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Maps as discourse in the borderlands: an analysis of the cartographies of power on the U.S.-Mexico 'frontier'

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MAPS AS DISCOURSE IN THE BORDERLANDS: AN ANALYSIS
OF THE CARTOGRAPHIES OF POWER ON
THE U.S.–MEXICO 'FRONTIER'

By

Austin Rose

Accepted in Partial Completion
Of the Requirement for the Degree
Master of Science

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MASTER'S THESIS

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Austin Rose

June 15, 2012

**MAPS AS DISCOURSE IN THE BORDERLANDS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE CARTOGRAPHIES
OF POWER ON THE U.S.– MEXICO 'FRONTIER'**

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of
Western Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Austin Rose
June 2012

ABSTRACT

The territorial conquest involved in making and regulating an international boundary has been central to the creation of many nation-states, as well as to the production of various social categories around those boundaries, particularly citizenship and nationality, but also race, ethnicity, and class. This research aims to analyze how cartographic representations of the U.S.–Mexico border function to communicate social difference. Drawing ideas from critical cartography and social constructivism, I highlight the ways in which maps of this particular border space are not merely objective representations, but rather embody powerful political discourses that have constitutive effects on the identities, and thus treatment, of individuals and collectives engaging in the border region. I trace a genealogy of U.S. cartographic discourse/representation of the U.S.–Mexico borderlands to build critical perspectives on the way knowledge and information are presented through maps, particularly how they work to narrate inclusion and exclusion. This project yields political and social implications as it illuminates the production and definition of a dominant U.S. nation-state in relation to Mexico, the two countries' shared border space, and furthermore illustrates how cartographic discourse can play a major role in how people understand and reconstruct the U.S.–Mexico border.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The United States–Canada and United States–Mexico borders are two of the most active land crossings in the world (Andreas, 2003). Both borders have seen a significant increase of cross-border commercial flows since the launching of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, which created a trilateral trading bloc for North America (Ganster & Lorey, 2008). Although NAFTA has worked to unite the three nations and ease mobility, the two border regions of the U.S. have become ever more significant in a time of increased border vigilance. In response to the events of 9/11, the U.S. has heightened national security measures carried out in its border regions. Though, in contrast to the U.S.–Canada border, American border anxieties tend to be directed towards its southern border with Mexico, as it has historically been an area of contention and scrutiny associated with human migration and the defensive assertion for U.S. border control (Ackleson, 2004; Andreas, 2003; Loucky, Alper, & Day, 2008).

The U.S-Mexico border is unique for being an interface between a highly developed nation and a more developing nation (Ganster & Lorey, 2008) that separates two distinctive socio-demographic systems (Loucky, Alper, & Day, 2008), creating an ideal setting for local actors to categorize themselves and others in terms of belonging. Making and regulating this international boundary, and the territorial conquest involved, has been essential to the creation of nation state for both countries, as well as to the production of various social categories, particularly citizenship and nationality, but also race, ethnicity and class. Mexican immigration into the U.S., border security,

and the status and treatment of both legal and illegal residents of the border region stand to be sensitive issues stimulating conflict between the two nations. Stricter border controls from U.S. enforcements have proven unable to stop illegal immigration, leading to rising human rights abuses and victimization of border crossers (Ganster and Lorey, 2008). It seems as though border securitization has become somewhat of a mantra, and arguably a default solution to human movement that is reactive and unilateral. These asymmetries and conflicts have come to define the border region, and continue to factor in the interaction between the people of both countries.

Border enforcement and a sense of how our world is inhabited and divided, certainly has a part in shaping the relationships between citizens, outsiders and states. However, national sovereignty can be expressed in ways other than physical barriers or checkpoints directing who has the right to enter, remain, and identify themselves as citizens of a particular nation. The way in which national borders are represented in discourse also plays a meaningful role in developing a view of the nation and validating practices that demarcate the space of belonging (Demo, 2005).

For centuries humans have created lines and divided land in order to declare their own space, and these borders have most effectively been represented and communicated through maps. Consider the early American land survey, a text consisting of both the written word and graphic depictions of land, which undoubtedly was part of an important literary movement that allowed innovative ways for Americans to represent their sense of community, nation, and identity (Brückner, 2006). In this sense, the map became a powerful mode of discourse used to express power, political

2

agendas, and construct particular images and narratives of territory, boundaries and citizens (Culcasi, 2006).

Given the political, economic, and social dualities existing between the U.S. and Mexico, I question how U.S. cartographic representations of the U.S.–Mexico border function to communicate and exploit *difference*, subsequently reinforcing socio-spatial identities such as "us" and "other", which may be fueling immigration debates and animosity between the two countries. For this research, I draw upon theories of social constructivism and critical cartography, in order to analyze discourse within maps of this particular border region, to build critical perspectives on the way knowledge and information is presented through them, specifically on how they work to narrate exclusion and inclusion. This kind of methodology, involving critical interpretation and reflection, allows me to consider additional research questions such as: What are the components of the overall narrative found in sample maps of the U.S.–Mexico border region? What are the messages within the various components? How is the dominant ideology distributed through these types of mediums? How does spatial knowledge of the U.S–Mexico border contribute to the uneven treatment of bodies encountering it?

Ultimately, I argue that U.S. cartographic representations of the U.S.–Mexico border embody a powerful geopolitical narrative of U.S. hegemony and control in the borderlands. This cartographic discourse has not only been effective in establishing U.S. territorial claims, but has also contributed to the relative strength of the boundary that divides the Mexican from the American or the illegal from the citizen. The narrative within U.S. border maps has been consistent since the mid-19th century, though has

3

become increasingly voluble in conjunction with present day national security efforts and the Mexican immigration debate. Thus, this map discourse and its history/genealogy should not be ignored as it plays a part shaping the attitudes and behaviors towards people engaging in the U.S.–Mexico border space.

Mapping, Power, and Identity at Political Borders

Maps of borders in particular make an interesting vehicle for analysis as they work to structure social and territorial space. The role of land boundaries and the political borders of states or nations can be linked with ideas of territoriality and sovereignty, and this shapes the way in which we view and compartmentalize the political organization of the world (Newman and Paasi, 1998). Societies also tend to illuminate their borders when felt under siege. Thus, boundaries, and boundary discourse provided through maps, work as material artifacts that divide and formalize understandings of inside and outside, thereby creating the conditions for "othering" particular cultures or societal phenomena by structuring certain identities as associated with either side of the border (Vila, 1997).   Perceptions and behaviors at the U.S.–Mexico border provide a classic example of an Us vs. Other schema. The construction of Mexico as a bounded "Other" operates to facilitate sharp spatial differentiations of Mexicans as intruders in the U.S., and Mexico as source of all poverty and social problems on the U.S. side of the border (Price, 2004).

Jason Ackleson (2005), from New Mexico State University, examined public discourse and policy changes to understand the socio-political context in which the U.S.

devised policy solutions for certain defined threats, specifically undocumented migration, terrorism and drugs. Ackleson found that these issues are treated as security risks at the border through a process involving the rhetoric of political projects concerned with identity, power, and order. To provide an example, he reviewed border security operations from the 1990's such as Operation Hold the Line or Operation Gatekeeper, which were endeavors to close the border specifically to undocumented migrants. The defined threat of migrants were seen, and still tend to be seen, as social problems of "disorder and chaos" and so regulation of the border was designed in part to present an image of order and control (Ackleson, 2005, p. 175). Ultimately, Ackleson's research called attention to ways in which security is "constructed" at the border, and highlights how official state discourse can help connect migration with ideas of danger and risk in the public imagination. Thus, one could argue that migrants can be constructed in the discourse as a security problem. In this case, Ackleson (2005) found that the dominant discursive construction of security in terms of migration and terrorism, increased U.S. perceptions of risks, danger and ultimately a clear divide and difference between Mexicans and Americans.

Methods and Roadmap of Thesis

With the perspective that maps are a form of discourse, which generate and regenerate geographical knowledge, I trace a genealogy of powerful discourses within U.S. maps of the U.S.–Mexico border region to analyze how they contribute to the discursive construction of the U.S.–Mexico border. By critically interpreting the

discourse embedded in the selected maps, my analysis highlights how U.S. interests have played a constitutive role in the vision and representation of the U.S.–Mexico borderlands, by reinforcing and naturalizing a terrain contoured by U.S. dominant geopolitical agendas.

This research employs a 'deconstructive' methodology, as suggested by critical cartographer J.B. Harley (1989), to interpret how pieces of information are revealed and contrasted, to try and tease out what perspectives are dominant or neglected in the selected maps for this study. The map deconstruction exercise will involve interpretation and critical reflection informed by relevant literature which suggests approaches to locating embedded discourse by focusing on the use and misuse of place names, text (titles, text directly referring to the maps, and any map captions), border demarcations, use of color and symbology.

This research is conducted from this premise that socio-spatial identities can be constructed through dominant discourses and within certain classification systems (i.e. cultural or social), and furthermore that social processes and actions are mediated and supported through those related narratives about oneself and Others (Vila, 1997). Therefore, in addition to a cartographic discourse analysis, a collection of personal narratives from border resident's—Mexicans, Anglos and Mexican Americans—about their experiences in the border region will be reviewed in order to reflect on the themes of discourse found present in maps of the border region. An examination of these narratives will illuminate the ways in which U.S.–Mexico borderlanders are living and

experiencing the themes discourse found so powerfully communicated in the selected maps for analysis.

Investigating the way in which the production of the U.S.–Mexico border is articulated through exclusionary measures is critical to contesting the violence and discrimination in US border enforcement policies. The media's power to pervasively communicate geographical phenomena and influence perceptions of the world to the public, coupled with the assumption that maps are factual representations, makes it particularly important to examine the way in which cartography represents geopolitical issues. Border maps can provide the public and policy makers with visual references of sovereignty and territoriality, which not only contribute to U.S. national identity, but also have the power to normalize a particular form of boundary emphasis.

In what follows, chapter 2 provides a necessarily short historical overview of the U.S.–Mexico border delineation, and I discuss the present day issues occurring along border affecting the relationship of people engaging in the border space. Chapter 3 discusses the importance of political borders to the concept of nationhood, reviews the academic literature that provides a theoretical framework for critically analyzing maps, and further emphasizes the role of maps in the construction of boundaries and national identity. Chapter 4 consists of my critical analysis of the artifacts (maps) collected for this research. The maps chosen for this analysis consist of historical maps of the U.S.–Mexico border space dating from 1835-1853, along with more recent maps dating from 2004—present. The maps were selected because of their availability during my research, though also because they collectively tell the story of the evolution of the

7

U.S.–Mexico border delineation as they were published during three significant geopolitical events that erupted along the border and shaped U.S.–Mexico relations; the Texas rebellion and independence, the U.S.–Mexico war and its aftermath, and the illegal immigrant debate. The early maps provide important precursors to U.S–Mexico geopolitical relations and historical foundations to present day cartographic discourse, thus, this research presents a bit of deep history into the genealogy of today's U.S.–Mexico border maps. The historical maps were derived from the Special Collections departments at the University of Texas at San Antonio and University of Texas at Arlington, while the more recent came from government agencies within the U.S. that coordinate national geographical information and law enforcement, such as the United States Customs and Border Protection Agency (USCBP) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), as well as from popular media such as magazines, and newspapers, as these maps would have more public exposure. In chapter 5, to augment my map analysis I will draw upon narratives from key informants from the Texas region who provided me with authentic insight to the human experience at the border. While discussing my findings and conclusions from the map analysis, these narratives will emphasize themes that reinforce the discourse I have found present in the chosen maps. Finally, I will close by addressing the implications I foresee this research having for border policy and future border scholarship.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF THE U.S.–MEXICO BORDER

Throughout the historical relationship between the U.S. and Mexico, the border region has come to unite as well as divide the two countries. Although there are stark differences in American history and Mexican history, separate experiences converge in the borderlands, producing a place of unique cultural origin, with peoples and their lived environments on opposite sides of the border inextricably linked together (Herzog, 1990; Ruiz, 2000). The relationship between the U.S. and Mexico developed through a contentious history of conquest and nationalist tendencies that is exemplary of how the movement and behavior of people can be impacted, either negatively or positively, by the formation of nation-states (Alvarez, 1995). This chapter will summarize the evolution of the border region, and the significant events that shaped human-geographic relationships along the international boundary. The delineation of the border was shaped in large part by the imperialist expansion of the U.S., a process which produced both dominant and marginal groups of people, arranged by their accompanying geographies—"space" and "place" (Fox, 1999). Understanding these social categories and their historical geographic formation is essential to the study of this region and the addressing of contemporary issues along the border. Therefore, the collective territorial identities associated with social locations on either side of the border will be discussed alongside the long story of increasing integration and interdependence between the U.S. and Mexico.

Border Geography and Early History (Frontier to Borderlands)

The U.S.–Mexico border region is a vast, mountainous, incessantly arid landscape. The international boundary is approximately 2,000 miles long, stretching across North America from the Pacific Coast to the Gulf of Mexico and spanning six Mexican states (Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas) and 4 U.S. states (California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas). The western half of the boundary is a surveyed line cutting through inhospitable mountain ranges that carve the area into isolated sub regions and extensive basins (deserts). On the east, the boundary follows the Rio Grande, a river that flows from southwestern Colorado to the Gulf of Mexico, which constitutes the border with Texas (Herzog, 1990). These landscape features have shaped the border zone, from the time of early human settlement, through its designations as frontier and borderlands, to the present-day, and naturally facilitate the movement of humans north and south as opposed to east or west (Ganster & Lorey, 2008; Ganster, 1997).
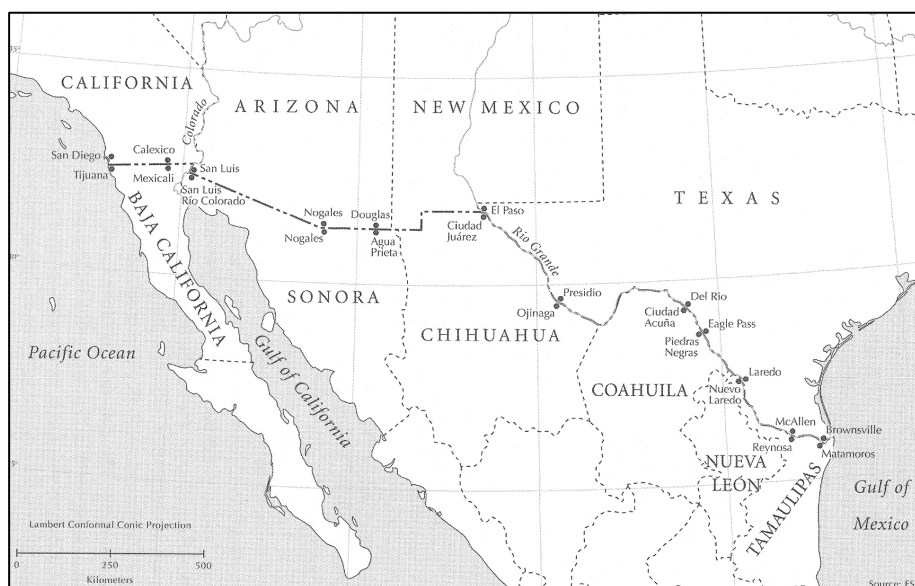
Fig. 1- Border States and Major Twin Cities

Originally, the border region was part of the Spanish colony of New Spain, and then after 1821, it became part of the newly independent republic of Mexico (Ganster, 1997). During the Spanish colonial period (1521-1810), Spain focused on providing resources for growth around profitable agricultural and mining regions, which led to a system of cities, including present day Mexico City, settled in the core areas of Central Mexico. From the perspective of national political organization of space, this cluster of development in Mexico's interior left northern Mexico in a position of marginal status, which was not improved by its inhospitable environment. Though indigenous groups of the Apaches and Comanches sparsely inhabited the area, the border territory fit the concept of a frontier, a region on the edge of civilization, and was viewed as a distant, unattractive region by the inhabitants of Central Mexico (Herzog, 1990; Ganster & Lorey, 2008; Rios-Bustamante, 1997).

The discovery of silver encouraged migration to the northern territories of Mexico (known as *frontera del norte*), and settlements along the northern border became a strategic defense against the hostile Apache and Comanche groups, as well as spreading foreign powers such as England, France, Russia and the U.S., that had interest in the newly discovered economic value of the region (Ganster & Lorey, 2008; Martinez, 1993; Rios-Bustamante, 1997). These settlements furnished the rise of frontier communities who transformed the lifestyles of the indigenous communities they came into contact with, producing an increased population of mixed ethnicities otherwise known as *mestizos*. Because of the physical geography of the region, these populations were isolated from the initially settled regions of New Spain and from each other,

11

causing frontier societies to adapt to their local conditions and forge their own lifestyles and customs (including language, farming methods, religion and architecture), which characterized these societies with a culture distinctive from that of Central Mexico (Ganster & Lorey, 2008). Because of this distinction and isolation, frontier populations held an unusual degree of autonomy; this presented future challenges to central authorities in politically organizing and defending the nation (Ganster, 2007; Herzog, 1990).

Following the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the U.S. became contiguous with New Spain by acquiring over 800,000 square miles of territory west of the Mississippi River and Appalachians (Friedman, 2010). However, territorial limits were unclear, and this uncertainty set the stage for a continued conflict between Americans and Spaniards, and Spain's struggle to hold on to its colonies. The border between Spanish lands and American territory was a source of debate and led to a treaty between secretary of state John Quincy Adams and Spanish foreign minister Luis de Onis (Adams-Onis Treaty 1819) to draw a definite border, which became a jagged line beginning at the Sabine River north of the Gulf of Mexico between Texas and Louisiana, proceeding north to the forty second parallel, then west to the Pacific (Martinez, 1988.) In the treaty provisions, Spain retained claims to Texas, California and New Mexico, which at the time included all of present day California, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Arizona and sections of Wyoming and Colorado (Espinosa, 1999). Near the end of the 18th century however, the people of New Spain (or Mexico) had begun to rebel against their government. Settlers were unhappy with the political and economic reforms initiated by Spain to modernize the

colony and started a revolution for independence in 1810. This revolution was fought until 1821, concluding with Mexico winning independence from Spain, although also inheriting the challenge of protecting the vast northern frontier (Espinosa, 1999).
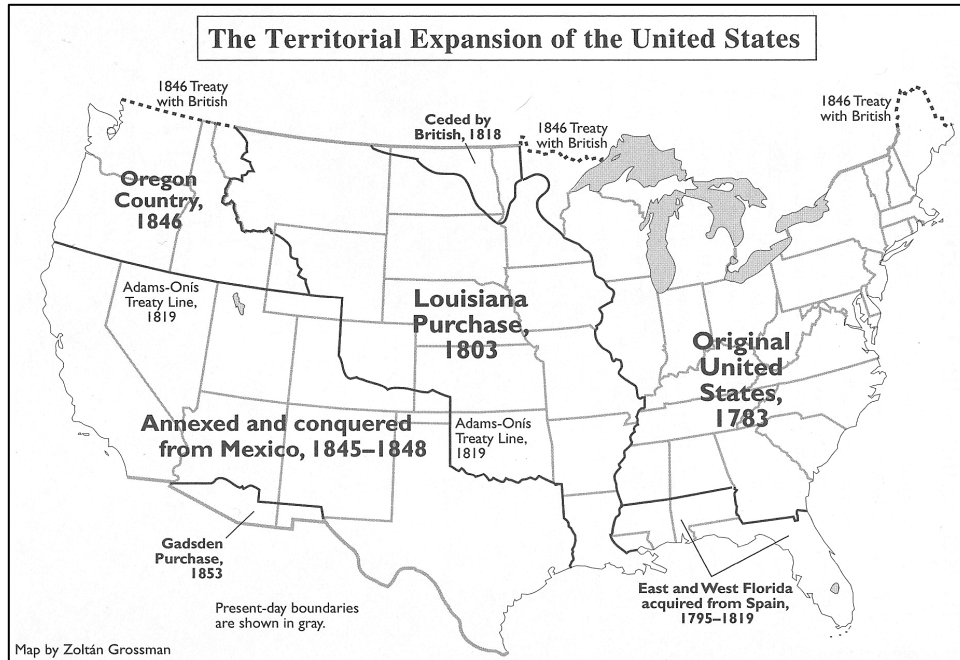
Fig. 2- The Territorial Expansion of the United States

After Mexican independence in 1821, the northern frontier territories became borderlands; an overlap of somewhat undefined and contested ground between nations that remained until the end of the war between the U.S. and Mexico in 1848 (Ganster & Lorey, 2008). Mexico developed plans for economic development and settlement in its Northern region by means of foreign colonization. Americans and Europeans were drawn to the almost free land and tax exemptions in Texas, and merchants were attracted to the establishment of silver and fur trade routes in New Mexico and California (Rios-Bustamante, 1997). Many Mexicans still held negative views of the *frontera del norte,* and few felt the need to migrate to the north and risk so much to start a new life. Anglo-Americans, however, had a positive image of the frontier, and

settlers in the Midwest migrated by the masses to the Southwest, seeking wealth from the mining and agricultural zones. Mexico readily encouraged this migration for the purpose of populating and developing the region to defend the northern boundaries, and allocated land to settlers under the condition they become Mexican citizens (Martinez, 1993; Ganster & Lorey, 2008). However, inviting such an increase in American settlement proved to be a huge mistake for Mexico and subsequently led to events in Texas that feature prominently in the history U.S.–Mexico boundary relations.

