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As a young child, I tried to understand America's unjust immigration policies, and while I knew that my mother was at risk of deportation she was always brave. For continuously making

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deportation or return, by providing access to resource and services, and engaging them in other forms of activism.

Nonetheless, upon deportation or return many immigrants are lost and alone as they navigate unfamiliar cities. Matters are worse for those that lived most of their life in the U.S. and do not know the language, don't have any family or acquaintances in Mexico, and don't have

million, still making up about half of the total undocumented population (Gonzalez-Barrera et al., 2018). Immigrant populations tend to be geographically concentrated, with more than half of the total undocumented population living in four states including: California (27%), Texas (13%), New York (8%), and Florida (6%) (Hallock et al., 2018). In 2016, 69% of California's undocumented immigrant population were Mexican (approximately 1.5 million undocumented Mexican immigrants—the highest total for any state) (Gonzalez-Barrera et al., 2018). That same year, undocumented Mexican immigrants made up more than 75% of the undocumented immigrant populations in four states: New Mexico (91%), Idaho (79%), Arizona (78%), Oklahoma (78%) and Wyoming (77%) (Gonzalez-Barrera et al., 2018).

Despite the fact that more than 12 million lives are at stake, the United States government consistently acts on widespread anti-immigrant sentiments that further threaten the livelihoods of immigrants. In 2015 Donald Trump spearheaded his presidential campaign with alarming anti-immigrant, sexist, and fascist comments. Since his election, Trump's crackdown on immigration has affected a mass amount of immigrants and has resulted in: consistent efforts to build a border wall, decreased refugee admissions, increased asylum application rejections, the ending of both Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) and Temporary Protected Status (TPS) which stripped hundreds of thousands of immigrants of protection from deportation, skyrocketed arrests, etc. (See Appendix B) (Lind et al., 2019). However, even under Barack Obama, who governed on a democratic and alleged pro-immigrant platform, the United States saw a total of 3,094,208 removals and 2,186,907 returns under his eight year term (See Table 1) (Gonzalez, 2017). Obama set the record for the most deportations under any other president which resulted in his nickname of "Deporter in Chief". Altogether, anti-immigrant efforts overseen by the Obama and Trump administrations have made the lives of immigrants increasingly precarious

and have spread anxiety about deportation. Recent deportation records (Table 1), amongst other anti-immigrant statistics (Appendix B), highlight that immigrants are always under threat of deportation, even under a progressive president.

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same year 37,190 undocumented immigrants were returned to Mexico (“

path to citizenship or permanent residency... an end to attacks against immigrants and to the criminalisation of immigrant communities” (Robinson, 2006). While the Movement serves to meet immigrants’ immediate needs, it also addresses the underlying systems of oppression that creates unjust conditions. In fact, the Immigrant Rights Movement has consistently challenged unjust, discriminatory, and anti-immigrant policies and practices that directly affect immigrants.

Federal immigration policies in the United States have historically been flawed, inefficient, discriminatory, and have consequently harmed millions of immigrants and their families. In response, immigrant activism has often emerged to fight discriminatory policies and practices. For instance, in 1986 Ronald Reagan signed into law the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). IRCA served as a pathway to citizenship for 3.2 million immigrants who had entered the United States before January 1, 1986, as long as they had resided there continuously and met certain requirements

had between 1.25 and 1.5 million attendees (Watanabe, 2006). Not only were the millions of protesters rejecting HR 4437, they also demanded a comprehensive immigration reform. However, without organizers, educators, attorneys, as well as their corresponding organizations, the mass mobilization efforts of 1986 or 2006 would not have been possible.

immigrants by providing interpretation and translation services, citizenship services such as citizenship classes, immigration support services, and direct legal services such as legal advice and counsel. Organizing efforts supplement services by empowering immigrants around issues relevant to the immigrant community, and in turn influences service delivery by informing members of the group about service needs in their communities. Additionally, organizing is a form of activism because it i

2014 (González-Barrera, 2015). Additionally, between 2014 and 2016 there were 150,030 returns to Mexico (Table 3) (“Table 40. Aliens Returned By Region And Country Of Nationality: Fiscal Years 2014 To 2016”, 2017). While the numbers of returns have decreased since 2014, those numbers do not account for the thousands still being deported. Thus, on any given year thousands of deportees and returns arrive in Mexico after having lived in the United States for an extended period.

