I would want the Mexicans to treat me like a visitor." Another child wrote, "We don't want to be like the Border Patrol. They treat migrants like dogs." Those are pointed words. My wife organized a visit to the school. We thanked them and gave them a dozen reams of paper, pencils, and pens since many of them wrote on recycled school papers.

Our critics have charged that we were insensitive, disrespectful, unknowledgeable and so on. Our supporters, and there were very, very many – including many members of the O'odham Nation – praised us for stating the obvious. No group is exempt from the moral judgments made by conscientious people.

One more O'odham story: according to a Guatemalan consular official who regularly interviewed his nationals, a group of O'odham smugglers regularly smuggled Guatemalans across the eastern end of the Reservation. They would exit at a place called Little Ranch, in the Ironwood Forest National Monument adjacent to the Reservation and managed by the Bureau of Land Management, and continue on toward Eloy, Arizona. On February 8, 2006, three Guatemalan migrants in much larger group traveling in two vehicles were killed leaving the O'odham Reservation on an unimproved dirt road. From interviews, we learned that a coyote for the Guatemalans failed to pay for the privilege of crossing the Reservation. Their vehicles made it a few hundred yards off the reservation and onto the Ironwood Forest National Monument. One young woman took a .223 round across her ribs and sternum from right to left. She bent over and bled dramatically onto the blue jeans of a man in whose lap she was sitting.

Forty-two days after the incident, I was called by the Guatemalan consul to see if I would pick up the woman and this

man from Immigration and Customs Enforcement detention and get them on their way. The woman was wearing sweat pants and a sweat shirt that had been cut so the fleece would not rub on her surgical site. I called a physician who is a member of the congregation I was serving. He came to the church and dressed the wound, which showed signs of infection. The man was delivered to me wearing the same blood-soaked jeans he had been wearing 42 days earlier. Not only is that the most undignified thing I've ever seen an ICE agent do, doing that was a bio-hazard. ICE is a federal agency that is quite simply out of touch and out of control. Someone could have gotten the man a pair of sweat pants and treated him better. I've hoped out loud that ICE would one day become at least as professional as the Border Patrol, and that the Border Patrol would at least become as professional as a major urban police force. Still, without the geography, the politics and the practices of Tohono O'odham political leaders, these deaths would never have happened. They, too, are out of control. The O'odham have become clients of the U.S. government just like so many other countries around the world are.

The O'odham supported a local organization, Alianza Indigena Sin Fronteras. We had good relations with it until the famous op-ed I wrote was published. A few days after publication, I received a letter from the group above two signatures that was written to denounce me. Before the letter which was a circular argument, reached its conclusion, because I was white, I was being blamed for the Rodeo-Chedeski fire that devastated so much indigenous land in Arizona. It was the largest fire recorded in Arizona. My interpretation: White people are destroying native lands and should justifiably be denounced. I didn't start the fire. Water for migrants was not being put out on the Reservation by anyone. The place has become a police state. I find it difficult to find advocates for one indigenous group so callously disrespecting another.

Some members of the nation reside in Altar, Sonora where arrangements are made for the smuggling of people and drugs into Arizona every day. If all of the traditional lands of the O'odham Nation were still in Mexico, their territory, their language, their traditions would not be respected at all. Neither Mexico nor Canada have set aside jurisdictional lands for the homelands of indigenous peoples. They have a moral obligation to do better and to reflect some common U.S. values. My regret is that the inhospitable O'odham government contributes to the deaths of so many migrants on their sacred lands.

CHAPTER SEVEN MEDIA

The Border Did Not Take Place

–Reference to French philosopher Jean Beaudrillard

It is easy for me to say that the story of the border has been over-reported and under-analyzed. But it is true. Much is known about the border. Many data points have been identified and described well. What is lacking is a clear picture of what to do about the border. It is the vocation of the social ethicist to talk about what is and what ought to be in the same breath. How that happens depends in large measure upon media, and I frequently applaud the media. Can media provide the kinds of information that responsible citizens need to know to make responsible decisions? Yes. News does not exist merely to supply the needs of democracy. Unless citizens have the information they need, the disturbing realities decried in this book will never change. In 1975, Bernard Roshco detailed the sociology of news in a 160 page book entitled *Newsmaking*. His observations remain insightful.

The business – and it is a very big business – of reporting news includes dynamics that drive outcomes that all RANPOs must understand if they are to be effective. Editors send reporters out to get facts. Editors also choose reporters particular stories so that reporting sometimes can be predicted by the editors. Editors also sadly send reporters to find data to support opinions of editors, publishers, advertisers, or owners. The data reporters find can be of all kinds: measurements, numbers of people in the audience, words said, feelings expressed, sentiments shared, bills signed, dollars expended – and the whole world of possible data points, facts and factoids. All of this is ultimately used by special interests and proponents of ideology.

Citizens are surrounded by more information than ever thanks to cable news, the Internet and social media. The general public is met with more opinions than ever before. Analysis is more readily available than ever before but analysis, too, is increasingly less objective, more embodied and subjective. Twenty-four-hour re-

porting on cable news, tweets by reporters that feed the dailies and continual updates from public information offices lead one to constantly changing impressions of the goings on. All of this can contribute to making one more tolerant of wildly divergent opinion-manufacturing and advocacy reporting. Often, all of this is part of a business politely called advocacy journalism. Once in a while, the facts on the ground trump the editorial choices of the editors, and they redirect the analysis and opinions of the umbrella organization that sends the reporters into the field. This is rare, but must be understood in the history of social movements facilitated, in part, by RANPOs.

The death of 14 migrants in southern Arizona in 2001 was one of those decisive moments. The near-death shooting of then U.S. Representative Gabrielle Giffords in 2011 is another well-known example. The analysis of the death of the 14 has become part of the lore of various federal agencies, local governments and many religiously affiliated nonprofits.

Unquestionably, the analysis of the Jan. 8, 2011 shooting of 19 persons, including a member of Congress, will eventuate into changes among elected officials, public administrators, and civil society over the coming years. Elected officials reference big moments and invoke memories as they try to reinterpret the moments for electoral advantage. Administrators, including law enforcement, medical and others, invoke the moments in terms of new best practices, preparations for future events and requests for financing. Civil society, faith communities, community organizers and human rights activists recall the moments and preach new prescriptions for change.

When a news moment is fresh, the editors' influence is diminished. Reporters are on the ground and the facts are streaming in with little analysis other than the lived experiences of anchors and editors who generally understand how elected officials, public administrators, families, markets, and civil society behave. Often, the first draft of history is wrong, at least in part. Certainly the meaning of it is often yet to be determined. So-called "spin doctors" and pundits actually provide a vital function by finding ways to discern objectively reported news. The role of the nonprofit is to absolutely know where it stands in the story, to understand the questions that are being asked and for whose advantage, and to be able to speak clearly, distinctly, with appropriate metaphors, and with words that advance the cause of the organization. The kind of self-interest called for is the kind that we characterize as service:

that is, serving the larger community, providing the public with the information it needs so that the RANPO can become a teacher. The self-interest of the RANPO is the mission of the organization, which ultimately is to give itself away in service to the world.

The deaths of many migrants and the attempted assassination of the congresswoman are great examples. Journalists descend on a community where there are stories of this nature. When 19 citizens were shot – six fatally, one a young child, several older citizens, one a federal judge, one a sparkly, brilliant Congresswoman with obvious U.S. Senate aspirations – editors, and probably their bosses' bosses, sent satellite trucks, drivers, print reporters, camera operators, make-up artists, sound crews, producers and all manner of support personnel to “get the story”. This is a critical time. Statements and interviewees have to articulate the facts, and reveal how A is related to B, B to C, and so on, to promote understanding across the airwaves, online and in print media.

Fortunately, many pundits and prognosticators are left grasping for the facts for at least a brief time. They fire questions at reporters they know and often at each other. “Reverend, could this be about border security? Racism? Guns? Gun control? The size of a gun magazine? Land management? What's a water station? Mental illness?” (Reporters were fishing around in my old interviews to see whether I thought Giffords was shot because of her positions on the border; should we talk about the Brady Bill? “We need something to talk about. What about Operation Gatekeeper? What are these things? What do they tell us? Who is for what? Who is against? How do media get passionately involved without crossing advocacy lines? Or not? Do we have someone who can speak to this?” I've been in the middle of a lot of this kind of reporting as it was unfolding.

It is an aggressive, competitive business, fueled by sometimes intemperate people often making ludicrous demands and inciting inappropriate comments. And, yet at least a modicum of deference to professionalism is almost always maintained. The reporter might have some facts about border deaths, but he couldn't begin to imagine how we deal with death among ourselves. We grieve, we remember, we honor, we commend, we resolve into the future.

Still, the big stories are great for journalism no matter how horrific for others. They are moments when facts on the ground can change theories. Less than a week after the deaths of the 14 migrants in 2001, and less than a week after the shooting of the 19 citi-

zens in 2011, media were getting re-calibrated and back to normal. Most satellite trucks were headed to the next events: sports, news, weather. Broadcast news companies that had three crews on the story were down to a bare-bones presence. Reporters scurried around town setting up their own tripods, working with hand-held, multi-platform pieces of electronics and combing their own hair.

Five days after Giffords was shot, a Telemundo reporter was visiting a vigil led by Coalición de Derechos Humanos that had been held every Thursday at 7 p.m. since May 2000. By 2016, the vigil had been held more than 800 weeks in a row, rain or shine. She was there to “get sentiments” in Tucson from the Hispanic community and to see if those who decry death and violence in the desert hold the same views when it comes to deaths related to the political process. By the time the week was over, the media had “rediscovered” the vigil as a source of “fixed comment.” Reporters used to work “beats”. That is, they would “beat” a path, stopping to find out what was new from various sources on emerging stories and details. Even in the new world of social media, tweeting, and blogging, editors frequently rediscover places and individuals for their reporters so they can obtain new, fresh comments. Usually, the executive director, pastor, or activist only gets to say three things.

At Gifford's Tucson office, I spoke like a pastor about the spontaneous outpouring of love for the congresswoman. Second sentence, I spoke of our polarized politics. Third sentence, I spoke of her views on immigration and enforcement – which I knew well – as they were being discussed by some as part of the bigger story. At the vigil, a number of miles away, I spoke like a pastor, of the sacredness of the place of the vigil. Second sentence, I spoke of the witness of this vigil in our community. Third sentence, I spoke of the kinds of political decisions we make as citizens that lead to violence and deaths. One needs to be prepared to speak three sentences on camera in a coherent way so that the reporter or editor doesn't have to re-interpret or dramatically edit what is said.

A spokesperson for a RANPO must be constantly in tune with the needs of the organization, in contact with the community, a vigilant observer of what is going on among the various players in the community, a student of the media and even a participant to the extent that he or she can direct reporters, producers, documentarians, student researchers and others to the right sources of information. Basically, the effective local RANPO spokesperson is also an editor. This was the case for me for 10 years and it was con-

sistent with my study of the faith-based groups working in migration policy.

Television cameras can be brutal. I recall taking an NBC reporter, Mark Mullen, into 100-plus degree heat in Altar, Sonora, Mexico. I watched him trying to use brushes to fix his makeup. Radio is more forgiving but even it has rules. One day I was seated next to Al Franken in Fresno, California at a conference center in front of a live audience of 600 or so. Franken is now a US senator representing Minnesota. A little theater was going on in front of us, and he said, "It's a good thing they can't see this on the radio." I looked at him and made the sound of a big, wet kiss into the microphone. A surprised Franken said, "Well, Reverend Doctor, they can hear us! I'll have to keep you over into the next segment so we can talk about this." We made some more points and had some good laughs.

I tired of broadcaster Sean Hannity frequently using me as a foil to beat me up and criticize my ideas about the border as a guest on his WABC radio show in New York. He used the show as a warm-up before his nightly tv program. I had probably been on his radio program for more than three hours. I greeted him one afternoon with the words that I was glad to be on with him again since he was my biggest fundraiser, that when I was on with him, I got the biggest contributions for Humane Borders, and so on. I was never called again. Unless one is ready to play the game, one doesn't. I had taken my surly pills, and I was tired of him.

Jesse "The Body" Ventura, former professional wrestler and ex-governor of Minnesota and Joel Stein, a former writer for the *Los Angeles Times*, were judges on a CBS reality show pilot that failed to make the cut. CBS flew me to Hollywood and paid me handsomely for an appearance. I was tried in a courtroom on the show by a Minuteman for putting water out for migrants in the desert. Marcia Clark, of O.J. Simpson trial fame was our legal consultant. Ventura was the most outspoken judge. I won. The Minuteman lost. Ventura approached me when the show was over. He was clear about his bona fides. He voted for me, but not because I'm a minister, not because of God, not because of the clerical collar or the cross I was wearing, not because of anything other than that the migrants have suffered enough and the U.S. is doing the wrong thing. Sustained media presence – especially beyond the regular press conference or live news clip – requires understanding a lot about the manufacture of the news and media in general.

Media managers and RANPO spokespersons are both looking for the right message, the right metaphor, the right take on the mo-

ment. To that end, I keep rehearsing the movie *Casablanca* in my head. I play it often on my smart phone in the office or on the road. It's easy to figure out who is who when you decide that you're for Rick and also for Victor Laszlo and for Ilsa Lund and ultimately for Louie and so on. *Casablanca* is analogous to and metaphorical for understanding much of the dynamic of the southern border.

Those who keep trying to get the border story straight and trying to communicate the realities of the border to the rest of the U.S. and the world also have to live through iterations of electoral politics. As that happens, the messages, the lines spoken, and the players are hardened. Producers, editors and reporters have to keep an eye on how they do basic presentations of the facts and how they do that in an electorally charged environment. The raw data may be that two bodies of two presumed migrants were discovered in the desert. Now the question becomes how to report that. Does this mean that the government's goal of prevention through deterrence is working? Does this mean that coyotes are less scrupulous than they were last year? Does it mean the humanitarians are right that the government is pushing migrants into deadly terrain? Does this mean that there is increased desperation in Mexico? Unfortunately, many of the voices approached by media for answers are giving pat answers. Government actors are going to take credit for the sun coming up and activists are going to denounce the government. So what's new? Media must dig deeper if we're to get past this era of border reporting.

Following the 2008 financial crisis in the U.S., fewer migrants were crossing the border. This was a notable trend confirmed by the Pew Hispanic Center for the years 2008 to 2014. The migrant flow is now negative. Dozens of reasons were cited in the reporting of that fact. A higher percentage of the migrants crossing were dying. Another dozen reasons were reported trying to account for that. Still, the multi-year, multi-decade migration phenomenon is the same. And when the drug smuggling scene is added to the mix, the story gets even more confused. After looking at media reports on the border for more than 25 years, it seems that media allow the government to produce the border story the way that it produced the first Gulf War and 9-11. It's government-manufactured news. The parade of migrants seen through infrared cameras on virtual fence towers lacks only the laser designator and smart bombs to change the low-intensity conflict into a real war. The migrants themselves are stunt double stand-ins for terrorists on whom the government can practice techniques. The chopper pilots don't leave the smell

of napalm, but they spread the smell of creosote by shaking the bushes when they “dust” migrant groups. Pilots navigate their helicopters close to mesquite bosques or clusters of Palo Verde trees and use the prop wash from the copter’s rotors to move migrant trash and “clean” the sand in the area. They can return later and see if there are visible footprints. Media show the trash but not the migrants who sustain themselves with food and shelter themselves with clothing, or obscure themselves by making shelter from trash bags and poly. Reporters interview livestock producers and report the deaths of livestock ranchers attribute to migrants but don’t put a microphone in front of veterinarians as expert witnesses who would say that these stories are almost always fabricated. They report this or that part of the story, but they don’t analyze the whole. Until media try to take a very different tack on reporting, media won’t have a substantive impact on the story of migration. The RANPO spokespersons need to help the media. Sometimes they get caught in the same trap.

One of my graduate school professors was a social activist while he was a graduate student at the University of Chicago during the 60s. He was into everything: opposing the Vietnam War, supporting the women’s movement, actively promoting civil and human rights. He was and remains an ordained member of Lutheran clergy, with a highly developed social conscience. He was working on his Ph.D. at the time. One day he and his friends arrived at the park for a demonstration the same time as the reporters did. One of his doctoral classmate/activist friends said to the reporters, “We’re tired. We’re out of ideas. What would you like for us to do today for the cameras?” There is a certain sense in which media and RANPO spokespersons co-produce the news.

Armed with this kind of knowledge and some experience, Humane Borders became an unofficial news bureau. Reporters covering the border usually do some homework, explore a few ideas, check with editors, get their approval to travel and very often, the first stop they would make was to our offices. Part of my job was to keep up as much as possible with border news coverage. A few Google searches now and then, plus a few well-chosen Google Alerts, in addition to reading several list serves have been sufficient to supplement routine check-ins with consuls, elected officials, public administrators and colleagues. Print articles and links to videos were forwarded to the office from all over the U.S. Some were sent by reporter friends, others by volunteers or colleagues in the ministry. Consuls weren’t supposed to be too involved in local

politics, but consuls from four different nations often shared things with me. The Humane Borders archives – catalogued and housed now at the University of Arizona's Special Collections Library – contain more than 3,500 print articles and many hours of short news clips from U.S., Chile, Italy, Sweden, Japan, and many other countries. Sue Goodman collected more than 475 video news clips and documentaries also now digitized and archived at UA. Humane Borders was covered in just about every media market of any size in the world, including the front page of Pravda in Moscow, Mandarin Chinese News Agency, Pakistani Military News, around the Pacific Rim and on and on. This working library gave us a basis for expanding the field of vision for visiting journalists. They would come to the office and start to explore one story line. We would direct them to the archives, where they could see what had already been done on it that agreed with their vision or opposed it. The U.S. border is close to 2000 miles long. From Tucson, the closest part of the border is the Nogales Port of Entry some 63 miles south of Tucson. In most places, the actual border is very difficult to access. These archives helped journalists figure out how to approach the border and its wealth of stories.

Once arriving in our offices, journalists would fish for stories or immediately begin asking what I could add to a story that was already emerging. In any case, they knew or soon learned that they needed local help. The border is a lot of geography, a huge complex subject and articulated well only with a significant awareness of the diverse interests, organizations, and leaders. I frequently slowed the journalists down and asked them to lay out their story ideas so I could try to make a contribution. That was a challenge because journalists do not want to replicate the work of the journalist who was in the office several days or just a few hours earlier. There were times when journalists were waiting in line in the outer office of the church to see me. The journalist in front of me would turn toward the door and ask me, "What are you going to tell them?"

At about 11 a.m., I was preparing for a memorial service in my congregation. The service was to be at 2 p.m. A FOX News reporter called and wanted me "in studio". I laughed knowing the availability of satellite tv facilities in Tucson. I said, "Sure, if you can get a studio." I thought that was the end of that. He called repeatedly, asking me to postpone the funeral service or to get someone to substitute for me. He did figure out that he would have to drive me to Phoenix to find an available studio. Of course, I didn't

drop what I was doing. Ministry comes before the production of news. I was grateful to have a church that thought news production was also ministry. In ministry, there are priorities just as there are in all professions. The needs of a few in that sanctuary for an hour far outweighed the needs of a million viewers for a five-minute tv package.

Though each story has an element of novelty, the journalists generally end up with stories about crossings, migrant health, degree of difficulty, smugglers, about infrastructure and banditry and the percentage of women involved in the migration. The migrant kids merit headlines.

Stories emerge of law enforcement efforts to maintain national security, about the sustained desire in the U.S. for cheap labor, about the usual complaints that come with expenditures for public schools, hospitals, emergency services for migrants. Stories emerge about human rights, civil rights, Constitutional rights, searches, profiling, unequal treatment. Survey stories are done to identify the list of players: Border Patrol, National Guard, local law enforcement, humanitarians, congregations, environmentalists and others.

Once in a while, journalists try to get at the sense of what is driving the migration: kids escaping violence in Central America, police trying to escape the mafia in northern Sonora, U.S. influence on repressive military regimes, trade policies, climate. Rarely do they get into the U.S.-engendered repression of migrants in Mexico and Central America. The human rights violations purchased with U.S. money is almost never reported except at human rights conferences.

Stories with lots of raw emotion always play well. Weeping, sorrowful, hurting, marginalized people always make for good media presentations. When you can add forensic science, dead bodies, skulls and bones and t-shirts, well, you have an even better story. On the one hand, a reporter can come to the border and tell the story of the human tragedy: The migrant crossed the desert in desperation. He died. Here's his body and what we know of his story. And, now, here is how compassionate people on this side of the border respond and here's his family, to give the story some color.

Economic stories play well, too. The reporter can come to town, interview city and county representatives, the medical examiner and the hospital administrators and tell the story of the costs for health care associated with the migration. It is true that border counties suffer inordinate costs associated with the federal policies on migration. The reporter tells the story that there are so many of

these deaths that the county had to rent a refrigerator truck, just to keep the bodies cold. Scarce public resources are being used.

When Lucky Severson of PBS's Religion and Ethics Newsweekly came to Tucson, he was set on his story line: Hi folks, here's the poor little Border Patrol with the Minutemen on one side and Humane Borders on the other. Poor Border Patrol. What's a citizen to think? Do? Before it was over though, I got under Severson's skin, not just a little, actually a lot.

We were soon standing in Sasabe, Sonora, Mexico surrounded by migrants and locals, accompanied by the videographer and couple of Humane Borders volunteers. On camera and off, Severson kept using the word "illegals". Illegals this. Illegals that. I told him, we don't use language like that. Yeah, but well, what about the illegals this and the illegals that? I told him the word is offensive and legally nonsensical. As a point of law, a human being cannot be illegal. A person can commit an illegal act, I explained, but she cannot be illegal. Are those children over there illegal? He didn't get it and he wasn't going to. I told him, "You don't understand. This interview is not going to continue unless you quit using that word in a conversation with me. I'll leave you here in Mexico and your car happens to be 45 miles north of here on the other side of the international boundary." I finally got his attention. His camera man cooled him off and we proceeded using different language.

We've seen the rise of journalism in recent years that truly is partisan and given the markets that support that kind of work, some of it is understandable. Not just from this experience which is only illustrative, journalists need to be reminded that political correctness began as an attempt to speak clearly, precisely and with agreed-upon meaning. Journalists should actually respect that. Political correctness was never meant to become a form of political speak that leads to division in the country or to be used to speak wrongfully of the legal-political machinery of state. It was an effort to teach us how to remain a nation-state. Certainly PBS should uphold these ideals. He ended up staying an extra day and did some editing. He came to my office the next morning and said, "I've got you figured out. I can see that you have a reason to get up every morning." The final broadcast piece was excellent.