Texas Rebellion and the U.S.–Mexico War

During the 1830's, Mexico had difficulty in establishing control of Texas, especially as it became clear the U.S. had intentions for Texas after claiming large tracts of territory contiguous to the state as part of the Louisiana Purchase (Nevins, 2002). Nevertheless, in the effort of trying to protect its northern boundary, the Mexican government had little choice but to allow Americans to settle Texas. Thousands of U.S. proslavery white southerners, led by empresario Stephan F. Austin, flocked to Texas in particular to benefit from new fertile lands for the cultivation of cotton. However, in 1830 Mexico outlawed slavery and prohibited further American immigration, which outraged American slaveholders as well as Mexican elites who were benefiting from the increased flow of capital into the territory (Nevins, 2002). Despite immigration restrictions, Americans still aggressively colonized Texas and by 1835, U.S. settlers largely outnumbered Mexican settlers in the territory (Davis, 1990; Nevins, 2002). Texas eventually asked for separation from Mexico as an overture to statehood, for the

obvious reason that the American majority wanted to remain American and override Mexico's prohibition of slavery. Mexico, however, was still seeking to integrate its border areas with the national core and announced a unified constitution for all Mexican territories, including Texas (Ganster & Lorey, 2008; Davis 1990). Though again, the relative isolation of the border territories from central populations of Mexico sustained Mexico's political instability and gave rise to separatist movements and an unsuccessful centralized government. Texans strongly protested their diminished autonomy and "Texas became an international battleground and an area of pronounced ethnic animosity" (Martinez, 1993, p. 263). Tejanos (Mexican–American inhabitants of Texas) felt the brunt of the conflict, as they were caught having to choose between political loyalty in Texas and allegiance to their homeland, alongside facing racism from the Anglo majority, which designated their status and treatment as second-class citizens. In 1836, Anglo–Texans, as well as some Tejanos, decided to secede and successfully rebelled against the Mexican government, making Texas a newly independent republic that was able to defend its sovereignty for the next nine years (Herzog, 1990; Martinez, 1996; Nevins, 2002).

Diplomatic relations between Mexico and the U.S. were deteriorating, and tensions increased further when the U.S. annexed Texas in 1845, an act that sparked anger and distrust within Mexico and ushered the U.S.–Mexico war (Martinez, 1993). Between 1846 and 1848, the U.S.-Mexican war was fought and formally ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which forced the sale of one-third of Mexico to the U.S. (Ganster & Lorey, 2008). This, along with the sale of parts of New Mexico and Arizona

15

by the Gadsden Purchase in 1854, established the demarcated boundary between Mexico and the U.S. that we know today (Ruiz, 1998).

The new U.S.–Mexico border designated by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo put an end to significant territorial conflicts between the two nations, but formed other border tensions that have remained constant to this day. Racial discrimination in the U.S. continued and many Mexican Americans were subject to persecution and violence. After the boundary was established many Mexican's left their homes and migrated back south into Mexico, founding settlements along the border (Martinez, 1996; Ganster & Lorey, 2008). Mexico's effort to repatriate its citizens to the south side of the border along with the significant surge in mining, agriculture and ranching activities, gave rise to urban centers along the border that eventually emerged as the twin city development pattern we see present today. These developments were augmented by the expansion of the railroad linking U.S. and Mexican transportation networks, which fueled a rapid increase in the growth and development of western agriculture, trade and industry (Ganster, 1997; Herzog, 1990).

By the 1880's railroads were built and expanded to connect Central Mexico and the United States, which allowed easier access to the border regions' natural resources and became the anchor for economic growth for the Southwest region. The railroad also facilitated the availability of an inexpensive labor force consisting of Mexican Americans, Mexicans and Chinese for U.S. run work sites (Martinez, 1993; Ganster & Lorey, 2008). Migrants finally moved from Central Mexico to Northern Mexico and people of the North moved across the border into the U.S. Still however, Mexicans and

Mexican Americans, either newcomers or descendants of former Spanish and Mexican settlers, were designated minorities, deprived of power and property by the thousands of Anglos moving westward by the railroads (Ganster, 2007).

The Mexican Revolution- Migration and Refuge

In 1876, Mexico came to be ruled by President Profirio Diaz, whose dictatorship brought about the decade of civil conflict and agrarian uprising known as the Mexican Revolution from 1910-1920 (Gonzales, 2002). The revolution was an important historical event in Latino history, but it was also a significant decade for the borderlands. People of the region witnessed many battles that brought destruction to the land, economic disruption and a displacement of populations along the border (Martinez, 1996).

Initially, Diaz's regime overturned preceding decades of political and economic struggles, thereby making Mexico vulnerable to a loss of territory. During his presidency, Diaz focused on political centralization for Mexico, which came at the expense of local autonomy and a rapid commercialization of agriculture and mining, which was key to the expansion of the railroad and increased land value throughout the border region (Gonzales, 2002; Ganster, 1997). At the same time in the U.S. and Western Europe, 19th century liberalism was taking shape, rooted in principles of free trade, individual rights and decentralized government. Diaz's logic for achieving political stability contradicted these principles. Diaz actually offered foreign investors incentives to start enterprises in Mexico because he regarded Mexico's capital as inadequate to

17

generate development. These tactics brought capital into Mexico, particularly from the United States, though without measures to protect national sovereignty. The prominence of foreign ownership over major industries, and especially the increased American presence in Mexico's economy, became contentious and led to a growing discontent among workers throughout the Mexican North (Gonzales, 2002; Hall & Coerver, 1988).

The effects of Diaz's authority encouraged many Mexicans to cross the border into the U.S. to work in the mining, agriculture and railroad sectors, which they could do with relative ease (Martinez, 1993). A financial crisis sparked by a U.S. recession in 1907 suspended economic gains for both nations during this time period, an event which was accompanied by a severe drought in Mexico, leading to alarming food shortages. These volatile circumstances and growing resentment of Diaz's political system led to a revolt spearheaded by the son of wealthy Coahuilan land and mine owner Francisco Madero, who called for greater democracy and the overthrow of dictatorship in Mexico (Hall & Coerver, 1988; Ganster & Lorey, 2008). The most popular figure of the revolution however was Pancho Villa, who responded to Madero's call to arms and was known through the 20th century as both a bandit opportunist and hero of the people in the Mexican North. Villa's revolt led to many outbreaks of violence and raids, actions which spilled over the international boundary into the U.S. and sparked greater tension between Mexicans and Americans (Ganster, 1997; Martinez, 1993; Martinez, 1996).

Despite strained international relations along the border, the violent revolutionary period supported a major push for Mexicans caught in the turmoil of war,

economic catastrophe and social chaos, to seek asylum in communities north of the border (Hall & Coerver, 1988). It is estimated that almost 10 percent of Mexico's population migrated north to the U.S. between 1900 and 1930. Most of the migrants were working class people who made significant contributions to economic growth in the Southwest as well to financial security for the unemployed in Mexico. This migration also notably provided support and camaraderie to the Mexican American communities, which had been suffering from neglect and racism at the hands of the dominant Anglo-American majority (Ganster & Lorey, 2008; Martinez, 1993).

After the revolution, a more peaceful climate settled through the borderlands. Mexico began to restructure the political, economic and social conditions that had triggered years of national strife and the borderlands were transitioning away from earlier characteristics of isolation and instability. Simultaneously, the sustained economic growth and development occurring in the U.S. warranted a closer relationship between the U.S., Mexico and the migrant workers aspiring for economic opportunities available north of the border (Martinez, 1993).

Opportunities for Mexico: Migration and Labor Flows

Unsurprisingly, Mexican migration and labor flows into the U.S. have moved in tandem with economic opportunities. Streams of inexpensive migrant workers for agriculture and the railroads largely supported the development of the U.S. West and the Mexican North. During the Mexican Revolution, the U.S. saw a surge of Mexicans migrating north in search of refuge. Then, in 1930, this movement reversed with the

19

emergence of the Great Depression, which saw mass deportations of Mexicans out of the U.S.

Northerly migration surged again during WWII as a result of the Bracero Program, a guest worker program implemented to allow Mexican workers temporary employment in the U.S. for the wartime labor shortage (Anderson & Gerber, 2008). This program proved to be a mutually beneficial bi-national agreement that provided economic opportunity for Mexicans and a cheap substitute labor pool for the U.S., and its popularity allowed it to continue beyond the wartime shortage, terminating only in 1964. On the other hand, the Bracero Program was the pivotal circumstance that fostered both legal and illegal Mexican migration into the U.S. Many migrant workers obtained guarantees of permanent employment in the U.S., which made them eligible for legal residency. Others, who avoided the bureaucracy of the Bracero Program or did not qualify for residency, crossed the border illegally, which was in some instances encouraged by employers who could then circumvent the bureaucratic complications and obligations behind participating in the program (Martinez, 1993). The logical relationship between low-cost Mexican labor and economically efficient production in the U.S. was now even more obvious and a vital integrating force between the U.S. Southwest and northern Mexico (Herzog, 1990). Consequently, the large volume of human traffic crossing the border, and the difficulty regulating it, resulted in new migration related frictions between the two nations.

The migration dilemma began to escalate during the 1950's when the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) established a deportation program called

Operation Wetback. According to Martinez (1993), in 1954 over one million Mexicans were deported from the U.S. and left stranded along the border, creating massive social problems concentrated in that region. Mexican border communities lacked the ability to support the influx of *deportados,* and many did whatever it took for the basic means of survival.   Operation Wetback reduced illegal migration for a short period of time, but still the U.S. demand for cheap workers was steady and sustained clandestine northerly migration. In 1986, after a couple decades of heated immigration policy debates, U.S. Congress finally passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), which sought to keep undocumented migrants out of the U.S. by enacting sanctions against employers of illegal workers and restricting entry at the border. The IRCA included the construction of a more permanent fence along the border, along with infrared lights and the expansion of U.S. Border Patrol to nearly 12,000 agents. This unprecedented legislation failed in its promise to solve the problem of illegal immigration because of a persistent demand for cheap labor which U.S. employers found loopholes for. Even though the number of apprehensions increased as a result of advanced U.S. border patrol, so did the number of successful crossings by migrants (Ruiz, 2000; Anderson & Gerber, 2008; Martinez, 1993).

In Mexico, the federal government was working to improve the social and economic conditions along the border, while constant negative publicity about Mexico filtrated through U.S. media. A turnaround came from establishing the Border Industrialization Program, designed to generate jobs in Mexican border cities through the establishment of assembly plants, or *maquiladoras* (Ganster, 2007; Martinez, 1993)*.*

21

The maquiladora industry transformed the Mexican border into an economically dynamic region, as it stimulated significant job creation and investments that were competitive worldwide. Even U.S. border communities have benefited from the maquiladoras through increased retail sales and the establishment of transportation routes warehousing and other maquiladora support services north of the border. The success of this industry once again proved the existence of a symbiotic relationship between the U.S. and Mexico, a relationship which was growing in public consciousness. This new outlook led to increased border cooperation and strong support in border communities for the passage of North American Free Trade Agreement (Martinez, 1996).

By the 1990's the economies both above and below the U.S.–Mexico border had become especially integrated through the establishment of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), a framework to facilitate and regulate future commercial and financial flows in North America. In particular, NAFTA opened up Mexican grain markets to U.S. imports in exchange for the opening of the U.S. market to Mexican fruits and vegetables (Ruiz, 2000; Chacón & Davis, 2006). However, NAFTA's promise of broad based dynamic growth did not come true in Mexico. The economic strategies behind NAFTA had devastating consequences in Mexico as large corporations functioned independently of government oversight or regulation and little investment was put into local production. This shunned the local market's role in promoting growth and big business focused on using low cost Mexican labor to produce for export (Malkin, 2009; Chacón & Davis, 2006). NAFTA contained no protections for unions, wages or displaced

22

workers, and in a short period of time many of Mexico's manufacturers and industries went out of business, unable to compete with foreign imports, particularly the purchases of subsidized grains from the U.S. Mexico, a civilization built on corn production, began to import more from the U.S. than it could produce domestically, becoming almost entirely dependent on the U.S. for trade and devastating its industrial and agricultural bases in the process (Germano, 2010). Additionally, Mexico was unable to supply jobs for displaced workers, which resulted in an oversupply of labor alongside policies that succeeded in keeping wages low, leading to a larger gap between the average wages in the U.S. and Mexico. Border issues were now further compounded by the economic asymmetry prevalent along the U.S.–Mexico border, and neoliberal interests favoring cheap undocumented labor from illegal immigration into the U.S. (Malkin, 2009; Ackleson, 2004).

Paradoxically, around the same time NAFTA was implemented, the U.S initiated more campaigns to protect its borders (Anderson & Gerber, 2008). Drug trafficking became more closely linked with the movement of people from Mexico, and the U.S. stepped up its efforts to curtail the flow of undocumented workers and drugs. Operation Hold the Line and Operation Gatekeeper were set up by the U.S. Border Patrol to bring order and control to the border. These operations had underpinning enforcement strategies aimed at 'prevention through deterrence', making it so difficult for people to cross illegally that fewer people would try (Sundburg, 2008). Part of these endeavors included the construction and expansion of fences, once termed the "tortilla curtain", using surplus corrugated steel sheeting left over from the Vietnam War. Even

23

steel pilings were erected to close the gap at the Pacific Ocean (Ruiz, 2000). The number of U.S. Border Patrol agents increased on the line and around major border cities. High tech surveillance and detection equipment was placed along the higher, stronger border fences. The intention was to shift illegal traffic away from more urban routes to remote areas in extreme environmental conditions, which inevitably led to a serious toll on human lives along the border (Ganster & Lorey, 2008; Anderson & Gerber, 2008). Effectively, illegal crossers were, and still are, pushed out of sight and out of mind into the remote deserts and mountains, and therefore out of media spotlight and the public's consciousness. Politicians and bureaucrats could visibly prove the deterrence effort and point to indications of progress, order and control in terms of border security. However, this was arguably the only successful element of the fervid border enforcement upgrades.

Chacón and Davis (2006), argue that shifting the flow of unauthorized crossings into the shadows and increasing border fortification only amplified the anti-immigrant sentiment in the U.S. and established new markets for the defense industry. Cornelius (2001) also characterizes these operations as a policy failure, as successful illegal crossings still occur in great numbers, even though the number of apprehensions has increased as a result of the increased amount of patrolling border agents. Furthermore, the campaign can be considered failure because it had "perverse and counterproductive consequences" (Andreas, 2003, p.3). New law enforcement measures were countered with new law evasion strategies, resulting in the emergence of migrant smuggling groups, known as *coyotes,* which have created a serious organized crime problem at the

24

border. Also, funneling migrants to more remote areas with extreme environmental conditions as led to hundreds of deaths of people attempting to cross the border. Humane Borders, a humanitarian group in Arizona aiming to create a safe and death free border environment, reported on their website that 1,755 migrant deaths were recorded between 1999-2009 (Humane Borders, 2011).   Finally, by raising the costs and risks associated with illegal entry, or even moving across the border, it can be argued that the U.S. government has created incentives for permanent settlement in the U.S. by discouraging the migrant who has already made it to the U.S. from returning to their location of origin, thus, possibly keeping more unauthorized migrants in rather than out (Cornelius, 2001).

Joan Neuhaus Schaan, fellow in homeland security and terrorism from the Baker Institute for Public Policy at Rice University and director of the Texas Security Forum, contends that "(a)s the border has become more secure and as the violence has become more extensive and extreme in Mexico, those that might have come and gone multiple times a year are now just staying put" (Schaan, personal communication, February 14, 2011).   Roy Germano's (2010) film, *The Other Side of Immigration*, also reveals the risk and fear migrants live in to cross the border in either direction. In many cases, men are crossing the border at a very young age and leaving their women and children behind, yet fear the journey to cross the border back home. Many families are living separate lives across the border in order for a better living in Mexico.

Despite the advent of NAFTA, which was partly encouraged by the optimistic beliefs of globalization that exclusive cultures (cultural particularism) would be erased

25

or overshadowed by the focus on economic integration, there seems to be a dampened degree to which Mexicans should integrate themselves into American society. Especially in the U.S. Southwest, communities have become frustrated with the increased demands on social services, such as education and health care, because of "illegal aliens" depleting those resources from American citizens (Shivani, 2007). Republican state representative Leo Berman includes the burden on taxpayers, the loss of jobs, and the threat of crime, drugs and disease among the list of troubles from illegal immigration (Blakeslee, 2010). Berman (2010) states:

> The federal government has failed to deal with the immigration problem. It falls upon the states to seal their borders and deal with illegal aliens as they would with any other lawbreakers. Even if the federal government did act, we would certainly see amnesty, with a pathway to citizenship for 30 million new citizens who would instantly have access to all of our social services….It is our duty to protect the citizens of Texas from the crimes committed by illegal aliens in our state, especially from those who make up 50 percent of the gangs who deal in drugs and commit murder, theft, and drunken driving, as well as those who drive without a license or liability insurance.