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deal with bureaucratic challenges and must therefore navigate bureaucratic spaces that they are unfamiliar with. For instance, if they are detained by the police and do not have a Mexican identification—which many deportees and returnees do not have since they lived in the U.S. for extended periods—they may be jailed. Additionally, deportees are often removed directly from detention centers which means that they are often less prepared and less willing to return. Unwillingness to return can further trigger emotional difficulties throughout their reintegration experience (Ghazaryan et al., 2002). Overall, the social, bureaucratic, and emotional obstacles faced by deportees and returnees subject them to precarious conditions that impact their livelihoods.

Acknowledging the high rates of deportations and returns, as well as the myriad obstacles faced upon deportation or return, the Mexican government launched a federal program in 2014 aimed at helping both deportees and returnees in their reintegration experience.

established a network of reception centers along the border that “greet deportees with food, help them sign up for health insurance, provide access to a phone and local transportation, and give information about how to get work” (Semple, 2018). is one of seven Mexican federal programs that operate to provide explicit and implicit support to returning and deported Mexicans. However, the program has been critiqued as “minimal” and merely a “band-aid” solution for a much larger problem. In “Bilingual, Bicultural, Not Yet Binational Undocumented Immigrant Youth in Mexico and the United States” (2016), Jill Anderson writes that Mexico’s support for deportees and returnees has been “particularly inadequate for bicultural, bilingual immigrant youth and children in Mexico, who need a differentiated route across multiple years in order to integrate into Mexico’s government programs, public schools and labor markets”.

Aware of the lack of or inadequate resources available to the thousands of deportees and returnees that arrive in Mexico each year, as well as the subsequent difficulties that they face, activists have embarked on their own efforts to support them through those experiences. In fact, various founders, co-founders, and leaders of these groups have experienced deportation or return themselves. In Tijuana, deportee and returnee serving groups include: Madres Soñadoras Internacional/DREAMers Moms USA/Tijuana A.C., Deported Veterans Support House, and Al Otro Lado. In Mexico City: Poch@ House/Otros Dreams en Accion, Deportados Unido@s en La Lucha, and Hola Code. The groups do not identify belonging to a specific social movement but are related to and can be seen as an extension of the Immigrant Rights Movement in the United States.

Like immigrant-serving organizations in the United States, groups in Mexico meet both the immediate and long-term needs of deportees and returnees. For instance, a key area of their work is accompaniment of deportees and returnees and involves receiving them at the airport or border crossing, providing food, clothing, temporary shelter, psychological support, resources such as bus tickets and connections to job opportunities, and helping them attain the necessary Mexican identification. Such immediate and initial support helps avoid unnecessary bureaucratic hardships, invites deportees and returnees into a community of folks with similar experiences, and helps them be better prepared for their reintegration experience. In terms of advocacy and organizing, groups also strive for long-term social change and aim to influence U.S. immigration policy, achieve family reunifications, and creating a Mexican society more receptive of deportees and returnees.

Not only do the post-deportation or return experiences in Mexico parallel the experiences of immigrants when arriving in the United States, but service delivery and advocacy efforts in

Tijuana and Mexico are also comparable to current efforts of the Immigrant Rights Movement in the U.S.. Organizations can be categorized based on “what they do (the type of services they provide), where they are located (the communities where they provide services), or who they serve (the characteristics of the clients)” (Cordero-Guzman, 2005). By this criteria, the work of immigrant rights organizations in Mexico are comparable to that of immigrants rights organizations in the United States, because they are serving the same population during the “adaptation” process of immigration. In fact, immigrant-serving organizations in Mexico are a continuation of the work of immigrant rights organizations in the U.S. because they focus on the lives of immigrants post deportation.

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transnationalism can be analyzed from three perspectives: the micro-level (in which the units of analysis are the individual and the family), the meso-level (in which organizations are the main unit of analysis), and the macro-level (in which society, state politics, and the economy, are the units of analysis) (Smith et al., 1998). Additionally, Angler (2009) and Cordero Guzman et al. (2008) concur that community-based organizations are key players of the Immigrant Rights Movement in the United States. Thus, even though some immigrant activism occurs at the macro-level, such as policy making, this text studies transnational activism at an organizational level and therefore elevates a meso-level analysis. At the same time, immigrant serving organization would be non-existent without immigrants; therefore, their individual transnational ties are also considered.