Rescue stories are often dramatic. They usually involve lots of people, equipment and communication. Babies were born on CBP helicopters. There is no question that the U.S. States Border Patrol rescues many migrants in distress. Without the regular agents

and the specially trained BORSTAR agents, many more migrants would die. But even this need not be overplayed or underanalyzed. In recent years, half of all BORSTAR rescues were initiated by migrants using cell phones who began calling for assistance. But, the many, many migrants who die in the deserts of Arizona and California never would have died without the increase in Border Patrol agents, technology and strategies to reduce the number of border crossers. They died in the desert because they were pushed there.

Journalists ride with BORSTAR agents, many of whom are angels. Let me say that again: Many of these guys give an absolutely inordinate amount of their life to the task of rescuing men, women and children from the desert. Using specialized training, incredible physical conditioning, amazing determination and lots of luck, many lives are saved. Journalists who have a bit of time and who are here in the summer months get the story they want: a real live hero, and a real live rescued person. God bless the agents who volunteer for this duty but everyone back home and everyone in front of the television deserves to see the rescues in light of a completely failed border policy. The U.S. created the disaster in the desert incrementally with one vote in Congress after another. Now, those who “clean up” the desert by finding the migrants before they die have to be celebrated, whether they wear uniforms or not. This certainly applies to all of the humanitarians.

On the one hand, some of the migrant story is media driven, and the market has little incentive to get this story right. And, the so-called independent journalists like NPR and PBS are all usually market trained, too. The “best” reports have been produced by a collaboration between editors and reporters looking from a distance and saying something like, “This just shouldn’t happen in the U.S.” Reporting that begins with assumptions that the US public shares values is a better kind of reporting. The reporter lays out the facts that lead to the desired conclusion. This is not to advocate for advocacy journalism, much of which is no longer credible or accountable, but it is to argue for an openness on the part of the reporter that allows the story to make a claim on his or her life.

Successful social activists have strong professional relationships with media. They also must keep a respectful, critical distance. Many are aware they live in a world of dramatic liturgy, or dramaturgy, in which social activism, religion and protest are combined. In order for these things to be presented to the public, media must be involved. There is a strong motivation for a social activist to nur-

ture relationships with members of the media. There's a sociology that goes along with all of that. Editors need stories. Reporters want something fresh. They go to their sources.

Some reporters transcend many mundane things that go with reporting. A photographer contacted me. He saw the post 9-11 border as a case study in "alterity", the French philosophical term for "otherness". His visit was a most unusual and fun encounter. George Kimmerling, an artistic photographer from New York City, brought a lot to the moment. He is now an editor at *Time*. He saw the twin towers go down. He saw the hate of others that the U.S. was starting to exhibit. He learned about Humane Borders. He came to Arizona to do a photo essay. Migrant trash in the desert was for him proof that our border is systematically penetrated. He meant that literally, figuratively, metaphorically, literarily, photographically and in every other way. I drove him to most all of our water stations operating at that time. At each one, he used an old-fashioned 6 by 9 format camera on a heavy wooden tripod photograph each flag, each pile of migrant debris and each direction of the compass: north, south, east and west. He also took a photograph of a GPS device giving the exact location, elevation and other data. There is your metaphor. Boundaries built by humans can be penetrated and they are, routinely, as easily as just walking past those who would enforce these human artifacts. I unfortunately lacked the funds to travel to Manhattan to see his installation.

The big story remains that the border is broken and that only changes in Washington, D.C. will make the big difference. The border is not Mexico's problem to fix, though it can help. Folks who live away from the border must understand more if they are to help fashion effective and human policy choices. Tucson was, at least for a while, the world's news bureau on the Mexican migration. Now, it's about 50 percent Mexican and 50 percent Central American.

We have found that the documentaries made on this issue probably go a long way to create a more profound understanding of the dynamics of the border. The work of John Carlos Frey, Rory Kennedy, Pedro Ultras, Daniel Sawka, Joseph Matthew and Dan Devivo as a team, and Fr. Daniel Groody are just a few of the filmmakers who have done exceptional work.

When we're telling the migration story, it helps to have allies in other locations. Following our infamous press conference in Mexico City in January 2006, media were swarming to contact us and put us on air or in print. Fortunately, people who had visited Humane

Borders and accompanied us on trips could become spokespersons for the issue far away from the border. I profoundly regret that more denominational executives were not counted among them during the years when so many people were crossing. We were flying back from Mexico City the following day and unavailable for tv. In New York, Dobbs reached the Rev. Bob Edgar instead to be an in-studio guest. Edgar is an ordained United Methodist pastor, former member of Congress, and at that time was serving as the General Secretary of the National Council of Churches. Fortunately for us, Bob had visited our water stations on a border trip a number of months prior to this occasion. Armed with personal experience, knowledge of the locations of the stations, the calamities that were unfolding along the border, he made a wonderful spokesman for the utility of the stations and the humanitarian work that was taking place in southern Arizona. Nothing is quite as good as experience in these matters. No other denominational executive, even those who should have been very close to our work, shared any comments.

Whether it is moral tone, moral authority, righteousness, ethics, respect, decency – whatever it is – the voice of an organization must wear it, wear it well, and insist upon it as a resource for the public discussion of the issues for which its members are actively working. History is clear. The articulation of social movements moves faster and farther when embraced by faith communities than when not. A young television reporter accompanied me to the desert for her very first professional television story back in 2001. She moved on to another media market in Montana before coming back to Tucson. She caught up with me in my church late one evening eight years later, trying to get comments on a story having to do with same-sex marriage. I have no idea what her first question actually was. I just looked at her and said you're reporting the same story again. As a matter of social justice, we're just trying to get people their papers so they can get along in life.

Sue Goodman helped our organization a lot and learned a great deal about the media. She once had a New York Times reporter walk into the church office saying, "I have a 5 p.m. deadline. I'm here to get the story of the migrants crossing the desert, the water stations, and all of that." The only way she could reach me was on a satellite phone, as I was at a church camp in the mountains of California some 100 miles inland from Los Angeles. She picked a water truck out of the line, took the reporter to a water station, showed him how to service it, told him why we're doing the work

we're doing and so on. He took photos. Then he wanted to speak to a migrant. On a hunch, she took him to Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, where there were several. Interviews and photos there. Back to the church. She let him use the church office computer. The story was filed by five o'clock. If someone calls many of the humanitarian groups for a story, one gets an answer like "Someone will call you back, or someone will be here next Tuesday at 2 p.m." That simply doesn't work to advance the cause. In this era of social media and smart phones, an organization that is not connected doesn't really exist as far as the media is concerned.

Thanks to electronic media, network television folks know the newspaper headlines before they hit the streets and driveways across the U.S. During the night before the front page story filed by the New York Times reporter came out, Broadcaster John Kasich's team was preparing for him to fill in for Bill O'Reilly. Kasich's team wanted me in studio in Los Angeles. After several phone calls, I got my breakfast and waited for my car. FOX News sent a stretch limousine to fetch me at the camp and drive to downtown L.A. That's a long trip. There, in the green room, was then Phoenix-based cultural warrior and Liberal-basher David Horowitz, who himself was a former left-winger. He made a flip in ideology similar to former the former president Ronald Reagan. I was ready to get my pound of flesh out of him and I did. Horowitz had been on the old Bill Maher show *Politically Incorrect* with other guests, including comedian Paul Rodriguez. The discussion was whether or not there should be water stations in the deserts to keep people from evaporating. Rodriguez launched on this one: "God Damn It! The Department of Interior takes care of hundreds of thousands of burros in the western prairies and mountains. They have to have water, food, shelter, veterinarians. They're not even native to this country. And we can't give a little water to some brown people to save their lives?" He went on for several minutes. Horowitz just kept shaking his head no, no, showing he can't make moral decisions when the issues are framed as simply as that.

So I lit into him: "You're the guy who belittled me and my water stations in the desert set out to save lives of migrants crossing our deserts on Bill Maher's show *Politically Incorrect*. You were wrong and I want you to know you were wrong." "I did all that?" "Yes, you did. I have the tape. And, you said that we were misguided."

Next thing I knew, the studio was ready for my few minutes of air time with John Kasich. My pulse was up. Kasich enjoyed having me on the segment and I was then whisked back to the stretch

limo. I felt good that I had a piece of Horowitz's flesh in my hands. Media take concepts, ideas, abstractions and "reify" them, that is, they treat them as if they were real. Because water stations didn't fit Horowitz's current ideology, he had no room for them.

All this made me hungry. 75 more miles down the road, we drove the stretch limo into an "In and Out Burger" joint. It was too long to go through the drive-through, so the 260-pound tuxedoed Lebanese chauffeur and I went inside. I was wearing jeans and a blue Ex-Officio shirt. People looked trying to figure out who was who. We were a long way from Hollywood. All the way over we talked politics. All the way back I was doing pastoral counseling. On the way over he was mad at Reagan for pulling out of Lebanon in '82. On the way back he was talking about Clinton and was wondering if I thought that oral sex was the same as adultery. Sometimes, it is uncomfortable to tell the big guys that they are wrong. One simply cannot make these stories up.

Because my chauffeur couldn't accept the fact that all of those rules, mores, religious, and ethical decisions meant him and not some tally sheet in the sky that was somehow not tied to him, he had a hard time accepting my words. When he dropped me off back at the church camp grounds where I had been spending four days talking theology with professional theologians, he looked at me as clearly as Dan Abrams and said, "Oh, this really is about me, isn't it?" I said, "Yes, that's right."

One of the serious problems we have is that the U.S. Border Patrol tries to control all communications, photos, and opinions about them. They have very high-ranking persons controlling communications in their sectors, backed by many public information officers. The PIOs were once really open and free with information, and they would participate in local radio and tv programs. Now, they issue media advisories and refuse to answer questions from the most veteran reporters in the Tucson media market. This is deeply troubling.

It is also troubling to see agents in the field trying to control citizens exercising their First Amendment rights. Here is but one of many, many examples I could share. Late one afternoon, I was returning from a trip to Altar, Sonora. There were six people in my ¾ ton crew cab truck. We were driving north along the road from Sasabe to Robles Junction. I spotted a group of six migrants walking toward the fence line. They were trying to flag me down. I stopped. I asked what they needed. They wanted out of the desert. I called the Border Patrol on a satellite phone. We shared some

water, some conversation and took some photos with their permission. Half of my group was outside the truck when the Border Patrol arrived. I informed an extremely anxious agent that we had found some walkers who wanted to go home. He started shouting orders for us to turn off our cameras. I informed him we would be taking as many pictures as we wanted. We were on public land and he had no authority or jurisdiction to order us to stop taking pictures. A second agent appeared. The first agent was trying to tell the second agent everything was under control, that he was taking these people into custody and that he had given us permission to take pictures. I hollered back, "No, you didn't. You told us to stop taking pictures." He yelled, "THAT'S RIGHT! I want your names and addresses. Let me see some identification." I countered, "We'll take all the pictures we want. I'm the one who called you, and I gave my name to the dispatcher. If you want, I'll call the sheriff out here to see if agrees with you or me." The other agent looked at me and said, "Everything's fine."

We've had agents tell us many times to stop filming them. They refuse to wear body cameras. We should wear them all the time, especially those that automatically send the images to the cloud. Unless individuals on the border assert their rights, there will be no civil rights in the borderlands. Agents who served in the military who tell me they were "over there" fighting for me, to protect my ability to protest, simply have no credibility. I have yet to see a recruiting poster calling for volunteers to protect the Bill of Rights. Except as an insult, I've never heard any service member speak cogently about how U.S. military excursions, from Vietnam forward, have expanded civil rights or protected democracy.

On another occasion, I had an agent threaten to arrest me for having a person in the back seat filming the exchange between me and the agent at one of the mobile Border Patrol checkpoints. I suggested that it would be the highest-profile arrest of his career and that he might want to call his boss' boss before he did that. Another agent stepped up and said, "Have a nice day, Dr. Hoover."

CHAPTER EIGHT THE HOOVER PLAN

“Tenemos que aprender como compartir recursos y oportunidades en nuestro hemisferico.”

(We have to learn how to share resources and opportunities in our hemisphere).

–Robin Hoover, speaking to Mexico's President Felipe Calderón Hinojosa at the president's residence in Los Piños, Mexico City, Mexico

Mark Townley, who was then serving as president of Humane Borders, and I observed a young girl, maybe 14, short, clothed in layers, a soft cloth bag filled with essentials and two gallons of water. She had stopped in front of the small shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe in El Sasabe, Sonora, Mexico. Getting to the border from there was involved a diagonal, uphill walk of about 20 minutes. She knelt before the shrine with the ease of comfort that comes from a lifetime of devotion and the physical strength of youth. She had knelt very closely to the shrine and her supple body arched easily to take in a fish-eye lens drink of this simple shrine. Then she bowed. I know she prayed. I could feel the energy. She took her things and boldly walked alone toward the border. My eyes followed her as long as the light would let me. How can one capture those moments or to what can they be compared on our side of the border? Religion is a major source of personal support for many migrants.

In my ministry, I rarely observe children her age taking such leaps. Perhaps the young, unwed mother, but she has had time to adapt to the experience of child bearing welling up inside. Some children such as those living in Tapachula, Chiapas, Mexico I have seen who have lived on the streets for years might compare. No, not in my ministry have I observed such confidence, conviction and certainty that there is a mediated God going before our young people. No wonder her parents, her family, her church, and her pastor can let her go. These sterling moments of insight keep me from being totally cynical. My analysis is sometimes sterile or

easily dismissive, yet the truth is that one is fed by these moments in order to endure the others.

The Pascua Yaqui named themselves the Easter People after learning about Christianity. They dance the deer dance at different times of the year. It comes from the story in the Psalms where we read of the deer that yearns for God like the deer yearn for the water from the stream. Three times, deer antlers have been laid upon our water station. This signifies a thank-you but also a God bless you. It is even stronger. It is a God bless you and your whole bloodline through eternity. Finding antlers on a station I was servicing, I have received my blessing. I hope and pray that the young girl found a blessing in the desert that was equivalent.

We need a migrant-driven reform, reform that considers young girls about to journey into the unknown. But the needs of all cannot be met. I really don't want to see 14-year-old girls crossing the desert. She is not a threat to national security but paternalistically, I don't want to see her there. It's dangerous. I don't want to see a nation that would ignore her or refuse to acknowledge her needs. By our rules, she is far too young to work. In her culture and on her side of the border, that is not the case. This young girl is a challenge to our perception of human rights and requires consideration of other cultures as we construct social ethics. It's controversial to give her a desk in a U.S. classroom. She could be the victim of violence in Mexico. Perhaps she was fleeing terror in Central America. Her presence challenges our hearts and our minds. I don't want to see deaths of good people because of the horrific policies we have chosen to pursue economically, militarily, as an unchecked sovereign desirous of having its way in the world. As difficult as all of this is, we need migrant-driven reform that will meet the needs of real people in real situations which will not change until we give them attention.

Citizens say they want to achieve national security and have stable labor. They say they want expanded human rights, less political noise on the border and less violence associated it. Centuries of preaching, the writings of many denominations, the creation of specialized ministry institutions and more show that religious concern about these matters is shared across millennia. The claim offered here is that these cannot be achieved unless the concrete human needs of the migrants in the southwest desert are met creatively and with compassion. If there is no border reform, there will be no peace, only more death and expense.

Current policies are self-defeating. Making it difficult to come to the U.S. from Mexico destroys the environment and kills migrants. Making it expensive to come to the U.S. transfers wealth to the Mexican cartels and kills migrants. Not granting asylum doesn't recognize the hurting in our midst. Not granting refugee status ignores global responsibilities. Not recognizing the U.S. war on international migrants is a form of blind arrogance. Pushing migrants to the edges of the desert is inhumane and kills migrants. There's nothing to like about current U.S. strategies for the conscientious person. Yet, these are the current U.S. strategies.

Rational plans must be developed that address the many competing realities along the border. Something must be done about the large undocumented population of migrants living in the U.S. without an approved legal status. Almost half of them came to the U.S. legally and overstayed their visas. Something must be done about the large, undocumented population of migrants crossing our border in order to work in the U.S. and/or to reunite with members of their families. The search for work and family makes a moral claim that ultimately must be accommodated. In the bigger picture, something must be done to integrate economies and to reduce disparities in wealth that contribute to migration. From a theological perspective, much must be done in order to teach the western hemisphere how to share resources and opportunities.

In 2014 and late in 2015, many Central Americans were leaving state-sponsored and some U.S.-sponsored terror that comes from the military presence in Central America. Women with kids and, increasingly, men with kids, were making their way north on trains across Mexico to the northern border. Though all elements must be addressed together in a systematic way, as a matter of justice those living in the US without legal status are the number-one priority for reform. Having a large undocumented population in the US is very un-American.

To begin addressing the needs of this group and the needs of the larger U.S. population, it is best to begin with some good social scientific observations that have been fairly stable over time. First, decades of observation reveals that most of the people who cross our border with Mexico – including South Americans and Central Americans – do not want to become U.S. citizens. My friends and I have interviewed and polled thousands of migrants just before they have crossed into the U.S. Most migrants will tell you that they just want to be in the U.S. 24 to 36 months to make money for their families. This time span has grown somewhat over the years, as it

takes longer to recoup the costs of the migration today than it did one or two decades before. Instead of becoming citizens, most want to participate in the U.S. economy and eventually return home. Second, and consistent with that first observation is the reality that on average, some 35 percent of the persons living in the U.S. undocumented self-deport every 10 years or so. These are not static populations. Frequent comparisons to major migrations from Europe and Asia are unwarranted because there was an ocean keeping many early migrating families from returning home. That said, there have always been people who came to the U.S. to work and eventually go home. Most of the keels and ribs laid in New York and Boston for clipper ships were laid by Swedish boatwrights who went home when a job was finished.

Migrants leave their countries for many reasons. They may leave in order to be with family, to retire, to help family members who have special needs, to build mother a house. Many actually do participate in the U.S. Social Security system; some go home and then draw Social Security payments from the U.S. One does not have to be a U.S. citizen to participate in the employment insurance system of the U.S. Many pay into the system but never collect. Many die before they are eligible. The creation of a version of Social Security, with contributions and beneficiaries from Mexico, Canada, and the U.S. has been studied and may one day become a reality.

Any analysis of the undocumented population living in the U.S. must lead one to acknowledge that the percentage of undocumented persons living in the U.S. did not grow as high as it did overnight. Also, no remedy or proposed immigration reform solution will change the percentage of undocumented living in the US overnight. Politicians and presidents flick pens to sign bills, but the pens are not magic wands. These issues have to be sorted out in the field. The U.S. deported huge numbers of Mexicans in the '30s only to bring them back in the '40s and deport them again in the '50s. A lot of the cross-border traffic was relatively organized through the Bracero program that began in 1942 and formally ended in 1964. It was undertaken so that the US could prosecute WWII. If the will of some current politicians were followed and millions of migrants were deported, the impact on the economy would be disastrous and huge numbers of Christians who support migration policy reform would be in jail, adding to the drain on the economy.

If people are willing to pay attention to values and model policies accordingly, the first step would be to provide migrants with

a legal status to remain in the U.S. at least some period of time. Rational people can disagree about how long that might be, but it stands to reason that it should be at least as long as it takes to become a naturalized citizen, so those who do want to become citizens will not have to radically disrupt their lives with a return to their country of origin.

Just as in the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, the process I propose would begin with an interview. There is much to learn from the past. During the IRCA86 legalization period, the interviews averaged some 30 minutes. The migrants came in, established identity and length of stay in the U.S. Criminal background checks and health status were determined. The new program would be the same. But, with this interview, the U.S. gains significant information in regard to national security issues. So-called sending countries would be required to provide thorough background checks.

A visa would be issued that roughly leads to a path to citizenship but is not tied to it. The legal status line and the citizenship lines should be very separate. Interviewers should be allowed to exercise a range of discretion to issue visas that reflect the migrant's employment, intention to stay in the U.S., ages and stages in life, desire to become a citizen, and the needs of the migrant's family such as children enrolled in schools. The U.S. should be proud of educating our neighbor kids. They will be spending money here and probably back at home. Spending money in Mexico is OK and not deleterious to the U.S. economy. The largest corporation in Mexico is Walmart. A trip down any boulevard in Mexico City is a trip down U.S. Franchise Lane. What is spent there goes directly into retirement investments and so on. The dollars still circulate, potentially faster. Poor people spend less. Given that the increased demand on the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services would be significant over the next decade, these visas should be offered for perhaps seven to twelve years.

Previous reform plans have raised one hurdle after another in the way of the migrant on his or her way to become a citizen. Rather than creating a gauntlet that ensures bureaucratic nightmares, human rights violations and more, the new system should be mindful of family and based upon achievement. It should be consistent with the general U.S. system of meritocracy. Continued legal status is maintained by demonstrating and maintaining responsibility by securing a driver's license, maintaining automobile

and health insurance, required vaccinations, and language classes as appropriate.

The migrant has a new incentive to comply with this kind of system. With a new visa, migrants could leave the U.S., travel to visit family and to maintain family ties, rather than starting another family in the U.S., participate in the U.S. economy, take out installment loans, and stimulate the U.S. economy with billions of dollars in savings currently held in U.S. financial institutions. Dollars spent in housing markets would be far more useful to the U.S. economy than dollars merely on deposit. Undocumented people have huge sums of money on deposit in U.S. banks.

No one can argue that the current path to citizenship in the U.S. is particularly fair, that visas are fairly distributed, that waiting times are fair, that costs are appropriate. There's not much to like about the current U.S. immigration system. It is long overdue for a major overhaul. The disparity between the treatment of a Haitian and a Cuban defies analysis. The waiting time for a Swede versus someone from India is incomprehensible. The quota system is far from fair.

The term "comprehensive immigration reform" is ambiguous at best. It suggest a major overhaul of the immigration system as it currently exists. Many reform proposals could be adopted without overhauling the entire system. The proposals for reform addressed here are separate and specific. Both a major overhaul and the adoption of migrant-centered reforms could be done at the same time or separately. The argument here is that the current system is unfair and should be dramatically reformed as a matter of justice.

There are social costs associated with the migration. They must be recognized as part of the experience of the undocumented living in the U.S. The social costs must be considered when we discuss those who want to migrate on employment based visas to participate in the U.S. economy. In the '80s, the average stay of a migrant was less than two years. Now the average stay is longer than nine years. That is in response to border enforcement which has made it harder to cross the border, more expensive to cross the border and more deadly to cross the border. The migrant is aware of these developments and he or she chooses to simply remain in the U.S. instead of returning to be with family. This fact alone drives up many costs to the U.S. economy. It increases the likelihood that a migrant will make demands upon various social services. It is simply true that our fences do keep people in.