Increasing fiscal costs mainly fall into education, health care, and law enforcement services. Debates about these fiscal impacts generally focus on the cost of services used by immigrants compared to the taxes paid by immigrants (Gans, 2008). George Skelton (2009) reports in the Los Angeles Times:

> Illegal immigration does cost California taxpayers a substantial wad, undeniably into the billions… the state spends well over $5 billion a year on illegal immigrants and their families. Of course, illegal immigrants do pay state taxes. But no way do they pay enough to replenish what they're drawing in services. Their main revenue contribution would be the sales tax, but they can't afford to be big consumers, and food and prescription drugs are exempt.

26

The Federation for American Immigration Reform released data in 2010 showing the costs of Arizona's illegal immigrant population, which amount to billions of dollars in those three categories, though the Udall Center for Public Policy at the University of Arizona and the Immigration Policy Center (a major opponent to Arizona's SB1070 law which allows local police to ask for immigration documents and arrest those that don't have them) claim that the benefits of immigrants are being overlooked. According to a report published by the Udall Center in 2008, immigrants make up approximately 14 percent of the workforce in Arizona and make significant contributions to Arizona's economy because immigrants are expanding the size of the workforce and creating economic activity and generating tax revenues that would not occur otherwise (Barnes, 2010; Gans, 2008).

Globalization seems to have taken second place to the need for protecting and defending America, particularly American identity (Shivani, 2007). The idea of a Mexican invasion has been filtered into U.S. national consciousness and is reflected through the merciless elements of power and self-interest of American foreign policy. Anis Shivani (2007) summarizes these elements, which shed light on the extent to which the U.S. is proving its course of action to stop illegal immigration:

> An impenetrable wall, protecting the 2000 miles of Mexican-American border; mass deportations of as many as twelve to fifteen million workers with undocumented presence in the country; and an all out assault on the privacy of individual families and integrated communities, to root out those lacking papers to be entitled to be serviceable cogs in the American economic juggernaut… (p. 192-3).

Rather than immigrants being seen as additions to American social and political capital, immigrants have come to be seen as a threat to American custom. Americans seem to

be acting vulnerably to the onslaught of dark skinned foreigners from the South who willingly risk death and suffer discrimination in order to provide for their families. Ackleson (2005) and Nevins (2002) discerned this very sentiment in their examination of border security operations such Operation Gatekeeper, which they claim created a rise of the "illegal alien" as a discursive category. Nevins (2002) writes: "…we cannot divorce growing emphasis on 'illegal aliens' from the long history in the United States rooted in fear and/or rejection of those deemed as outsiders, a history that is inextricably tied to a context of exploitation and political and economic marginalization of certain immigrant populations" (p. 96). Nevins further states: "Operation Gatekeeper…is, in no small part, a manifestation and outgrowth of such sentiment" (p. 96).

Contemporary U.S.-Mexican Relations- Migration and Security

On September 11, 2001, the U.S. experienced terrorist attacks, which had a dramatic effect on the American psyche. The nation was put on high alert and made immediate efforts to heighten security along its borders, actions which fueled consequences for the already fragile U.S.–Mexico relationship. After 9/11, the U.S.–Mexico border in particular became a national security concern for U.S. policy makers. The region grew attention as a major battleground in the "War on Terrorism". Once again it is evident that during times of labor shortage or economic expansion, the existence of malleable workers yearning for opportunity facilitates more porous borders. Then during times of recession, or other volatile periods, the immigrant is

portrayed as a harmful force in society, responsible for social ills that threaten the nation (Chacón & Davis, 2006).

Prior to 9/11, American knowledge about the border was focused on drug cartels and threats to U.S. social services that might come about from Mexican migration, more than about any real threat to national security. After the attacks, enforcement along the southern border was justified as an effort to reduce the possibility of additional terrorists entering the country from Mexico. Immigrants and border crossers now carry the stigma of being a potential "terrorist threat" and continue to bear the burden of racial profiling, increased harassment and violence (Olemedo & Soden, 2005; Chacón & Davis, 2006; Coleman, 2007). Various human and civil right organizations have documented verbal, physical, psychological, and sexual abuses committed by the U.S. Border Patrol and other law enforcement agencies against both undocumented and documented workers crossing the U.S.–Mexico border region (Wilson, 2011). Border traffic is continuously stalled as agents scrutinize documents. Countless Border Patrol SUVs roam the highways and back roads along the border as helicopters hover overhead. In a special report on immigration in the Texas Monthly (2010, November) John Santos writes: "in the current tumult over immigration, the matter is often presented in the media as a simple choice between law and anarchy, between protecting American values and identity and abandoning them to a wave of immigrants from the south." He further writes: "Fueled by a spiraling whirl of fear and mistrust, the debate has reached a point that many hot-button issues come to, where they detach from reality and history and begin to create a new, self justifying

29

mythology" (p.121). Ultimately, the de facto lock down and barriers to entry have created an inefficient and contentious border setting that does not improve the border economy or people's perceptions of the border region.

The ebb and flow of migrant workers is nothing new for the United States. However, associating migrants from Mexico with terrorist threats against America has become a recent phenomenon. Coleman (2007) claims, pre and post 9/11, U.S. immigration policies are supported by a racial and nationalist discourse of "threat", which epitomizes the U.S.–Mexico border as a site where the flood of immigrants from the south could potentially taint the economic and territorial quality of the U.S. Looking back to the time of the U.S.-Mexican war, an ideological movement took place that conditioned the process of expansion, what can be termed "Manifest Destiny". The idea of an "Anglo- Saxon" race as superior to other inhabitants of North America permeated national discourse. Mexicans were intrinsically considered inferior to Anglos. The racial tendencies of border immigration enforcement seem to be magnified even more after 9/11. Border checkpoints stop the vehicles of those who fit the profile of an undocumented worker: "If you are white you are waved through, if you are brown, you are suspect" (Chacón and Davis, 2006, pg. 156).

Migration is one of the most sensitive border issues for Mexico and the U.S. and remains to be widely debated and discussed throughout American media. The migration debate has marked citizens of Mexico against citizens of the U.S., and even citizens of the U.S. against one another. Ganster and Lorey (2008), argue that the U.S. will be unable to stop the flow of people northward so long as North American economic

integration continues. Border issues are complicated by conflicting U.S. national objectives of protecting territory and identity from supposed threats while attempting to maximize the benefits of transnational trade flows.

Conclusion

As stated earlier, the evolution of the U.S.–Mexico border is inextricably linked to the formation of the nation-state, particularly American territorial expansion (Manifest Destiny) and the notion of Anglo-Saxon supremacy associated with redefining the boundary and social relations along the boundary. The development of the border, and its accompanying regulation, embodies the coercive power of American political culture, which is proven by the subjugation of particular groups of people in the process of establishing territorial control. These developments are correlated with the rise of Mexican northerly migration, and the establishment of U.S. immigration policies concentrated along its borderline with Mexico. The boundary has evolved into both a territorial and ideological divide, with a very powerful tangible presence, bearing relevance to people's livelihood and perceptions of one another.

Despite evidence of the U.S. creating a more secure and efficient border for the sake of national security, with the construction of a virtual fortress and influx of law enforcement and surveillance, it is important to consider the full effect of these deterrence tactics and the intentions of those who lobbied to put them into action. For those who do not live within the border region and are perhaps limited as to what knowledge they have of the border environment, the discourse surrounding border

31

issues throughout the media would be a primary source of information and thus could effectively influence certain attitudes and behaviors toward immigrants. According to Peter Andreas (2000),

> Public perception is powerfully shaped by the images of the border which politicians, law enforcement agencies and the media project. Alarming images of the border out of control can fuel public anxiety; reassuring images of the border can reduce such anxiety…[therefore], successful border management depends on successful image management and this does not necessarily correspond to levels of actual deterrence (pg. 9).

This idea of "image management" is arguably an important component working to criminalize human migration and shape a particular perception of Mexicans in the U.S. The following chapter will further outline the way in which groups of people can be constructed through discourse and imagery, particularly maps, as a burden on the state, and how such visual or verbal resources work to advance and legitimize particular immigration policies and border enforcements. The concept of national identity and sovereignty is central to contemporary immigration politics, and the way these identities are shaped and expressed in terms of exclusion and inclusion will also be discussed. The U.S.–Mexico border is indeed a region of power struggles and an ambiguous cultural zone, where sovereignty and hegemony exacerbate the structural inequities present along the border.

CHAPTER 3: PART ONE- DISCOURSE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONALISM

> Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed. The assumption that subjectivity is constructed implies that it is not innate, not genetically determined, but socially produced (Weedon, 1987, p.21).

The goal of this research is to examine the discourse within maps in the context of political power at the U.S.–Mexico border. Throughout this study maps are regarded as a form of discourse themselves, laden with particular values and perceptions of a geographic space. As such, it is argued that maps are rhetorical images and can be bound by dominant social agendas and practices which govern their production and dissemination, just like any other geopolitical discursive practice.

It is important to acknowledge that our discourse is related to and constitutive of our social experience. Discourse includes speech, text, and the use of socially embedded cultural tools (i.e. signs, symbols, maps, art) that work to mediate our knowledge of the world and understandings between our self and society. The notion of discourse as an outlet in which particular power interests may become eminent and naturalized—a concept made popular by postmodern theorists such as Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, and Michel Foucault— is especially significant to consider when examining political struggles over territory, boundaries, and sovereignty, and how they are represented and communicated. From this perspective, the way in which a geographical place is represented through a discursive means, —via maps for instance—

emanates from geographical, cultural, or political viewpoints of that particular place (Duncan, 1993; Daniels and Cosgrove, 1993).

Geographer Karen Culcasi (2006) reiterates that maps in particular can be powerful "discursive tools" (p. 680), as they work to reflect power and political agendas and thus create particular images and narratives of territory, boundaries and citizens. These map characteristics allow for one to critically analyze the way in which particular interests play a constitutive role in the way nations are represented and envisioned. In this regard, maps are no longer considered as simply objective representations of our world. Thus, this research is inspired by an epistemological shift in the way we interpret and think of maps, as suggested by critical cartographer J.B. Harley and followers, (Wood, 1992; Pickles 2004; Monmonier 1991) which be discussed later in this chapter in order to highlight the ways in which power relations and cartographic practices come together to construct and communicate particular visions of nations.

This chapter puts forth the theoretical frameworks of social constructivism and critical cartography to illuminate certain processes of nation-state building, in which territorial and social boundaries are produced and can arguably be reified through the practice of cartography as a medium of communication. The first section of the chapter will outline studies that draw upon poststructuralist ideas on the meaning of borders/boundaries, how they are socially constructed, and how they work to create and reinforce socio-spatial identities such as 'us' and the 'Other' (see Agnew, 1999; Anderson, 1991; Balibar, 2002; Duncan, 1993; Newman and Paasi, 1998). With respect to this research, the U.S.–Mexico border provides an exemplar of an 'us' vs. 'Other'

schema as it separates two distinctive socio-demographic conditions (Loucky, Alper and Day, 2008) and structures social and territorial space. Therefore, scholarly research on the ways migrant identities are constructed through discourse and expressed in terms of exclusion and inclusion along the U.S.–Mexico border will also be discussed (see Ackleson, 1999, 2005; Sundburg, 2007, 2008). The second section of this chapter will consider the ways in which maps—as discursive devices—play a significant role in defining and naturalizing certain depictions of space, making it important to examine the ways in which they represent geopolitical issues. Thus, Harley's (1989) 'deconstructionist' tactic used to "break the assumed link between reality and representation" (p. 2) when critically analyzing maps will be outlined in more detail, and called upon as the methodology for this research.

By presenting a general understanding of the phenomena and processes related to nationalism and cartography, this chapter outlines an analytical perspective sensitive to connotative meanings of boundary (national) representations in order to help comprehend and explore the ways in which a map can be read as an artifact that is fraught with the social processes from which it was constructed.

The Significance of Borders- The Rise of Nationalism and Sovereignty

Borders have traditionally been considered simply as lines demarcating the organization of space and bounding the areas within which nation-states, as political geographic units defined by a particular territory, can practice sovereignty and a degree of control over their citizens (Newman, 2000; Nevins, 2002). French political theorist

35

and philosopher Etienne Balibar (2002), whose work has been influential in discussions around race, class, national sovereignty, and citizenship, suggests that borders are a result of a nation-state ascribing itself a right to property, with which ideas of sovereignty are inevitably bound up. As such, geographer John Agnew (1999) further argues that the modern nation-state requires "clearly bounded territories" (p. 503) so that sovereignty within that state can be claimed and clearly defined within the entire territory. Therefore, borders are essential to the social and political organization of our world.

It is hard to imagine a society without borders. Understandings of territory, place, and space have historically been necessary constituents in the way we view and compartmentalize our world (Newman and Paasi, 1998). Also, because ideas of sovereignty are so tightly linked with borders, both politically and culturally, borders take on a sort of sacred nature as a way for people to represent their place in the world to themselves and others (Balibar, 2002). Benedict Anderson (1991), who has explored the processes behind the creation and propagation of nationality, defines a nation as "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (p. 6). Anderson suggests, a nation is "imagined" because its members hold an innate affinity and sense of comradeship, as he puts it, "…in the minds of each [members of a nation] lives the image of their communion" (p. 6). Balibar (2002) also argues that through the way individuals conceptualize borders between groups to which they belong or don't belong "they develop a cultural or spiritual nationalism" (p. 76) or so-called patriotism. In other words, the idea of nationalism inspires a shared vision and

understanding of one's place in the global system (Dijkink, 1996). Therefore, inevitably there are cultural roots to nationalism and the creation of "imagined communities", which Anderson (1991) argues most significantly stems from the emergence of the printing press under a system of capitalism; that is, the beginnings to the ubiquitous influence of media discourse. According to Anderson, the relationship between the newspaper and the market, and the distribution of the newspaper allowing readers to observe their 'imagined world' as visually embedded in everyday life, had a fundamental impact on the way people could think about themselves and relate themselves to others.

In this regard, nationalism fundamentally supports identity and the relation of a particular social group to a geographic territory as defined by borders, which one could argue are inherently rhetorical lines of both inclusion and exclusion based on knowledge of particular identities. Because the nation-state is by nature committed to and fixated with protecting and affiliating its citizens within a geographic outline, notions of inclusion and exclusion form the basis of border delineations and representations that would define, for example, "citizens" vs. "aliens"—those that belong either inside or outside of a geographically based community (Balibar, 2002; Nevins 2002). Geographer Joseph Nevins (2002) supports this notion, stating that "territorial boundaries are inextricably related to the construction of social boundaries, the parameters that define specific social groups on both sides of the geographical divide" (p. 151). Yet, it is important to note that identities are not only tied to geographical spaces, but can also be constructed and defined by the niches within social systems associated with

37

particular spaces. More over, the content within specified boundaries, for example the discourse or symbolism used to define the members and the foreigners, helps to legitimate and support identity, (Duncan, 1993).

Social Power, Discourse and Territorial Identities

> What the eye is to the lover—that particular, ordinary eye he or she is born with—language—whatever language history has made his or her mother tongue—is to the patriot. Through that language, encountered at mother's knee and parted with only at the grave, pasts are restored, fellowships are imagined, and futures are dreamed (Anderson, 1991, p. 154)

As previously discussed, boundaries or borders are essential to territorially define and organize social groupings and facilitate the construction of unity and difference among people. Furthermore, the identities (personal, group, or territorial) constructed from such boundaries are underpinned by discursive means (Nevins, 2002; Drzewiecka, 2002). Living within a particular space and place, during a particular time, entails exposure to a perpetual stream of discourse and experiences produced by the people engaging in that space, which perhaps differ from the discourse and experiences happening elsewhere in the world. Though one could argue that a person's behavior and understanding is conditioned through family genetics, intelligence is also produced at a particular time and place—within those particular contexts that shape 'local knowledges'. As reflexive human beings, our embodied experience allows for us to become partially influenced by the socio-cultural practices in which we so actively participate and immerse ourselves. In other words, our understanding is socially

constructed while simultaneously our interpretation is socially constructing (Dijkink, 1996; Gregory, 1991; Martin and Sugarman, 2000). This is not to disregard the possibility of human ingenuity and change; rather, to simply emphasize the ways in which we attain knowledge of ourselves, others, and our surroundings, which is undoubtedly influenced by the discourse and practices that make our world.

To an extent, those who have the power to dispense certain messages de facto and influence our understanding are able to exert control over our knowledge. Philosopher Michel Foucault most famously analyzed the connections between power, knowledge, and discourse and questioned the construction or order of certain discourses. According to researchers who have followed Foucault's work—and have done a service in describing his theories less opaquely—Foucault argued that social power emerges from the discursive customs of social interaction on account of the way discourses can position groups and individuals in relationships that tend to serve particular interests of power, that is, those who wish to preserve their authoritative position at the expense of others (Boyne, 1990; Duncan, 1993). In his book *The Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault writes: "...when one speaks of a system of formation, one does not only mean the juxtaposition, coexistence, or interaction of heterogeneous elements (institutions, techniques, social groups, perceptual organizations, relations between various discourses), but also the relation that is established between them—and in a well determined form—by discursive practice" (Foucault, 1972, p. 72). As such, with regards to promoting nationalism, discourse can be a powerful tool used to help construct territories and their accompanied boundaries,

39

as well as sanction those who belong—"us"—as well as those who do not belong—the "other". Therefore, one can understand how social power (or the negotiation of power) is involved in processes of identity construction. According to the work of Lacau (1990) and Mouffee (1996) as cited in Vila (2003), "power constitutes social identity in an act of exclusion, and persistent repression of what is banned is the condition of possibility of the essence of the social identity in question" (p. 623). It would make sense then that nationalism is most present at borders because of their permeable and fluid nature as sites of mixed cultures and ethnicities, and Vila (2003) reminds us that "nationalism is always negotiated, precisely, against difference" (p. 610).

It seems unlikely that there will ever be a society or nation that does not emphasize the differences between groups, creating the "us" and "other" duality by virtue of demarcating space (Newman, 2000). Geographer Michel Foucher has written extensively on the role of borders and the influence of borders on identity and security and argues that recognizing this *difference* is essential for spatial control, for identifying actors and effects of political history, and because of this, "'unilateral' borders are not rare" (p. 159) and will continue to exist (Foucher, 2000). Along side this notion, it is also important to give attention to the role of the social processes and actors who have overseen the definition of certain boundaries and also to recognize the link between the way borders are represented and what behaviors are practiced. That is, how certain representations (discourses) of borders are constitutive of the treatments and behaviors towards people engaging in that border space.

Hegemonic and official discourse, such as that produced by the law or official government maps, are so deeply rooted in our everyday life that they are part of the process by which particular knowledges of society, citizens or the nation state can be created and reaffirmed (Nevins, 2002; Culcasi, 2006). Certain symbols and lexicons can become quite powerful rhetoric through the process of reiteration—a tactic politicians and media regularly activate—as these messages become naturalized and sink to a subconscious level throughout the interactive public. Gertjan Dijkink (1996) makes an important argument that "the prominence of frontiers and lines in American mental maps of the world, the idea of American purity, or the gross distinction between East and West as opposite cultures, are or were effective organizing elements because they never enter public discussion. They became, in terms of discourse analysis, 'naturalized', part of common sense" (p. 1-2). One can then consider how notions of sovereignty can be easily become manifested by geographic expressions of power (territoriality) that are represented and reiterated (naturalized) through a common mode of discourse (national flags, border representations through maps).