Immigration is a transnational phenomenon and issue, which in turn indicates that immigrant activism and immigrant serving organizations are theoretically transnational. In “Organizing Immigrant Communities in American Cities: Is this Transnationalism, or What?” (2004) Gustavo Cano explores the transnationality of immigrant activism. He explains that transnationalism is an interdisciplinary term that has different meanings that vary by field, and later identifies immigrant activism as an example of political transnationalism. Moreover, Cano writes that immigrant serving groups apply a transnational political framework by setting their agendas based on immigrant issues that are directly correlated to global and local politics and policies. Cano concludes that immigrant serving organizations are transnational as they engage in the transnational politics of immigration. Beyond addressing a transnational phenomenon, immigrant serving organizations also engage directly with immigrants, a transnational population. However, while immigrant serving organizations are theoretically transnational, they are not always transnational in practice. For instance, immigrant-serving organizations in the

be addressed with transnational action, which can result in political power capable of creating social change. Rivera-Salgado illuminates the successes of binational migrant groups to

transnational efforts and manifested their transnational character by founding the International Committee for Sexual Equity (ICSE) in 1951. The organization consisted of activists from Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands and Switzerland (Beachy, 2014). As the ties across nations became stronger, they were able to pressure other countries for more just policies and used “resources available in Berlin to pressure the Polish society and state” (Ayoub, 2017). Ayoub points to victories resulting from the LGBT Movement’s transnational human rights activism, including a “newfound global visibility of LGBT people” (Ayoub, 2017). In fact, the transnational ties and collaborative efforts influenced public opinion and European values. Connected by a common identity and a transnational network, LGBT activists mobilized resources that were readily available in Berlin but scarce in Poland to increase LGBT recognition and defend the population’s human rights.

transnational activism by organized migrants. The state of Oaxaca, Mexico had gubernatorial elections in July of 2010 which resulted in a victory for Gabino Cue, of the Peace and Progress Coalition (CUPP). Cue's win replaced the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which had been in power for an uninterrupted 80-year reign. The election saw an unprecedented 56% voter turnout and was a gain for the indigenous community that had seen violence, repression, and impunity at the hands of PRI (Gutierrez, 2010). The Indigenous Front of Binational Organizations (FIOB), a transnational community-based organization and coalition of indigenous organizations in Los Angeles, oversaw the efforts that heavily promoted Gabino Cue's campaign and ultimately contributed to his victory.

FIOB recognizes that indigenous people, both within and outside of Mexico, have the right to “organize autonomously in defense, rescue, dissemination and consolidation of their customs, languages and cultures” (Gutierrez, 2010). Thus, the organization/coalition makes part of their mission to collaborate with other organizations to combine, “ideas and projects over the economic, political, social and cultural factors that our indigenous brothers/sisters migrants and non-migrants face in Mexico and the United States, to fight for respect for their rights and identity as indigenous peoples” (“Mission & Vision”, fiob.org).

In response to, then gubernatorial candidate, Gabino Cue's call for organizations in Los Angeles (given Los Angeles' large and growing Oaxaqueno population) to help with his campaign, FIOB conducted extensive direct-action activism. FIOB practiced their transnational mission and supported Gue's campaign in Mexico by conducting voter engagement in California, Baja California, and Oaxaca. The organization provided the people, phones, and space needed to deliver their message across the borders to other organizations, family members, and friends. FIOB also collaborated with other organizations to develop

an interactive radio program that magnified the voices of indigenous leaders, migration scholars, indigenous women, and others who discussed topics related to the political climate in Oaxaca. The binational radio show is an example of FIOB's mobility and outreach facilitated by their transnational structure.

Overall, FIOB's transitional efforts were made possible by collaborating with other organizations that had offices in the US and in México including: the Oaxacan Federation of Indigenous Communities and Organizations (FOCOICA), the Regional Organization of Oaxaca (ORO), and the Binational Center for Indigenous Oaxacan Development (CBDIO). Additionally, FIOB had a binational structure as well and had one office in Juchitán, Oaxaca as well as three California office locations in Fresno, Los Angeles, and Santa Maria. Together, these transnational organization organized between 5,000 and 6,000 Mixtecs, Zapotecs, Triquis, and Chatinos that are both migrants and non-migrants.

FIOB's infrastructure made their possible and allowed the organization to easily work with other activists in both California and Oaxaca. Additionally, its joint efforts with other transnational organizations within the coalition allowed them to reach more people, magnify their impact, and result in a victory. In fact, their own transnational structure as well as their collaborative efforts allowed them to overcome human and material resources issues that Sonja J. Pieck writes about. Similar to the LGBT movement case, the FIOB example shows the power behind shared identities to build solidarity and create change. While Cue and FIOB's joint campaign resulted in a victory, their collaboration continues to hold him accountable. Before agreeing to join his campaign, FIOB established three demands. FIOB demanded better and improved services to migrants of the Instituto Oaxaqueño de Atención al Migrante (IOAM), improved economic opportunities in the forms of jobs and educational access, and an end to

violence. Moreover, this example of transnational activism led by FIOB demonstrates that the transnational structure facilitates large impact and even structural change.