With a new type of visa, the migrant can restore circularity, that is, continue coming and going across the border, at least every six months. The integrity of families could be maintained. The economy would be stimulated. Migrants would be purchasing airline tickets. And migrants should be permitted to bring their families with them. More people create more demand and more demand means more job opportunities in the U.S. Former U.S. Secretary of Labor Robert Reich has repeatedly shown this works in his experience and in his writing.

With the new visas, the migrant population would be more likely to positively interact with law enforcement, report physical and sexual abuse, enjoy greater human rights status, and learn that interactions with officials need not be seen as draconian. With the new visas, families would not be separated, fathers from children, mothers from their kids, wives from husbands.

Instead ICE agents are deporting undocumented persons at record pace. In the last 10 or so years, the U.S. has deported U.S. citizen children with their parents who lack status to remain in the US. These deportations deprived U.S. citizen children the protections of healthcare, law, education, language, their extended families, culture, and so much more.

Also, the new visas would enable full participation in the U.S. economy and dramatically increase the likelihood that law enforcement officials would be able to locate suspects through a trail of credit and debit transactions, leases and other financial records.

Over a period of years, migrants would be well on their way to establishing a foothold in the U.S. until they choose to permanently return to their country of origin. They would be motivated to comply with the incentive structures that characterize a path to citizenship. The percentage of the people living in the United States who are foreign born would be reduced, along with much of the resentment that has been historically associated with that phenomenon.

The next group that would be considered is those who wish to come to the United States to work legally. Already, the U.S. has more than 90 types of visas that allow individuals to come to the U.S. to work, study, visit, pass through airports, receive medical treatment and so on. Several of these visas are employment-based, and there is much to be learned from them.

Of primary concern in these reform proposals is a new visa that would accommodate those persons coming to the U.S. from our neighbors to the south in order to work in areas like construction,

landscaping, hospitality, custodial care. These are the individuals who make up the population that is currently crossing the deserts in the southwest. These are not terrorists. They are healthier on average than U.S. citizens, and they commit fewer crimes on average than U.S. citizens. We need them. The economy wants them. They create demand in many sectors of the economy that creates far more jobs than do the tax credits given to the wealthy.

The reform proposals offered here are intended to be minimalist, to manipulate the fewest number of variables possible in order to achieve the biggest relative result. They are intended to be efficient, effective and equitable. Hopefully, they are just and reflective of the concerns of the faith communities that have honed them and held them up as principles that date back millennia.

I've developed my own shorthand version of these proposals that some of my friends and colleagues simply call "The Hoover Plan". I propose that, given the current situation on the southwest border, the United States extend to Mexico, Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador a quota of U.S. worker visas based on our needs and reflective of the realities in the desert southwest of the U.S.

At any moment there are more than 11 million undocumented living in the U.S. About 7.2 million are Mexican nationals. As noted, more than 40 percent of the undocumented present in the U.S. overstayed their visas. About one-third of them are not Latinos. A large number of them came legally and have been here for many years. They could be on a path to citizenship or otherwise accommodated in the visa provisions outlined above.

From the four countries mentioned, the best estimates are that during the 2000s the U.S. population grew by more than 300,000 new undocumented migrants each year. The numbers are far lower today. Much attention has been given to the near net-zero migration between the U.S. and Mexico but there are other net gains, especially from Chinese who overstay and other nationalities who do the same. Given that many come, many are arrested and many self-deport each year, the actual number of visas in circulation would have to be significant to keep a stable population of these workers in the U.S. The calculations are complicated, and they would have to be made yearly in order to make the number of these visas beneficial to the U.S. economy. As the population of those currently living in the U.S. without documentation diminishes under a new legalization program that enhances security, stabilizes labor, expands rights and reduces the political noise along the border, the numbers of new visas for workers wanting to come to

the U.S. would rise. The time to transition to a legal status for all would simply be the time it takes to complete the interviews and issue visas. The time to reduce the current undocumented population with the new visas would depend on the length of visas given to the first group.

The visas must be realistic in order to effect change. If the term of the visas is too short, there would be no incentive to comply. When President George W. Bush sent the National Guard to the border in May 2006, I was quoted on the front page of the New York Times saying that the U.S. has a stunning lack of imagination. Using the workforce hours of the National Guard, interviews could have been conducted, visas issued and most of the undocumented population of the U.S. could have become documented by Christmas of that year. This would have done more for national security than all of the border enforcement efforts for the whole year.

In my plan, the four countries would select and certify the workers who want to come to the U.S. They could be pre-screened for worker fitness, health status, criminal background, education, English proficiency, etc. Several high-ranking officials in Mexico have told me that Mexican officials would cooperate in criminal background checks with DHS if their citizens were allowed to more freely participate in the U.S. economy. This is fair. In my lifetime, the U.S. has spent billions to achieve certain levels of public health and to provide security and to facilitate financial transactions. It is OK to have a border that maintains these gains. Each of the countries would receive a quota and each country would benefit by selecting the persons who can represent it in this system.

Before the migrant received a visa, labor unions could cooperate across the border in job training programs, worker certifications and safety instruction. Employee benefit programs, including insurance and retirement, could be designed.

Once migrants were issued visas, they would be required to place some financial resources at risk. This could be done by using the existing accounting system of the U.S. Internal Revenue System. The IRS handles payroll withholding and could easily accommodate the new accounts. I suggest migrants make an initial deposit to open an account with the IRS that is at least as high as the average amount migrants spend to cross the U.S.-Mexico border, approximately \$4,000.00. This figure was about \$600 in the year 2000, so it would have to be reviewed in any legislative proposal and perhaps along with the annual labor certification that sets quotas for the new visas.

Once the migrant has been screened, worker groups are involved and the new account established with the IRS, the migrant receives his or her visa. Serious consideration of this new kind of visa by Congress should include evaluating the social costs of migration. Faith leaders have long known that migrants frequently leave families in the country of origin and begin new families in the U.S. This has costs for both countries. This practice is exacerbated by current enforcement practices that lengthen the average stay in the U.S. by migrants. In order to reestablish circularity, reduce social costs, and establish a new country-of-origin guest worker program in which the door revolves, these new visas should not be issued for more than 24 months to thirty-six months. If 36, then the migrant would be required to return home for up to a month during the visa period.

With the new visa in hand, the migrant can look for work or can work with contacts made within labor pools prior to crossing into the U.S. The worker has the visa in his or her hand, which avoids a great many of the abuses of the Bracero program that included incentives for employers to abuse employees. In the Bracero program, the employer held the visa and could coerce the migrants by threatening to turn them over to immigration authorities.

Once the migrant is employed, each employer transmits the 941 Payroll Withholding to the IRS at each payroll period. Ten percent of the new visa-holder's compensation is withheld as an additional withholding. This amount is added to the migrant's initial deposit of \$4,000 that was made prior to crossing the border. Thus, for the entire duration of employment under the legal terms of the short-term visa, the migrant is forced to save money. The saved money cannot be sent back home or be used by the migrant until the term of the visa expires.

At that time, one of two things can occur. Either the migrant collects the money and transfers it electronically to his or her place of residence, or – if the migrant fails to comply with the terms of the visa – the full amount of the account is forfeited to law enforcement and the migrant becomes a federal fugitive with no legal recourse. Paying for law enforcement with forfeited funds greatly reduces a significant drain on the federal coffers, as Department of Homeland Security operations are funded by the general fund. Citizenship and Immigration Services is funded by user fees. Under this plan, law enforcement costs are borne by the migrants who fail to comply and not by the U.S. taxpayer.

This is fair. For the first time in U.S. immigration policy history, there will exist an economic incentive for compliance with the terms of an employment-based visa. Similar concepts might be adopted for use in existing employment-based visas. A significant number of the undocumented include individuals who came here with legal work visas and never returned to their country of origin.

In addition to the economic incentive structure established by the new visa account with the IRS, failure to comply would result in other negative effects as well. The sending country that certified a worker would lose that slot in the quota system. The migrant who is now a fugitive is automatically adjudicated by the failure to comply with the terms of the visa. He or she receives an automatic five-year bar from re-entry to the U.S.

Some who have reviewed these proposals over the last decade think elements of them to be creative, others harsh. One local news reporter took the plan and shared it with a harsh conservative restrictionist running for Congress and also with a very liberal pro-immigrant attorney. Each said support should be given to the plan because it reaches across concerns of both the right and the left, Republicans and Democrats, the Liberals and Conservatives. Certainly any plan that incorporates some of the ideas and considerations offered here will require even more adaptations. This plan is not a panacea, but it is a hopeful place to start a new and fresh conversation for reform.

The alternatives have their own peculiar problems. Most of the current proposals, and arguably the current laws that remain in effect, select what some would consider the "best" and screen out the "worst" migrants. Some consideration of qualifications should be made as to who will receive visas but there are other considerations, some cultural, some religious.

The U.S. just recently observed the 50th anniversary of the signing of the 1965 Immigration and Nationalization Act. For fifty or more years, the US has seen to it that immigration attorneys were at near full employment. The law is so complicated, immigrants require representation. Many proposals such as the failed McCain-Kennedy bill would have required many immigration attorneys to represent migrants for more than a dozen years.

Proposals in recent years would have the migrants get their authorizations to work and put them on a path to citizenship. They would be forced into making choices over their families "there" and their livelihood "here". These are not fair choices. Present laws are designed to select the very "best" migrant and make them

over in our image. That is an act of cultural imperialism. It is to be avoided. A softer and still effective system that restores circularity and systematically transfers billions of dollars into poorer countries at the lowest levels of their economy through hard labor and exports the English language and technical job skills has an important long-term effect in the hemisphere. It would also keep the U.S. younger, vibrant, and attuned to the needs and realities of our neighbors.

Plans now allow for only relatively small, set numbers of people to participate systematically in our economy. The Hoover Plan would allow for many millions to participate over the decades. Such participation amounts to a Marshall Plan for the western hemisphere and also helps us achieve the goals of security, adequate labor and human rights and to share the joys and costs of our economy and social systems.

This plan would avoid many of the racist claims that have justifiably been leveled at U.S. immigration laws over the decades. Faith communities cannot accept as justifiable the practices that perpetuate racist trends in the U.S. populace. We have opportunities to continue and enrich the so-called American Experiment.

Every plan for reforming migration and immigration policies with which I am familiar calls for a far greater militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border. Every incremental move to militarize the border has resulted in more deaths. Every change along the border as far as enforcement is concerned has resulted in more migrant deaths, greater violence in Mexico, increased environmental degradation, more resentment toward the U.S., more human rights violations, and more resentment from civil libertarians in the U.S. Hopefully, "The Hoover Plan" will cut through some of those arguments and provide a basis for a new public discourse.

CHAPTER NINE

SOCIAL THEOLOGY

"I'll know my story well before I start singing."
—Bob Dylan

Roman Catholic Cardinal Roger Mahony in Los Angeles instructed his priests in 2007 not to ask about immigration status before providing goods and services, especially the Eucharist. Many of us hear echoes of an old, old story in his words. Of course, the media frequently botch the job of reporting on matters religious. Reporters were all over him in interviews, editorials and pundit commentary. Most people didn't understand that Mahoney's positions are protected by the U.S. Constitution, case law, tort law, and human rights. Freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of assembly are all involved. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is the exception to the general rules of this land. Faith communities don't have to act like other institutions.

I invoked that same protection on Sean Hannity's radio show one afternoon. I could feel him wince across the microphone in New York. Media personalities simply do not understand the First Amendment when it comes to the religion clauses. Some talking heads concluded Mahony was resisting or defying U.S. immigration law. Others of us thought he was being a good American churchman. Mahony was not just staking out a piece of turf that argues for a strict separation of church and state. He was, rather, telegraphing to the world that the church he serves has a vision of the world, the political world, a world in which any Christian believer who has any appreciation of historical Christianity understands Christ conquered the nations by dying on an Imperial cross. According to Christian tradition and the forecast of the end of times, that Christ has not only conquered the nations, there will one day be no nations, no churches, no other religious forms, just God and the people. We Christians are textually formed people, and according to our texts, we will all one day, everyone from every language, race and tongue, worship on the same hill in a city that will be at that time without any other religious objects. According to the vi-

sion, there will not even be any churches, just a humanity, perhaps even the kind John Lennon envisioned. I'm sure that we will all be surprised. That's a powerful theological position. The purpose of religion is not to separate but to unify. If it separates, it is wrong. A social ethic is always an interim ethic on the way to a new reality.

When a local church leader steps into the political world in meetings with elected officials and public administrators, he or she does so with a theology and a worldview formed over many centuries. The worldview is carried back and forth across borders and into national and international meetings in order that the vision carried by the church leader can be implemented and change the lives of real persons in real, desperate circumstances. Denominational judicatory officials' views have been influential on many levels. Some periodically testify before Congress. Their religious views and the views of many religious people are not just national, they are actually global. They cannot be silenced successfully with nationalist rhetoric. Countries sometimes try. When faith community voices are silenced, nations suffer. The voice of the church is sometimes reticent but it will never be silent.

Religious leaders see the world through a collection of filters that include scripture, reason, tradition, church wisdom and writings, nature, science, and many other strains of knowledge and insight. Theological worldviews require a rich epistemology to understand them. Stir them all together and you have what many scholars call a social theology. Most leaders would simply say they are following the social teachings of the church that gives them a vision of how and why they should be acting. My point is that what they project is not only a way of looking at the world, it is also a way of acting in the world. A few years ago, the head of the Salvation Army informed the President of the United States that if Congress criminalized compassion that is extended to the undocumented, he would march the members of his church/organization straight to prison.

I rarely agree with any religious leader whole cloth. Denominations exist for many reasons, in part because we don't agree on things. We are one, but we are still many. However unfortunate or creative, as the case may be, there are differences within the Body of Christ. Take the Roman Catholics and stir in some 16 other major religious denominations, including Buddhists and Jews, and you'll find a mix that cannot be silenced by political groups trying to pressure the Pope to issue a new decree to, for example,

renounce the church's teaching concerning the fundamental human right to migrate. That's not going to happen.

But the religious view is not only about defining laws. It's about living a life. Bishop Minerva Carcaño of the California-Pacific Conference United Methodist Church is the child of a Bracero farmworker. The Bracero Program officially brought hundreds of thousands (probably millions unofficially) of mostly farmworkers to the U.S. between 1942 and 1964. Many laid brick, worked in grocery stores and took numerous other jobs so U.S. soldiers could go off to war. When she was in the third grade, she taught her father to read. She stood in solidarity with an undocumented woman and her child in a United Methodist Church in Chicago as the woman sought asylum in the U.S. She has more moral authority in her little fingers than most pundits ever dream of. But most of the pundits don't get it.

Religious denominations differ in how they do things but most of the influential denominations have both a theology and a social theology that not only describe the world in which the believers live, but also compels them to engage and/or change the world around them in a way that comports with their worldview.

In this chapter, I lay out an analysis of the concept of social theology, informed by my doctoral research conducted in the 90s. When religious denominations combine theology and a worldview that embraces political preferences and certain public policy preferences. Together they comprise an engine of significant influence in the world.

Denominations that have a strong social theology frequently demonstrate overt, even explicit, political behaviors. One of those common behaviors is the founding and operation of religiously-affiliated nonprofit organizations (RANPOs) that implement the various visions.

Even though any two or 10 denominations might create organizations to work in a particular public policy area, they each do so in distinctive ways. Major differences are found in leadership. The executive directors of the nonprofits created by denominations differ in education and experience, whether they are ordained or members of the laity, whether they have significant preparation that comes from within the denomination, or whether leadership skills and administrative knowledge is adapted from the nonprofit or business world.

How a denomination is governed influences the denomination's organizations. As in any social form, flat hierarchies and tall hierar-

chiefs exist and they are not the same. Behaviors and outcomes in the various organizations are different. Some organizations are on the periphery of denominations and appear to receive little attention from their parent. Others build extensive consensus before moving forward. Still others build legitimacy like many skillful politicians by carefully and creatively shaping opinion and steering a group to at least a perceived consensual goal, even if significant differences exist.

Denominations have histories, theologies, and mission statements that often set forth principles or traditions that must be honored as the organization goes about its work. One denomination may practice “outrageous hospitality”. Another meets over time to discern the will of the Holy Spirit. Still another will spend significant time studying classic theories of politics, ethics, and justice out of the histories and governing documents that guide it. Each of these practices, or what I will call “steering currents” and some call “corporate culture”, tends to shape both the organization and function of the nonprofits that denominations create to operate in any particular policy area.

Money is always a major factor in any political analysis. If a denomination pours significant funding into a policy area such as education, health, or immigration, results will follow. If those dollars have tight strings on them, the results will be different from the denomination that has fully endowed judicatories that give away huge grants to semi-autonomous organizations with simple instructions to “do some good in this area.” By judicatories, I generally mean the next higher level of church polity above the local congregation. Most denominations of all kinds have several layers or levels of organization. If level one is the local congregation, level two would generally be a judicatory, a level that has a bishop or regional denominational executive. Level three would generally be a denomination-wide level of authority and jurisdiction. Some are more top-down than others. Some are truly very bottom-up.

Lutherans may pour money into a refugee resettlement program that has a long history, with well-developed guidelines, strong lines of accountability and overall tight controls. For example the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service has some internal flexibility in how it runs itself but it also has significant restraints from its association with the larger church body. An order of Catholic sisters, however, might undertake a generalized ministry to migrants and receive grants from all around the nation or even abroad to support their work. Friends and relatives of the sisters provide re-

sources for their ministries with few constraints, if any, on how the funds are to be used.

When I was working in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, I worked with two women religious in particular, the late Sr. Juliana Garcia and Sr. Ellen Lamberjack. There were many others working in the valley of course. When I led the group that incorporated Southwest Good Samaritan Ministries, I invited Sr. Ellen to serve on our board. She did. During my tenure at Humane Borders we were fortunate to have two more women religious: Srs. Elizabeth Ohmann and Audrey Loher, nuns with decades of experience were enabled to work with us because they received support as Franciscan Sisters of Little Falls, Minnesota. They received significant donations from individuals who have an interest in their migration ministry and who are kept informed by newsletters and frequent fundraising appeals. All of the various organizational forms of denominations can be effective, efficient, and equitable. Different does not mean deficient. Organizational form does not dictate outcomes. Nonetheless, the differences between organizational forms are often measurable and significant.

One denomination may send a priest, pastor, or layperson into a mission field such as migration and the only thing that person has to do is to stay within the local laws. Another denomination may be receiving grants and contracts, some with federal government financing, and be required to retain legal counsel and financial operating officers with each of them making regular reports to a hands-on, supervising and governing board. State and federal grants and contracts also involve contract compliance and accountability features.

When representatives of all of these organizations get together in a local community along the border to confer on what should be done about a new development in law enforcement, a new group of persons entering the country, or some new reaction in the community, they are not all going to see eye to eye. Sometimes the differences will be honored and respected, other times not.

Institutional infighting among denominations and agencies undertaking similar work is to be expected. I have been party to and a participant in infighting among faith-based actors representing different groups. Short of getting physical, some things are worth fighting for. Such behavior is just as common as the articulated differences between federal and state agencies and branches of government, not to mention the complexities of indigenous groups

that meld both the federal governmental systems that were imposed on them and their own traditional models.

All of this said, it is the social theology, the tying together of a denomination's theology and its desire or even compulsion to implement a vision of the world that wants to see theology implemented, embodied, or otherwise realized, that is the big motivating and even determinative factor. Without the social theological conviction, the denomination will not create the institutions, train leaders, fund them and otherwise push them and empower them to do the denomination's bidding. In religious groups social theology is far more important than theology when it comes to matters of public policy. And not all social theology is equal. Some groups may choose the way of resistance movements, others may choose the way of social transformation. There are many options. Denominations that have only one strategy often sit out engagements.

I have studied in some depth the ways in which denominations work in the world out of their social theological vision, particularly in the area of migration policy. What I have found is that social theology works like an electrical switch. In social science, it is called a dichotomous variable. If the switch is "on", that denomination will be there working to accomplish one set of goals or another. If it is "off", that denomination will not be creating and supporting organizations to work in a particular policy area. If the switch is turned off, and the denomination has significant numbers of members who want to be involved in institutional ways, there are frequently alternative ecumenical or interfaith avenues through which those interests can be pursued by individuals within the denomination.

Some scholars, perhaps most, incorrectly theorize that denominations are divided in the United States in ways that mirror the divisions of political parties. Certainly some evidence exists, but hopefully we will never be as divided in the ways that correspond to our highly polarized political parties today. Still, some scholars' arguments generally run along the lines of some sort of cognitive dissonance theory. The argument is simple: Political conservatives are probably theological conservatives. That way, they avoid cognitive dissonance. Theologically liberal people are probably going to organize their politics like political liberals. Certainly there are some reasons to support this perception. For instance, it's a fairly forgone conclusion that many of the Evangelical Christians in this nation are going to vote Republican, at least in most national elections.

But, what is true of the group is not always true of the individual. I once watched a by-definition theologically conservative Missouri Synod Lutheran woman stand in the face of the Immigration and Naturalization Service agent and say, "Of course, I'm taking this orphaned child of refugees back home where I live to give it a proper home. You're not going to deport this child to El Salvador!" (These words were spoken in my presence in 1986 when I was just getting my first taste of border life. She walked right out of the room with the child and no paperwork. The agent was stunned, but he was not about to argue with her. Moral authority is awesome some times. I learned years later that the child became a U.S. citizen and had children that were born in the U.S. Often legal status needs to be understood as merely a work in progress.)

All the main denominations in the U.S. can be classified according to a variety of schemas and reasonably expect to account for a lot of the differences between denominations that stem from their theologies, their histories and their polities. Several scholars have done this. Survey data are sometimes problematic but the theology, history, and polity variables still do not account for the fact that some denominations form strong connections between their theologies and their social theologies and others do not.

A social theology articulated by a denomination that encourages and compels its membership to engage in social and political transformation is for my purposes a "liberal" social theology. A social theology of a denomination that leaves politics to the earthly or political realm and focuses on other things is still a social theology, but it is one of disengagement at the institutional level. Individual members may participate, but as a denomination, the consistent answer is "no". The switch is "off".

I have found that social theology influences the ways that denominationally supported institutions and organizations distribute goods and services. The political behaviors of these organizations are shaped by social theology, too. Social theology is a major cleavage between denominations and it is not the same as the theological heritage or position of the denomination. Social theology is the variable of interest to measure because it determines whether or not a target population receives benefits. Ultimately, social theology is the most important variable in public policy analysis.

Social theology begins with a worldview and adapts to the context of the policy area. Social theology is both the context-considering and situation-sensitive element expressed by religious groups.