This next section will provide examples of how identities are socially constructed through the debate over undocumented Mexican immigration into the U.S. As a site where a dissymmetrical interaction among people can be seen and U.S. nationalist discourse of the 'Other' permeates the landscape, the U.S.–Mexico borderlands provides an excellent case study of how such discourse can become representative of the people and the region as a whole.

41

Constructing Identities in the U.S.–Mexico Borderlands- Discourse of the 'Other'

In the case of the relations between U.S. and Mexico, the growing emphasis on the legal status of immigrants is arguably a manifestation of a reinforced U.S.–Mexico boundary in terms of immigration control. That is, the increased importance and strengthening of the boundary as an enforced barrier embodies powerful symbolic discourse, creating an ideology of the border not only as the dividing line between the two nations, but as a border emphasizing *difference* and the need to repel difference as it threatens characteristics of U.S. culture and sovereignty (Nevins, 2002; Demo, 2005). The construction of the boundary as it lies today—as a physical fenced line under intense surveillance—established the practicality and legality of efforts to control Mexican migration into the U.S. In this sense, border policing efforts—by subjecting people to the law—play a key role in constructing social boundaries and identities along the U.S.–Mexico border by distinguishing between those who belong, and under what conditions, and those who do not, with the effect of producing social boundaries between "Americans" and "Mexicans" or "citizens" and "aliens", thus setting the stage for the war over illegal immigration as linked to threats to national security (Nevins, 2002; Ackleson, 1999).

Recent scholarly work has suggested that American discourse about unauthorized immigration has changed significantly over the last two decades, with recent emphasis on the legality of Mexican migrants and their connection with terrorist threats, poverty, crime, and an overall drain on U.S. resources. Ackleson examined public discourse and policy changes to understand the socio-political context in which

the U.S. devised policy solutions for certain defined threats, specifically undocumented migration, terrorism, and drugs (Ackleson, 2005). He argues that these issues were (are) treated as security threats at the border through a process involving the rhetoric of political undertakings concerned with identity, power, and order. After analyzing discourse surrounding border security operations from the 1990's such as Operation Hold the Line or Operation Gatekeeper—endeavors to close the border specifically to undocumented migrants—Ackleson found that the defined threat of migrants were seen (and still tend to be seen) as social problems of "disorder and chaos" and so regulation of the border was designed in part to present and image of "order and control" (Ackleson, 2005, p. 180). Ultimately, Ackleson's research calls attention to ways in which security is "constructed" at the border and highlights how official state discourse helped connect migration with ideas of danger and risk in the public imagination. Thus, Mexican migrants can be constructed in official discourse as a U.S. security problem by constructing security in terms of migration and terrorism, thereby increasing U.S. perceptions of risk from migrants and ultimately accentuating a clear divide and difference between Mexicans and Americans.

Anne Demo also examined visual and verbal U.S. immigration policy discourse within the INS initiatives from the 1990's to argue how such discourse was used to reaffirm the threat to U.S. sovereignty. In particular Demo examined imagery in INS media and concluded that "such imagery, … [depictions of lawlessness and border disregard, along with efforts of deterrence, law, and order], contributes to U.S. national identity by normalizing a particular form of boundary-making as instrumental to

43

contemporary statecraft" (Demo, 2005, p. 293). Both Demo and Ackleson argue that the emphasis of U.S.–Mexico border integrity through policy discourse naturalizes the need for a clearly marked and protected barrier between the two nations. Therefore, "the fences, barricades, and surveillance technology that define the look of deterrence are presented 'as if they belonged to the natural order of things'" (Demo, 2005, p. 306). Most importantly, these critical discourse analyses found that the dominant naturalized discourse of the border constituted a particular view of the border as well as the nations of U.S. and Mexico.

During her research of the environmental aspects of U.S.–Mexico border policies, Geographer Juanita Sundberg (2007; 2008) also recognized the discursive practices that delineate and reaffirm particular geopolitical boundaries along the border, thereby narrating inclusion and exclusion. Again, just as with both Demo's and Ackleson's research, Sundburg also found an emphasis on 'threats' from migrants throughout representations of border areas in the media and how such rhetoric established that which is threatened as 'American' (Sundberg, 2007). These threats arise as a consequence of undocumented immigrants attempting the treacherous journey of illegally entering the U.S.—through extreme environmental conditions in remote areas—in which many personal objects carried for survival, such as empty water bottles, food containers, backpacks, along with other intimate belongings, are lost or discarded along the way. As these objects are left behind, they become features specific to the landscapes of border crossings. In this context, Sundberg (2008) highlighted how undocumented immigrants are framed by stories throughout the media

44

as "those who trash America" (p. 875) and further argues that the custom of labeling these objects left behind as "trash" again results in identity formations emphasizing the American-Mexican *difference*.

Ultimately these examples are meant to provide understanding of how narrative expressions (discursive practices) can work to spatially delineate where particular groups of people or objects of daily life belong and further mediate how one should relate to and behave toward them through reference to a set of norms and social order. Moreover, it should be clear how associating migrants with threat, lawlessness, or trash work to justify the exclusionary measures directed towards them.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, borders are historically and culturally contingent. Therefore, it is vital to combine the interpretation of discourse (maps and texts) and the history of how lines have been drawn in order to give account of how our world has been divided. The construction of boundaries can be a contested process as boundaries inevitably become a site where social power is exploited and resistance is generated (Foucher, 2000; Nevins, 2002). Also, because the content within specific boundaries supports identities within those boundaries, it is important to consider the ways in which these social practices are infused within social norms and values. The examples provided above highlight the ways in which the U.S. helped to construct the "illegal alien" through the emphasis of border enforcement and the discourse employed to justify efforts to bring order and control to the U.S.–Mexico border.

This next section will outline the ways in which maps can be used as a discursive strategy to instill particular perceptions of nations and geopolitical issues. Additionally,

a methodology to critically examine discourse embedded in maps through the interrogation of the use and manipulation of certain cartographic elements that mold a maps message will be discussed in more detail.

PART TWO- CRITICAL CARTOGRAPHY AND THE POWER OF MAPS

> While cartographers renew their commitments to the business of pursuing the technical 'march of progress', within cultural studies and science studies the origins of mapping techniques in land surveys, the role of imperial projects of territorial expansion and control, the ordering and disciplining roles of national topographic mapping agencies, and the rendering of nature and society as objects to be represented graphically as well as scientifically and politically, have all become sub-fields for critical analysis (Pickles, 2004, p. 181).

As discussed in the previous section of this chapter, the histories of nation states are inextricably woven with the space they have not only occupied but also actively produced. Many of the concepts presented in this section relate to the notion that communities, territories, or nations can be "imagined" by the people who are immersed in those spaces and therefore have a role in constructing them. Maps, as depictions of geographic space, function particularly well to define and legitimate a nation's history by communicating these imaginings (Anderson, 1991; Wood, 1992b). This study examines a particular dimension of the history and spatial relationship between U.S. and Mexico by analyzing the way in which cartography and maps have been used to define and naturalize certain depictions of space along the U.S.–Mexico border. As such, this section of the chapter sketches out an approach to critically analyzing maps as discourse, attentive to the textuality of maps and geopolitical relations guiding map use.

This critical (discourse analysis) framework sheds light on a number of fundamental questions about how humans perceive, understand, and relate to their world via maps. What is the function of maps? What is the relationship of the map to the landscape it depicts? What are the components of the overall narrative in a map and how do you read them? What are the connotative messages within those various components? How is a dominant ideology distributed in maps?

Within both a geopolitical and social context, bringing into question fundamental assumptions of how maps work is important, considering the socially embedded and persuasive nature of maps and how they have historically been a significant reference to how our world and environment is ordered. Particularly, when examining cartographic depictions of a borderline, which (as discussed earlier) has such a divisive objective and effect, this kind of naturalized discourse could have real consequences for individuals who live within a border region. It is important then to appreciate the flexibility and power maps have as a medium of communication and to "deconstruct" the cartographic routines through which certain messages, or moreover, representations of nation states, the spaces they occupy, and the people who occupy them, are produced and rendered natural.

The Value and Performance Maps

Cartography, the art and science of drawing maps (Eckert, 1977), is tightly linked with the discipline of *geography,* a Greek word that translates as "to record, draw, and write the earth" (Brückner, 2006, p.6). Maps form the basis of geography, as they are used to communicate the spatial and temporal distribution of geographic phenomena, as well as the interaction of humans and their environment. In recent decades, geographers and social scientists (see Brückner, 2006; Crampton, 2002; Culcasi, 2006; Harley, 1988, 1989, 1990; Kitchin and Dodge, 2007; Monmonier, 1991, 1993; Pickles, 2004; Sparke, 1998; Wood, 1992a, 1992b) have investigated the various roles of maps and the significance of mapping our world. This contemporary research has highlighted the ways in which maps function as simple yet effective geopolitical tools and modes of discourse, facilitating particular spatialized understandings of territories, boundaries, and citizens.

It is undeniable that maps have become necessary not only for understanding the delineations of physical terrain, but to make sense of how we geographically compartmentalize the political organization of our world. Even the simplest of maps can be effective in helping us recognize places that are uniquely positioned in our imagination or national psyche (Turchi, 2004). Throughout history, as countries dispute their political borders and hegemonic status, exploration, mapping, and surveying have been methods through which to identify and assume control of resources and generate knowledge of territory (Craib, 2004). As noted by geographer Denis Wood (1992a), a particularly significant consequence of mapping, as a means to build geographic

48

knowledge, is that by communicating and thus *creating* particular visions of territory, a map brings a territory into existence. Wood (2010) further adds that maps give us "a reality that exceeds our vision, our reach, the span of our days, a reality we achieve no other way. We are always mapping the invisible or the unattainable… the future or the past" (p. 15). This is not to claim that objects of the world fail to exist outside the map, but to highlight an important concept that by way of the map (as an expressive text), territories, streets, rivers, and so on are "broken out of the seamless whole in which they actually exist, and made subject to all the effects of classification and nomenclature, location and inventory" (Wood, 1992a, p. 69).

The cartographic aspect of geography, consisting of property plats, decorative wall maps, and national atlases, undoubtedly influenced the textual practices involved in shaping national expression and identity. According to American Literature professor Martin Brückner (2006)*,* geographic literacy "…served a symbolic, cognitive, and pedagogic role in the representation of early Anglo-American identity" (p. 3) and therefore worked as the basis of an Anglo-American form of patriotism. The American national map was particularly integral to early national consciousness, to the extent that its discourse influenced the country's fundamental political documents. Consequently, the map was embraced as a "…proleptic text that enabled American politicians to ratify the Constitution and became a popular language by which ordinary citizens learned to imagine the contested idea of national unity" (Brückner, 2006, p. 101). It was often turned to in order to negotiate and reconcile competing political interests. Furthermore, Brückner concludes, "the widespread dissemination of geographic literacy

49

[in America] transformed the realities of conquest into a rhetoric of virtue and democracy" (p. 263).

On a similar note, Benedict Anderson (1991) contends that maps, particularly early European maps, "worked on the basis of totalizing classification", which led to policies with "revolutionary consequences" (p. 173). Anderson gives credit to John Harrison's 1761 invention of the chronometer, which gave ability to calculate longitudes, for revealing the earth's surface under a measured geometric grid, leaving an assignment for explorers and military surveyors to "fill in" empty boxes and unexplored regions. It was during this flourishing time for surveyors that, Anderson (1991) contends, "(t)riangulation by triangulation, war by war, treaty by treaty, the alignment of maps and power proceeded" (p. 173). Maps became robust kind of "weapons" (Wood, 1992a, p. 66) in the battle for sovereignty and social dominion, and through cartographic discourse, territorial units became concrete and nationalisms could be born.

This brief history of cartographic practices makes clear that maps do more than just simply reflect geographic space. Cartography has a powerful ideological and political function; and maps have a purpose to represent and produce space in ways that adopt traditions and histories of the constituted nation-state or culture (Sparke, 1998; Turnbull, 1989). Just like with any other form of discourse then, maps are contingent on the social, cultural and political relationships of a certain time and place. Thus, the meaning and intention of a map is dependant on where and when the map was produced and what it was produced for (Kitchin and Dodge, 2007; Del Casino and

50

Hanna, 2006). However, the value and role of space in the disposition of our shared social meanings gives rise to the complex nature of maps and map use as a culturally contingent discourse we face on a daily basis. As certain representations of space are fundamental to and constituted by a particular culture, then, within any culture, what is deemed as a landmark, or boundary of a territory/nation and its spatial relations, is not necessarily a concrete characteristic, but instead constitutes as part of that culture's worldview (Turnbull, 1989). From this perspective, maps are not understood as completely accurate records of landscapes or reflections of the world, but rather, as critical cartographer J.B. Harley (1988) regards them, "…refracted images contributing to dialogue in a socially constructed world" (p. 278). As such, map communication is not only produced by cartographers, it is also constructed by map users who bring their own understandings to the map, which then yield a multitude of interpretations.

The next section will outline the principles of critical cartography, emphasizing the complex and nuanced ways in which power is exercised in mapping practices. As such, the idea of mapping as a socially constructed system of communication is emphasized, and the implications of map communication variables are discussed.

Critical Cartography as a Discipline - Influential Figures and Epistemologies

> As a discourse created and received by human agents, maps represent
> the world through a veil of ideology, are fraught with internal tensions,
> provide classic examples of power-knowledge, and are always caught up
> in wider political contexts (Harley, 1990, p. 1).

The subject of critical cartography came along in the late 1980's, spurred largely by the work of geographer John Brian Harley, who was most famous for applying post-structuralist theories of power relations to the nature of cartography (Del Casino and Hanna, 2006; Crampton, 2001). Harley (1989) drew upon the deconstructionist work of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida to argue that the practice of mapping was not an unbiased, scientifically objective pursuit, but rather one infused with power (Kitchin and Dodge, 2007). Harley firmly asserted that maps function as discourse that work to *create* rather than reveal geographic knowledge, and he further notes that in the process of creating knowledge, many subjective decisions are inevitably made about what to include in a map, how the map will appear and what the map is aiming to communicate (Harley, 1989; Monmonier, 1996). In conveying this principle, Harley (1990) verified maps as social constructions and expressions of power/knowledge saturated with the values and judgments of the individuals who design them, undeniably a reflection of the culture in which those individuals live.

In his groundbreaking paper "Deconstructing the Map" Harley (1989), relying on Foucault's theory of power/knowledge and Derrida's concept of deconstruction, made a bold new agenda to "…search for the social forces that have structured cartography and to locate the presence of power—and its effects—in all map knowledge" (p. 2). He

further suggests a "… deconstructionist tactic to break the assumed link between reality and representation which has dominated cartographic thinking" (p. 2). Harley's key point is that "we should begin to deconstruct the map by challenging its assumed autonomy as a mode of representation" (Harley, 1992 p. 232, as cited in Crampton, 2001, p. 697). Deconstructing a map calls for a very conscientious form of textual criticism, encouraging the map-reader to "read between the lines" and uncover the hidden messages and inconsistencies which may challenge the integrity of the image (Boyne, 1990; Harley, 1989). This strategy fosters a deeper consideration of the social processes, political agendas, or power relations driving particular maps, which Harley argues can be found by teasing out what perspectives are dominant or hidden through an interpretation of how pieces of information are rhetorically revealed by way of the symbology within the map.

Though Harley encouraged a shift in the way we understand maps and the nature of cartography, his theoretical developments were incomplete due his untimely death, and he never provided a finalized methodology for a critical analysis of maps and mapping (Crampton, 2001). Also, critics of Harley (Crampton, 2001; Belyea, 1992) question his application of Foucault and Derrida, arguing that he did not fully embrace their ideas. Barbara Beylea (1992) notes that Harley's strategy of tracing the power and politics of mapping in effort to discover the hidden agenda of maps goes against Foucault's observations that there is no escaping the entangling of power/knowledge. Foucault (1972) argues, "…there is no knowledge without a particular discursive practice; and any discursive practice may be defined by the knowledge that it forms" (p.

53

183). Furthermore, Beylea proclaims that the power that Harley strived to reveal in cartographic discourse "is an impersonal, indistinguishable, unsubtractable aspect of the discourse" (p. 3). Jeremy Crampton (2001) contends that Harley did not provide a feasible research agenda, largely because his work was incomplete, further stating: "Deconstruction might reveal what the map was not (i.e., innocent, scientific, optimal), but what is left to say about what the maps is" (p. 699)? Crampton further acknowledges however that is necessary to start with and go beyond Harley's work if we are analyze the socially constructed nature of maps.

Other scholars such as Denis Wood (1992), Mark Monmonier (1996), and John Pickles (2004) have augmented Harley's deconstruction work by further revealing the deep-rooted ideologies in maps and how maps "lie" (Monmonier, 1996) due to the selective decisions made in their creation. Wood (1992a) argues "maps wear many masks" (p. 66) which keep the interest embodied in maps concealed and unconscious in the readers mind, and therefore disguised as natural. Generally map users seldom question the authority and accuracy of the map, which grants maps the power to "masquerade" so effectively as truthful and accurate (Wood, 1992b). Wood further argues it is through these "masks", which are embedded in the maps' signs and symbols, that maps and the process of mapping consists of creating, rather than simply revealing geographic knowledge. Monmonier (1996) also recognizes the map's ability to distort and mislead geographic facts and explains these "white lies" as essential elements of cartographic language. "To portray meaningful relationships for a complex, three dimensional world on a flat sheet of paper or a video screen, a map must distort reality"

54

(Monmonier, 1996, p. 1). Each of the choices made in the production of a map reveal a value loaded with intentions and purposes. Maps indeed have an ability to provide a combination of information and illusion, legitimate a view of reality and become part of a narrative of territory. Therefore it is important to recognize that when broader social contexts are ignored, power can easily be exercised without caution through maps (Sparke, 1998; Harley, 1990; Pickles, 2004).

For the purposes of this research, the important question is not necessarily what a map is, or what a map does, but how maps materialize as discourse through contingent, context-embedded (political or social) practices to perhaps solve relational and social problems. That is, how mapping as a universal expressive text can actively constitute and reconstitute the subject through its interpretations. Furthermore, the goal is to expose maps and mapping as a human practice which mediates and reflects experiences of space, while at the same time show how spatial relations mediate the discourses within maps (Del Casino and Hanna, 2006, p. 44). As such, this research is inspired by Harley's agenda as he paved the way in "emphasiz[ing] the importance of multiple perspectives and multiple maps" (Crampton, 2001, p. 244, as cited in Del Casino and Hanna, 2006), as well as the need to focus on map contingency rather than certainty.

The next section will discuss in more detail how to deconstruct a map by providing an understanding of conventional cartographic vocabulary. Map deconstruction focuses on facets of maps that many map-readers and users have most

likely taken no notice of, highlighting the ways in which map knowledge can be fashioned and unconsciously interpreted.

Deconstructing the Map- Signs, Symbols, Elements, and Color

How do you read a map? We all rely on maps of some form to help us know where we are in relation to other places or to help us get from point A to point B. However, we also rely on our cognitive reasoning to make sense of what we see on a map (Herbert, 2011), for example in the way we unconsciously associate the color blue with water, green with vegetation, or lines with borders and roads. Thus, certain cartographic symbols are associated with particular phenomena of the world in our minds, which leads one to question what the implications may be from the way certain map elements are used or manipulated to perhaps skew the way we think about our reality.