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In 1968 Centro de Accion Social Autonomo-Hermandad General de Trabajadores (CASA-HGT), originally just CASA, emerged in the United States to fill a gap that labor and civil rightP

focus on “international” solidarity demonstrates the importance of supporting immigrants and migrants on both ends of the border.

Unfortunately, the period between 1976 and 1978 marked CASA-HGT’s decline, ultimately dying in 1979. While it is difficult to pinpoint the cause for decline, Arnoldo Garcia discusses “growing differences over the politics of the organization”, and recalls questions that arose during that time, such as, “Do we just organize Mexican workers or are we a multinational organization?” (Garcia, 2002). While the dismantling of CASA-HGT was in part due to differences in agendas and beliefs regarding the international nature of their work, it is an example of transnational activism geared toward helping immigrants. Some CASA-HGT members including Jose "Pepe" Medina, Felipe Aguirre, and Juan Jose Gutierrez, continued to internationally organize migrant workers at their point of origin. Still, CASA-HGT was an example of failed transnational activism. Garcia highlights a trend of the rise and fall of left, anti-racist, internationalist oriented groups such as: the PSP, the Black Panther Party, the Congress of African Peoples, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, various sectors of the Asian-American movement and the American Indian Movement (Garcia, 2002). This example cautions that organizations engaging in transnational efforts should have cohesive transnational agendas and goals. CASA-HGT’s national and transnational efforts were successful independently, but not together because they were not cohesive or of the same scale.

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According to Armando Navarro, the Latinoization or browning of the United States—which he refers to as the Mexicano Latino demographic transformation (MLDT)—has resulted in

severe against Mexican and Latino undocumented immigrants that he considers it an “anti-Mexicano/Latino nativist crusade (AMLNC)” (Navarro, 2015). In response, activists organized summits, including one held in 1995, which brought immigrant activists together and resulted in a united front to combat anti-immigrant efforts.

the tactics brought together activists who were interested in addressing the same but also used media to garner transnational support in numbers.

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Anti-immigrant sentiments have long existed in the United States; however, history also

an option to remain anonymous, risks, and an option to opt out as well as contact information.

reintegration experiences of deportees and returnees in Puebla, Mexico and Mexico City, and

transnational ties, as well as: the nature of those ties, the benefits and challenges of working transnationally, obstacles that had hindered them from working transnationally, if they perceived transnational activism feasible and compatible with the realm of their work, and if they were interested engaging transnationally more in the future. Interviews with leaders in the U.S. also explored the nature of any transnational efforts, their perceptions on whether their mission was transnational, information on how they prepared their members facing or at risk of deportation (such as through education or resources), and if they expected to continue their existing or develop new transitional efforts in the future. Interviews with scholars were specific to their individual research and areas of study and inquired about their perceptions of and expert opinions on topics such as: the role of non-government organizations on the repatriation experience, past successful transnational social movements, and the nature of transnational activism tactics and tools.

and

Additionally, the codes were used to organize findings in the Findings and Analysis section of this text. Interviews with bi-national organizations—organizations with bi-

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Aware of the constant and heightened threats of deportation in the United States and
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national organizations had inherent and natural transnational ties due to their physical and legal presence in both the United States and Mexico. Thus; Al Otro Lado, Instituto de Investigacion y Practica Social y Cultural (IIPSOCULTA), and Kino Border Initiative (KBI) were expected to have more transnational ties than the two other organizations without a bi-national structure. In fact, transnational ties for the two remaining U.S. organizations were more limited and circumstantial. Nonetheless, transnational ties created by all five organizations generally did not address the hardships of the experience post deportation or return. Instead, the bi-national organizations focused on issues of migration with a focus on issues faced by migrant entering the United States while the other two focused on the recent Migrant Exodus in Tijuana.

The findings and their analysis are organized under two overarching and broad sections: Mexico and The United States. The broad country categories are divided into subsections which are then divided into specific findings.

Moms has been in contact with assembly and congress members including Nanette Barragan and Eloise Gomez Reyes. Similarly, Deported Veterans Support House has had four congressional visits and discussed bills and proposals with legislators. The mission of Deported Veterans Support House to cater to the deported veteran population has resulted in veteran-related ties and is another example of how long-term goals influence transnational ties. More specifically, veterans still file for benefits and must do so through the Department of Veteran Affairs in the United States. However, it is also one example of how not all transnational ties create social or political change, and are therefore not all examples of transnational activism.