Social theology leads religious denominations to handily spend more than a billion dollars each year to support various populations. Some of those funds are passed through by the federal government, which does not provide refugee services directly. The various groups support political refugees and their resettlement, asylum seekers and their legal representation, plus the distribution of goods and services to the undocumented population in the United States. Most of the time, the work with refugees and asylees is often quite separate from the work with the undocumented to avoid unwanted accounting questions.

This billion is just the dollars spent directly on those entering this country as migrating people. Over all, institutionally, much more is spent on this population, as they are among the millions of other recipients of goods and services offered by faith-based institutions and organizations. For instance, an asylum seeker may get legal services at one stop, but also may receive other goods and services from denominational organizations that have no relationship to the provider of asylum legal services. She may get the attention of an attorney in one office of one agency in the denomination and also receive medical, dental, educational and job training services from another – from yet another agency in another denomination. And, in yet another example, a small religious organization may administer community and corporate grants that greatly expand the organization's reach and also the amount of money ultimately transferred to the migrating people or spent on their behalf. RANPOs are responsible for the transfer of large amounts of charitable funds to the poor. Measuring and dollar-denominating all in-kind services and benefits for migrating people would result in a very large dollar amount.

Scholars have known for a long time that religious denominations have several characteristics and behaviors that make them the political actors they are. Both are reflected in their theologies and their social theologies. I argue that it is the social theology that represents a deeper and more crucial cleavage in the body politic for the study of political behavior among denominations. This is because political actors can have widely and even wildly divergent motivations while exhibiting very similar behaviors.

I grew up in a world in which learned people were constantly saying that education leads to less religion. This theory seems to be prevalent in spite of evidence to the contrary. The more educated a person becomes – so goes the theory – the less likely a person will stay with or turn to religion as an important influence in his or her

life. The past century of modernity has certainly not supported this conclusion. The influence of religion in the U.S. has not significantly diminished. The groups warring around the world are frequently identified by their religious beliefs. This applies to the culture wars in the US. Religion is a powerful influence in politics and not just from the right.

As a teenager, I met an Iranian family of a pilot who flew F-15 fighter jets during the reign of the Shah just before Ayatollah Khomeini took power. Two generations before, his family and their economy were purely Bedouin in every aspect. When I met the pilot, he said his grandfather was still living in tents. Even within modernity and all of its trappings, he insisted that their religion perdured intact. In fact, modernism may actually lead to an increase in fundamentalism in particular and to increased religious fervor in general. It provides stability in changing times.

Religion has had a very strong influence in many U.S. administrations. Presidents regularly have scholars study and analyze their religious preferences and report their findings on cable networks. Pollsters, politicians, pundits, preachers, and prophets of our culture all warn against ignoring the influence of religion. For a host of reasons – not all of them desirable – they are right. That is not to say that religion cannot have strong, positive influences in public policy.

Denominations have always been political actors. Certainly at the time the famed French observer of the U.S. Alexis de Tocqueville was writing, it was clear that faith communities were some of the most exciting and generative of all social institutions and the busiest among the discursive and problem-solving organizations in the U.S. Additionally, in study after study, especially in the nonprofit literature, we see extensive cooperation between governments and institutional expressions of religion, particularly in the areas of social service delivery. It has often been the case that congregations, local governments and businesses have teamed up to provide goods and services. It took hundreds of years before a determination of whether Harvard University was a public or private institution was made. Denominations have helped distribute goods and services overseas as part of U.S. public policy. The history of the U.S. in Haiti is a notable example. At times when the U.S. found it difficult to network with the Haitian government or its people, the U.S. contracted with Catholic Charities to provide enormous quantities of goods and services.

Last century, thousands of nonprofit organizations were created by denominations to deliver goods and services to groups left out in their quest for full social participation. The IRS tax codes, the era of progressive politics and the increased needs created by rising industrialization all contributed. Of course, what we know as the nonprofit sector pre-dates the founding of the U.S. The last century, though, saw the enormous rise in the numbers of organizations. Churches, synagogues, indigenous communities and others built shelters, established schools, cared for widows and orphans, invented life insurance, built mental health facilities and welcomed strangers by creating all manner of social service institutions. Arguably, the need for such services today is expanding and not diminishing. Arguably, too, faith communities have much to contribute to the migration policy space.

During times of expanding social programming, the U.S. government has routinely contracted with faith-based groups to provide goods and services. Refugee resettlement, food distribution programs, information and referral services are just a few of the areas where this is common interest and need.

These institutions and organizations were the product of denominations that reflected theologically on the world as they saw it. Then the denominations and their institutions and organizations acted to implement their own social theological preferences. The argument has been successfully made and defended that every major social movement in the U.S. was first articulated in the nonprofit sector. There is no reason not to expect this trend to continue even as religion in the U.S. becomes more pluralistic. Even with formally decentralized Islam, many nonprofits in the U.S. attribute their mission, administration and finance to influential mosques.

All denominations change over time. None is monolithic. The argument has been made that there is as much difference between Roman Catholics, for instance, as between members of several other denominations. My own denomination counts Presidents Garfield, Lyndon Johnson and Reagan as at least once-upon-a-time members. The modern United Methodists count their associations with President George Bush and former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Both denominations obviously embrace or attract diversity. Each of the denominations adapts over time and serves a vital function as mediating structures and institutions; that is, they stand between the individual and the state, the market, and the other structures and practices of the so-called American people in

such a way as to serve to make the world more intelligible, accessible and less threatening.

Many of the mediating functions of denominations are performed by the nonprofits they establish. Faith-based nonprofits distribute many billions of dollars of goods and services every year in the U.S. and abroad. The net effect is that they systematically distribute wealth downward, from those with money to those who have less. Charles Clotfelter is a scholar of note on this point. These organizations are diverse in form and in purpose. Many of them exist primarily to influence public policies. Studies by Stephen Rathgeb Smith and Michael Lipsky are valuable to scholars here. Many of the dollars that are distributed by the federal government for one cause or another in one region of the world or another are directly attributable to the influence of religious lobbies.

These nonprofits organize their members and members of the larger communities in which they work. They mobilize people around certain issues and ideas. They attempt to increase the political participation of the people they serve. Sometimes they go to court and some of the cases they have won have changed U.S. laws and practices. Less often, some of the religious nonprofits engage in direct conflict or what some scholars call culture wars. Civil disobedience comes to mind, but so, too, does the assertiveness of well planned, well-disciplined marches in the streets, such as those observed in 2006 led largely by Chicano radio disc jockeys and news personalities, but also by traditional faith communities. These communities have for a long time practiced hospitality to migrants and advocated for changes in immigration law. Arguably they were in better touch with the undocumented and their communities collectively than were some of the Hispanic representatives of civil society and even some activist organizations.

All religions, denominations, congregations or other religious groupings can be classified by the kind of social theology they exhibit. Loosely, social theologies can be "left" or "right" and apply to denominations from the left or the right. These are broad, sweeping generalizations and sometimes, for the purposes of argument, one denomination or the other might be pushed into one box or another by scholars in order to make the point. The differences between denominations are many. Scholars have identified some 2,000 denominations in the US. Nonetheless, the following typology is useful and it even models language for those who want to understand religion in matters of public policy.

There are basically two large theological families, if you will, in the U.S. Among those on the left, we find the mainline denominations. On the right, we find more evangelical denominations. Some scholars attempt to include Muslims, Buddhists, Jews and others in their schema with varying degrees of success. Just to illustrate the point above, some denominations are so broadly diverse, they embrace both. Denominations on the left are typically more communitarian, more interested in the many than the few or the one. Denominations on the right are generally more individualistic. The left-leaning religious groups tend to exhibit more "horizontal" concerns: concerns of reaching out to communities, neighbors, the whole. The right-leaning groups tend to exhibit more vertical concerns: emphasizing the divine, praise of God, "getting right" with God. Again, though exceptions abound, these are generalizations with some social scientific merit.

When it comes to problem solving in the world, the left-leaning religious groups tend to be more focused on systems-theory kinds of approaches or structural analysis. Change the system, they say, and the system will influence individuals over time. The right-leaning groups are more apt to spend energy trying through persuasion to change the individual directly and usually one-on-one at that. The goals of those on the left tend to be focused on social transformation while the goals of those on the right tend to be clustered around otherworldly concerns. Some Evangelicals have ventured into the realm previously occupied by those on the left, and some on the left have withdrawn to some places previously occupied by those on the right. Not only is religion not monolithic, it is not static.

Place all the items associated with denominations on the left together, and a left-leaning social theology can be characterized. This left-leaning social theology can be associated with the messianic humanism of so-called liberation theologies. Similarly, the efforts of aggregating everything on the right leads to the documentation of a right-leaning civic gospel that is often characterized by the political quiescence of its general membership. That is, the left-leaning denominations are far more often characterized by intense social engagement driven by a goal of social transformation and the right-leaning ones are disengaged to the point that their social action remains unremarkable at best.

These denominational efforts are clearly seen and can be studied in the religiously affiliated nonprofit organizations they create. Organizations require people, resources, institutions, associations, endorsements and many other things in order to accomplish their

goals. Five priests stepped off of Christopher Columbus' boats when he landed in the Americas. Well before then and ever since, faith groups have been involved in the distribution of goods and services to others. To be fair, those not affiliated with denominations have observed these groups with suspicion. The priests were, over time, as culpable in the devastation of the indigenous peoples as the military. Faith communities have no corner on the virtue market.

Denominations created specialized organizations to accomplish social theological goals before the birth of this nation, and have continued since. These nonprofits are by definition and by design both non-market and non-governmental in nature. Typically, but not universally, these organizations are recognized by the IRS as being 501(c)(3) organizations. These "C3s" are nonprofits, and they are also Section 170 organizations which means that they can receive tax-deductible contributions. There are some 501(c)(4) organizations. These C4s do not receive tax-deductible contributions, but in exchange, they can spend significant amounts of contributions to lobby in favor of the public policy preferences of the denominational bodies they represent. In both cases, partisan politics is proscribed, that is, generally prohibited.

It should be noted that the religious groups were in what is now the U.S. centuries before the federal tax code and that they would be outraged political actors if the elements of the code were in any way altered to prohibit any particular religious behavior. The proscription against partisan behavior was a feature of the tax code added in 1954 under the leadership of then Texas Senator Lyndon Johnson, who later became U.S. President. He thought it would help him with his election campaign if he could restrain Catholic priests from talking about him from pulpits and in parish halls. Periodically it comes up again for reconsideration. Hopefully, it will one day be overturned.

Denominations should be enabled to take positions on public policies and politicians at will and they should pay the consequences from within the ranks of their own membership without having the IRS as some sort of surrogate parent. They should have rights at least equal to the Section 527 organizations that litter the political landscape today. The ultimate effect of the partisan behavior proscription has been to foster quiescence among religious people. As with denominations, these organizations themselves vary widely on how much direct involvement they have with formal political processes, especially in partisan electoral politics.

These organizations aren't denominations themselves, and for now, they must be non-partisan in what they do. Serious restrictions are in place. Individuals in these organizations are prohibited from reaping inordinate salaries or "profits" from these nonprofit activities. Federal and state accounting and reporting standards must be met. Even the U.S. Postal Service gets in on the act. Strict guidelines govern nonprofit bulk mailing, for instance. It is the good will of donors that keeps these nonprofits afloat, and usually, a board of directors or other cooperative decision-making body keeps them accountable to their mission statements, the publics they serve, and a host of applicable laws, both state and federal.

Sometimes religious nonprofits working in a particular public policy area have a large enough staff, enough volunteers, enough clients, and enough community support that they become small communities themselves. Large nonprofit retirement communities with medical, food, recreation and education programs, in addition to housing, become communities of influence within the urban areas where they are located. The communities frequently organize like neighborhood organizations in urban areas. In turn, they bring in AARP and other groups for forums. Political candidates make their rounds and often speak from pulpits and podiums. Groups organize within the communities to work on particular policy changes they want enacted into law. The organizational form does not immediately indicate the size of the organization. The Chicago Board of Trade, the National Football League, border groups that are corporations and local congregations and their parents are all nonprofits.

One clear way to see if a denomination has a strong social theology is if it practices contracting with governmental and market entities. For instance, the federal government frequently contracts with Catholic Relief Services, Catholic Charities, the Lutheran Social Mission, Church World Service or Jewish Family Services to provide goods and services to target populations. Again, the nonprofits are not denominations themselves. That is, approaching the governing body of the organization is not the same as approaching the leadership of the denomination. Whether legally, intentionally, structurally, or functionally, these organizations may pass the denominational scratch and sniff test, but they each exercise differing amounts of autonomy and/or discretion. Each has the infrastructure, the volunteers, the expertise, credibility and access into target populations that neither market nor governmental organi-

zations would ever seek to develop, especially if the goods and services have to be delivered in a timely manner.

Following natural disasters, it is commonplace for the federal government to reimburse faith-based organizations that provide food, clothing, shelter, counseling and other services. The groups may do the cooking, grant use of buildings and provide necessary transportation and a whole lot more for free. The combination of public and private resources accomplishes more than either could do alone. The presence of these groups working in a policy area can significantly contribute to the total value of the tax dollar that is used to provide relief. This is routinely observed following natural disasters. Congregations with kitchens, meeting rooms and dining halls became the logical places to spend some FEMA dollars to feed citizens who had nowhere else to go. This was the case following Hurricane Katrina. Haitian earthquake relief and recovery efforts showed that faith-based groups have immense capacities to help but insufficient resources to be the primary providers of goods and services.

Leadership is a major component of nonprofits and their abilities to provide goods and services. Executive Directors (EDs), often known by other names like president, moderator, chairperson, – generally bring specialized knowledge, professional training and long-term associations with organizations that work in their respective areas. Their theological orientations usually reflect and refract the denominations with which they are associated, unless they have been brought in purely as professionals from the market or the academic world, both of which are common. Even so, the EDs must learn the theology of the denomination as if it were a part of the corporate culture of the institution they are to lead. If religious organizations are what scholars call “mediating” institutions in the U.S., then EDs are mediators between organizations and clients they serve – and the denominations that typically provide resources and support for the organizations. At each step along the way, both theology and social theology can become more diffuse or more exaggerated.

The EDs are typically educated and/or trained in some way by the denominations and the network of relationships made possible through the denominations becomes the shop in which the EDs work. Similarly, the denominations provide for the EDs all manner of credentials, rapport, respect, and status. EDs should, and usually do, reflect and refract the denominations that created them.

Add the goals of a denomination's theology, the resources the denomination brings to work in the policy space, the organizational form, governance, boards, executive directors and so on, and you have a vehicle by which a denomination can have a significant influence upon public policy. For example, the U.S. Catholic Conference of Bishops has highly educated professional clergy, even bishops, whose primary ministry is that of advocating in favor of migrant populations. Collectively, their reach into the political sphere is significant.

In order to constrain and channel the political activities of denominational nonprofits working in policy areas, state governments and the federal government have created a variety of curbs against unwanted political behaviors. These nonprofits have a particular corporate form with certain constraints imposed by the IRS. Again, salaries have to be consistent with other like-kind organizations. Explicit partisan political activities are prohibited. Only reasonable percentages of total revenues – usually understood as less than 20 percent – can be used for any direct lobbying or policy advocacy. Finally, the public – and generally, the laws of the several states – imposes eleemosynary and/or fiduciary constraints on the organizational form, all while attempting to protect the free exercise of religion guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Enforcing compliance over time is actually a tall order. Eleemosynary constraints are “best practices” established by law. For instance, one state may require a cemetery association to financially endow certain kinds of perpetual care or to provide a certain amount of charitable work. Fiduciary constraints are similar, if not identical, in some states. They refer not to the institution, but to the person acting on behalf of others, such as a county fiduciary who acts to manage the affairs of a deceased person.

Sometimes the nonprofits get so nervous about the constraints on their behaviors that they use organizations like Americans United for Separation of Church and State as risk managers. “Can we do this or that?” “If you do this or that, you might risk your tax status”, and so on. Very, very few organizations and corporations ever lose their tax status. That kind of language is more of a threat than a reality. Many, more secular denominations on the left have bred a quiescence of their own in recent decades, or at least a hesitance to enter into the fray of public policy. Where denominations on the left were once big builders of social institutions, the churches on the more evangelical right are creating organizations faster than ever. A look at Evangelicals currently working in Africa on cooper-

ative projects to provide water, feed the hungry, and to educate and medicate around HIV and AIDS illustrates this well.

Denominations can be classified by their theologies, with some denominations liberal and some conservative. How denominations or their memberships answer carefully constructed questions is what leads to the resulting classification. I used scholarly classification schema to characterize denominations working in migration policy. Denominations either have the social theology switch turned on or off. "When it is "off", the denomination is unlikely to create organizations to implement its political preferences. If it is "on", the denomination likely will create organizations.

Theory tells us that denominations of both the left – and right – leaning theologies may or may not create specialized organizations. But it also tells us that only those denominations in which the switch is turned "on" will do that. If this is true, then the variable that is most important in a denomination to predict whether a denomination will be actively engaged in any particular policy area is its social theology and not its basic theological positions. In other words, denominations with liberal theologies and denominations with conservative theologies each create specialized nonprofit organizations in order to work within a given policy area of interest to the denomination. By this analysis, there are theologically fundamentalist denominations that have liberal social theologies. That is in fact the case. Similarly, there are liberal denominations and conservative denominations that do not create these types of nonprofits. Thus, according to my research, it is the behavior of creating the organizations designed to achieve political preferences of the denominations that is the most important variable.

Once the decision is made to create a nonprofit organization designed to accomplish goals in education, health care, immigration, or in any other public policy area, then it is expected that the organizations will differ – sometimes dramatically – because of the way the organization is crafted and managed. Some EDs are bureaucratic, others entrepreneurial. Some EDs are people-persons, some automatons. Some boards are rubber stamps that support the EDs. Others are hands-on and/or the EDs do the board's bidding. Some governing documents are flexible, intentional, and open-ended while others are rigid, itemized, linear and totally focused, with carefully delimited boundaries. Among organizations created to work in a policy area, one can see differences explained solely by the denomination's history and experience in the policy area. For instance, some denominations create autono-

mous organizations, others semi-autonomous Still others create organizations that are separate corporations with direct lines of legal accountability to the denomination.

Funding is a major variable. In one small community, the new nonprofit may have been cobbled together as a community wide project to meet a perceived need, and the monies come from a mix of fees, congregational fundraising and individual donations. In another, the organization may have a 100-year history, be identified with just one denomination and receive funding from an endowment managed by people who live 2,000 miles away.

In the mid-90s, I examined data from approximately 1,000 organizations that provide goods and services to political refugees, asylum seekers, and/or undocumented populations. All the organizations were located in the 50 states of the U.S., and most of them were religiously affiliated, though not all. Subsequent research by a number of scholars has sustained that observation. I found that religiously affiliated nonprofit organizations have a greater affinity for working in the migration policy area than do human rights groups or groups that are not affiliated with religious denominations. Far more faith-based groups are listed in compendia of service providers in migration policy than are rights-based groups. In fact, the difference is very dramatic. Generally, rights language may speak of a shared vision, but religious language usually includes elements of theological incentive, duty or even compulsion.

My work identified denominations affiliated with these nonprofits. The size and scope of goods and services provided to clients were examined and a number of other characteristics were observed. Other data included budget size, the number of employees, age of the organizations, whether a predominantly ethnic population was being served, whether it was ecumenical or inter-faith, whether it was essentially a legal services organization, and so on.

All of the organizations in this study provided one or more of the following kinds of goods and services to their clients: advocacy, community education, cultural services, economic aid, education, health services, legal services, religious services, research, and/or "Sanctuary" services.

Advocacy services includes taking up the cause of the person in the community by supporting all measures that would provide equal opportunity or fair and equitable treatment. All of the organizations I studied provided some type of advocacy services, but for obvious reasons, governmental organizations provided fewer. It

is difficult for an “inside” organization to provide advocacy support since it usually involves criticism of the government in question.

Community education includes a host of activities such as lobbying, holding workshops or undertaking public awareness or public relations programs. Most organizations working in migration policy provide some community education services.

Cultural services include providing services that share and preserve cultural values. These may take many forms but the faith communities are more apt to provide them than either governmental RANPOs or legal organizations.

Economic services include jobs training, career counseling, and programs that teach how to pursue employment. Governments with a stake in the employment question are more apt to provide these services than faith-based groups.

Academic and skills training come under educational services. Again, governmental organizations are more likely to provide these than more traditional nonprofits.

Few organizations working in migration policy provide health services. This is probably more true today than when the study was conducted because of the rapid rise in costs associated with healthcare, in addition to the restrictions that have been placed on governmental healthcare providers in states where services to certain populations – including the undocumented – have been significantly constrained by law. In Arizona, for instance, public funds cannot be used to pay for goods and services for migrants. Thus, RANPOs are ineligible to contract with state governments or their political subsidiaries to directly provide goods and services to migrants.

Legal services including court representation, legal advice and paralegal assistance are generally provided most by legal-services based organizations, with traditional nonprofits next, and governmental-based legal services last.

Religious services such as worship services in the migrant's native language appear to be the sole province of RANPOs. Predictably, no governmental organizations that provide immigration services are known to provide religious services. However only about one third of RANPOs provide religious services.

Research services are very important some organizations that provide services, particularly to asylum seekers. Asylum law carries with it the burdens of documenting not only personal and family identity but also the political situation in the part of the country where the asylum seeker was residing. These data need to be cen-

tralized, catalogued, periodically updated and preserved to be accessible to others over time. Religious nonprofits are more apt to provide these kinds of services than other organizations.

Sanctuary is the last variable in the list of goods and services provided by RANPOs to various populations. This refers to whether the organization provides Sanctuary or information and referral services to Sanctuary providers. Sanctuary is the assumed – never tested – tort law protection enjoyed by religious communities so they can house persons including economic refugees, asylum seekers and others, thus providing them with the protection of the church, against the state. It is claimed and assumed that congregations can protect migrants from Border Patrol and ICE agents by formally providing Sanctuary. It is the ultimate expression of a mediating institution that provides a buffer between the individual and the state. Obviously, no primarily federal-or state-funded organizations are going to provide Sanctuary services. Some cities, however, have one or more Sanctuary policies that govern, for instance, the ways that local law enforcement interacts with migrants. The cities won't shelter the migrants, but they do not always comply with requests by ICE to detain someone.

Not all individuals representing the state will act the same. I can attest to occasions when a federal immigration judge transferred custody of a family to a faith-based organization knowing that the family would be transported away from the border. I was present one day when a family with a newborn – the baby having been born in a detention facility – was referred to a RANPO with explicit knowledge that the family with the newborn would be moved before nightfall to another city outside the jurisdiction of the judge. This was fine with the judge as the detention facility was not certified for infants.