As reiterated throughout this chapter, cartography is a unique craft of constructing a persuasive and useful portrayal of spatial relations. Mapmakers have historically used artistic skills and techniques to enhance a map's effect and have also, to varying degrees, used visual creativity to make maps more compelling (Pickles, 2004; Harmon, 2009). Just as with authors of scholarly writings or a work of art based on reality, a conscientious mapmaker should examine a variety of sources and as well as rely on their own experience with the information or region portrayed (Monmonier, 1996). Thus, a cartographer's intuition and intention guides the choice of features, graphic hierarchy and abstraction of detail. The map appears as it does because the

map author has a sense of how it should look, even though its interpretation might differ significantly from that of another competent observer (Monmonier, 1996; Turchi, 2004).

The cartographer can make major choices on three main cartographic elements: scale, projection and symbolization (Monmonier, 1993; 1996). Each of these elements is a source of distortion and illustrates the essence of possibilities and imperfections of the map. *Scale*, referring to the ratio of distance on the map to distance on the ground, can often be distorted from a map's *projection*, the geometric distortion required to display the earth's curved surface on to a 2-dimensional plane. Thus, in order to preserve angles, areas or distance, the cartographer should use appropriate projections and scales. With an understanding of the relationship of projection and scale a cartographer can customize distortion and feature attributes pertinent to the map's goals. The choice of projection can generate a dramatic orientation and unevenly distorted views of the earth, which can address a range of communication or analytical needs (Monmonier, 1996). For instance, certain projections may make a country look big and important or another country look small and threatened, something which can obviously be particularly useful for political purposes.

Monmonier (1993) does well to explain how "particular types of cartographic symbols have a functional association with specific types of data" (p. 57). Just like with other art, there are visual variables to cartographic logic and communication that the map author can use to select and arrange symbols appropriate to channeling the message within a map. The size of symbols, thickness of lines, or use of color allow the

57

reader's eye to readily organize data (Monmonier, 1993; Harley, 1989). Monmonier (1993) outlines how the shape and hue of a symbol can reflect differences among categories and types of features; size, value and texture can indicate differences in quantity or importance, and orientation shows direction by use of arrows. Monmonier (1996) mentions that, in particular, arrows, or sets of arrows, can "dramatize an attack across a border, exaggerate a concentration of troops, and perhaps even justify a "pre-emptive strike" (p. 107).

With regards to the most common use of line symbols, differences in thickness can portray, for example, the relative magnitude of highway traffic, foreign trade and other flows, whereas differences in texture or color show the relative importance of county, state or national boundaries. For instance, a geographic border displayed as a dark, thick line may reinforce the view of that border as impenetrable, as opposed to a lightly sketched border which would minimize the distinction between two states or countries (Herbert, 2011). Typically, the link between symbol size and amount reflects the notion that bigger is greater and smaller is less. In addition, with regards to the link between color value or hue and strength or force, the darker the more intense and the lighter less intense.

Color use on maps can also work quite powerfully. Color can make a map visually attractive as well as provide contrast where needed. People respond emotionally to most color, and that sensory response can relate to understandings of objects as favorable or unfavorable. Monmonier (1996) speaks of the perceptual importance of color with the example of how red can be associated with "fire, warning,

58

heat, blood, anger…" (p. 170) and its effect, of course, depends on the context. Even if no deliberate manipulation is intended, because of these embedded emotions or culturally conditioned attitudes, some colors carry subtle added meaning that could affect the interpretation of the map or feelings about a particular element it portrays. In contrast, blank space, devoid of any geographical features, can represent what is not known, such as an unexplored or uninhabited region, or a region of less importance in a particular context, giving the impression that nothing is there or, at least, nothing of any consequence. Additionally, countries represented as blank spaces or with little symbology could also be evidence of intense interest in what is being distinctively portrayed against that blank space, i.e. another country with aggressive tendencies towards territorial control and hegemony (Turchi, 2004; Wood, 1992). Harley (1989) refers to these blank spaces as the "silences" or the suppression of knowledge in maps as the reader's eyes are immediately attracted to color and attention is drawn away from the blank space, not really registering what that blankness may mean.

Therefore, emphasizing or suppressing features and choosing indelicate, deliberate symbology can work to form a map's message (Monmonier, 1996). The desire to protect and possess territorial claims, nationalities, borders, and so on can conveniently be expressed cartographically, reflecting and reaffirming the political and social narratives of a certain time and space. Thus, distinctions of class, nationality, and power can be validated through the map by way of its power and cartographic symbology. Typically the more powerful something is, the more prominently it is displayed on an image. Furthermore, map interpretation, which is mostly based on our

own selective experience, knowledge and ignorance, the information or misinformation we gain from others, is nevertheless relied upon every day, attesting to the socially constructed nature of maps. When this is considered, we can begin to see how maps can work to define, strengthen or suppress social values and relationships.

Conclusion

Maps' social and political role in making sense of the world has never changed and probably never will. Maps are saturated with the values and judgments of those who constructed them and are therefore intrinsic reflections of the culture that an individual or group ascribes to. As our discourse has become instinctive (second nature), we are seldom attentive to the extent to which geography permeates through mass media, from magazines to nightly news segments to online interactive mapping services. We are easily unaware or neglectful of how place-names, geographic coordinates, borders and symbols are continuously providing a visual and narrative framework through which we structure our perceptions and geographic relations (Brückner, 2006).

To fully appreciate maps, it is imperative to view them through a critical perspective. A map's similarities or differences from other maps of the same area, as well as the map's relationship to its author and society, should always be kept top-of-mind, for maps portray more than we are aware about the way people view the world and their surroundings (Harley, 1989; Francaviglia, 1995). Maps are part of our vocabulary, and thus help us to orient our placement as they depict our perceptual and

60

spatial relationships between people and places. Thus, maps are more than just tools used to facilitate travel and mobility. Maps can show us places as distinct from one another, yet simultaneously allow the readers to negotiate their place within that distinction, perhaps furthering an "Us" vs. "Other" duality. As such, cartography and maps, as social constructs, function as powerful phenomena, with effects that have ethical implications for the societies in which we live (Del Casino and Hanna, 2006; Pickles, 2004).

The chapter that follows provides a critical analysis of a selected group of American-produced U.S.–Mexico border maps through deconstruction and contemplation of issues relevant to selection and omission, adherence to or departure from cartographic conventions with the regard to symbology (border thickness, color, hue, shape), projection, inclusion and exclusion. A sequence of maps are chronologically arranged to provide a sort of political-biographical narrative of the relationship between the U.S. and Mexico and the border that came into being between them. The goal is to provide a genealogy of map discourse of the U.S.–Mexico border that embodies a certain narrative tone and has been sustained over a substantial period of time (i.e. 1836-present) and to argue that these discourses have had a part in establishing the environment in which we as human beings act. The emphasis is thus turned to the production of the map subject (the border), rather than the explication of the maps' meanings, which would be different to each map viewer. That is, what follows is an exploration of how the sustained discourse of the U.S.–Mexico border corroborates with the construction of national identities.

CHAPTER 4: CARTOGRAPHICALLY CONSTRUCTING THE U.S.–MEXICO BORDER

> But rather than a divinely inscribed geographic demarcation that descended from the heavens all at once, the current border evolved slowly after its creation in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, following the U.S.-Mexican war, in 1848. First came a series of binational commissions made up of American and Mexican surveyors, astronomers, engineers, and cartographers, who didn't complete their work until 1857. Slowly the sometime straight, sometimes crooked line of the border emerged out of these expeditions and negotiations, based partly on geodetic surveys, partly on stargazing, and partly on the dodgy cartographic testimony of a palimpsest of maps, which were often at odds with one another (Santos, 2010, p. 217).

Maps and mapping endeavors played a significant role in the creation of the U.S.–Mexico border. Political intrigue in territorial expansion or control generated a tremendous demand for maps describing newly discovered lands along the remote frontier, such that maps became central to the story of U.S.–Mexico boundary relations and essentially "brought the boundary into being" (Rebert, 2001, p. 1).

This chapter presents a selection of U.S. cartographic images that show the evolution of the U.S.–Mexico border delineation. These maps work as primary pieces of evidence for this study as they embody a powerful political narrative of nation building, centered in vision of dominant U.S. aspirations for territory and values of national identity. Particular cartographic elements within this selection of maps will be interpreted through the notions of critical cartography, to argue for the significance of cartographic endeavors in shaping the border as well as the geopolitical and social relations between the U.S. and Mexico. This research exhibits the early and present day pieces of the genealogy of U.S.–Mexico border maps through the analysis of maps produced during three significant geopolitical events that shaped the U.S.–Mexico

border; the Texas rebellion and subsequent independence as a Republic, the U.S.–Mexico war and its aftermath, and the contentious immigration debate occurring along the border today. The magnitude and consequence of each of these events to U.S.–Mexico relations make them suitable to call attention to the significance of mapping for border imaginaries, through the use of loaded imagery with sometimes subtle and sometimes blatant messages that are nevertheless powerful and meaningful in supporting particular geopolitical positions.

Though there are other significant geopolitical events within U.S.–Mexico border history—such as those discussed in Chapter 2—that occur during the 150 year gap in the genealogy this research attempts to present, the most stark cartographic border illustrations discovered in this research came from these three time periods. The early maps provide important precursors to geopolitical relations between the U.S. and Mexico, and moreover, provide historical foundations to present day U.S. cartographic discourse of the border. Presenting a lineage of border maps allows for a look into how U.S. hegemonic map discourses have sustained through time and had a part in establishing the border environment we engage in today.

Early Cartographies of the Texas–Mexico Border

The Texan rebellion against the Mexican government and its successful transition into an independent Republic in 1836 played a large part in the deterioration of U.S.–Mexican relations and spurred changes to the delimitation of the international boundary ratified by the Adam-Onis Treaty in 1819. The map titled "New Map of Texas

with Contiguous American & Mexican States" by James Hamilton Young (Fig. 3) is a useful artifact of Texas–Mexico geopolitical history as it clearly shows the pervasive Anglo–American settlement throughout the region, as well as the intent of Texas to separate from the Mexican state and modify its original border with Mexico, even before winning independence as a Republic.

Fig. 3- J. H. Young, *New Map of Texas with the Contiguous American & Mexican States*, 1836.[*]

Young's (1836) map was found during research for this study at the University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA) library, as part of the John Peace Collection in Special Collections. A scanned image (seen above for easier viewing) was also found online at the University of Texas at Arlington's library website under "Cartographic Connections". The map viewed in person at UTSA and the one illustrated online are both the second

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[*] Courtesy, Special Collections, University of Texas at Arlington Library, Arlington, Texas.

edition of the map that was originally published in 1835, though apparently largely unchanged from the earlier edition (Cartographic Connections).

This map is known as a pocket map because it is encased in a book and could essentially be carried in a person's pocket. According to the UTSA librarian assisting with this research, many of these pocket maps were used as promotional tools for travelers, and this map was particularly designed to encourage immigration to Texas (Ellen Lutz, personal communication, March 17, 2011). As such, the text blocks located on the three corners of the map discuss "Land Grants", "Rivers of Texas", and "Remarks on Texas", which work to advertise the geographical features, prime real estate, and political changes in Texas during that time.

This map was first created and published at the brink of the Texas Revolution when Texas was still technically a part of the Mexican states of Coahuila y Tejas. However, within the map, Texas appears as a separate nation, distinct from both Mexico and the U.S., through the use of bright colors to highlight the land ownerships, which contrast the dull color used for the surrounding territory. This use of color graphically separates the State from areas outside the region. Cartographers frequently use internal color distinction to also attract the reader's eye to the particular focus of the map. As Harley (1989) writes,

> The rule seems to be 'the more powerful, the more prominent.' To those who have strength in the world shall be added strength in the map. Using all the tricks of the cartographic trade—size of symbols, thickness of line, height of lettering, hatching and shading, the addition of color— we can trace this reinforcing tendency (p. 7).

Piers Fotaidis (2009) further writes, "The use of colour [*sic*] in maps also promotes the idea of unity, whether of a state, of states, or of regions. By using a single use of colour for a state, the colour supports the territorial homogeneity of that state…" (p. 34). Thus, in this case the color distinction strengthens the notion of Texas as an independent nation and attracts the reader's eye to that area of that area of the map, which helps to mold the map's message and intent.

The title of the map itself, "New Map of Texas" (Fig. 3.1), alerts readers to the political narrative of the map and sets the overall discursive tone to perhaps influence the reader's interpretation. Monmonier (1993) acknowledges the importance of map titles to determine the perception and comprehension of the artifact stating: "The words on a map provide a needed link between cartographic symbols and the natural language of authors and readers" (p. 93). Thus, it is important to recognize the word

"*New*" along with the fact that the map is broadly printed in English, which suggests that Anglo-Americans were the intended users of the map, dovetailing with increasing U.S. interest in the area by English speaking peoples. Even the label for the state itself is written in English—indicated as "Texas"
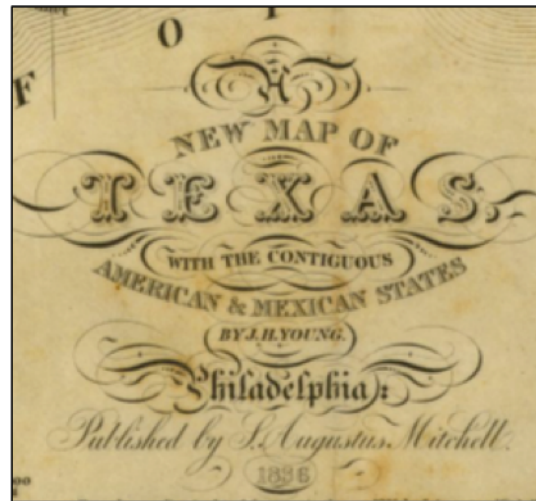

Fig. 3.1- Detail showing title

instead of "Tejas"—despite the territory still belonging to Mexico during this time

(1835). Additionally, information within the text block "Remarks on Texas" gives clear indication of the Texans wishing to adopt the English language due to the affluent American population and further encourages western movement into the region:

> During the spring of 1834, the legislature of Cohahuila and Texas passed allowing the free exercise of all religions; also, a separate judicial code for the benefit of the people of Texas, which authorizes the adoption of the English language in all legal proceedings; establishes trial by jury; likewise a separate supreme and circuit court, most of the appointment of which have been filled by Americans.

> The usual mode of visiting Texas is by sea, from New Orleans to Galveston, Matagorda or Aransaso bays, or Brazoria and Brazos river; and by land from Natchitoches by San Augustine, Nacogdoches, Trinidad river &c.&c. The roads represented on the map are mere tracks, except that from San Felipe to Brazoria, but the openness and regular surface of the country renders travelling in all direction pleasant and easy.

Though the cultural influence of Mexico is still vaguely present within the map with many of the natural features—labeled in very small text—still carrying Spanish names such as "Rio" and "Sierra del Sacremento" (mountain range), evidence of the desire and growing idea for English speaking Anglo–American autonomy within the territory is prominent. As such, this map not only emphasizes a separation between the worlds of Mexico and Texas, but Mexican and Anglo.

As discussed earlier, identities and social boundaries are formed and supported through discursive means and this map provides and early illustration of how distinctive identities, such as Mexican and Anglo, have been constructed in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands via map messages. This map is part of the intelligence that was produced during this particular time and place, and as such would have most likely influenced

67

local knowledges of society and citizens, and reaffirmed who belonged or did not belong in the Republic of Texas as claimed by the U.S.

It was known that Texas was replete with rich soils and natural resources that were prime for agriculture and cattle grazing, and these features are well promoted within the state area of the map. There is an emphasis on Texas' expansive river systems and notations such as "Immense Level Prairies" and "Droves of Wild Cattle and Horses" are stretched in large text across the map. Furthermore, it is stated under "Remarks on Texas",

> *Those parts of Mexico known by the names if Cohahuila and Texas form one State in the Mexican confederacy…To the people of the United States, Texas is peculiarly interesting from its immediate contiguity, and from the circumstance of Anglo Americans, forming the principal portion, of its rapidly increasing population. A soil of great fertility & a geographical position highly favorable to commercial intercourse, with the United States, and the rest of the World, are advantages which doubtless will at not distant period, render it an opulent and powerful state.*

This text indicates a Texas relationship with the Mexican confederation but also works to advertise the powerful economic and political potential of the region for the interest of the U.S. This State map thus, "works as a instrument of polity" (Wood, 1992b, p. 105) and substantiates Texas' autonomy through they way it cartographically establishes the concept of a *new* independent Republic on powerfully beneficial lands. The map, as Wood (1992a) would say, "brings the territory into existence" (p. 69) to encourage even more American settlement in effort to create a strong provisional government, assumingly as part of the plan to officially secede from Mexico. This idea is also plainly stated within the map,

The population is estimated at near 45,000 Americans and 4 or 5,000 Mexicans. When the population shall be found to number 50,000, the people will endeavour [sic] *to obtain a government separate from that of Cohahuila, the establishment of a State legislature at San Felipe, and the right of electing their own representatives to the General Congress at Mexico.*

Furthermore, Texas is shown in the context of the U.S. states and territories that bordered it, for example Louisiana, Arkansas, and Indian Territory (present day Oklahoma), such that more of the U.S. is depicted than Mexico. In light of the political changes going on at the time, Mexico less visible on the map works rhetorically to "silence" any threat from Mexico on Texas territory. As Harley (1989) states, "…the freedom of rhetorical manoeuvre [*sic*] in cartography is considerable: the mapmaker merely omits those features of the world that lie outside the purpose of the immediate discourse" (p. 11). However, these silences should not be ignored. Harley (2001) further writes, "(s)ilence and utterance are not alternatives but constituent parts of map language, each necessary for the understanding of the other" (p. 86). Thus, significant silences are easy to find once we look for them, and are, as Harley acknowledges, "…likely to be as culturally specific as any other aspect of map language" (Harley, 2001, p. 86).

As briefly discussed in Chapter 2, American settlement was encouraged by the Mexican government in effort to defend and protect its northern boundaries. Thus, within this *new* map of Texas, there is a focused attention on the interest of Anglo–American land grabs. The empresario land grants of the time are shown in various colors with demarcated borders, and written descriptions of the requirements to receive land from empresarios are also provided. These land grants show the influence

69

of various cultural groups on the settlement of Texas through the surnames of those receiving land grants, both Mexican (or Tejano) and Anglo surnames, although the areas of Anglo settlement are clearly more abundant.   Native Americans are also acknowledged on the map. However, they are pushed to the periphery of settlement, as can be seen by notations placing the Comanches along the Red River and the Apaches just south of Paso del Norte. Again, the large number of Anglo land grants reveals the predominance of Anglo culture and politics going on in Texas at that time. The map does include a narrative description of political changes taking place in Texas and emphasizes the tax exemptions for new settlers.