Unlike DREAMer Moms USA and Deported Veterans Support House, Hola Code does not seek to influence policy in the United States or help their students go back to the United States, instead they meet their immediate needs and provide resources for them to build their new lives in Mexico. For instance, Hola Code e

resources such as top of the line software and job opportunities. Resources in the form of transnational funding is also an area Leni expressed they may explore in the future, in order to help the company become self-sustaining. Hola Code needs a lot of funding because they are recently established and provide students with a vast amount of resources at no cost.

Hola Code's transnational ties allow it to advance its mission and thus better serve deportees and returnees. However, it is complicated to determine whether those ties are a form of activism. When asked if she perceived Hola Code's work as a form of activism, Leni believed

to Mexico in 2009 and recently received a visa that allows her to travel to the United States. While it was not clear whether Leni's visa was granted through her work or her personal efforts, she leverages that privilege to raise awareness in the United States. During her visits she has introduced Hola Code to immigrant serving organizations and hopes that through her mobility she will be able to establish more formal transnational ties for Hola Code. Leaders of two other groups in Mexico were also recently granted mobility and use it as an opportunity to raise awareness by conducting informational talks in the U.S. (expanded on in _____). Hola Code was only founded in 2017 and Leni was only recently granted her visa; therefore, her individual efforts have not resulted in concrete transnational ties yet.

Overall, visa mobility proves to at least open doors to transnational collaboration. Additionally, being physically present in the United States helps overcome barriers that may discourage or hinder transnational activism, such as communication barrier; however, there can be limitations. Relying on visas to facilitate transnational activism is both unsustainable and impossible as not all leaders can or will be granted mobility. In fact, only returnees have that possibility as they are not barred from re-entering the United States and can be granted visas. Furthermore, visas are merely a resource that _____ transnational ties and when available can be used to seek collaborative efforts as Leni has done.

Additional findings demonstrate that bi-national organizational structures shape transnational ties. The additional findings are represented below in Table 5 and are expanded on in the following sections:

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young people who are at the age of defining their careers and may be interested in becoming involved.

Both Hector and Maggie raise awareness by sharing their own stories and humanizing the deportee and returnee experiences. Their efforts are facilitated by the transnational mobility that they've gained through visas and citizenship status. In these cases, transnational activism demonstrates to be a tool used to raise awareness on the obstacles of deportees and returnees post deportation or return. Loredó emphasized:

It is very important for us to co-host events with organizations that are doing the work there [the United States]. To talk with the community about what happens in the aftermath of deportation and how we can support them once they are on this side.

By traveling across borders and sharing their story with people in the U.S., activists are able to make their experiences known and demonstrate that there are many challenges that deportees and returnees experience. By hearing the stories from folks that have experienced reintegration first hand, audience members are compelled to learn more and possibly even become involved.

Stories of the undocumented fight to stay in the U.S. are often told and heard in the U.S., but activists like Hector and Maggie open the doors to talk about what is often a dreaded, yet very real, topic: deportation and voluntary return. Nonetheless, audience members that are at risk of deportation may be relieved to hear that in the case of deportation or voluntary return, they can be received and supported by groups like Hola Code, Deported Veterans Support House, and ODA/Poch@ House. At the same time, their informational talks serve as a call to action. As Maggie explained, she uses those spaces in the U.S. to make demands and emphasize that there is a need for collaboration across nations in order to create change.

As a result of their existing transnational ties, including the educational talks at colleges, ODA/Poch@ House has made connections with different groups in the United States. Those connections vary from participating in research that the Migration Policy Institute has conducted

on the reintegration experiences of deportees and returnees, to connecting with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in Denver who may ask them to accompany a deportee/returnee upon their arrival in Mexico City. ODA/Poch@ House has developed other connections with the Oakland-based "67 Sueños Collective", Black Lives Matter co-founder Patrisse Cullors, Frente Indígena Binacional de Oaxaca in Los Angeles, and Mexicanos En El Exilio's Family Reunification Program in El Paso, Texas.

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The internet and social media platforms—including Skype, WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter amongst others—

detention centers who are facing deportation would not have access to it once they are under the custody of ICE. Yolanda also highlighted that in rural areas of Mexico many people do not have internet access, and for that reason generally has a hard time reaching them. Additionally, social media can be a tool to help garner support and spread knowledge, but may not be as effective in achieving some of the groups' long-term goals—such as influencing American policy for

parts of Mexico, such as Ciudad Juarez, Nogales, and Tijuana. Thus, transnational collaboration has allowed for DREAMer Moms to develop its own informal transnational network and therefore support women in various parts of the world.