Generally, courts exist to assign blame. Sometimes they accept their own constraints and work toward a larger sense of justice. In the research I conducted, 73 percent of the local organizations provided Sanctuary services. But of all the organizations, only nine percent directly provided Sanctuary. Four denominations, Church of the Brethren, Disciples of Christ, Mennonite, and Unitarian Universalist, reported that at least 80 percent of their affiliated organizations provide Sanctuary, though I suspect this finding to be a statistical artifact and not an accurate description of practices on the ground. It must be noted that some organizations take positions like politicians and they do so without actually taking action. Together, these represent only 22 of the total of 958 organizations

in the study. Only two of the legal services organizations reported providing Sanctuary. It is also likely that some organizations understated their participation in Sanctuary because it would call unnecessary attention to them and even possibly create legal liabilities.

Almost all organizations provided one or more social services ranging from emergency services, casework management, substance abuse treatment programs and counseling, to housing, clothing and other kinds of services.

By organizing all the groups into legal, community and religious categories, I created another variable called "average". On average, most organizations offered only a few different kinds of goods and services. The religiously affiliated organizations provided a wider array of goods and services than did governmental organizations, and ecumenical organizations provided the highest average number of services of all organizational affiliations. This may be because these organizations had the support network of a greater number of congregations in their service areas. Religious affiliation matters a lot in the world of public policy.

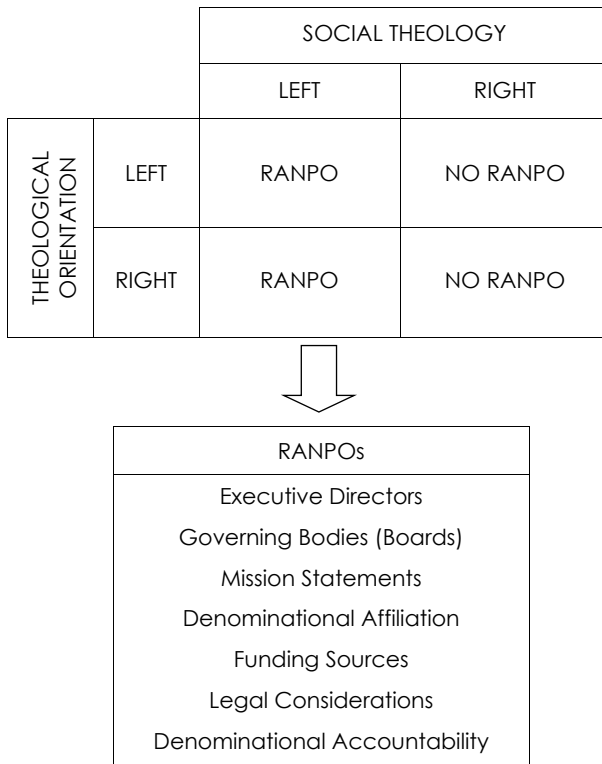
The amount of goods and services provided by these organizations is substantial. In order to get at both the theology and the social theology of the religiously affiliated nonprofit organizations I was studying, I interviewed all of the executive directors of the nonprofits of any significant size working in migration policy in the state of Texas.

I asked the EDs 17 questions. They were open-ended, and according to the situation, I would ask the ED to expand on an answer until I was certain I understood the answer. In some cases, I followed up with other questions to find out what was distinctive about the response I was getting. The questions were: What are you/your organization doing in migration work? Why are you/your organization doing these things? Are you affiliated with a religious organization? Is your organization religiously affiliated? Do you/your organization network with religious organizations? Is your organization a nonprofit corporation? What goods and services do you provide? What is the annual budget of your organization? What is your educational/experience background? What are the theological rationales for this ministry/organization? Are there particular scriptural texts which support the work being done here? Does your organization have a mission statement? Do you receive collegial support in your work? What strategies for change in public policy are being employed? In what ways do you/your organization en-

gauge the public? Which service populations do you target? What would you change about migration policy?

Some of the basic findings of my research: There exists only a relatively small group of denominational players in the migration policy area. As previously noted, some scholars count more than 2,000 denominations in the U.S. Obviously, some of them are very, very small. If one excludes the very small denominations, then it should be noted that out of the hundreds, there only about 17 denominations that are major players in the migration policy field. Those that do work in this field have widely divergent faith traditions. There are denominations from the right and from the left working in this area according to theological classifications by scholars. The goods and services that are provided by these organizations vary widely. If one adds up all of the money that these organizations are spending annually, it is significant. Finally, the relationship of theology, social theology and political behavior is not correlative; they are additive.

The following graph below may be of some use in summarizing this analysis.



The major denominations working in migration include: American Baptist, Buddhist, Episcopal, Lutheran, United Methodist, Society of Friends (Quakers), Seventh-Day Adventist, Unitarian, Church of the Brethren, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Jewish, Mennonite, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Southern Baptist, United Church of Christ. Recently, the Reformed Church of America recently moved onto this list, but these are the 16 major denominations that had created RANPOs working in the migration policy area in the mid-'90s. The 17th denominational category was Ecumenical. I used this designation where it was unclear which denomination was pivotal in the creation and maintenance of the RANPO. Without question, this list is not exhaustive. But all the denominations are not readily discoverable. In some polities, a mid-level judicatory head such as a bishop may carry the denomination's identity into the policy area, command significant resources and provide a host of goods and services to target populations. Yet the explicit activities remain obscure to the researcher because that denomination has yet to create separate nonprofits that show up in directories and lists of like-kind organizations. The Salvation Army, for instance, and the Reformed Church of America undertake the task of providing goods, services, and various kinds of ministry to immigrant populations. The work of these two is done through the same local structures as their other ministries and not through a separate nonprofit.

Examining how denominations are classified theologically does not predict whether or not they are active in this area. This list of denominations does not cleave nicely according to any "culture war" thesis; that is, they are not all clearly aligned to the left or to the right or along any other obvious line. For instance, some might expect that all the "bleeding heart" liberal denominations would help migrants and conservatives would not. Or, conversely, one might expect that "compassionate conservative" evangelical denominations would do the most and the secular left-leaners would be absent from the list. Neither is the case. Just as migration policy is not a left-right politics, it is also not a left-right theology that influences whether the denominations will have RANPOs in any particular public policy area.

The more civic gospel-oriented or quiescent denominations are not present in the groupings; self-interest certainly does not seem to motivate these groups. Almost all of the organizations for which we have data provide goods and services whether or not the clients are co-religionists or might become members of their faith tradition.

In fact, denominations such as the Disciples of Christ, of which I am a member, are never helping members of their own denomination at the border. The denomination provides a wide variety of services to refugees, asylum seekers and undocumented persons. Disciples provide services on a high per capita basis. For instance in 2006, the denomination resettled its 30,000th refugee since the creation of its program in 1947.

Above, I listed possible areas of goods and services provision in RANPOs. On average, most nonprofits provide between three and four from the list. What is clear from this research is that the strong desire of the denomination to be an actor in the political world, which is demonstrated by relating their basic theology to matters of public policy, is a very large influence on its actions. Without the linkage between theology and political concerns, the denomination will not create institutions and organizations that are clearly linked to the denomination. Sometimes, though, clergy and others in the more quiescent denominations will encourage their members to participate in and support ecumenical organizations that may have no formal ties either to their congregation or to their denomination.

On the whole, denominations with a strong social theology are seriously concerned today about the plight of migrants. Clearly, in 1996 dollars, these organizations were handling more than a half billion dollars annually. Through networks, bartering, donated goods and services, the annual contributions of these organizations easily exceed one billion dollars just in the U.S. For instance, one denomination may receive federal funds for refugee resettlement and share those dollars with the refugee and with a sponsoring congregation. Then the congregation, along with friends and neighbors, raises even more funds to provide housing, medical, dental, clothes, appliances, at a level that may exceeds the federal contributions.

One of the findings of my research was that ecumenism in a policy area is more a function of social theology than of theology. That is, the fundamental desire of a few persons, even from more quiescent denominations, to do something about the plight of migrants and/or to address the fundamental politics in the community that they believe can be changed by the U.S. will seem to be even more important than one individual's basic theological convictions.

As the number of migrants increases around the world, it is not surprising that the largest growth in the number of organizations

providing goods and services to migrants around the world is in ecumenical, evangelical organizations. World Relief is one such organization. Many of World Relief's supporters come from more right-leaning, quiescent denominations one would not theoretically expect to create denominational nonprofits to achieve denominational goals. If current trends hold, much of the growth of the delivery of goods and services to marginalized peoples will come from the evangelical churches working cooperatively.

My research reveals that the Texas nonprofits I studied working in migration policy had striking similarities. The EDs share a very similar liberation theology or liberal style of theological orientation. They each incorporate some strong analysis and critique of the macro-economic system in which the migrants must work. The theological self-identification is clearly left of center. All believed at the time of my interviews that the former Immigration and Naturalization Service needed to be structurally reformed. When asked, all could cite significant support for their positions in Christian and/or Hebrew scriptures. The positions of the EDs reflected denominational positions and they were generally more informed than even the clergy of that denomination would be expected to be.

Since 9-11 became such a pivotal moment in the thinking of many, I'm convinced that the same EDs would be highly critical of the new U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Why? Because none of the EDs referenced nationality as the first basis of identity, but only as a way of referencing political difficulties in various parts of the world.

Nationality and nationalism are complex concepts. The term nation-state has two distinct parts, nation and state. Those who help produce a benefit-granting type of RANPO are certainly leaning more toward nation than they are to the restrictive apparatus of the state.

All of the organizations I studied had C3 status, whether they were religiously affiliated or not and each ED understood the benefits and constraints of that organizational form. Each of the organizations also make extensive use of volunteers. All are closely connected with denominations, particularly in regards to funding.

Most of the EDs were educated, at least in part, in denominational institutions. Each exhibits high levels of political activism. Many have life experiences that reinforce their choices to work in migration ministry or advocacy. All support the missions of their respective organizations. All of the EDs clearly identified themselves as political liberals, even those from denominations that are clas-

sified as theologically conservative. These similarities reinforce the assessment that these organizations all exhibit activist social theological orientations. According to this argument, structural solutions are needed for structural social problems. Liberal strategies for change are necessary for the transformation of society even if those liberal strategies are exhibited by otherwise theologically conservative denominations.

Even with their similarities, the organizations differ significantly in the goods and services they provide. One provides asylum applicants temporary housing, another only legal services. Grouping findings into categories, we can also see that the organizations vary dramatically in how they regard migration law. For instance, the organizations differ in how they related to the former INS and the Border Patrol. They also differ in how they think the legal system should be navigated by the organization or by migrants, and in how much information they want to give to the migrants themselves.

For instance, one organization would meet would-be asylum seekers in Mexico and prepare them for encounters with either law enforcement or the benefit-granting side of the INS. Another wouldn't be associated with public posting of information across the border notifying migrants of their basic rights in the U.S.

The organizations differ, too, in the types and quantities of human services they provide. For instance, some give food and clothing to migrants, others make only referrals. Some provide housing and shelter, others do not.

Finally, the organizations also differ in how they will interact with the government in the more extreme circumstances. For instance, only some organizations will provide sanctuary to undocumented persons. Some will provide information and referral to organizations that provide sanctuary but they have made a policy decision not to provide the service themselves.

Some RANPOs will contract with the federal government to provide goods and services. During the '80s, one organization routinely contracted with the U.S. government to provide educational services to unaccompanied minors but the same group also made referrals to volunteer groups that would provide sanctuary services and even transportation for refugees to get them to other parts of the country where their families were located.

The notion that politically liberal people always end up with theologically liberal ideas and that conservatives choose conservative politics and religion is not supported by the evidence, at least in the migration policy area. The social theology of denom-

inations is one of those areas that dispels this presumption. Both theologically liberal and theologically conservative denominations choose – through a more transformational social theology – to enter into public policy areas of interest with an eye to either ameliorating the effects the policies have on individuals or families or changing the system altogether.

Often, political theorists evaluate a person's self-interests to explain political behaviors directed at changing political systems. One would expect that older, more mature organizations would be more likely to be involved in efforts to change systems and not just alleviate some deleterious personal circumstances.

When denominations create specialized nonprofits to work on the implementation of the denomination's political preferences, the result is that goods and services are redistributed, political agendas are articulated and political activism increases. While the social theology is an outgrowth of the theologies of denominations, the resulting organizations and behaviors are not explained by the theologies alone. The desire to engage the world in particular contexts is paramount. This tells us that social theology is a deeper cleavage among denominations than theology, at least when considering institutional political behavior. Social theology, then, in effect, embodies the implied or explicit normative assessments made in theological discourses, yet even the social theology has its own assessments of strategies and viable forms of engagement.

For most of the groups that work in the migration policy area, the language of rights is the common language. This is very important. Rights language reaches across human rights, civil rights, basic understandings that resonate with the so-called "Rights of Man", or specific statutory rights expressed in the legal-political model employed by the U.S. The United Church of Christ minister who runs a human services agency in a migration policy area such as refugee resettlement will frequently use human rights language to speak to the member of the laity from a conservative or fundamentalist organization that is running another organization. So talk of human rights conventions, dignity, international law, civil rights, honor, family values and respect becomes the language, rather than the language of philosophical theology or divine command ethics theory with which the individual EDs may be most familiar.

CHAPTER TEN

A THEOLOGY OF MIGRATION

*“Turn it, turn it, round and round.
In it, Everything can be found.”*
–Rabbi Ben Bag Bag

I was serving a little congregation in Floydada, Texas while working on my Ph.D. at Texas Tech University in Lubbock, Texas. While visiting a sister congregation in Reynosa, Tamaulipas, Mexico, I slid some orange tostada chips into a plastic bag and put them in my coat pocket. Sunday morning, I substituted them for communion bread for the worship service. Many church members were surprised, confused, or shocked. One was resentful. It provided a teaching moment about people who were different from them. The congregation of First Christian Church in Tucson heard me preach for 11 years. Many sermons were filled with illustration about migrants, the migration, organizations that help migrants – including them – and the laws of the U.S. That’s why the University of Arizona Special Collections Library included digital copies of more than thirty years of my sermons.

The Rev. John Fife once began a sermon with the words, “Here we go again.” Everyone in attendance knew automatically that he would be preaching about the past week’s immigration news. That one sentence reminded everyone of who the players are, what the issues are, how the community was going to respond and how it would play out in public.

Denominations have stories embedded in their theologies and in their social theologies. Those who learn the stories have the greatest chance for success in changing the world around them. There are many sources of stories, texts and literatures from which a social change agent can draw. The lyrics of Bob Dylan come to mind. One of my mentors in ministry wrote a book about scriptural references in the lyrics of Bob Dylan. Theology is a historical, analytical, motivational, poetic and visionary way of describing human experience. Many public persons use sacred literature and theol-

ogy because those words speak to so many people at profound levels.

Sometimes texts come with living spokespersons. As I spent time in Mexico City with Rigoberta Menchu Tum, I was amazed at how simple her story was and how simple the language she used to communicate. She had the power of presence and she had learned what she embodied.

Denominational stories are usually less embodied. Faith communities pass resolutions, issue decrees, commit groups to study and report, develop slogans and use symbols, songs and such to convey their messages. Roman Catholics issue pastoral letters. Theologies are denominational stories on steroids. They may be bland and dry, passionate or personal and they may have power to move large numbers of people to action.

Denominations vary dramatically in their efforts to develop a theology of migration. One denomination may approve a cluster of resolutions over several decades. Another may routinely cite the academic work of one scholar in the field, yet another may systematically address dozens of issues pertaining to immigrants, migrants, asylum seekers, international development, political refugees, farm workers, and more. Many denominations have memberships in national and international bodies such as the National Council of Churches, World Council of Churches, Church World Service or World Vision. A scholar might have to review statements from multiple ecumenical and interfaith associations and institutional relationships to attempt to describe the social theology of a denomination working in migration policy.

My own denomination illustrates the difficulties a scholar faces. The General Assembly of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) has passed resolutions on most of these issues but it speaks to the church and not for the church. It may support relationships with other groups but not support the substance of positions taken. The Disciples have a very flat hierarchy. Catholic theologians have more reading to do. They to wade through whole bookshelves of history, theology, social teaching and practice statements related to migration to demonstrate they have given deference to the thinking of the church on the subject of migration. This is particularly true if they want the Vatican's imprimatur. Some denominations emphasize experience over academic analysis and dedicate little time to writing projects. Some of the major religious bodies of the world do not recognize or speak of a god as others do. Nonetheless, the operational theology of a denomination – how

it thinks and speaks about migration – is quite important in understanding its politics and its institutions.

It is a daunting task to write something that might be termed a migration theology or a social ethic. This is not a complete work, it bears no imprimatur but it is a work that at least contains many elements that should be included in one. I've resisted this project. In several of the groups I've worked with, especially Humane Borders, lots of volunteers would step forward with ideas of what to say about how we would be identifying ourselves theologically and how to share what we believe and why with the general public. I understood the effort and resisted it. To this day I remain skeptical of the project. In a postmodern condition, meaning is indeterminate but one can still work toward writing a social theology. Creative energy abounds when organizations are going through their founding period. Theology, social theology, and ethics are important considerations to be addressed when an organization is coming into being.

As previously noted, theology matters, but social theology matters more in terms of what gets done. Theology may unite, but it can also alienate, particularly in a nascent, inter-faith group that aspires to engage in public policy. There are more stripes of Christians than there are on a zebra and many in the emerging group called Humane Borders were not Christian. Diversity was our intentional middle name. Atheists were in the room along with others who just didn't care one way or another. Theology can easily be overlooked so long as most folks in a working group of one kind or another can agree on the group's public policy preferences. Over the last 50 years, that was a hard lesson for the religious right to learn about Republicans specifically and politicians in general.

With all the caveats, theology is still useful. It provides a way of using sacred texts, weaving in worldviews, traditions, wisdom and the writings of key leaders in an effort to make sense out of things. Theology takes texts, narratives, principles, ethics, visions and other sources and finds a way to guide inquirers both in decision-making and, more properly, decision-taking. The theologically minded person has an easier way of moving from descriptive judgments of the way things are to judgments of the way things should be. Theology is and does many things. Among them, it facilitates the quick move from an "is" statement to an "ought" statement without great effort. Social ethics makes the final move, a move Aristotle recognized long ago when he conceived of ethics as applied philosophy.

In this, there are similarities to ideologies or political party platforms. The theological statements cut down on what political scientists and economists call information costs: the amount of energy and time that would have been expended in order to obtain information for the individual or group.

As a Christian minister, I, of course, am far more familiar with Hebrew scriptures than I am with the Koran. Yet from both Judaism and Islam come some of the most ancient counsel for dealing with the “others” around us, even when – and especially when – they are of a different faith. Theologies are often written long after the events that inspired them. There are many examples in sacred literatures. The Christian Gospels, for instance, were each written long after the life and times of Jesus. Rabbis, imams, priests and preachers all use ancient texts to address contemporary issues. While we’re waiting – once again – for immigration reform to come back to the political table, perhaps significant energy should be put toward theological thinking about migration, at least within the religious groups.

Many western peoples trace their theological roots to the desert experiences of the eastern Mediterranean and beyond. This a good beginning. The Law of the Wadi is an oral tradition that has been handed down and which, one can at least speculate, influenced some of our written traditions. A wadi is a Semitic name for an oasis or watering hole, if you will.

Imagine a family or larger group (part of a tribe) encamped at this location. A stranger approaches and this stranger is being pursued by someone. According to the Law of the Wadi, several moral obligations are understood to exist. The stranger is obligated to ask for permission to enter the camp to rest, eat and perhaps sleep before continuing on. The leader of the group in the camp is obligated to receive the stranger and to guarantee his safety. The one who was pursuing the stranger has to wait outside the camp. He is not welcome. It’s a basic – life saving – act of hospitality. Life would be threatened without these kinds of arrangements. Denying hospitality is a sin of omission according to all the “book” religions.

Some comparisons to Moses’ Cities of Refuge naturally emerge in discussions of Sanctuary but modern iterations fall short in practice, except for the very valid situations in which to return adults – and often, children and youths – to their places of origin would result in death. At least 50 congregations across the U.S. announced by the beginning of 2016 that if the Obama administration began

deporting families and children to Central America, they would open their churches to shelter these people from authorities. Conscientious religious people can't support returning people to violence and persecution.

Sanctuary is embedded in English tort law. When the power of the church was equal to that of the state in Europe, congregations often provided security for those fleeing the state. Though never part of formal law in the U.S., Sanctuary has often been practiced in the U.S. and never fully tested in the courts. Sanctuary – shelter, food, water, and welcome – are ancient forms of hospitality given to save life and to honor all life. They are offered even when the one giving it is burdened, if you will, by having to extend protection to one who receives the cup of water. They are one and the same act. The one who shares life welcomes the claim that the other makes on his or her life. What emerges is a mutuality of love meeting need.

Sanctuary continues to be practiced by religious peoples all around the world. It is more than religious practice. It is an example that teaches the world how to care for itself. Today the concept of Sanctuary is endorsed by several major urban police departments. Sanctuary is a practice that may be theological in origin, but it has secular implementation consequences. To not practice Sanctuary and to not save a life would mean that responsible parties could have innocent blood on their hands. Theologically speaking, the souls of the privileged who can help are in the hands of the oppressed, not in the hands of the pursuers, even if those who pursue are law enforcement or military. Law enforcement officials who are sworn peace officers should understand this.

In 1988, while working with the Fort Worth chief of police, I created the Fort Worth Clergy-Police Advisory Council and became its first president. The council was designed to give police some improved access into minority communities. Sadly, the council grew out of some horrendous violent police-on-black-youth episodes including fatal shootings.

One day, a zealous young public information officer in the police department was speaking to the chief, his staff, some 20 or more members of the clergy, five police division commanders and their public information officers. He was promoting a day to be observed in the churches to honor law enforcement. He envisioned police coming to congregations and celebrating how congregations and law enforcement were in the same business: promoting and maintaining law and order. He kept repeating that concept.

I looked to the back of the room where one of my friends, a black pastor and a former policeman, simply put his wrists together above his head like they were in handcuffs. I got the message. I turned to the young man who was strategically sitting next to the chief and said, "Some of us in this room, including me, believe that the thirst for law and order was responsible for the death of Jesus Christ." Chief Thomas Windham who was on the first SWAT team in the U.S. during the Watts Riots in Los Angeles in 1965, calmly put his hand on the arm of his deputy chief – who wanted to come across the tables and rip my head off. He looked around at his staff and said: "I've heard all of this before in the 5th Division of the Los Angeles Police Department and the ministers have their legitimate perspectives. We need to listen."