> *The land is laid off into labors of 177 acres each and the individual may purchase any amount he pleases up to 275 labors or near 50000 acres at the minimum price of 10 dollars per labor, the purchaser paying the surveyors fees, one third of the money is payable at the time of sale and the remainder in two annual installments. Those however, who pay the whole amount at once, perfect their titles immediately. New settlers are exempted from the payment of the usual taxes for the term of 10 years.*

One of the most interesting characteristics of this map is that the southwestern boundary of Texas is shown as "R. de las Nueces"— the Nueces River (see Fig. 3.2). This boundary line became a bone of contention between Texas and

Fig. 3.2- Texas–Mexico border detail

Mexico during the Texas Revolution. On April 21, 1836 a pivotal battle took place at San Jacinto, near present day Houston, which resulted in Texas troops forcing General Antonio López de Santa Anna of Mexico to declare peace, evacuate Texas, and recognize Texas' independence. The agreement that took place became known as the Treaty of Velasco, and even though Santa Anna signed the treaty under duress, Texas persisted in claiming it valid (Martinez, 1996). The most significant portion of that treaty had to do with the placement of the Texas–Mexico border, which, according to the Treaty, had the dividing line at the Rio Grande, despite the abundant evidence that the historical boundary was actually the Nueces River. Interestingly, one of the empresario grants (Beale's & Grant's grant) illustrated on the map is located on a tract between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. Despite the fact that it is not prominently displayed and remains the same color as the rest of Mexico's territory, it is still an indication of the plans for Anglo-American expansion to border the Rio Grande. Furthermore, the story goes that the U.S. government (Washington) followed the Texan interpretation of its territory as extended to the Rio Grande when the annexation of Texas was ensured in 1845, in spite of Mexico's claim that the boundary was located 150 miles north at the Nueces River. This further complicated U.S. relations with Mexico and precipitated the U.S.–Mexico war (Martinez, 1996).

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, also known as (Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits and Settlement), signed in 1848, ended the war between the two nations. As a result of the treaty, Mexico ceded over half its national territory (what are now California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada and part of Utah and Colorado) to the U.S., and

71

officially had to recognize the Rio Grande as its northern border (Ganster and Lorey, 2008).   Thus, at the time of the Texas rebellion, U.S. maps were effective instruments for demonstrating territorial claims and set the stage for further dominant U.S. geopolitical agendas.

The vibrant spirit of Manifest Destiny during the nineteenth century had a momentous effect on commercial map publishers. There was a surge in demand for new information describing the lands west of the Mississippi river and a competition amongst cartographers to produce the new material (Martin and Martin, 1984). Consequently, in 1822, Henry S. Tanner, a very prestigious map publisher in the United States, issued a new map of North America based upon the leading geographic knowledge of the time, and later in 1825, he issued the southwestern portion of that map on a larger scale titling it *Map of the United States of Mexico.* Then in 1828, following the substantial popularity of Tanner's map, the firm of White, Gallaher, and White, issued a copyrighted, but plagiarized, Spanish translation of Tanner's map. Later, John Disturnell, a businessman who published maps and guidebooks, used the same plates to issue his own edition in 1846 (Fig. 4) on which he simply substituted his name as the publisher and made a few minor changes (Carrera, 2011; Martin and Martin, 1984; Rebert, 2001).

Fig. 4- Disturnell, J., *Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Mejico*, 1846[*]

Disturnell issued his map in response to public interest generated during the U.S.–Mexico War, and "Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Mejico" was the most available map of that portion of territory. Though, it took on a lasting place in history when it became the official cartographic reference consulted in negotiating the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which aimed to establish a fixed boundary between the U.S. and Mexico that extended to the Pacific Ocean (Martin and Martin, 1984; Rebert, 2001).

According to the words in the treaty, the U.S.–Mexico boundary was specified as running along the Rio Grande (see Fig. 4.1 for notations):

> thence, westwardly [sic] along the whole Southern Boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called *Paso*) to it's [sic] western termination; thence, northward, along the western line of New Mexico,

[*] Courtesy, Special Collections, University of Texas at Arlington Library, Arlington, Texas.

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until it intersects the first branch of the river Gila; … thence down the middle of the said branch and of the said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence, across the Rio Colorado, following the division line between the Upper and Lower California, to the Pacific Ocean (as quoted in Rebert, 2001, p. 5).

Fig. 4.1- Annotation of treaty boundary description[*]

As can be seen from the red annotations in Fig. 4.1, the treaty writers chose boundary lines that followed the geometrical lines of latitude and longitude, and rivers. However, because a number of different banks or channels could be interpreted as a river boundary and much of the terrain had not yet been fully explored, the delimitation within the Treaty was ambiguous, creating uncertainty and controversy amongst negotiators (Rebert, 2001). In order to clarify the delimitation, treaty writers referred to the representation on Disturnell's map but it was never confirmed that the map image agreed with geographic reality. Thus, Disturnell's map may have caused as many problems as it was trying to solve as it seriously lacked up-to-date geographic information of the areas, and as such depicted inaccurate locations for the town of Paso

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74

and the Rio Grande, both of which were important points for delimiting the border (Rios-Bustamante, 1997).

A joint U.S.–Mexico boundary commission appointed by the Treaty set out, guided by Disturnell's map, to survey the land in order to fix the new boundary's exact location—work that took six years to complete (1849-1855) (Cartographic Connections). The boundary commission immediately discovered that in relation to the lines of latitude and longitude on the map, the Rio Grande—which though prominently displayed, had not yet been fully explored—was placed farther to the east that its true position, and the town of Paso was located too far north on the Rio Grande. Also, the southern border of New Mexico and the dividing line between Alta and Baja California appear on the map as though they were established entities, in comparison to what would be the northern border of Sonora, when, in fact, these borders were still under negotiation had not yet been officially demarcated (Rebert, 2001). These discrepancies denote the ambiguity of defining the U.S.–Mexico border and of course raised doubts about the correct location of the boundary west of the Rio Grande. Controversy over the border placement continued until the final border delimitation was settled with the Gadsden Purchase (1853), which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Focusing on the cartographic attributes within Disturnell's map reveals some of the same discursive elements as the Texas map discussed previously, particularly with the use of color, which is used to distinguish between the two nations, and line (border) symbology. With regards to text, because the map was copied from a Spanish map, and is focused on territory that belonged to Mexico until just two years after it was made,

75

much of the Spanish text remains. Though interestingly, English text is found around the Rio Grande stating, "Boundary as claimed by the United States" along the Texas–Mexico border, which is boldly depicted with a thick yellow line, just south of what is indicated as the "original boundary" drawn in a much thinner yellow line (Fig. 6). This use of a thick highlighted line symbol for the Rio Grande boundary firmly pronounces the new border position through the semiotic link between symbol size and value or the color intensity of a symbol and the importance of what it symbolizes. That is, the bigger the greater and the smaller
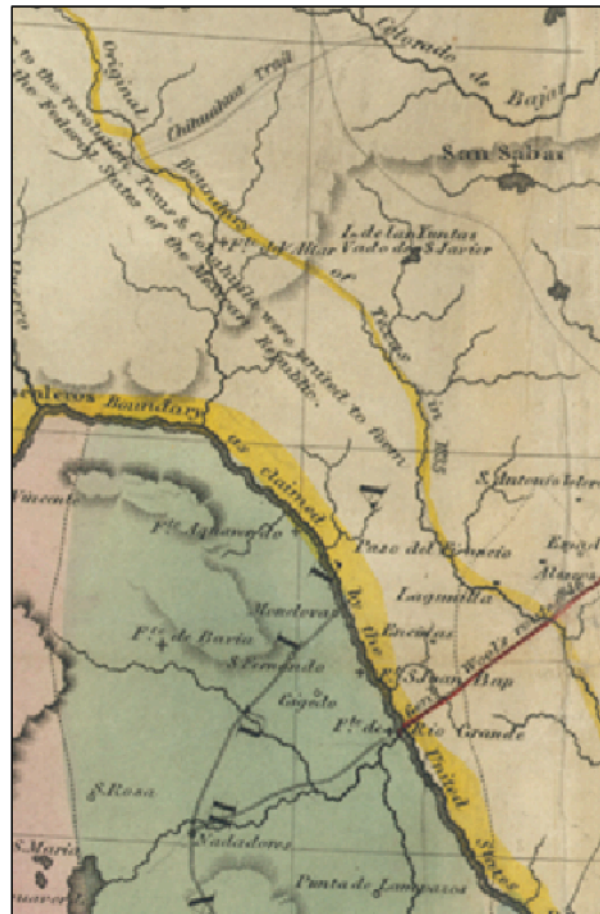

Fig. 4.2- Detail of Rio Grande border

less or the brighter the more intense and the lighter less intense (Monmonier, 1993). However, the border demarcations for the U.S. states are generally of that same thickness within the map, unlike the Mexican state borders, which are outlined with thin dotted lines and distinctive by a light pastel color. These more pronounced borders within the U.S. could perhaps just be a reflection of the U.S. establishing its state formations and concern with polity, whereas the thin border demarcations in Mexico creates a sense of the potential unity of those states as just areas, rather than defined political units. With regard to the Rio Grande border however, as Monmonier (1996)

76

explains, "A bold, solid line might make the map viewer infer a well-defined, generally accepted border separating different nations with homogenous populations" (p. 107). Thus, the line symbology works as a powerful political statement to indicate a clear *difference* between the nations and the successful U.S. incursion into Mexican territory.

Within the map are two tables: one is a table of distances between towns, and the other is a statistical table giving basic geographic information about Mexican states, cities, and the produce grown in each one (Cartographic Connections). This kind of information on the particular geographical assets in certain areas would likely have been important information for interest in potential U.S. economic development through the region. Additionally, much of Alta California is shown as a vast empty wilderness available for settlement and development, which perhaps appeared inviting to settlers of the new U.S. territory. The map also includes a map inset of the roads from Vera Cruz and Alvarado to Mexico (Fig. 4.3), which interestingly foreshadows the strategic route U.S. General Winfield Scott took in 1847 when he led American troops from Vera Cruz to occupy Mexico City and force General López de Santa Anna to terms of agreement (Cartographic Connections; Ganster and Lorey, 2008). These routes are illustrated in a thin red line and show the intent of the U.S. to strike the key seaport of Vera Cruz in order to provide a point for further advance inland to Mexico City.

Fig. 4.3- Detail showing U.S. army routes to occupy Mexico City

The story of Disturnell's map sheds light on two principles that underlie the history of Western cartography according to Harley (1989); that is, the technical production of the map—made explicit through the Treaty—which is influenced by the cultural production of that map— which forms the hidden aspect of map discourse (p. 4). The power of maps lies in the acceptance of maps as a mirror image of nature, through the belief that the application of science will yield precise representations of reality. Though, each boundary commission set out in its own capacity to survey the line, resulting in maps that reflected the visions and values of each nation, and did not always meld into a unified survey (Rebert, 2001). In her definitive account of the making of the U.S.–Mexico boundary, Paula Rebert (2001) notes that, "(d)espite their own understanding of their work as the application of scientific methods to produce accurate and objective maps, the maps that resulted from the U.S. and Mexican commissions' independent surveys reflected goals and outlooks distinct to each commission" (p. 196). This points to Harley's postulation that the procedures that take

place to create a map "…are related to values, such as those of ethnicity, politics, religion, or social class, and they are also embedded in the map-producing society at large" (Harley, 1989, p. 5). John Pickles (2004) further describes the ways in which nineteenth-century mapping practices formed an integral part of the political discourse that fostered and supported the colonization of territories, and argues that "…cartographic techniques were used to further the imperial project…but it was nowhere clearer than in the land surveys in the United States of America" (p. 108).

Because of the errors of Disturnell's map, both nations could claim a surveyed boundary that advanced their national interest. Surveyors brought with them a particular way of seeing the land and its inhabitants through an established framework provided from Disturnell's faulty map, and as such, their work was not merely a reflection of what was already there to be surveyed. Furthermore, the map visually emphasizes the physical contiguity of Mexico and the U.S., but more importantly, highlights the expansive territory that would soon be under U.S. dominion. As such, Disturnell's map must have excited the U.S. passion for territory and conquest, and this can be seen reflected in the surveys that came from it (Rebert, 2001).

The Aftermath of the U.S.–Mexico War and Disturnell's Map

Because Disturnell's map was an integral part of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, a decision had to be made on whether the international boundary line west of Paso should be determined by the graticules shown on the map, or by its orientation relative to the town of Paso as shown on the map (Rebert, 2001). The boundary

commissioners assigned engineers to make further measurements from Disturnell's map, and put together a written report of their judgments, which were to serve as the basis for an agreement called the Barlett–García Conde Compromise. Within that compromise, the commissioners sustained the engineers verdict that the boundary should run along the 32°22' parallel, further north than its position on Disturnell's map relative to the town of Paso, and three degrees more west from the Rio Grande, as shown on the map (Rebert, 2001; Martin and Martin, 1984). Thus, the Barlett–García Conde compromise gave the U.S. more territory to the west and Mexico more territory to the north than the true position of Paso would have allowed. However, there was still discontent with this compromise (see Fig. 5) as U.S. commissioners argued that the initial point of the boundary at 32°22' was located much farther north than what was intended by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Rebert, 2001).
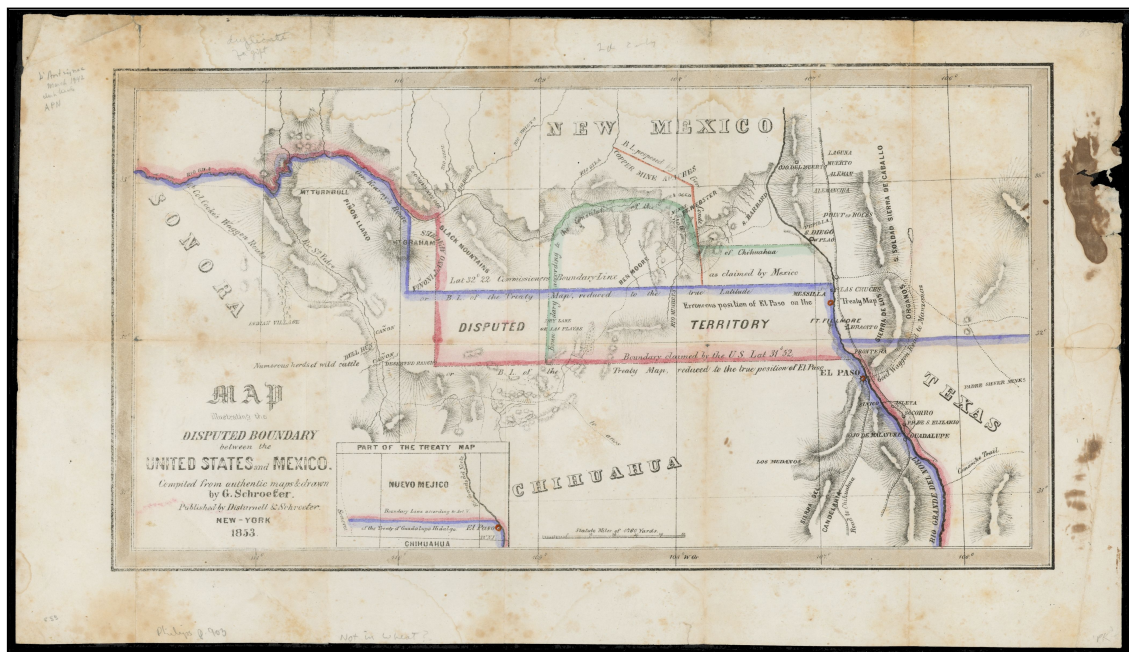

Fig. 5- Schroefer, G., *Map Illustrating the Disputed Boundary between the United States and Mexico*, 1853.[*]

This disputed boundary map (Fig. 5) clearly illustrates the boundary claims by both the U.S. and Mexico. The boundary limit proposed by the U.S. appears in red, and the blue line indicates the boundary proposed by Mexico, as well as the accepted boundaries for Texas, New Mexico, Chihuahua, and Sonora. Shown in green is the boundary established in the Constitution of the State of Chihuahua. And a thinner orange line indicates a boundary proposed by Mexican Boundary Commissioner Pedro García Conde. In addition, an inset map in the left bottom corner of the map show the limit accepted by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The map in itself is a reflection of advances in technology and the effort to produce accurate surveys of the region and, as such, shows both the correct and incorrect location of Paso.

It is unclear how this particular map was used is negotiations other than to provide a visual depiction of the disputed area. However, it was found in both a 1982 Atlas Cartografico Historico of Mexico and within the map collections at the University of Texas at Arlington, and Austin. Because of its availability (or popularity) it can be assumed as an important artifact from this particular border dispute.

Major topographic features such as elevated lands, deserts, rivers, roads, and various geologic minerals are indicated in black. See for example, "Padre Silver Mines" in the eastern portion of the map and "Copper Mine Apaches" mentioned in the north central portion. Upon closer examination it is clear that the boundary proposed by Commissioner Conde would have taken in those copper mines. In addition, this map notes the routes taken by U.S. troops during the U.S.–Mexico war; see "Gen. Kearny's Route" and "Col. Cooke's Wagon Route", as perhaps a subtle reminder of the results of

81

recent fighting in the area. One agricultural feature noted is a reference to "wild herds of cattle" in the Mexican state of Sonora. Once again, the Rio Grande is notable on the map and other rivers such as the Gila are well indicated, most likely because this map deals with a specific boundary issue, and the rivers were used to denote and measure the boundary according the treaty; thus, they have a particular importance in this depiction of the area.

This disputed boundary map really reflects the way in which the history of the U.S.–Mexican boundary survey was tainted by the ineptitude of Disturnell's map, animosity between the two nations, and political ambition for territorial control, each of which had significant effect of the final shape of the region (Rebert, 2001). The conflict that arose from the U.S. discontent with the Bartlett-Conde compromise was resolved through a new boundary treaty (Gadsden Treaty of Treaty of 1853) and new boundary delimitation. As part of that treaty, the U.S. purchased from Mexico the territory between the Gila River and the new southern boundary for New Mexico (see Fig. 6[*]).

Fig. 6- Gadsden Territory[*]

However, it is important to note that the Mexican boundary commission suffered from more difficulties than the U.S. commission as a result of just having fought and lost a disastrous war with the U.S., which left the nation with an economy too depleted to support such a large scientific endeavor (Rebert, 2001). Mexican engineers had fewer instruments than they required and

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simply could not cover as much ground as the U.S. during the time spent on the survey so that when the time came for fieldwork was cease, their survey was left incomplete (Rebert, 2001).

The Disturnell map, then, came to mark a low point for Mexico and Mexican cartography as it made evident the inability for Mexico to map itself against the persistent U.S. aspirations for territorial acquisition at such a critical juncture in Mexican history (Carrera, 2011). This struggle points to Pickles (2004) argument that

> At the heart of this system of social control and visibility was the survey. The map and the institutions within which it was produced, functioned as an archetype of what Michel Foucault referred to a power-knowledge. That is, a discourse, practice and set of institutions that delimit potentialities through the control of space-time-action and thereby produce certain types of subjects, actors and places (p. 111).

Foucault (1972) himself writes, "Once knowledge can be analysed [*sic*] in terms of region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition, one is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power" (p. 69). Thus, the story and use of Disturnell's map provides another great example of how cartography has been used for imperial geopolitical endeavors, not only to map new territories and claim power over them, but to construct and propagate the image of a new nation (Brückner, 2006; Culcasi, 2006; Sparke, 1998).

Moreover, these historical maps just reviewed provide historical foundations for present day cartographic discourse along the U.S.–Mexico border. This next section will highlight how U.S. territorial claims and national identities are still demonstrated through present day maps and defended with even more ideological fervor.

The Current Line- In the News

> Although the inherent simplicity of most news maps might present a poor or misleading image for maps in general, journalistic cartography fosters a focused approach whereby the maps becomes either a largely independent graphic essay or an important graphic extension of a verbal essay… (Monmonier, 1989, p. 23).