Similarly, Al Otro Lado's Border Rights Project is dependent on the work of volunteers from the United States and has been able maintain a large influx of them through word of mouth interactions. Luis Guerra, leader of the project mentioned: There was one social media post in early November, and everything else as of now has been word of mouth. Word of mouth interactions have allowed Al Otro Lado to reach volunteers transnationally, and thus continue their work. Upon the arrival of the Migrant Exodus in Tijuana last fall, Al Otro Lado has been organizing individual volunteers as well as organizations, such as CHIRLA and RAICES, that have offered their support. On one hand, word of mouth ties to volunteers in the United States have facilitated recruitment work for Al Otro Lado's leaders. However, while the influx of volunteers may not have stopped yet, it may be an unsustainable method to gather the necessary labor and skills. Nonetheless, in this case, transnational ties have made the work of Al Otro Lado possible.

Word of mouth connections have allowed activists, who may not be transnationally mobile: reach transnational audiences, support more deportees and returnees, and garner human and material resources for their groups. Overall, informal word of mouth connections allow groups in Mexico to reach and better support deportees and returnees.

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Leaders of immigrant serving groups in Mexico expressed myriad benefits that have resulted from their transnational efforts, including the ability to reach a large audience and in turn help more deportees and returnees. For instance, Yolanda expressed that transnational word of mouth connections have allowed her to reach more mothers and prevent them from going through what she did.

The benefits are huge because as deported mothers and mothers separated from our children, we have already experience that pain, and we don't want more women to arrive at the border unprotected like we did— without anyone to help us, without knowing where to go... it is relieving to know that more women won't go through what we did".

Without her transnational engagement through social media and allies abroad, Yolanda would not be able to help all the mothers that she does.

Along the same lines, Leni of Hola Code expressed that transnational collaboration could help actors on both ends of the border gain more power. She said, “ ” or “Together we are more powerful”. In fact, she was specifically referring to the power behind gaining an international perspective and context. While on both sides there is a or fight going on for the immigrant community, together they could better address the bi-national issue of immigration.

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Transnational ties help groups gain access to material and human resources. Yolanda talked about material resources and how allies often visit them in Tijuana and donate clothes and

hygiene products which are essential donations to meet the immediate needs of deportees and returnees. Similarly, Hector of Deported veterans and Luis Guerra of Al Otro Lado expressed the need for transnational collaboration because without it, their work would not be possible. Their transnational visibility has allowed Deported Veterans to receive visits and legal support from attorneys from the U.S., including help from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Al Otro Lado also requires the work of all their volunteers as well as the expertise of other organizations in the United States in order to better aid the diverse population of people in need, "If we don't collaborate, we won't be efficient and won't be able to maximize our services". Overall, transnational ties have helped groups in Mexico garner both material and human resources that are necessary for their work and help them better serve their constituencies.

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A majority of the groups that serve deportees and returnees in Tijuana and Mexico expressed that one of the primary obstacles that has hindered them from engaging in transnational activism and collaboration is that immigrant serving organizations and activists in the United States do not take the post deportation and return experience into account. In fact some sentiments demonstrate a sense of being invisible and forgotten by activism in the United

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fear interviews, and do everything they could to help build strong cases. However, upon arrival to Mexico City RAICES leaders realized that there was a group of LGBT migrants, known as that was facing heightened discrimination. In response RAICES prioritized helping and hired buses that would take them to Tijuana as well as secure housing for them. Similarly, since CHIRLA first heard of the Exodus, they have sent four delegations of attorneys to Tijuana, which has allowed their legal experts to understand the reasons and conditions for why the migrants were traveling as well as provide consultations and direct legal services.