A city council or a county board of supervisors might cite public safety, officer safety, community wellbeing or a dozen other concerns when approving a policy on Sanctuary and they may have no sense about them that is theological. It is, but it also can also be traced by to what is known as the Law of the Wadi.

Denominations have thought deeply about newcomers, immigrants and migrants alike, for centuries. Many became heavily involved with them during the '80s, when millions of people fleeing the U.S.-backed wars in Central America fled to the relative security of the U.S. Various religious leaders supported the practice of Sanctuary. Still others saw Sanctuary as a means to protest U.S. policies that systematically violated human rights. A single practice can be justified by many different perspectives.

Episodically, I was a Sanctuary volunteer beginning in January 1986. I often helped a lot of other people provide resources to large and small shelters in the Lower Rio Grande Valley in Texas. We supplied rice, beans, clothes, bus fares, shelter and spiritual support. Congregations would house a few migrants, often in the homes of private individuals. Two shelters each provided housing for more than 500 migrants per night. The leader of one group was a Peruvian political scientist who helped Daniel Ortega rise to power in Nicaragua. A bullet fired in a burst of celebratory gunfire in Managua when Ortega won the presidency unfortunately landed in my friend's brain. Fortunately, he survived. I visited his shelter over the years and often heard him teaching Marxist analysis to refugees. I will not confess any more. My DHS file is thick enough.

Years later, I was preaching at a small Spanish-speaking congregation nearby and met him at the door. I was wearing a clerical collar and holding a bible, appearing different than I did when

I would visit his shelter. Before, I had never argued with him. It was Sunday at noon. I held up the bible, smiled, and I said to him, "This book is 10 times more radical than all the stuff you read and preach, if you read it right." He said, "I know that now. I have become a Christian." I had provided rice and beans through the years to this man and those he cared for. I mumbled in my best Spanish that St. Mark was more revolutionary than Karl Marx. In agreement, we shared a formal abrazo (handshake and hug), but he still teaches Marxist analysis. They can be quite compatible.

The way Sanctuary was played out in the '80s and '90s and continues to be played out here and there varied a lot. In Chicago, even faith-based involvement in Sanctuary was largely a political policy protest. In California, it was characteristically a family-reunification movement. In Arizona, it was a largely theologically-expressed protest movement. In Texas, where most migrants crossed, it was "keep your head down and get the people across to safety." One nun in the valley was personally responsible for moving more than 500 migrants a month as far north as San Antonio. We called her the Sergeant. She had a dormitory in her backyard just outside of McAllen, Texas which housed about 50 people most nights. She referred to herself as an internationalist committed to helping people. She did it for years. It was not uncommon for "good Catholic" – as she called them – Border Patrol agents to bring young women to her who had suffered at the hands of Mexican police and even Border Patrol agents.

An international legal term: non-refoulement", is a modern approximation of the concept of Sanctuary. Non-refoulement means that it is ethically (and hopefully in more jurisdictions, today legally) prohibited to return someone to a place of danger. As in the case of the family or tribe extending lifesaving hospitality to the stranger in the wadi, or a congregation giving respite care to a migrant, a nation extends its protection to people from other lands. The other country must stand back and drop demands for deportation. The nation providing Sanctuary decides that it is morally wrong and a violation of human rights to return that person, especially when harm or death is likely to follow. Some nations will not extradite someone to another country to face charges in a capital offense if that country exercises the death penalty. These kinds of practices become texts and practices to, in turn, expand theological thinking. Long before many of the modern practices of legal protections were enshrined in statutes, they were religious practices and laws. The voice of the conscionable, religiously affiliated or

otherwise motivated persons continues to develop all through the textually formed religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

These three religions share many stories and narratives, albeit with twists in their texts. Each calls Abraham "Father". I think of the story of Abraham as the prototypical story of the moral education of the human. Abraham was called and he excelled, though all along the way he had to struggle. He had to learn to be a husband, a father, an obedient follower, a patriarch. Wherever he went he set up altars that were markers that later delineated the geography of the Holy Lands. In the text, we are shocked to see him turn out Hagar and Ishmael in a scene that resembles what Border Patrol and ICE do every hour of the day at ports of entry.

The accounts vary, but part of Abraham's education was to learn who was "in" and who was "out" in God's eyes, not only in his own. Thankfully, God was watching and help was provided to save life. I imagine Abraham dressed as a CBP agent turning out Hagar and Ishmael at the port of entry between the U.S. and Mexico or at thousands of other border crossings around the world. God only knows the evil these separations from family have become. In Tucson, a father was apprehended in a Home Depot while his elementary school-aged son sat the parking lot. The child was left behind. This is repeated daily. Theological thinking helps us make judgments about the rightful use of boundaries and evaluate the ethics of organizations like ICE, CBP and Corrections Corporation of America, which operates private prisons.

Islam and Christianity are both greatly shaped by the Abrahamic story. Much of what these traditions have figured out about law, reason and propriety is enshrined in international laws and the laws of individual countries governing immigration, migration, asylum, refugees and more.

In 2003, I was invited to participate in the International Conference on Migration and Theology at Notre Dame University, sponsored by the Scalabrini Order of Roman Catholics. Father Daniel Groody organized it. He has distinguished himself with work in film, books, lectures and as a counsel for migration issues for Pope John Paul II. Their mission is to the world's migrants. Faith leaders from all over the world came to think together about theology and migration. My contribution came as a commentary on the story of the so-called Good Samaritan (The Gospel of Luke, Chapter 10), which is one of the Christian scriptures most familiar to the general public. It is a border story, though not always recognized as such. I began with the observation that on our border, we see an inexo-

rable flow of humanity from the oppressed south to the codependent oppressive north. I turned to theological thinking to share my insights.

Theology as we know it is at least the study of the relationship of the human to the divine. Social theology involves context. I define social theology as the link between theology and matters of public policy. Faith communities and traditions have texts, scriptures and teachings as modern starting points. Often these kinds of texts have greater heuristic value than either the findings of social science or political discourse. It must be noted, however, that we live in a postmodern condition in which meaning is at best indeterminate. Truth and meaning are not unassailable. Each is tentative. No one can get in the final word because one does not exist. However, when a text such as the story of the Good Samaritan is well known to the public, then the task becomes easier. My own hermeneutic is rather simple. It comes from a statement by Rabbi Ben Bag Bag who once wrote, "Turn it, turn it, round and round. In it, everything can be found." My goal at the conference and here is to "read" the famous passage from Luke 10 alongside 2 Chronicles 28 from the Hebrew Bible by turning the text several times – and particularly away from some more traditional readings.

In Luke, we read about a self-justifying lawyer (religious law) who is called by Jesus to see the world differently. Jesus wanted to turn both this man and his audience around and around. He begins by speaking about a man standing on the border of jurisdiction and authority. The Good Samaritan story is a border story, not just an example of a good-deed doer. Borders are tricky places and they are opportunities for all manner of crime and mischief. Both self-interest and deterrence are re-defined in this ethical space along the sides of political borders. They are human artifacts, products of our imagination and sometimes the lack thereof.

Governments to either side of their imaginary borders do not naturally share an interest in the wellbeing of the citizens on the other side. The U.S. border with Mexico is very significant among the borders of the world because the U.S. is an Empire. Mexico is not a third world country, but the wealth disparity between them is nonetheless stark. U.S. citizens generally look at borders differently from people in many countries in the Middle East, where for instance, tribes can move back and forth with impunity. And, our notions of borders are different from those of indigenous populations in the U.S. such as the Tohono O'odham, whose traditional borders lie on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. Being in one nation,

but at the border, one is on the margins of each of the respective nations and of their thinking.

An Italian journalist who has visited many borders visited me and once quipped that border people are smarter than the rest. They have to be because they typically have to learn more languages, laws, customs, foods, while living in both worlds and in the world of the border itself. He said that border people thus live in three worlds. Part of life in the borderlands all around the world includes crime. The intersections of these artificial worlds change conceptions of self-interest and opportunity. Plus they create occasions for all manner of unethical behavior.

The story of the Good Samaritan is the story of crime and restoration along a border line. Several individuals assaulted a victim and left him for dead. They removed from him protection from the elements, left him physically impaired, left him alone and they were fully aware of what they had done. We who live in the borderlands know these stories. Tragedy abounds.

Then, people from whom one would expect help approach the man. Two assess the situation, decline to help, and move on. There was a priest, a Levite, and a Samaritan. The priest and the Levite do nothing. The Samaritan does everything he can. He has heart, resources he is willing to share and he becomes "ritually unclean" by helping the robbed and beaten man who had been left by the side of the road. The Samaritan was a traveler, a person without any legal status whatsoever. He was not bound economically to the Jew in the ditch. He was a free, moral agent. He sees the man in distress and he is moved to act. In this borderland, the ethical referent is the divine and not any artifact of human law. The one who discerns this and acts is the ethical one. The Samaritan initiated action without request. He bandaged wounds, pouring on oil and wine. He shared food and beverage. He shared his own beast of burden and took the man to the inn for care and rest.

Jesus is using the story in this gospel account to criticize his nationals. He lets us know that the market has a role to play. Jesus appealed to theology just as we who call the church to social justice do. In the same breath, we call both government and market to reform. In this story the market slowly enters into the solution, just as it does today.

The Samaritan pays for the Jew's care. This foreign national purchased healthcare for the person who according to justice should have been entitled to local care. And this is not a small gift. The Samaritan says to the innkeeper, "I will repay whatever more you

spend.” This is restorative justice on the edge of corporate life. It is a model of how the market can promote justice and another model of how the third sector in the U.S. economy can be a social teacher.

Jesus tells the story to lawyer and the audience in this parable. Then he asks the lawyer, in front of the people, based on the information, based on his understanding of the law, which person does he conclude fulfilled the role of neighbor? The answer given by the lawyer: the one who showed mercy. That’s a particularly important word. It makes each person mentioned in the parable and each person hearing the parable a moral agent. There is no question but that the priest and the Levite failed in their attempt to manifest the divine in their midst. They showed no mercy. All should be ashamed and know that the Samaritan was a moral agent while the others were not.

I once reported to a very high-ranking Border Patrol agent about overhearing agents at a gas station talking about “hunting migrants”. They used a number of colorful hunting terms and referred to the migrants as “little brown buggers.” Without waiting for his reply I said I’d like to ask them what mercies they showed the migrants. I was shaming him, I know. I observed in the Lower Rio Grande Valley very different behavior: many older agents taking migrants to shelters and to churches so that they could get help after having been injured, assaulted or raped by bad guys on one side of the law or one side of the river or the other. They knew that in a day or so, the migrants would be gone. They were merciful. I’ve also heard the stories from migrants in my church, migrants in shelters and migrants encountered in the desert that mercies like these can be few and far between. Abuses abound: verbal, physical, sexual and more. Numerous scholars have documented the abuses but their work is rarely acknowledged by CBP, notably Jeremy Slack and Daniel Martinez.

It is little known, even in church circles, that Jesus was actually referencing a story from the Hebrew Bible with which his audience would have been very familiar. The Christian scriptures actually say very few new things. For the most part, they are adaptations of older texts. Jesus’ audience would have known that the Samaritan Jesus was referencing was the prophet Oded, who is the central character in this longer, more complete, more social, more explicitly political and more appropriate story for both structural and actional analysis. The prophet Oded was the original “Good” Samaritan. I used quotes because Jews generally didn’t think any Samaritan

was good. They would grant that, OK, this one is "good". It's the kind of speech that slave holders used when they spoke about slaves and said their slave was a "good" one. Citizens may say they hate Congress but their member of Congress is a "good" person trying to work in a bad system.

The setting of this ancient story is simple: Assyria has just prosecuted a war against the tribe of Judah. Israel waits until the Assyrians leave and then Israel attacks Judah, kicks her when she's down, takes captives from her: women, sons, daughters. Then Israel takes them and all the booty back through Samaria. In this story, all of the people of Israel are culpable, not just the military, and their own theology speaks ill of them. The narrator of the story indicates that everyone in the story is kin to everyone else. That discernment is true no matter on which side of the border the speakers stand. The story of the Good Samaritan was a report from the border that instructed early believers in ethical behavior. Modern border reporting could fill that function.

The biblical concepts of neighbor and kin are inclusive. They call the dominant culture to include everyone around them. This is a story of jumping borders for economic or other gain, something the U.S. knows all too well following years of its own expansionist policies and arguably both imperial and militarist policies. The murder of Osama Bin Laden in a sovereign country is one; the murder of a U.S. citizen Anwar al-Awlaki in Yemen in 2011 another. They fit U.S. national texts. Economic hegemony is every bit as efficient as older forms of colonialism. Fortunately for us, and to the point, it is also a story of how to go about changing the situation.

Thankfully, a prophet of the Lord, Oded of Samaria, was there. He's my hero. When circumstances are dynamic, it helps to have actors who are prepared to act at a moment's notice. That is one distinct contribution that faith communities bring to the public square: they select, train, and support specialized staff. They own property, meeting places and critical infrastructure. Faith communities have all kinds of resources but sometimes it takes one spokesperson to get things moving. The word must go forth.

Oded speaks to everyone who is present, but first he addresses his remarks directly to the army. I think of him stepping in front of the army like the iconic protester who stepped in front of a Chinese tank in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, China in 1989. The locus of moral agency is vested with all the people but in this case, the power of immediate remedy is located in the army.

Some braver-than-I folks in Tucson, Arizona shut down Operation Streamline one day by chaining themselves together with some even going under the busload of migrants who were about to become political prisoners of the U.S. Oded acknowledges that they might have had some sort of justification to act in part – there is always some sort of justification for spending the nation's blood and wealth – but what has been done in this instance is so bad that it has reached up to the heavens. Botching so-called “justified” military engagements is nothing new. The 21st century has already seen several instances of such military engagements. The rise of ISIS is one. It's exactly what CBP does in slow motion, every day.

Armies are not inherently evil nor malicious. Almost every claim they make on the people, though, is negative. An insightful text on this is 1 Samuel 8:11-18. Nonetheless, they are judged by their activities, outcomes, consequences – both intended and unintended – as are all moral actors. In the case of Oded's judgment, the army has exceeded the ethical referent systems of this world. The egregious violations have reached all the way to the heavens. The plan of Israel, implemented by the military, was economic domination and the resulting judgment is that there has been corporate sin against God. If war is politics by other means, then it stands that the law enforcement activities of the Department of Homeland Security are very political, must be recognized as such and critiqued at every juncture.

Oded simultaneously pronounces his indictment of the situation and his demand for remedial action. He speaks directly to the army. He didn't wait and complain to some branch of the government. I can think of no complaint ever tendered to the former INS or to the current CBP officials either in border sectors or in Washington, D.C. that were ever accepted as credible or that resulted in substantive change. The offense of which Oded speaks is primarily the army's taking kindred people captive. The U.S. Army won't listen to Oded or anyone else.

Oded was a Samaritan. Numerous prophets of the Lord who were not conationals of the Jews are referenced in the scriptures. When wandering in the wilderness, Moses encountered a magus (the singular form of the magi so familiar in the Christmas and Epiphany stories). Apparently, there are always some “weird holy men” around. I like to think of them as social ethicists. Oded is in many ways defined by the geographical boundaries of Israel. He speaks, though, not of Israel or of Samaria, but of his kin. They are kin. Even as a Samaritan, he is in some ways part of the nation of

Israel, just as many, many Mexicans who have family that span the international border are part of the U.S. We say international, but nation usually has to do with race, ethnicity, language and so forth. The U.S. is one of the few countries in the world that tries to make a legal-political machinery into a nation. We would do well to think better of neighbors and kin.

The military was about to increase its sin by bringing captive kinfolk onto the holy ground of the nation's homelands. Politics is, in part, a game of naming, framing and blaming. Oded's indictment is simple: God is naming, framing and blaming everyone involved. The story could have stopped there. More often than not, modern iterations of it do just that. Religious people and faith communities often hold up their arms and cry foul only to experience arm-holding fatigue and the disappointment of either being misunderstood or ignored. In this case, however, four chiefs, each of whom is a son of a chief, stood up against the army. I believe these chiefs can be compared to today's public administrators. They are the persons on the ground who have the administrative discretion to implement the policy of the people of Israel. They listened to Oded and then they did something unusual. They redirected the army's mission. Today, I compare members of law enforcement to these administrators when they support Sanctuary policies and when they call for keeping communities and families intact. Many call for a migration reform that would make the country/nation whole.

Few probably understood all of Oded's reasoning but each could sense the legitimation crisis that was before them. They understood that they had a stake in maintaining, preserving, and projecting the image of Israel. Theology – in a sense – tells us the same things that political scientists tell us. It is to individuals who are invested in an issue that we must speak with all the command of language we can muster.

So the civilian-led military stood down. They released the captives and the spoils in front of the officials and the whole assembly. The people successfully held the public administrators "accountable", a modern phrase which is rooted in shame.

Then there was restoration:

The text says: "Then those who were mentioned by name got up and took the captives, and with the booty they clothed all that were naked among them; they clothed them, gave them sandals, provided them with food and drink, and anointed them; and carrying all the feeble among them on donkeys, they brought them to

their kindred at Jericho, the city of palm trees, then they returned to Samaria."

Restoration on the border where I live has one day got to be substantive if we are to expect our chiefs to be moral actors. I am convinced that faith communities are speaking and must continue to speak the indictments, to name the evils, frame the stories, and to blame those who contribute to the suffering of migrants. That means that many, many laws and policies must change.

The chiefs of our country, including the sector chiefs of Customs and Border Protection, must be engaged by faith communities and civil society and instructed, even as they ridiculously purport to be free of politics, neutrally competent and risk averse. They are administrators with stars on their collars and most serve at the pleasure of the White House. They are federal employees, mostly members of the Senior Executive Service. They must be shown ways that they can exercise what little discretion they have to implement changes that can keep the border from becoming an all-consuming conflagration. From the construction of the Samaritan story, we must spend significant efforts in the discerning of truth in our time and place and know what the distribution of power is.

I want to believe people like the great German philosopher Habermas, who is actually a little too hopeful for me. Habermas emphasizes what he calls communicative competence, preparation for discourse and discursive redemption, concepts that can help those wanting to use discourse theory for the kinds of communication that are needed to make governments more legitimate. In short, in order to communicate well and in a decisive manner, one must know the story well, tell the story well and if necessary, re-state and revise the story, and only then proceed to action informed by the words of communication partners. He holds that religious actors, civil society, elected officials and Border Patrol agents can have productive conversations. I've reached the point where I have my doubts.

The point, though, is not to merely understand the system; the point is to change it. Marx and many others taught us that. My research places faith communities squarely in the arenas of border-line life because far too often, the issues are just too difficult for the elected officials to work through. The legal-political system will not be changed in regard to migration apart from a legal remedy. Those single-mindedly seeking reelection can only seldom be engaged by small, faith-based entrepreneurial or policy-reformer

organizations. That is why they have to form a critical base themselves at the same time they engage persons in power.

I was once in Mexico City sharing stories and theories about social change in a group of about 30 people with connections to church, government, universities and civil society. I took the position that a relatively small group of white men in Washington, D.C. created our border mess and only they would be able to clean it up. I was told I couldn't understand the needs of the people I was trying to help without living and working with them for a decade in Mexico, speaking their language – the immersion experience argument. There was some tension in the air. After 20 or so minutes of the colloquy, I walked Don Samuel Ruiz, the former Roman Catholic bishop of Chiapás, Mexico. After a few formal pleasantries and friendship affirmations, he joined in the conversation. His words: "The immigration problem is that some people in Washington are going to have to change their minds." I felt vindicated after feeling very alone. I wanted to stand up, shout Amen!, and spike my bible.

The bottom line theologically is that some Samaritans have to persuade some chiefs before anything will happen. My pre-occupation with that nexus is why some scholars have labeled me an "everyday cosmopolitan", a sociological term that is sort of summed up in the bumper sticker: Think Globally, Act Locally, though it is more. It derives from the knowledge that local action has more than a local impact. It is an informed, intentionalist perspective and approach.

One of the most ridiculous and outrageous phone calls I have received in my entire ministry came from an ordained fundamentalist-type minister who, perhaps surprisingly, was from a mainline denomination. He had been emailing the Humane Borders office and finally called me. He said, "In the name of God, I order you to quit giving water to those God-damned Pope-obeying beaners!" I asked him, "Sir, have you ever read Matthew 25?" "There you go, again, taking scripture out of context." "Sir, that is the context. According to Matthew 25, nations are judged by whether or not they provide food, water, clothing, welcome, ministries to the sick and the imprisoned." All I got was another "there you go again" reply, ala a Saturday Night Live caricature of Ronald Reagan. At least Reagan had the vision to legalize the undocumented because he understood that migrants are people and not statistics or "damn illegals". The conversation promptly ended and I did not report his words to his bishop. I didn't want to hurt her feelings.

The text and the theology that emerges from Matthew 25 are both very clear. Nations are judged by how they treat “the least of these”. Lack of food, water, clothes, welcome, health and freedom are all part of the resume of the average migrant. Add to it physical and verbal abuse, deprivation, rape, theft. Jesus said giving the things that are needed to the migrants is giving these things to him.

Humane Borders did not write a theology in the beginning. Congregations and individuals may be motivated – even intensely motivated – by certain kinds of religious thinking, but those motivations are not always understood or shared by others from differing traditions. Instead, our mission statement began simply with the words, “Motivated by faith, we will...(do the following things).” To merely reference and assume faith and/or motivation was sufficient. We chose to be inclusive and faith-based and that produced some interesting dynamics. When journalists put microphones in front of members of Liberal, left-leaning, mainline churches and asked, “Why are you out here putting water in the desert for migrants?”, the responses typically included words like social justice, solidarity with the poor, compassion, political protest and sometimes some “churchy” language. When the same questions were asked of more Conservative, right-leaning, fundamentalist types, the response was sometimes as simple as “God told me to.” A Jew would speak of *mitzvahs* (good deeds), a Buddhist still other referents. Regardless of the various types of religious motivation, the organization was happy to have all kinds of folks join in putting water out in the desert. Individuals can have widely or even wildly divergent kinds of thinking and still agree about the behavior of putting water in the desert, protesting U.S. immigration and border policies, or merely being hospitable.

As an ordained minister, some faith language is expected from me in both public and private discourse, sometimes pointedly and forcefully. I’ve used some with several officials. We usually developed good working relationships afterward. In church language, we would say, “We embraced at a distance”.

The free exercise of religion is still somewhat protected in this nation by the U.S. Constitution, though that is in decline. It is most often protected by those who actually exercise their rights and almost never by law enforcement. Narratives where military or law enforcement have heroically volunteered for this kind of duty never emerge in the media. Law enforcement and military really should be quiet about their perennial claims about risking their

lives protecting the rights of religious activists. Law enforcement protects religious exercise only when political leaders tell them to. I've initiated several political reviews of police in communities where I have served. Police who believe that law enforcement and churches are in the same business aren't helpful.