Present day maps published in the print media are particularly powerful because the media is the general public's most predominant, easily accessible, and perhaps to a certain extent, unavoidable resource for geographic information (Culcasi, 2006; Monmonier, 1989). As readers of the news, we are frequently exposed to media maps and unconsciously encouraged to look at the maps via the writer's direction, the attraction of the symbolization used, or our own interest in the story. The following two media maps were chosen for analysis because of their wide availability and the ease with which they can be read. Both of these maps work as prime examples of how maps can work provocatively to educate the general public, in this case by recreating views of the U.S.–Mexico border space supportive of existing U.S. ideologies and power structures in the borderlands.
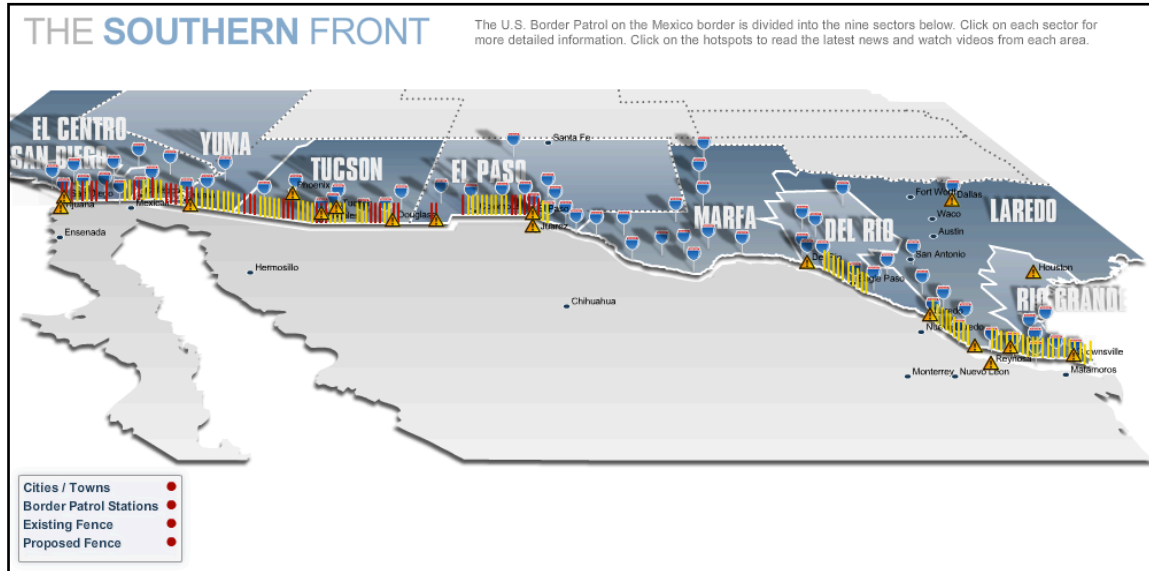
Fig. 7- FOXNews, "The Southern Front". [*]

"The Southern Front" (Fig.7) is an interactive map found on the website for *Fox News* that provides information on the bolstered security along the U.S.–Mexico border. Immediately noticeable to the map-reader's eye are the four U.S. borderland states, as they pop out of the map and protrude over the country of Mexico, casting a shadow that works to portray the international boundary itself. Mexico is essentially depicted as a blank space with no Mexican states or state borders clearly acknowledged as they are within the U.S. landscape. The U.S. states are divided into the 9 sectors the U.S. Border Patrol oversees, and the map reader can click on each sector for additional information on the number of border patrol stations within that sector, the number agents assigned to that sector, and the approximate square miles of responsibility within that sector (both at and beyond the border itself). There are four symbol layers (cities/towns, border stations, existing fence, and proposed fence) that the map user can choose to

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[*] Retrieved from http://www.foxnews.com/hannity/sfmap/

www.manaraa.com

display. For the purposes of this research, all symbols layers have been selected in effort to show all the information that can be provided from the map.

With all of the elements selected to the displayed, the border space itself appears as a battleground for the U.S. "war" on illegal immigration, and is even indicated as such by the map's title. The sensational splatter of achtung symbols—which are most commonly seen in reference to "caution", "attention", or "watch out"—are described as "hot spots" on the website and are linked to the latest news stories or video clips of illegal migrant or drug cartel activity from within each sector. These achtung symbols along with the prominent display of border patrol stations lining the border undoubtedly invoke emotions of threat of the multiple flows of violent interlopers from Mexico into U.S. territory. Though, it is important to acknowledge this map as a slanted perception of what is really happening at the border, one where the U.S. is clearly seen in the dominant position.

A similar map was seen in a special issue of *Time* magazine, released on September 20th, 2004, dedicated to discussing the issues of illegal immigration into the U.S. and lack of national security along the nation's borders. The general impetus for this issue stemmed from the increasing numbers of migrants moving into the U.S. illegally despite the large investments in homeland security since the events of September 11th. Titled, 'America's Border: Who Left the Door Open' the special issue provided a probe into the damage and risk associated with a porous U.S.–Mexico border and asks readers why the U.S. fails to protect itself from the potential danger at the border and from the people crossing it. Accompanying the articles within the issue was

a map titled "Breaking Point" (Fig. 8), which from its discursive tone was clearly intended to visually imbue a sense of "crisis" occurring in the border region.
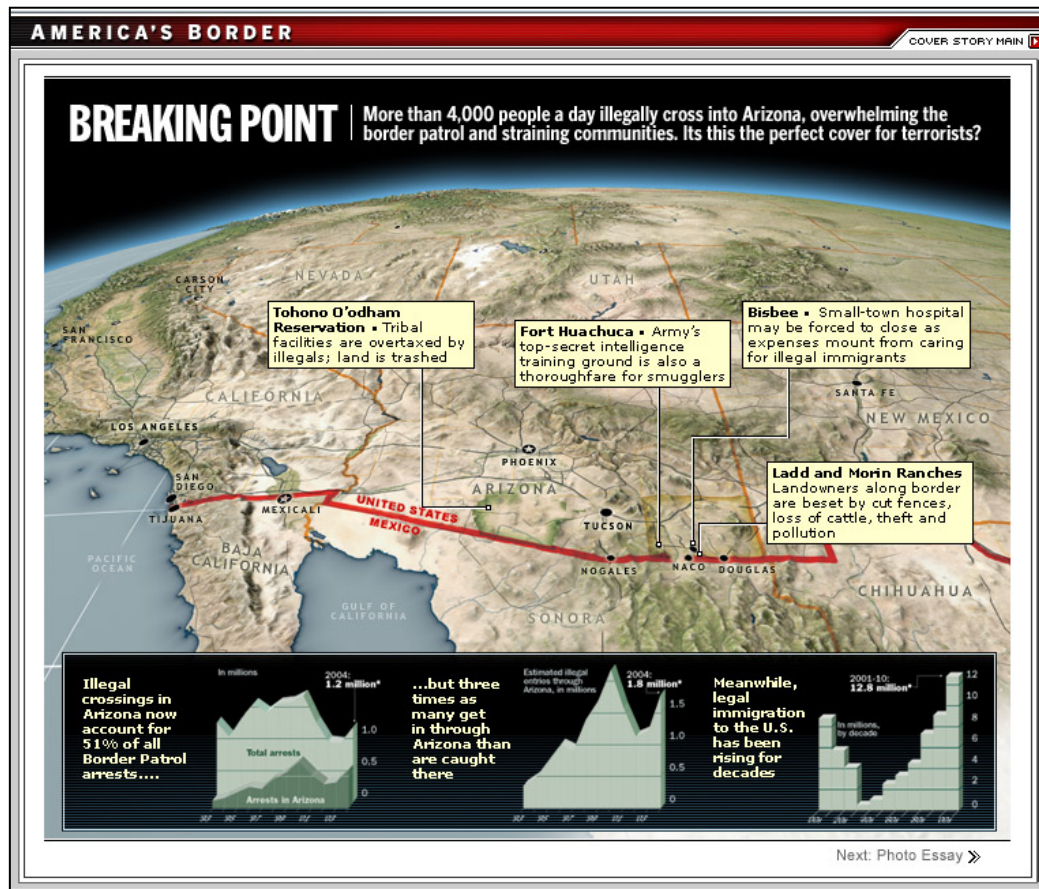

Fig. 8- *Time* Magazine. "Breaking Point"*,* 2004.[*]

William Walters (2007) does well to connect the notions within critical cartography—about the politics of mapping—to the visual mediation and construction of security within the U.S. in his article "The Contested Cartography of 'Illegal Immigration'". Because maps like this are increasingly featured in media coverage on migration, Walters (2007) claims, "They contribute in minor but not insignificant ways to the wider symbolic and semantic field within which political questions of human

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[*] Retrieved from http://www.time.com/time/covers/110104090/map/

movement are debated today" (p. 2). Walters (2007), analyzes the ways in which cultural practices, in particular mapping and cartography as cultural artifacts and social documents, contribute to the construction of what he calls the "anti-political economy" (p. 3). That is, how such practices play a role in "limiting, containing and sometimes suppressing public and political perception of the economic" (p. 3). "Breaking Point" is perhaps strategically free of any political and economic context that deeply affects the migration flows from Mexico such as job opportunities or safety. This context is thus invisible and kept unconscious in the reader's mind, which is why Walters calls this type of mapping practice a phenomenon of "anti-political economy", because of the way they objectively present migration as a security issue, devoid of a full perspective of socioeconomic issues at hand, and therefore can easily justify reactive security measures occurring along the border.

This map indeed has "powerful geostrategic and geopolitical overtones" (Walters, 2007, p. 7). The term "geostrategy" is referenced in work by geographer Michel Foucher to mean "the application of geographic reasoning to the conduct of war and/or to the setting-up of a (national) defense scheme" (Foucher, 2001, p. 165). The U.S. is presented from an oblique perspective, such that its landmass takes up most of the image. Furthermore, the U.S. nation is framed by a well-defined red southern border, which reaffirms a thick line of defense against Mexico. The earth's atmosphere is also represented, which Walters (2007) notes lends the impression that illegal immigration is not just happening in relation to U.S. territory but within a "quasi-planetary space" (p. 2). Looming above the borderline are notations of border

incidents, which provide evidence of the increasing vulnerability along the border in order to perhaps justify a system of defense. The jagged graphs at the bottom of the map display the increasing volume of illegal border crossings over time at certain places of the border. Thus, all the elements in this map collectively represent illegal immigration as something that is dramatically growing out of control and as such would work well to entice visceral emotions of fear and threat from the disorder and chaos occurring along the U.S.–Mexico border.

The striking characteristic on both of these news media maps is the choice of geo-representation of the border, with the U.S. as a relief landscape, framing the U.S.–Mexico border as an especially tense, militarized space. Here, the turmoil over illegal immigration is presented dramatically, but as a simple alternative between law and disorder or threat. That is, between the protection of American identity and territory, and losing those values to the influx of Mexican immigrants. Both maps lack any complexity, and their selectivity reveals what a map is, a social document and cultural artifact, a particular way of looking at the world or political issue at hand. However, both examples do well to show the powerful role maps can play in the media in structuring our perceptions of nations, people (citizens), and geographic relations.

Importantly, not all maps have equal power. Maps in the media as well as maps produced or used by institutions in powerful positions (such as Department of Homeland Security) are key influences in how countries are perceived against one another. Harley (1989), claims that, "(e)specially where maps are ordered by government (or derived from such maps) it can be seen how they extend and reinforce

the legal statutes, territorial imperatives, and values stemming from the exercise of political power" (p. 12). Government maps—or maps displayed on government websites—are modes of hegemonic and official discourse which are significant references to an issue or story in conjunction with the law. As such, these authoritative maps are perhaps even more persuasive in creating and reaffirming particular knowledges of society, citizens or the nation state.

Entitled "Mexican Invasion Maps" (see Figs. 9–9.3)[*], these maps were derived from a blog post on a website for
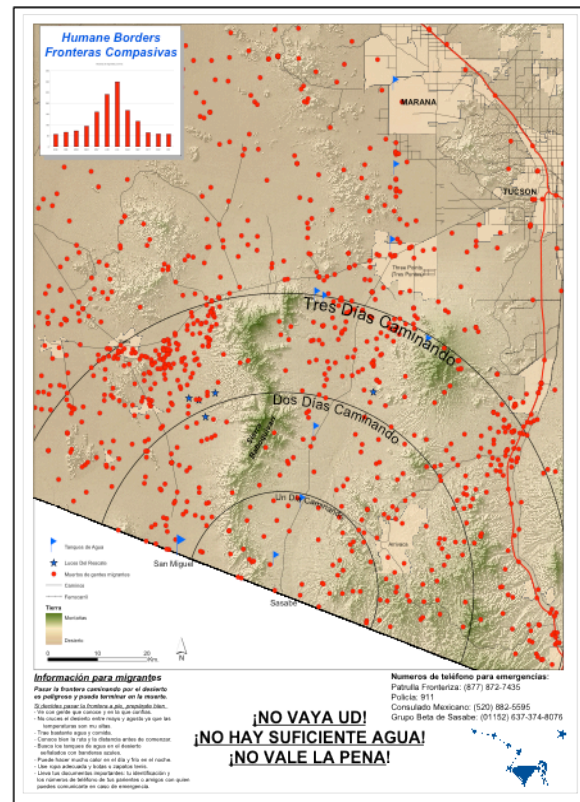

Fig. 9- Sasabe Warning Poster

the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) titled, Our Border: A Border Civic Network, which works as an online platform where people and officials within the DHS can connect and communicate about border issues. The post describes these maps as showing the "invasion routes" of Mexican migrants; along with the location of water points, "pertinent" locations of deceased who have tried to cross through harsh environmental conditions, time by distance calculations, landmarks, as well as recommendations and instructions to "invaders" on when to travel, what to take and

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[*]Humane Borders. "Warning Posters". Retrieved from http://www.humaneborders.org/news/news4.html
   Originally derived during research from U.S. Department of Homeland Security- Our Border: A Border Civic Network at http://ourborder.ning.com/forum/topics/mexican-invasion-maps?commentId=3777480%3AComment%3A27264

90

how to cross the U.S.–Mexico border successfully (Tibbe, 2010).   What is important to note is, these maps were produced by Humane Borders, a religious group that offers humanitarian assistance to those in need by installing water stations on routes known to be used by migrants coming north into the U.S. On that account, these maps were not produced to represent a Mexican encroachment on U.S. soil.
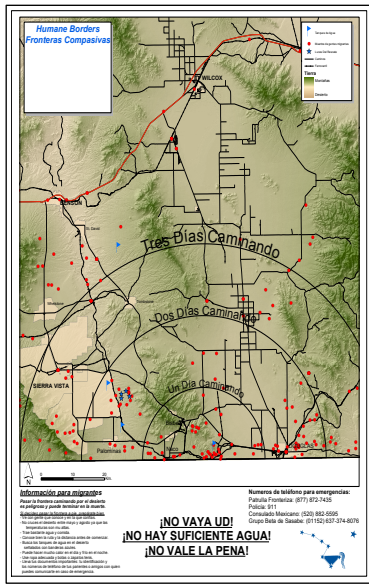

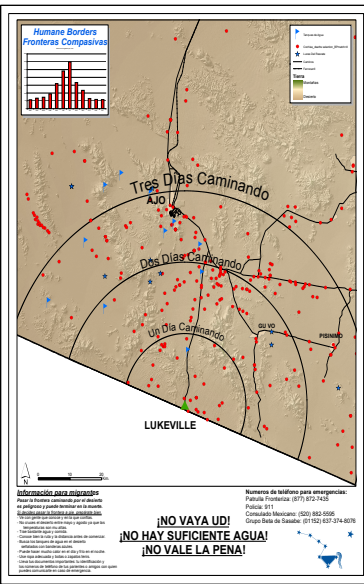Fig. 9.1- Douglas Warning Poster   Fig. 9.2- Lukeville Warning Poster   Fig. 9.3- Nogales Warning Poster
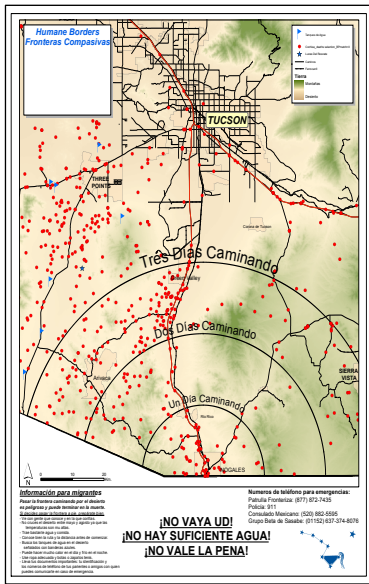
In 2005, ESRI donated GIS software to Humane Borders to allow for exact plotting of water stations, migrant deaths and other salient details on high-resolution maps. Thus far, Humane Borders' most purposeful GIS-driven project is the design of four warning posters targeted at Spanish-speaking audiences looking to cross the border from Mexico (Chamblee, Christopherson, Townley, DeBorde, and Hoover, 2006). In this case however, these warning posters simultaneously work as these "Mexican Invasion Maps" for the purposes of instilling a notion "threat" to U.S. territory from the reference of U.S. law enforcement.

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The title on the maps translates to "Don't Do It! It's Hard! There's Not Enough Water!" and in stark terms warn migrants about the dangers they will face trying to cross the border illegally on foot through the desert. These warning posters are widely distributed in churches, shelters, shops and other locations on the south side of the U.S.–Mexican border to give migrants an accurate picture of the risks they may face trying to cross north (Humane Borders, 2011). The migrant deaths are symbolized as red dots, and it is visually clear that these deaths are concentrated at or near the border, as opposed to further north. Also within the maps is a chart of deaths by the month in which they occurred, which illustrates the high correlation of migrant deaths and summer crossings. Overall, these posters are meant to strongly advise migrants to avoid the treacherous journey altogether.

In contrast, on the DHS website, not only are these maps described as showing the "invasion routes" of migrants, but Humane Borders is depicted as a group assisting "invaders" and essentially aiding and abetting the drug cartels (Humane Border, 2011; Chamblee et al., 2006). According to the DHS web post, The Minute Men (an immigration law enforcement advocacy group) found these maps particularly useful as they told border watchers where to look for invaders (Tibbe, 2010). These maps were intended however as educational tools to give an honest assessment of migrant risk posed by the geographical landscape of the border.