While a Haitian Caravan arrived to Tijuana in 2016, Luis expressed there being a lot media attention on the Central American Exodus and thus pressure to act. Additionally, CHIRLA's associate director was in Mexico City for an international migration conference when the caravan arrived to Mexico City, and added additional pressure for a response by the organization. Similarly, Barbara explained that the Exodus was an opportunity that presented itself for RAICES to act transnationally and the ultimate decision was influenced by the alarming rhetoric that was coming from the White House at that time. In fact, she emphasized that in the

transnational hire. The organization has temporarily hired someone to follow the caravan and

Present in both New Haven, CT and San Francisco Tetlanohcan, Tlaxcala, MX, IIPSOCULTA is able to simultaneously address the root causes of forced migration in Mexico and the consequences of forced migration in the United States. In fact, Marco Castillo of IIPSOCULTA emphasized that globalization has formed a transna

Their bi-national commitment has resulted in several efforts to improve conditions on both ends of the border. In Mexico, KBI offers humanitarian aid, has an aid center where they offer meals as well as other resources and services, as well as a women's shelter. In both the U.S. and Mexico they lead various educational and advocacy efforts that together work to address migration issues by humanizing (and increasing understanding) of the migration experience and then dedicating resources to address those issues. In fact, the target audience for educational efforts in the United States are allies. Through such efforts they aim to humanize, accompany, complicate—help people understand the migration experience, give them the opportunity to accompany migrants, and help them understand the complexity of migration policy. They hope their efforts will encourage allies to share stories, amplify the voices of people at the border, and continue to accompany people in their own local communities, as well as defend policy changes.

Its presence in both the United States and Mexico has allowed KBI to develop and become a part of several types of transnational as well as local networks. In terms of advocacy, KBI is a part of national specific networks such as a network of organizations that work on asylum issues in the U.S., another network of organizations that works on Mexican policy, as well as a Jesuit Migration Network that spans from Canada to Panama. It's participation in a humanitarian aid network has invited other organizations to offer services from their own aid center in Mexico.

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Two of the primary challenges that Melody mentioned that have prevented the possibility of engaging in more transnational efforts were time constraints and lack of sufficient resources. Resources they lack included the expertise to work with new groups (deportees and returnees) and an organizer constraint (each new group of members would ideally have an organizer dedicated to them). Additionally, as organizers are typically overworked and extremely busy—as is the case for Melody—she mentioned:

organizers and activists “made a pact to not use and to not continue giving that work more traction and more platform”. As a result, deportation became a very “limited” topic for her and she virtually wouldn't think about deportation at all. While the youth she directly works with haven't faced deportation, some of their family members have recently—which has pushed Melody to both think about deportation and understand that there is a need for such conversations.

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Similar to the limitations that Melody has faced as an organizer, Luis and Barbara both described their work of deportation defense as being less compatible with talking about and preparing for deportation. Luis mentioned:

We focus so much on preventing the deportation, that when we lose we spend all of our energy fighting that deportation that we didn't do much to prepare them for the actual deportation... When somebody gets deported the first thing we think about is, 'Okay, how do we get them back?'. As opposed to, 'How do we transition them to accept their new life in this other country'. It's almost difficult for those of us here in the U.S., and it almost feels like this privilege to say, 'Well, when you go over there you speak English so you'll can get a job' ... It feels bad to think about somebody who wants to stay here, somebody who you're promising to do your best to help them stay, fight the deportation, if you start talking about, 'Well, let's prepare for you losing'. That that almost doesn't seem like the right conversation for attorneys to be having because you're pretty much almost accepting defeat before that decision is made.

While various groups in Mexico actually do address the same question of “how do we get them back?” and lead extensive advocacy efforts to make that a possibility, Luis's comment demonstrates that legal work is also much about prevention. In fact, efforts by groups in Mexico are more about how to make the traumatic deportation experience less difficult (by meeting immediate needs first) and focusing on what they can do to address family reunification and influencing policies. Nonetheless, as much of the work legal work in the U.S. is prevention and building strong cases for immigrants to in the U.S., preparing them for deportation seems to be perceived as accepting defeat. In other words, preparing deportees for deportation is perceived as antithetical to legal work. In fact, Luis further expressed seeing legal work as incompatible

with deportation preparation by explaining that it is actually not legal work and would not be that place of an attorney to do so. He mentioned that community education would lead such efforts, and (referring to Know Your Rights education) mentioned that CHIRLAs community education leaders currently do prepare people on “what to do if you get picked up”.

While Luis also mentioned that it would be difficult to prepare deportees once the decision is made—as they are in detention centers and generally cannot contact them at that point—he seemed to perceive groups in Mexico incompatible with legal work because he doesn’t think they should be telling clients how to “adapt” if they get deported. Thus, beyond some sentiments that see deportation/return preparedness as incompatible with legal work, there are legal barriers (detention centers) that make such conversations virtually impossible being detained. In the future, however, widespread deportation awareness could eliminate such a barrier. Barbara made a similar comment about their removal defense work and its preventative nature. However, while she corroborated the fact that it is difficult to contact clients once their deportation decision is made, in the past they have worked and assisted clients as best they could even up until the very last possible minute—even though deportation was not the outcome they wanted.