Humane Borders had the protections of the First Amendment in the Bill of Rights that provides for freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, and free exercise of religion. As noted before, my life has been significantly wrapped up in that Amendment. I was trained as a journalist, ordained as a minister, and became the founder of several nonprofit organizations. What was buried down in the language I sometimes used with administrators? All became explicitly aware that what we were doing in Humane Borders was constitutionally protected. The U.S. Border Patrol would have to find some authority (not to mention moral authority) and jurisdiction to tell us that we could not do what we were doing. Some of us have significant reservations when we read Defense Authorization Act bills that include permission to conduct surveillance on faith groups.

This is not to say that faith communities can do whatever they want. Borders are actually important, but just how important depends on many things. Borders should mean something. Borders involve differentials of authority and jurisdiction. I like to illustrate this point to groups by speaking of car insurance. In Texas where I grew up, the driver of a car was insured, no matter which car the driver was driving. When I moved to Arizona, I was surprised to learn that the vehicle is insured no matter who drives it. And, in Sonora, Mexico, a driver in an accident is basically guilty until proved innocent. In Mexico, they think of driving vehicles the way we think of pilots flying planes. If you took off, anything that happened was your fault because you were in control, unless, of course, you could prove another was at fault or there were mechanical problems. So borders are somewhat important. Borders standardize many things. Some more than others, obviously. But living here as we do in a modern, Imperial Rome, how much difference they make on the U.S.-Mexico border is highly politicized and subject to political revision. We can change it.

Since September 11, 2001, thankfully more than a year after Humane Borders appeared on government radar, the U.S. has tried to redefine the border in terms of national security objectives and the so-called war on terrorism. So-called because conducting a war on an ism is like conducting a war on Kamikaze-ism. The ism is

a means, not a who. Confusing this has strained conversations with both governmental and political actors with whom I associate.

Law enforcement always has some amount of discretion. In the U.S., we could choose to enforce laws between the states as much or more than we do between nations. But we can't let local, state, or federal law enforcement have the ultimate responsibility for defining and politicizing the border. Both the police and the military work for civilian authority, and civilian authority will ultimately redefine the border. We've tried it the enforcement way. It's now past time to redefine it according to values and people. The border between Mexico and the United States is 1,954 miles. That's about half of the distance around the Texas-Mexico border adding in New Mexico Oklahoma, Arkansas, and finally, Louisiana – all of Texas's borders without the Gulf of Mexico or Mexico itself.

On any given day, with Interstate Highways 10, 20, 30, 35, and 40 connecting Texas to the various states, if the crime statistics are correct, there are far, far more drugs, far more guns, more rapists, more murderers, more abducted people, more people with outstanding warrants, more sex slaves, and so on crossing the Texas border with these other states on interstate highways than there are crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. Immigration restrictionists claim that their major concern is with the legality, or lack thereof, of the migration and they focus on the criminal element to make their case. If it's criminals they want, look closer to home. Looking closer to home, they would find more criminals. The Archimedean viewpoint helps us see that this is not about geography and that this is not about law, per se. It's about racism, bigotry and a host of other undesirable traits the restrictionists exhibit. It's about wholesale fear.

In order to search for these bad guys along one border and not all borders, people like the DHS sector chiefs and various restrictionists who simply don't deserve to have notoriety try to create more checkpoints north of the border in the interior, where federal officers can inquire about citizenship. I cannot express how much I resent interior checkpoints. When I was a youngster living in Big Spring, Texas, then home to Webb Air Force Base and its fighter training facilities, plus the 331st Tactical Fighting Wing, I was frequently lectured in public school classrooms by instructor pilots, base commanders, mayors, and business people about how free we were in the U.S. One of the measures they cited of how free we were was the fact that we didn't have to have papers to travel in the U.S, and we didn't have to stop at internal checkpoints like

they do in the Soviet Union. Today, we're not far from what they were describing to me in school, what they were using national might to protect us from. We're changing our national "theology". The new theology is that we can't trust each other. The cold war has come home. Soon, state-issued drivers' licenses will be inadequate identification to take domestic flights.

Neither the market nor the government can give us a simple answer to what to do about borders. In Arizona, the free traders want you to be able to drive through the Nogales port of entry with a semi tractor-trailer truck full of tomatoes at 75 miles per hour. The nativist, sovereignty folks want everyone stopped, digitized, and probably fumigated and incarcerated.

In terms of peace officers looking for bad guys, what is the difference between the borders between states and nations? The difference is that the crooks crossing the state lines are our crooks. The last bumper sticker I saw when I left Fort Worth, Texas in 1990 as I headed west read, "Sure LBJ was a crook, but I miss him." For all of his faults, in his day, freedoms were increased during his presidency, even during war time. New civil rights were secured. Today, states are removing rights at lightning pace as we see a new kind of malignant paternalism that smacks of incipient totalitarianism coming first from the Bush administration and now the Obama administration – and a lot of it is being played out on our borders. One can probably rightly forecast that all post 9-11 administrations will continue to use the so-called War on Terror as an excuse to grab for even more administrative power.

I once shared faith stories with Tucson Sector Chief Aguilar and his officers in a more public meeting. September 8 of 2000, Chief Aguilar was gracious enough to host a meeting for me with his sector administration, his patrol agents in charge and their staffs, about 35 in uniform. A few pastors, human rights activists, professors, attorneys, one nun and some friends of the movement gathered on "our side". In spite of the ubiquitous coffee and doughnuts, the ice still had to be broken. Honestly, there were more doughnuts on one side. A few agents even commented on it, saying it was a function of working shifts. I had the burden of starting a meeting which I think fortunately started a productive relationship. I reached back for a theological story that touched the cultural sediments in the lives of many in the room.

I borrowed this story from the early 20th century theologian Walter Rauschenbusch, who popularized the story of the Good Samaritan by making it into a story about a traveling salesman. I

probably butchered the story a little, but that's how texts get used. It seems the salesman went along the road from Jerusalem to Jericho often. And often, he encountered others in trouble, beaten, robbed, left to die. And every time, he put the injured man on his donkey and took him to the care of the innkeeper along the way to get help. One day, the donkey informed the traveling salesman that the salesman's "ass" was tired. "Why don't we take up a collection and hire a policeman out here?" Rauschenbusch used this story often to make the point that creating public institutions that improve the world is a really good thing to do. Everyone laughed a bit about the talking donkey but talking donkeys are not uncommon in scripture. Moses encountered one in the wilderness. "So", I said, "we're here to talk about law enforcement, Good Samaritans, and talking donkeys. I'm sure we each have our story to tell, but we're really here to find the talking donkey. That donkey had the best idea."

With that, the ice was broken and an honest exchange took place among everyone in the room. There was more in common than not. There were edgy statements but guards continued to ease. Direct, pointed communication followed that meeting to many others, smaller but just as pivotal. Friendships and functional relationships were established.

In all fairness, those crossing the borders may include people coming to do U.S. citizens harm. The same may be said of those who cross the Mississippi River. There are some bad guys along the border. There is a need for law enforcement. But before we all start to walk lockstep with militias in southern Arizona, or get deputized into some law enforcement agency, let's think a bit. In U.S. history a lot of bad events are home-grown. Some of the homegrown stuff had earlier, foreign associations, such as former Army soldier Timothy McVeigh, whom we taught how to kill others. But a large part of domestic violence is just plain homegrown. So I ask, how does someone know he or she is not hiring a terrorist when contracting for landscaping services or when leaving a tip for a maid at a hotel in Las Vegas? The simple answer is, one doesn't know. Another sad truth emerges when we examine our foes along the border, the Zetas, for instance. Quite simply, we taught the leaders of the Zetas cartel and many of their teachers in the so-called School of the Americas in Georgia. Now they are rogue, U.S. surrogate agents working against the U.S. for profit.

Imagine what it must be like to be a Border Patrol agent. Imagine the consternation of law enforcement when we ask them

to sort the bad people from the good people and police them in a just, ethical and humane way. They have a tough job and the migrants are in the middle. I've stopped in the desert when Border Patrol agents are out with a large group of migrants and asked them if they wanted water, food or phone. "No, Reverend, but please go over to mile post such and such. There's a group of 30 or so over there. Tell them we'll be by in about 45 minutes. Thanks." That's not the voice of a man who is thinking about terrorists. The U.S. charges agents with an impossible job.

In the real world, we live far, far away from the world of our idealized theologies and idealized intellectual frameworks. I've been in the desert when agents stopped me and said, "Dr. Hoover, we just "jumped up" some guys (that's a hunting term, and agents use many of them) with "full auto" (meaning fully automatic weapons) over here, and we're not sure if we have all of them." I was a high-speed vapor going through the desert in my Arizona-white truck (that's the color of most trucks in Arizona chosen because of the heat). I have experience with fully automatic weapons. Maybe the assumptions need to be different when policing the international border than the assumptions employed by those watching state borders. But probably not.

When I testified in 2003 at a Congressional subcommittee hearing about the migration, I argued for moving the migration back to the ports of entry, where everyone would be documented, inspected, checked for health status. Only then would we be able to change the assumptions of the law enforcement officials looking for terrorists.

If by changes in the laws, we were able to move most of the migration back through the ports of entry and the urban areas, where it was in the '80s, then the assumption of the officers in the desert would be that if they found a foreigner out there, it would be someone whose intentions warranted scrutiny. And, if the majority of the people entering the U.S. were doing so in a legal manner, then those found violating the law would more clearly be assumed to be those who would wish us harm.

From about 1993, when Congress nearly eviscerated interior enforcement of immigration laws, until September 11, 2001, one way of thinking prevailed. Now, we have another. Most of the interior workplace enforcement was once triggered by competitors complaining about unfair competition, especially after bidding wars for lucrative contracts for large jobs.

Now, neighbors spying on neighbors and undercover sting operations are what characterize federal enforcement activities. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents are getting larger pieces of the Department of Homeland Security budget every year. But as the presidential administrations continue to reorganize law enforcement, changes have to be "lived into" at times. FBI agents now have expanded authority, and the new federal Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services has a new mission. FBI agents will bring someone they just don't like into a BCIS office and say, "Do something about this man's immigration status!" To which the BCIS agent responds, "Which of the murderers, robbers, and rapists I'm investigating do you want me to let go so I can have time to deal with your guy?" A 25-year veteran with bird colonel rank from the then newly-formed BCIS and formerly on the benefit side of the INS recounted this story to me to express his utter frustration with the new DHS. Part of the reform of the INS as it was absorbed into the DHS was to divide enforcement and benefit functions. In its 2009 report, *Jailed Without Justice*, Amnesty International quoted Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)'s former executive director of the agency's Office of State and Local Coordination, James Pendergraph, speaking to attendees of the 2008 Police Foundation conference: "If you don't have enough evidence to charge someone criminally but you think he's illegal, we (ICE) can make him disappear."

More and more people and resources are being committed to border enforcement. At the state level, memoranda of agreement and memoranda of understanding are signed between counties and the Border Patrol. Laws like Arizona's Senate Bill 1070 in 2010 mandated new levels of cooperation between state and federal agencies. The so-called 287g agreements between the Department of Homeland Security and cities throughout the nation have, in effect, deputized thousands of new federal agents out of the local law enforcement personnel. The Secure Communities Act 2008 identified many undocumented people living in the U.S. and led to federal officers removing them for even minor offenses. The SCA was dismantled in 2011 due, in part, to local law enforcement's resistance to working so closely with federal officers. Since September 11, 2001, U.S. officials have chosen to make our frontier and our border co-terminus. This is a new kind of thinking for us, though scholars of war have led us down this path before.

A nation of immigrants, we now demonize migrants. I suppose we've decided we don't like our own kind. We criminalize poverty

in the Americas. We blame nearly everything we can on migrants. We have candidates who run for public office in Arizona who have nothing to say in public except that everything single thing wrong in Arizona can be blamed on migrants. Proposals are bandied about that suggest that migrants should be rounded up, put into tent cities, and forced to finish building the wall between the U.S. and Mexico to keep out their brethren.

"Isn't that funny?" the pundits ask. "That's clever", they conclude. Actually, it is malicious, unfeeling, against principles of human rights and certainly to be denounced from any and all of the traditional book-based faith traditions. We've forgotten much of whatever theology once motivated us.

Borders may be necessary for nation-states, though the significance of what they should be dividing is up for debate. For instance, in a global economy with great market pressures to standardize labor markets in, say, the western hemisphere, what is divided up along international borders is not always that clear.

Most everything that we blame on migrants turns out not to be true when rational, competent authorities investigate. For instance, the Congressional Budget Office reports that there is no evidence that migrants drive down wages in the aggregate. Generally speaking, when a business or even a whole sector enjoys lower wages, it will, in turn invest in capital and generate more jobs, which generally will go to those with greater skills, knowledge, and ability (SKA). Those with greater SKAs are citizens who are well adapted and educated. The U.S. is still something of a meritocracy. It's sort of a truism in this case that creating jobs on the lowest level, no matter the wage, generates jobs and wages on all levels.

Of course, the pastor in me says the big issue then, is whether or not there is an appropriate entry level. The correct questions are more along the lines of, "Do all people get to participate? Who are the coaches? Who are the referees? Who determines the rules in the game?"

If the restrictionists are not yelling about economics, they frequently yell about healthcare issues. Over nearly 20 years, we've heard folks like Lou Dobbs, who for years was on CNN hosting many of his like-minded guests and friends. Listening to them, you'd think all migrants are some sort of vermin-infested people driving down both the quality and availability of healthcare in the U.S. The media are reasonably unrestrained in the US, but that does not mean that they should not be accountable. Many of these pundits should do their homework and report the truth. The Centers for Disease

Control reported in 2006 that migrants who enter the US are healthier than the general population.

The cost of healthcare is a completely different matter. In the early '50s, when Congress mandated that federally licensed hospitals would have to provide free indigent care, the assumption was that the need for indigent care was evenly distributed around the country. Many times since, additional requirements in the legal obligations of hospitals have been added. But the original assumption about the even distribution of human need regardless of insurance or any other third-party reimbursement system was flawed, especially along international borders and in port cities.

But the users of healthcare who drive up the greatest costs related to the borders are not migrants. They are the persons who are "paroled into" the U.S. by Customs and Border Protection inspectors at the ports of entry who issue humanitarian waivers for people who present themselves at the ports in need of emergency medical care. Every year, one senator or another and several members of congress introduce bills in Congress to reimburse healthcare providers along the border for expenses that are not covered by first, or third-party, payers such as insurance. What needs to happen is this: Every time a waiver is signed, it automatically becomes a voucher for reimbursement by the federal government, appropriately through Health and Human Services, but more appropriately through the Department of Homeland Security. In the debate in the U.S. about guns and/or butter, about which takes the highest priority, the folks with the guns should have to think about butter once in a while.

Globalization is one of the big engines of this current migration. Reading just a little economic history reveals that many thought years ago that Sears and Roebuck was the monster corporation killing all the mom and pop retailers. Now it's Walmart. Welcome to globalization. That message should have reached the Minutemen, sitting in their lawn chairs along the border in the spring and fall when the weather suited them. Apparently, according to their sound bites and interviews we conducted, many of them lost jobs to globalization.

In the words of one of the forebears of Liberation Theology, Professor Gustavo Gutierrez of Notre Dame University, arguing against globalization is like arguing against electricity. It's here. If all of the migrants stayed in Mexico, globalization would still have left Minutemen behind. If the U.S. was not getting labor from Mexico and Central America, it would get it from somewhere else.

There are also cultural arguments that lead to myth constructions, some of which have as much power as scriptural texts for some Americans. One of these is the English-only movement. I have some sympathies with this if for no other reason than one shared language is efficient. It is constitutive of a people and their experience. On the other hand, one language makes us far too provincial and curbs our intellectual development. Ask anyone who has been immersed in another language and culture for a month or two. Language requires us to think differently, and that is creative. From the socio-political side, I abhor the hatred associated with English-only in the extreme. Today migrants learn the English language two generations sooner than they did in the first two decades of the 1900s. If one is moved by the so-called culture wars issues, I suggest scholars and culture warriors measure CD purchases and iPod downloads to see if what the folks arguing about English Only say is really true. I'm sure the researcher will find that the younger the migrant, the faster English is mastered. Most of the migrants encountered in the desert are between the ages of 14 and 24. If they were able to move about even more freely in U.S. communities, they would learn English even sooner.

Race is one of the "texts" that we just can't get rid of. Racism is a major part of the immigration equation in the U.S. No one can deny this. I disrespectfully tell people that if the migrants dying in the deserts of Arizona were Swedish sex workers, Congress would probably be doing something about death in the desert. I borrowed the line from a comedian whose name I don't know, but the point is easily made with humor. Problem is, the situation is not so funny.

Here's another inarguable point about race and migration. Some 43 percent of the undocumented persons in the US – according to government statistics, census data, universities and the Pew Hispanic Center – are those who came here legally and overstayed their visas. That means that they were inspected at one time. Yet, all of the rhetoric from the restrictionists, the BS on talk radio, and the hate spewing from cable television shows focuses usually only on the southwest border. Never mind that, according to DHS' own statistics, one was many times more likely to encounter a people crossing the border with Canada with guns or other contraband than one who was crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. Never mind that up to 43 percent of those who are here illegally include the little Irish nurse working in the healthcare facility in St. Louis. Focusing on the southwest border is a racist act that ignores

many of the facts about the migration. It is evidenced in the blogs, the websites, and the flyers that circulate from supremacist groups. I've received withering emails and even hard-copy mail from folks in Idaho who are part of raced-based groups, denouncing me for helping "beaners". The spirit of all can be diminished through abuse.

Race has to be a part of this national conversation because our first federal law on immigration was race-based and continued to be race-based until 1965. The first law was the Chinese Exclusion law. Many of the laws passed since have been just as racist. Nominally, we changed our race-based immigration policies in 1965 to nominally non-racist immigration policies. However, functionally, we still have racism institutionalized in our "country of origin" quota system. In the past, only so many people of the Indian race could enter the U.S. Now it's not the Indian race, it's people from India. The only thing that changed was our classification language, not the racial heritage of the immigrant. The effect of the laws before 1965 and after is the same. A lot of the anti-immigrant behavior we see on the border in Arizona where I live and a lot of what we see in media from all over the country is directed specifically at brown-skinned people, particularly indigenous populations, from our own hemisphere. Now the fear has expanded to people from the middle east and Muslims in general.

A personal story: In the '90s, I was a doctoral student, a pastor and a construction contractor. I was sort of a full-time student, three-quarter time pastor and a full-time contractor all at the same time. I had many years of experience in commercial construction, and I had a lot of tools. I had to have people working for me to make a living and support my educational venture.

One day, my roofing crew was tearing off the roof of an expensive, split-level home in West Texas. I had gone to the roofing supply warehouse to pay for the shingles and arrange for delivery. I also stopped by the bank to get money to pay my guys for what they were about to finish.

While I was gone, two Border Patrol agents ran up my ladders with their hands on their guns and checked papers on everyone on the job. It was an illegal workplace raid. The threat of violence was palpable. I don't know about all the states but in Texas it is understood that when an officer has his hand on a gun, he's not only acting under color of authority that comes with uniform and badge, but he is also projecting the threat of deadly force.

The agents demanded identification from each of the men on the roof. That, too, is illegal. A citizen is only required by law to attest to citizenship which means they could simply have said, "I am an American citizen", and they would have satisfied the requirement of the law. Every one of my men were born in Lubbock, Texas. Being born in Lubbock is nothing to brag about, but all were legally residing in Lubbock. It must be mentioned again, that the agents had zero authority to go onto the property, much less up on the roof. But, my guys were brown. They were roofing. Therefore, the Border Patrol presumed they must be undocumented. That's called profiling – about the most blatant profiling one will hear of. The white owner of the house came out to see what the fuss was about and the Border Patrol agents, on the ground by now, were apologizing profusely to this white man for disturbing him. "Sorry, sir. We were just following up on a tip. Someone had called in a tip that there were some undocumented persons working here." Yeah, sure. The agents left. The only person who was undocumented on that property was the white man who owned the house. He was my customer. He was from New Zealand. He was a visiting professor at Texas Tech University who had overstayed his work visa. The thing about racial and occupational profiling is that it doesn't work, and it literally "enforces" a racist society, thus reinforcing stereotypes. It angers citizens. It breeds distrust. If the professor had fulfilled his visa requirements, I would have lost a customer and the roofers would have been out of work.

It probably is a very good thing that I was not on the premises when all of this took place. I would have informed the agents about the law and I would have ended up in jail. It probably would have begun with, "Get the fuck off of my ladders."

Agents acting under authority can enter a workplace but they are required to make inquiries about employment records and give employers time to produce or update any records. It probably would have cost me a lot of money to prove that I was right and they were wrong. And I would probably have had an arrest record. This is precisely what happened in Arizona on a large scale following legislation passed at the state level that activists called the "Papers Please" law. It authorized all state and state subsidiary – city and county – law enforcement to profile and use reasonable suspicion standards to demand proof of citizenship during routine police business.

A discussion on fences belongs in this section on social theology. Why? Because even a fence is a "text". Consider the Berlin

Wall, the Great Wall of China, the line between North and South Korea. Each says a lot. I watched television commentator/entertainer Bill O'Rielly on Fox News once tell NPR correspondent Juan Williams that the buffer zone between North and South Korea was his vision for separating the U.S. from Mexico.

In 2006, I taped a piece for ABC World News Tonight at the border in Sasabe, Arizona, United States of America, one foot from Sasabe, Sonora, United States of Mexico. As a proponent of an open society, I decried the border fencing proposed by both the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate. One day, as a nation, we will look back with revulsion on how we've treated the migrants entering this country. A future President will be apologizing to other nations and to naturalized citizens for not observing human rights conventions and pursuing policies sooner that remove death from the immigration equation: She will apologize for not removing the suffering of hundreds of thousands of people and for not providing an image of an open society to the rest of the world in a way that makes the rest of the world want to be like us, instead of fearing us. I can get all of that just from the reading the story of Oded. Others have to get there a more slowly by arguing about justice and rights.

No matter how we get to the conclusion, we all agree that border enforcement is not the ultimate solution for reforming border policies. And that's unfortunate in part because I'm the first to tell you that there are some "bad guys" on and around the border. Border banditry, murder, and torture are part of the reality in which I live. There would be less if the migration were moved to the ports of entry. Guns and contraband are moved south across the border every day and night. And a lot of the dangerous and foolhardiness is going in both directions. There is a role for law enforcement.

If we're talking just about the migration, we need to figure out something else because what we are doing doesn't work. Just west of Tucson is the Altar-Avra Valley corridor. On the border at the head of those two valleys, is the small community of Sasabe, Arizona. Approximately 21 miles south of the border there was a checkpoint where Grupo Beta stopped every vehicle, counted the number of people, and warned them of the dangers ahead. Grupo Beta is a Mexican governmental agency charged with migrant safety.

The five or so years that Grupo Beta worked that checkpoint were a gold mine for gathering information and data about the migration. We could stop, visit with the agents, interview and often

film the migrants in vans. We could get our own sense about the mix of men and women, their ages, countries of origin and more.

The migration through this point has been seasonal. Annually, the migration usually begins right after January 6, the so-called Twelfth Day of Christmas, Epiphany, or as the Mexicans call it, the Feast of the Three Kings. For many years now, the migration has peaked sometime between late February and early March, and it typically remains steady for several more weeks. Then it gradually declines. In 2007, the migration peaked at about 4,600 people daily through that checkpoint. In the summer and before Christmas, I've seen it drop to as low as 200. The count was usually taken between about 9 a.m. and 5 p.m. Most years, more people come through that checkpoint alone, not just Arizona, cut that single checkpoint, between January 1 and May 1 than live in the city of Tucson. Today the Border Patrol apprehends a substantial percentage of the migrants. But in 2002, Humane Borders worked with land managers and estimated that Border Patrol were apprehending only about 18 percent in that area of the border. Even though the percentage is higher now, agents continue to tell us that any persistent migrant will make it into the U.S. One of the reasons is that U.S. employers reward them with jobs.

The U.S. has created the conditions that cause most of the migration to come by signing unfair trade agreements, by displacing people from the land through short-sighted land management practices, water pollution, and other environmental problems. During the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, modern U.S. agriculture exported into Mexico had the effect of displacing millions of Mexicans who eventually left home to go to the U.S. Instruments of power like NAFTA are just as bad as folks in Oded's story who went from the north into the south and took all they could from their kinfolk. The NAFTA has been a huge engine for migration, but it's not NAFTA alone. Most of the market changes would have come to pass with or without the treaty.

Voices across the U.S. argue that employers shouldn't hire migrants. They say that the U.S. should enforce employer sanctions. But that is ultimately not in our collective self-interest. These people are highly motivated, highly incented, often highly skilled. Truth be told, we're taking those we consider the best from Mexico: that is, taking young, strong, hopeful people who are very happy to work at just about anything so they can improve their livelihoods and provide for their families.

On any given week, some U.S. senators and some U.S. representatives are in back rooms or in their respective chambers talking about these issues. Few, though, are talking about the human costs associated with these immoral policies that no rational mind would choose following any ethical model I can think of. Not listening to the human costs that are associated with trade policies, migration policies and law enforcement policies is to be, become and engender callousness itself. These human costs include death, human rights violations, humiliation, fear, hardships, family separations, convictions, torture, robbery, abuse, rape – all manner of stress and human indignity.

A major, comprehensive immigration reform is in America's future. It will not be focused on national security first anymore than our current enforcement out in the desert is focused first on national security today. And the irony is that when we get comprehensive immigration reform, we'll have better security than we now have. Our elected representatives in state and federal government need to learn the value that faith communities place upon neighbors and kin.

One of the uses of religion that Humane Borders employed when I was leading it was remembering and honoring dead migrants. We did that in two distinct ways. First, Humane Borders held an annual Migrant Memorial service at First Christian Church in Tucson. Second, we would leave that service and march in the streets of Tucson or travel to a gathering at the Pima County Medical Examiner's office.

The memorial service incorporated prayers, litanies, a reading of the names of the dead and a call to remember them. Those attending the memorial took the wooden cross representing a person who had died in the desert and carried it to the next part of the event. My colleagues in Christ, Sr. Elizabeth Ohmann and the Rev. Randy Mayer were most often the liturgists. Sr. Elizabeth regularly located our conversation in God. Mayer regularly spoke about what we have to do next so that everyone will know that the deaths of the migrants are totally preventable if we would act on the things we care about.

First Christian Church and Humane Borders built a physical memorial in the form of a small ramada. The open-air structure sat on a concrete slab and resembled a small pavilion one might see along the road at a rest stop. One wall was closed in. On it were maps showing the locations of the deaths in the desert, various interpretive materials and a large poster in the shape of the state of

Arizona. Within the outline of the state, were the names of migrants known to have died in recent years. Each new year's list of migrants was larger than the previous year. The ramada was torn down and the lumber recycled into a storage facility when Humane Borders moved to a new location at the House of Neighborly Services in 2010.

When we held events like the annual memorial service – at the end of September to coincide with the end of the government's fiscal year – or the dedication of the migrant memorial ramada, we “referenced” religion, but we never forced religion on anyone. Religious leaders in the group wore vestments, named God and read scripture, but none of the volunteers were coerced into participating. Rather, many were motivated by faith to be a part of Humane Borders. All who wanted to were encouraged to participate. Many were comfortable with and accustomed to religious language and found a sense of release and connection to things eternal in these events.

Another physical reminder of the migrants was our museum-quality migrant trash exhibit. It traveled to many places around the U.S. It featured things we found in the desert including: a bicycle used to cross Organ Pipe Cactus National monument, a baby stroller found on a migrant trail about 23 miles north of the border, shoes, water jugs, a bible, a backpack, and more.

In 2003, Sue Goodman, Maeve Hickey and others participated in creating a migrant memorial and exhibit in the courtyard of the church. Hundreds of people saw what a migrant camp looks like in the desert, to see migrant trash left behind and many crosses bearing names of migrants who have died. Tears flowed daily. One man walked in and saw the name of a migrant with whom he had crossed the desert. There had been snow and ice in the higher elevations. He went one way, the other man another. That man froze to death. Seeing the unusual and unmistakable name, it hit him, he fell to his knees and he wept. A woman visited the installation, stood and trembled for an hour remembering difficult times in her past associated with the border.

Many of us working in these human rights organizations along the border are usually fairly religious – but we're also political. Religion is part of the world we live in, or least it should be. Much in the spirit of the political funerals we have seen for decades around the world, our events were similarly designed to bring forth a strong sense of moral purpose both in the activities of Humane Borders and to spur even more resolve to change U.S. border policies that

kill migrants. Desmond Tutu spoke with a few of us ministers one day in 1993. We spoke about political funerals for a moment. He had been officiating many funerals for fellow black South Africans. He said he did this with an eye to consoling mourners before him by giving them a vision of what the world would be like if they all worked in concert to change the world. That is political drama. It is dramaturgy. Such was our task, too.

Each of these events resulted in calls to people to remember and calls for all to act. Each included calls to elected officials, to public administrators and often, law enforcement, to be responsible for what is happening in our desert.

Theology is a poetic, compelling language for feeling the border as it is, taking in and honoring the losses, and for finding human strength to change the system that leads to these deaths.

CHAPTER ELEVEN
FIXING THE BORDER

Then those who were mentioned by name got up and took the captives, and with the booty they clothed all that were naked among them; they clothed them, gave them sandals, provided them with food and drink, and anointed them; and carrying all the feeble among them on donkeys, they brought them to their kindred at Jericho, the city of palm trees. Then they returned to Samaria.

–2 Chronicles 28:15 NRSV

As this writing project ends, much is different, but nothing has substantially changed. Faith communities continue to be profoundly concerned about the unprecedented numbers of migrant deaths in our deserts. Some are tired, some jaded. Some communities are trying new way of helping, new ways of protesting and new strategies for change. Denominations continue to discern the story of God among the poor. Resolutions and position papers abound. Politicians like U.S Senator Jeff Flake of Arizona who were once friendly to reform, are now focused on enforcement. Glimmers of hope and openness are seen here and there. Small, faith-based nonprofits and groups continue to emerge to raise voices together, to aggregate interests and to be a moral voice for a country that fails to grasp the intricacies of the border in particular and migration policies in general. Polls tell us that people, though, want reform.

Federal and state politicians compete to see who can be the best and the worst for migrants. The largest migration in Europe since World War II, when so many people were classified as DPs, displaced persons, has created a politics of fear in many countries, but notably in the U.S. Governors have been trying to tell long-established, publicly-supported organizations that they cannot continue to provide resettlement services to migrants from Syria, or perhaps from anywhere. Legislation regarding migrants rises in one state house, falls in another, rises in the House or Representatives and is struck down in the Senate.

As war, the politics of race, globalization, religious persecution, privatization, nationalism and so much more continue to cleave public opinion and polarize voters, the need for clear religious thinking that is both grounded and imaginative is growing. One cannot, in my opinion, look at the Syrian exodus and not wonder out loud where God is. For me, the answer is clear: in the migrant's midst, in the waters where migrants are drowning, in the receiving nations and in front of us – calling to help. Unfortunately, faith communities often neglect their mission, partially because the larger communities – especially those populated with policy and political actors, don't expect it. Much needs to change.

Those with whom I have worked in migration ministries have been on a quest to promote migrant safety and migrant rights alongside a border separating two countries. For more than 30 years now, I have tried to keep focused on efforts to minister to migrating peoples in many ways but also to minister to the country by trying to fix its broken systems.

In south Texas, I worked with people we deemed to be political refugees. The U.S. classified them as seekers of political asylum. In Tucson, I worked primarily with the undocumented. I now work primarily for migrant safety and migrant rights, interacting with universities, Mexican governmental organizations, and human rights groups.

Through these years, I see that the faith communities have for millennia adapted to the presence of foreigners, sojourners, visitors of every kind. I see that they followed God's command to love these people. I've seen that in the process of loving these people, that religious liberty can be placed at risk by politicians. Empires don't always like to see faith communities practice their faiths. And faith communities have not always seen the borderlands or the presence of the "other" in their midst as a major claim upon their mission and an invitation to public ministry.

Most of the time, faith communities have understood and responded to the border with some sort of disaster relief. Humanitarians, some working out of the faith tradition, others not, have deliberately politicized the deaths, but not often enough. Denominations fear taking public stands and criticizing border enforcement follies or criticizing national sovereignty by calling it the idolatry that it has become. The deaths continue. The humanitarians still rise to meet some of the needs. But I see the job of both the faith communities and the humanitarians to be teaching the world how to care for itself. We're not doing a very good job.

What remains for us all is to change the cluster of policies that place these migrants' lives at risk. Changing them will require an understanding that it is in the long-term interests of the U.S. to do so.

A broad coalition of interests and political actors is needed to make progress toward changing policies, enforcement strategies, promoting migrant safety and enhancing migrant rights. Much needs to be done to elevate the status of migrants who are living here. Not to do that is to denigrate our own heritage. We must increase the number of legal – but also moral – ways for migrants to come here. One should not have to choose between family and finances, for instance. And much needs to be done to promote economic development in the migrants' countries of origin.

All of this is to say that the number of topics to be covered in a very comprehensive immigration reform seems to increase continually. Without question, self-interest and moral imperatives should lead the U.S. to reform laws and practices concerning political asylum, refugee resettlement, the treatment of unaccompanied minors, and short and long-term detention to name a few of the issues. Faith communities used to raise their arms and point to the Rome that America has become in Mexico and Central America and damn it for its immoral policies. Border agents who often represent the first contact migrants have with the U.S. are in need of professionalization. Lots of specialized bodies of law, practice and strategy such as expedited removal, Operation Streamline and repatriation flights need to be re-examined.

For decades we on the border who have spent major portions of our lives working for justice have cried out for Congressional hearings. The only time Congress seems to direct any attention to the border is when enforcement budgets are under consideration and the attention of individual members of Congress is directed at only one thing: reelection. Scant attention is given to human rights by the U.S. Congress. When a member of Congress releases a statement, he or she is usually speaking to the base, but he or she is also campaigning.

The various border groups and faith communities that engage with the migrants do have a moral voice that should be raised often and loudly. The traditions, the talent, the perspectives, the insights of these people are their own kind of wisdom and insight, but their mere presence and experience are also a unique warrant for coming to the table for this reform discourse. Similarly situated are the people who make up civil society in the communities along the border. They have a stake in the outcomes of migration policy

reforms. They will have a major role to play in the implementation of whatever reforms do inevitably come.

Faith communities and civil society intersect in so many places all along the border. A faith community may create a specialized nonprofit organization to provide goods and services to a target population, while a group of individuals and organizations from the local civil society may become, over time, the largest financial contributors to the organization. It can and does happen the other way, too.

During the implementation of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, both faith communities and civil society created what the government called "Qualified Designated Entities". These QDEs provided meeting places, qualified leaders and eager volunteers. They helped undocumented people gather their documents and practice English. They worked with what was then the Immigration and Naturalization Service to arrange meetings of INS officials with the undocumented in safe, neutral places. Many, many millions of dollars were raised and many undocumented persons eventually became citizens. The effort of QDEs saved taxpayers huge sums of money.

One day in the mid-90s, I sat and watched a group of men from all over the world playing soccer in the grass lot at La Posada Providencia in San Benito, Texas, where I and some youths from Lubbock, Texas were doing some remodeling for the women religious who run La Posada. There was a Ph.D. in mathematics from St. Petersburg, Russia; a political refugee from Israel; a student from Senegal; a former customs officer from Algeria who spoke six languages; a father and son from southern Mexico. Those are the ones I remember. What country wouldn't want these highly motivated, ambitious, skilled, and viable workers as citizens? Apparently, the answer is not ours. But these nonprofit groups continue their work. They rescue a few with the efforts of people from all over the Lower Rio Grande Valley who for various reasons join in the labors of life and love.

In Tucson, Humane Borders provided an intersection for people from all over the world. Interns came from different continents. More than 15,000 visitors came in the first 10 years. Migrants came from dozens of countries. Political people from all over the world came to see what we were doing and hear what I was saying. Right after the air war began in Iraq this most recent time, I asked a husband and wife team of human rights attorneys from India, who were visiting and studying, what they thought. The husband imme-

diately responded by saying, "This is easy. The United States is expanding its markets." In the confluence of internationals along the border, it may be easier to see things for what they are. Something here in this desert may help us understand something far away in another.

Similarly, something that happens all over the world may help us to see things here differently. The death of a rancher or the death of a law enforcement agent elicits a reaction from citizens that is not parallel to real threats and similar incidents in interior locations like Denver or Louisville. Most of these deaths are associated with a foolish drug war that needs to end.

How we see situations, people, borders, and politics matters. The border is all about others, alterity (otherness), race, jurisdiction, authority and power. Many sociologists report that 11 a.m. on Sundays is the most segregated hour in the U.S. That may be very true. But it is important to note that in those places, all of these things are spoken of, prayed about and pondered in light of religious traditions that span millennia. The "book" religions have what scholars call "fixity of text". Culture changes but not Holy Scripture. There are phenomenal capacities in faith communities to do some things about migration policies with the resources they offer. From a faith perspective, the border should not segregate our nation.

During the Sanctuary Movement faith communities transcended the many boundaries and did the work of the people, the work of God, and the work of justice. There is significant urgency to do the same today.

But to do the work and provide the intersections in the deserts of our lives where the miracles happen, we have to study the assumptions, practices and politics of the many, many players and the divided publics, in order to meet the needs of the people.

Elected officials like power and like to remain elected. The Tohono O'odham leaders like to feel they are run over by the outside world. The media like to find a molecule from which to explain the entire compound. Faith communities are diverse but they can agree on the same programs of action.

This book calls on people of good faith (religiously defined, politically defined, and/or legally defined) to share with the world their desires to help desperate peoples, to initiate and sustain large public discourses, to go the long route toward transformative politics – and to do so without dramatically impeding the work of the country.

At the end of 2010, I read from *The Monitor*, a paper in South Texas, a story that showed the stamina of faith-based nonprofits working in migration policy. Members of the American Bar Association were visiting the legal-services nonprofit ProBar, which provides services to political asylum seekers staying at La Posada Providencia. In 2014, Steve Inskeep of NPR's *Morning Edition*, reported from a building I remodeled in 1997. The shelter there has also worked through the years with Texas Conference of Churches in Austin, Texas; Proyecto Libertad in Harlingen, Texas; Southwest Good Samaritan Ministries in Los Fresnos, Texas, and others. Faith communities have been shown to have more stamina than human rights groups but the two should work together whenever and wherever possible. And each has to learn the language of the other.

With the recent successes of ISIS, faith-based coalitions and human rights organizations have been joining ranks in response to politicians rushing to restrict the movements of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. New coalitions have emerged and will continue to, as needed. Conferences are being held, books being published, capacities are being maintained and many people can be mobilized on short notice. It's a very old calling. Long before there was writing, it was taught as the Law of the Wadi. But in a modern or even postmodern world, we need the imaginary Letters of Transit we learned about in the movie *Casablanca*. They are a Hollywood fiction, of course, but they could just as easily be the new visas we're looking for, with faith, perspective and a political future together.

Congregations need pastors but they also need followers. Organizations need board members and key players. Sometimes everything comes together. Sometimes many things fall apart. Humane Borders had an incredible meteoric rise and an unfortunate serious decline. I attribute most of the change in Humane Borders to leadership.

Sr. Elizabeth Ohmann was with Humane Borders since before it existed. She was working as a staff member of BorderLinks. I often walked across the parking lot to conspire with my elder sister in Christ. Toward the end of our time together, she was experiencing health problems and beginning to slow down. Every so often, the sisters in her order filled out forms in their convent office indicating their wishes about many things. For years, Ohmann indicated she wanted me to preach her memorial at the convent in Little Falls, Minnesota. I had been there before and she showed me where

her final resting place was to be. She died in 2014. Her absence was huge in Humane Borders. It was easy to give voice to the celebration of her life and ministry before her community and family. There was so much to say. She was steady, calm, decisive, and an active listener. She could almost always summarize the day's proceedings with a sentence that was spot on and still filled with hope. Or, she would teach us the kind of kind of response we all should be making in the moment.

Tim Holt lived and breathed Humane Borders from the very beginning. If there was an event, a meeting, an outing, he was there. He spent phenomenal hours keeping the books, organizing files, and reports. As an engineer, he spent a lot of time putting things back together with bailing wire when needed and brought the skilled hands of a craftsman to a creative task to equip our trucks. He maintained our tool room. He brought a voice to Humane Borders that was strong, decisive, and visionary. We buried him in May 2010.

Sue Goodman, my former wife, was our executive director for nearly a decade. She embodied Humane Borders. She fashioned a bumper sticker that spelled out "Mrs. Humane Borders". She was friend, confessor, archivist, intern director, coordinator for work study students, office manager, organizer, database manager and a whole lot more. She often helped with media personalities. Her very elderly aunt in Texas increasingly required significant amounts of her time and attention. She would travel sometimes for weeks to Texas to give her the care she needed. This often left the office staffed by interns or volunteers who had far less knowledge and skill.

Paul Fuschini was our vice president for years. He accumulated a wealth of knowledge about our operations, spoke well for the organization in meetings and in the media. He did everything he could to maintain good relationships with other organizations, the Border Patrol and with elected officials. At the turn of the decade, Paul had some physical limitations that prevented him from giving as much time as he had in the first decade of Humane Borders.

I injured my upper back in 1993 and reinjured it in 2003 by jumping off of a water truck. Balancing Humane Borders along with First Christian Church's pastoral duties and its agenda to remodel its facilities was always a difficult challenge. I would often go home and say, "I can't do this anymore." But, I continued until it was time to move on. The presence of interns like Sara Bollinger who was

pursuing a master's degree at University of Arizona helped hold things together.

Long story short, we began losing principals who carried in their person the goals, values, commitments and knowledge of how to do business. Before things were beginning to deteriorate too much and we were beginning to envision a time when we could no longer maintain the same level of operations, I began trying to forge an expanded working board of directors.

That was a disaster, in my opinion. Opinions are often not worth much, but objectively I can say that things began changing. The board really never became the working board as it was envisioned not just by me but also by the large group that was convened to constitute the new board.

The board needlessly, perhaps foolishly, changed the organizational structure from a C4 to a C3. The board quit reaching out to local and regional congregations that had established patterns of helping Humane Borders. No efforts were made to continue the annual Migrant Memorial and March. No one was either willing or able to take up the mantle of being available to the media, a hallmark of the organization for more than a decade. Volunteer groups were no longer encouraged to come to Humane Borders which effectively canceled one of the main founding ideals: to tell the story of the plight of the migrants away from the border so that others could advocate for them.

In a relatively short time, Humane Borders quit promptly returning phone calls, emails, and written correspondence. The energy was gone. Group leaders and media personalities regularly called me to complain and all I could do was refer them to a particular person or say, "Keep trying."

A major issue arose while Humane Borders was still located at First Christian Church. The Church Board routinely produced a Memorandum of Understanding between FCC and Humane Borders just to keep both boards informed of the formal relationships, what was being provided by FCC. Then Humane Borders President Felipe Lundin profoundly insulted the Church Board when his response was to simply thank FCC for providing custodial – just that – services for the offices. The FCC's church board wrote another letter. Felipe fumbled it, too.

No More Deaths drew some Humane Borders volunteers and its operations person into the mess of putting out water on the Buenos Aires National Wildlife Refuge and was proud to list Humane Borders

as a supporter of these actions at BANWR. I was glad to help stop that nonsense.

Soon after, Humane Borders moved to its present location. The organization is substantially changed. It is a shadow of its former self. It has a new organizational form and a board that lacks institutional memory. The organization operates far fewer water stations, only rarely has a presence in the media and has substantially lost the prestige it once had.

As Humane Borders waned, other groups rose. The Samaritans grew. I was glad to participate in the founding of the Samaritans. Rick Chase invited me and Sue Goodman to lunch one day at Time Market near the church. We were invited to help with the founding of No More Deaths. We both immediately declined by informing him it was hard enough to keep the Samaritans from jeopardizing our federal permits to operate water stations without also supporting an organization that he was describing that was going to "push the envelope", "make some noise" and become a resistance movement. It's hard enough to be insider/outsider in discourse, without also trying to be a service provider/critic.

Other human rights and service-oriented groups are needed. The mission to provide humanitarian assistance to migrants risking their lives crossing the border is not going away. The mission to provide advocacy for changing the laws that put migrants in peril will not go away in the foreseeable future. I was shocked to see a book recently published in England titled Post-Humanitarian Border Politics. I can't imagine a post-humanitarian era yet. Hopefully, good, moral people in places like Tucson where the needs are so great, but also all along the border, will continue to rise to the occasion and form groups and organizations, speak the words that need to be spoken while looking back at a long, rich history of activism and service of the faith communities, and looking forward to a future that envisions a benign Empire – if even that might become the next goal. Geopolitics always changes. Sometimes the life of one migrant can make all the difference. It's happened before.