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deportation, both seem to be pessimistic about them. When asked if RAICES may establish more formal connections in the future Barbara recalled one instance of an informal and loose tie with a shelter that ultimately seemed unsustainable. Concerned about the lack of organizations of a shelter network, she seemed more optimistic about transnational ties that helped sharing information and resources.

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In terms of organizing, Melody seemed very interested in creating the opportunity to develop transnational ties as well as starting to conduct deported preparedness efforts. Three recent instances where CHIRLA's youth members have had family member face deportation, Melody explained that she didn't know exactly how to address the situation and explained:

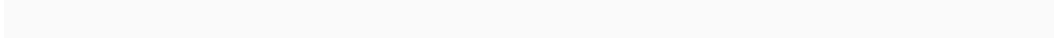
We're really good at creating material to prevent deportations, it's all about prevention, but I don't have know what to do after.

what that collaboration would look like she asserts that she has the energy for it, and will hopes to have time with the primaries next year.

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Existing literature demonstrates that transnational activism has the potential to reap myriad benefits including advancing social and political missions. While immigrant serving organizations in the United States exert many efforts and resources to protecting the rights of immigrants, there are still the extensive and consistent threats of deportation targeted against undocumented Mexican immigrants. Existing literature highlights that after deportation or return, deportees and returnees face severe hardships. Findings confirm that their circumstances are worsened by their lack of knowledge on how to navigate bureaucratic space, language barriers, lack of contacts in Mexico, and general lack of information on what they would need upon deportation. In response, groups including grassroots non-government organizations and a tech startup have emerged in Tijuana and Mexico City and aim to alleviate those hardships and prevent future deportees and returnees from going through experiences similar to their own.

As immigrant serving organizations in the United States have direct contact to people at risk of deportation and groups in Mexico receive deportees and returnees, findings help evaluate whether existing transnational ties serve to alleviate the reintegration experience—or whether they have the potential to do so. Findings indicate that Mexican groups generally expressed more interest in engaging transnational and have exerted more efforts to develop transnational ties. However, those ties vary and are still generally informal. Nonetheless, even underdeveloped ties such as word of mouth connections, social media advocacy and educational efforts serve to disseminate information, raise awareness, and help individual deportees or returnees.



about conditions and updates to activists in the United States—in order to better prepare and equip folks at risk of deportation.

While some organizations in Los Angeles currently conduct “Know Your Rights” presentations and disseminate similar information, they typically only tend to prepare

deportation. At the same time, many of the groups in both the U.S. and Mexico have similar or even goals, such as family reunification and just immigration law in the United State. Thus, these first steps truly would open the door to long-term collaborative efforts and thus long-term and concrete changes.

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isn't a secret and shouldn't be treated as so. The stigmatization of deportation as a dreaded experiences takes away from the fact that it is not just a fear, but a reality for many. In fact, it is best to be prepare for that reality that many will face.

Since activists and organizations in the United States do not tend to have conversations about the lived experiences of deportees/returnees, talking about them may help transcend anxiety around deportation. Although separation from their family and lives in the United States will still be difficult, creating awareness will help those facing deportation be prepared and avoid additional difficulties and obstacles. At the same time, demonstrating that they face deportation, they will be alone may help to ease some fears and anxieties. Thus, addressing fear of deportation by talking about deportation, may help to eliminate the main barrier that seems to hinder transnational collaboration from occurring currently. In fact, talking more about the realities of deportation can build a bridge between activists on both countries and create a transnational network or community—where deportees/returnees would no longer feel forgotten or excluded. At the same time, elevating those lived experiences of deportees and returnees can serve as examples and help better prepare those at risk of deportation in order to make their reintegration experiences easier for them.

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The bi-national structure of organizations such as Al Otro Lado, IIPSOCULTA, and the Kino Border Initiative (KBI) demonstrate to be effective structures in addressing the bi-national phenomenon of migration. In fact, the organizations understand the bi-national context and implement it to their work, combine their bi-national efforts to create greater change, and build bi-national solidarity. The border is a means of meeting as much as it is of dividing, and as a result bi-national organizations have been able to emphasize the reality that migration a bi-

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In Tijuana and Mexico City, groups that serve deportees and returnees have developed varying types of transnational ties as efforts to meet their goals of facilitating the reintegration experience and preventing other from experiencing severe hardships post deportation or return. However, similar efforts are generally not reciprocated by organizations in the United States unless they have a bi-

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