What is important to take from this contrasting map use is how maps can work to serve particular interests through their discourse and the discourse that surrounds them. Humane borders created these posters to deter entry into the U.S. and warn

92

migrants away from the deadliest parts of the desert—to take death out of the immigration equation. However, they are exploited from their original purpose within a DHS reference to help support the notion of a Mexican "invasion" into the U.S. with no sensitivity with regard to the amount of deaths at the border— a real crisis evolving out of illegal immigration. Moreover, these representations of these particular border areas and populations are now embedded in public policy, seen in conjunction with the security of a nation, and carried as messages that U.S. citizens absorb as they experience immigration policies in their every day lives. These policies send messages about which people are deserving of citizenship, and thus legitimate practices that delimit the space of belonging.
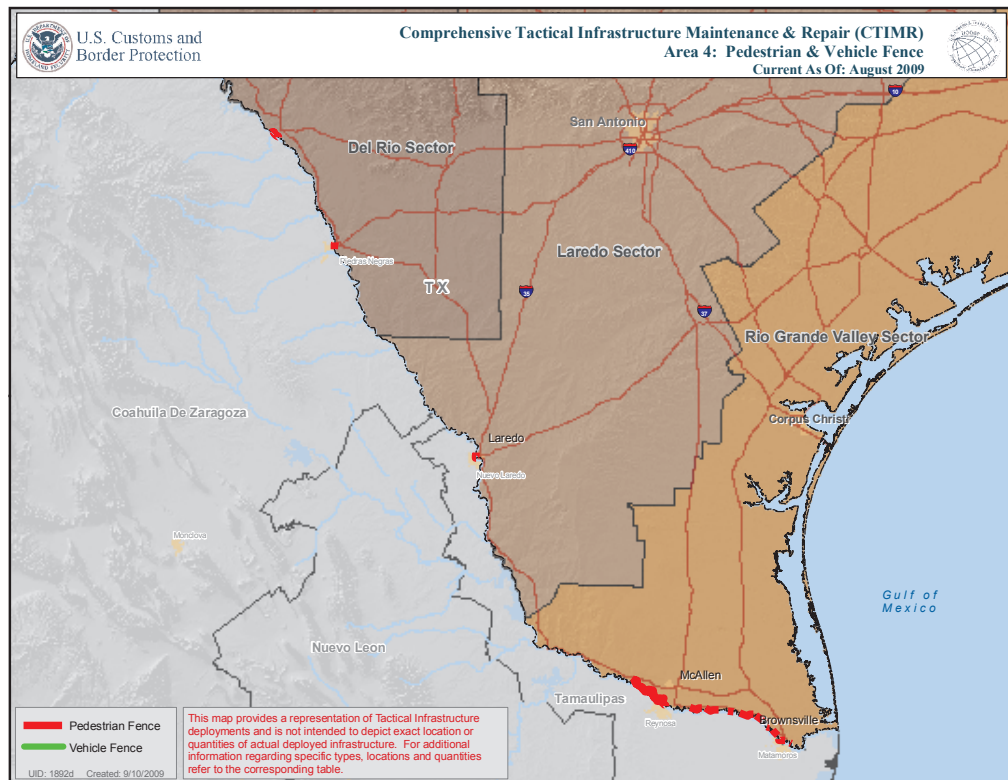

Fig. 10- USCBP, "Area 4 Pedestrian and Vehicle Fence Map", 2009.*

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* Retrieved from http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/border_security/ti/ti_mr/ctimr/inventory_data/maps/.

Another institution with a main duty of enforcing U.S. immigration law, the U.S. Customs and Border Protection (USCBP), has a long term construction plan for tactical infrastructure such as roads, fencing, and lights along the U.S.–Mexico border to help Border Patrol achieve its primary homeland security mission. Figure 10 is a map showing the pedestrian and vehicle fencing placed along Area 4, the Texas–Mexico border. Though fairly dated (2009), this map was derived from the tactical infrastructure maps available on the USCBP website. It was chosen for analysis because it provides another example of an authoritative map and possesses particular cartographic attributes— such as those discussed in the second section of Chapter 3— that are pertinent to the map's goal and work to naturalize the notion of U.S. hegemony over the borderlands in a more subtle way than media maps.

The USCBP map message is channeled through the use of color and symbology, in ways that are most likely unconsciously interpreted by the map users. The pedestrian fence (or barricade) dividing Texas and Mexico is again shown with thick, bright red symbology attesting to its importance within the map as well in reality. Mexico is depicted as an empty grey mass that appears empty in contrast to the Texas, in which major roads and towns are labeled throughout the USCBP sectors shown. As stated earlier, representing countries as blank spaces is evidence of the intense interest in what is being distinctively portrayed against that blank space (Turchi, 2004; Wood, 1992). Even though these distinctions are simple, they should not go unnoticed and should be considered also as significant forms of persuasion that motivate political action.

In this case, the U.S. is once again characteristic of having assertive tendencies for territorial control and hegemony within the context of migration from Mexico. Therefore, the U.S. is depicted with slightly more content, as perhaps a more developed country that needs protection from what may penetrate its borders. Thus, a visual image of the fortification of the U.S.–Mexico 'frontier' reflects and reinforces the dominant discourse in the controversy over illegal immigration present along the border today. This map perpetuates a simplified U.S. discourse about international relations with Mexico based on the concept of difference. After a critical interpretation, one can notice how this map very simply conveys the idea of Mexico and the U.S. (and their citizens) divided, labeled, and ranked in unequal relations of power and authority.

All of these more recent maps foreground migration as associated with territorial invasion, in ways that can resonate with public insecurity. With regard to U.S. migration governance, cartography is used as a means to rationalize the interventions taking place within the borderlands, as a discourse to reaffirm the "threat" of eroding U.S. sovereignty to the influx of Mexican migrants. Together they provide a visual framework through which we can structure our perceptions and understanding of U.S. relations with Mexico.

Conclusion

This sequence of U.S. cartographic depictions of the U.S.–Mexico 'frontier' provides a case for the mediating role of maps in political thought and action as well as the construction of socio-spatial identities within the borderlands. At the time of the

Texas rebellion, U.S. maps were effective instruments for demonstrating territorial claims and autonomy as they expressed pervasive Anglo–American settlement throughout the region, as well as the intent to separate Texas territory from the Mexican state, modifying the original border with Mexico. Thus, the presiding ideology within maps like the "New Map of Texas" precipitates and reaffirms U.S. dominance against Mexico, contributing to marginalization of Mexicans. In settling the U.S.–Mexico war and the international boundary, the constitution of previous maps (i.e. "Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Mejico") played a major role in causing conflict and confusion as to the border delineations. Triumphantly winning the U.S.–Mexico war endowed the American boundary commission with added flexibility and power to complete more "accurate" border surveys, yielding a fairly unbalanced attempt to delineate the international border at such a critical juncture in U.S.–Mexico history. In present day maps of "threat", dramatic cartographic symbology is used to make the case for the defense of spaces claimed in previous era's maps in a way to resonate with public anxieties with migration and national security. Though moreover, these maps have sustained a U.S. hegemonic narrative framing the international boundary as both a territorial and ideological divide.

It seems as though the U.S.–Mexico border has grown in significance with an asymmetric relationship based on U.S. territorial wealth, power, and fear. The manner in which the U.S.–Mexico border is cartographically depicted by the U.S. consistently asserts U.S. control and manifests disregard for the people of Mexico and their opportunity to benefit from maintaining a friendly relationship with the U.S. Also

through this map discourse, it can be seen how the U.S. has asserted itself as the country that gets to regulate the border and determine the relations of the countries that share it. The language of exclusion in these maps is expressed through a progression of normalized opposites (i.e. U.S./Mexico, rich/poor, legal/illegal, Anglo/Mexican, and so on), which bears relevance to people's livelihood, and perceptions of one another within the U.S.–Mexico borderlands. Furthermore, by graphically separating U.S. territories from Mexican territories and "imagined communities" from the areas outside that dominant "imagined community", we must recognize the function of these maps in constructing rather than simply reproducing the U.S.–Mexico border environment.

CHAPTER 5- DISCUSSION

> Maps that people simultaneously make and use mediate their experience of space. People's bodily practices of walking, driving, touching, smelling, and gazing, as well as their understandings of landscapes and places can be guided and informed by maps and by the innumerable intertextual and experiential references always present in any map. At the same time, spaces mediate people's experience of maps (Del Casino and Hanna, 2006, p. 44).

As stated in the introduction, the main question this research seeks to answer is how U.S. cartographic representations of the U.S.–Mexico border function to communicate and exploit *difference*, subsequently reinforcing socio-spatial identities such as "us" and "other" or "American" and "illegal alien". This research has been conducted from the premise that socio-spatial identities can be constructed through dominant discourses—in this case, U.S. cartographic representations of the border—and that social processes and actions are mediated through those related narratives about oneself and Others. It is difficult, however, to effectively speak about how U.S. cartographic discourse directly affects identities of people engaging in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands, because it is an attempt to represent a group of people who may share that geographical space, but exist along a broad spectrum of classes, nationalities, desires, and reasons for their connection with the borderlands. Thus, a sample of U.S.–Mexico border maps could yield a multitude of interpretations. Nevertheless, it is argued that that these U.S.–Mexico border maps have been a significant part of the discourse within the region that has constructed and reaffirmed U.S. hegemony and perceptions of difference between Mexican and Americans.

In order to reflect on the themes of difference, exclusion, and U.S. dominance found in the maps for this study, a collection of narratives from a cluster sample of volunteer students at the University of Texas at San Antonio who provide authentic insight into their experiences in the borderlands will be presented in this chapter to conclude that U.S. border maps materialize as discourse that has a part in establishing the social and spatial relations within the border environment. This student sample is not meant to be an exhaustive or scientific sampling representative of the border population, but merely provides a way to gauge one group's interaction with the border space. These narratives provide evidence of U.S.–Mexico border discourse and offer personal vignettes of how the evolution of the border environment shaped the identities and treatments of people engaging in the borderlands.

Narratives[*]

For Mexicans or Mexican–Americans living in the U.S., the origin of their difference is always present, especially within the discourse surrounding the controversy over illegal immigration. Thus, both Mexican and Americans engaging the in the U.S.–Mexico border space are perpetually aware of their distinct identity as an ethnic group and as part of a nation at the same time (Villa 1999; Villa, 2000). Though American society is considered by many to be founded by immigrants and made of many different cultures synthesized into one, for Mexicans living in the U.S. things are seen differently when it comes to "American" culture and society.

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[*] All student narratives have been reproduced as written in their original source.

99

My family has roots to the 1520's decedents from the Canary Island of the cost [*sic*] of north west Africa a Spanish territory. Original settlement of my family was Guerrero and Zapata Texas in the southern Texas border, currently Guerrero is on the Mexican side of the border after the lake swelled changing engulfing the town of Guerrero where most of the town in the Texas side is under water and only the Mexican side is accessible. In Zapata my family worked as ranchers until about 40 years ago when oil was discovered. My father inherited a very small percentage of the profits, and now my siblings and I are heirs to the same. Growing up I was taught to have respect for authority. But, recently I have become very untrusting of people in any position of authority. This is not with out reason, I make frequent trips to Laredo Mexico to visit my Grand Mother, and other family members. On my return across the border I get inspected 9 times out 10 and 5 times out of 10 at the home land security check point 30 miles out from the border. I asked an agent what it is about me that provokes an inspection each time I cross. And the response was that it is random, and I told him that I get checked each time I cross he denied using racial profiling. One occasion I became frustrated with the tone of an agent, after I I [*sic*] did not work in response to his inquiry. He became agitated when I told home I was a student at UTSA. Another time I was inspected they made me show them my arms to see if I had track marks on my veins after I told them I don't use drugs. In Mexico I am called "Americano, Blanco" and in the US I am called "Mexican". I am from San Antonio, I am a disabled Veteran, I served 16 years in the Marine Corps, I have a BA degree in English from UTSA. I HAVE AN IDENTITY CRISES (Gabriel R. Benavides, personal communication, August 27, 2011).

This narrative clearly communicates the struggles with having a Mexican–American identity. In the U.S., Mexican–Americans are distinctly classified as Mexican in reference to Anglos and this is compounded by polemic assertions about immigration restrictions and American identity (as seen in this research through the media maps particularly). In Mexico, Mexican–Americans are classified by reference to the Mexican-origin population who may reject American society and affirm their Mexican culture and roots. Even though this student is an American citizen, attending an American university after a career within a branch of the U.S. armed forces, his Mexican race and ethnic

origin compromises his ability to be perceived as a legal border crosser coming into the

U.S., and his long history as an American citizen compromises his ability to be a "pure"

Mexican in Mexico. Moreover, Gabriel's experiences trying to cross the border highlight

the tendency for Mexicans and Mexican–Americans to be placed in the same category

within the U.S.—that of the "other"—and how the Mexican body had come to signify

"illegal" or "criminal", and thus targeted by U.S. border enforcement. This experience is

reflective of the general message within the more recent U.S. border maps and in which

the notions of "threat" and "disorder" are found prominent in conjunction with Mexican

migration across the border.

This notion of threat to U.S. sovereignty from an influx of Mexican immigrants as

led to a dramatically reinforced U.S. southern border in order to keep the "Mexican

other" on the Mexican side of the border. This action has inevitably caused magnified

racial tendencies in border enforcement. In this context, skin color serves as a cue for

legal status, and both whites and Mexicans are aware of "brown bodies" as suspect and

foreign. As another student's experience illustrates:

> One advantage that I always had growing in Mexico was having a fair complexity with light hair. …As I walked through the bridge in Laredo, Tamaulipas to Laredo, Texas in 1980 I was concern I was going to be detained […]. I had no idea what an Id was. […] When asked 'Where are you from?' I said 'American' the same Border Patrol Officer looked into my face and wished me a good day. […] I now realize that even though I am Mexican, the color of my skin had played a major role on who I am now, because of my skin color I had not suffer as much the indignities other people of my race has suffer. I was not asked for further proof of identity by the border patrol, and I was not disturbed by them when I faked sleeping on that bus. Many of time I have been discriminated upon not because the color of my skin but for the place of my birth (Cuvellier-Cabrales, 2010, p. 2).

101

Despite the fact that this student was crossing the border illegally, the border patrol agent surmised from his skin tone that he was American and one who did not deserve to be targeted for additional prove of citizenship. However, it can even be argued from this research that across U.S. history notions of race and immigration have long been interconnected as access to citizenship and belonging in the U.S., and this has been clear in the discourse. Within this map analysis, these notions were suggested in Young's *New Map of Texas* in which it was clear that English speaking Anglo-Americans were destined to acquire that (U.S.) territory and there was an emphasized separation not only between Mexico and Texas, but Mexican and Anglo embedded in the map discourse.

It was also reviewed earlier how the nation-state is by nature committed to and fixated with protecting and affiliating its citizens within a geographic outline, which also creates and defines socio-spatial identities of those that belong either inside or outside that geographically based community. Along the U.S.–Mexico border today, it is the categories of "Americans" and "Mexicans" or "citizens" and "aliens" in the public and law enforcement vocabulary surrounding the "war" over illegal immigration (Nevins, 2002; Ackleson, 1999). "Illegal immigrant" and "alien" have become so closely connected in the vernacular that the slip from immigrant to alien seems almost natural. The following narrative briefly alludes to this normalization:

> …The River we fished at was the Rio Grande and the people we saw where illegal aliens being chased by the border patrol. The agent on the hill top was radioing the helicopter pilot to where the border crossers where last seen.
> We have seen things like this many times over the years but with greater frequency in the last few years. …We were fishing in what seemed like a war zone at the time. …The future weighed heavily on my mind as I looked at my three month old son. I wondered if he will ever be

able to fish in the same river and enjoy the time spent with his father, grandfather, and maybe his great grandfather (Collins, 2011, p. 4).

This narrative also sheds light on the intensity of border working as a barrier; a frontline in the "war zone" against illegal migrants, which especially corroborates with how the borderline is depicted in the more current maps in this study. The thick red border line symbology accompanied with warning symbols and notations of border incidents frames the U.S.–Mexico border as an especially tense, militarized space. Moreover, this narrative gives unique insight into the way this militarized border environment has real consequences for families in the border region who are simply trying to continue family traditions within that geographic space.

As stated earlier, the discourse within the maps chosen for this research sustained a U.S. hegemonic narrative framing the international boundary as both a territorial and ideological divide. As this narrative reflects:

> Being from the border has brought to me many more experiences than a person from another town would. I saw lots of discrimination against Mexicans in Brownsville, but I also saw lot of sexism against women in Mexico. [...] While I was in high school I unfortunately saw how much hatred people have against Mexicans for no apparent reason. My grade had a huge separation line. Mexicans on one side, Americans on the other. While in lunch Americans would eat inside the students center, and Mexicans would eat outside on the courtyard. One day while at lunch a classmate of ours came to the courtyard and started spitting insults at us telling us how we don't belong in school rather we should go back to Mexico where we belong. He told us how us girls should drop out and just go work as maids. He made sure to make a grand ending and tore up a Mexican flag in front of all of us (Gonzalez, M., 2011, p. 2-6).

In this case, the creation of the U.S.–Mexico border as a visible line of division within maps is also lived and experienced in a high school lunchroom. This narrative attests to how border designation, and representations and discourses of that border has a part in

103

shaping the reality of the "other" through a clear divide of people and territory. Here Ms. Gonzalez speaks of that reality and how the Mexican "other" is marginalized which she has to grapple with in her daily life; the poor treatment and constant reminder of her "otherness".

Chicana novelist Gloria Anzaldúa (1999) speaks of this same split terrain, this same divided geography when she writes: "The U.S. Mexican border 'es una herida abierta' [an open wound] where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds and before a scab forms it hemorrhages again, the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country—a border culture" (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 25). This border metaphor is reflective of how the border is literally illustrated through the history of maps of the border space. The border was essentially shaped by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that cut the area in two, and the wound has continuously bled—depicted through thick red borderline symbology—, as politics, economics, and social power differences exacerbate the laceration.

These narratives certainly echo the themes of discourse (threat, territorial identity, difference, power) found so powerfully communicated through the selected maps for this research and confirm a pattern in which Mexicans are seen as inferior to Americans. The dominant narrative through U.S. border maps constructs the Mexican body as the outsider, a threat to U.S. territory, and arguably has increased U.S. perceptions of that caricature and ultimately a clear divide between Mexicans and Americans.

104

Maps are an important part of our vocabulary, and help us to orient our placement as they depict our perceptual and spatial relationships between people and places. Though map discourse has been important for U.S. political purposes with regard to sustaining territorial control and sense of national identity, it is important to recognize how borderlanders are expressing and living that discourse even though they haven't necessarily consciously put it all together from looking at maps of the border space. This goes to show how maps are a human practice, which mediate and reflect experiences of space, while at the same time shows how spatial relations mediate the discourse within maps.

Research Implications

This research has shown how U.S. cartographic representations of the borderlands, as a visual rhetoric, have played a significant part in the formation of a dominant perception of the U.S.–Mexico border and the people who inhabit the region. We can get stuck in a particular way of thinking about a border once it is defined on a map, especially as particular border images become reiterated and embedded in popular media or lawful discourse. So the map has a reality, an impact on our thinking, and therefore not only reflects, but also has a part in constructing the environment in which we as human being act.

The findings in this analysis further reveal the way maps contribute to discourses about nationalism, identity, and the way the U.S. remains a hegemonic power at the U.S.–Mexico border. Maps can show us places as distinct from one another, yet

simultaneously allow the readers to negotiate their place within that distinction, which in this case is perhaps furthering an "Us" vs. "Other" duality. As such, cartography and maps, as social constructs, function as powerful phenomena, with effects that have ethical implications for the societies in which we live. This discussion revealed that human aspect of the people living at the border through the narratives of people who experience inequity between the two countries firsthand. Although the U.S.–Mexico border serves to both distinguish between the two nations who share it and to bound and protect the identity and territorial claims of the United States, the message it reveals to Mexico—as the only country physically barred from the U.S.—is that Mexicans are the people the U.S. wants to keep out. This U.S. hegemonic discourse has not only been effective in establishing U.S. territorial claims, but has also contributed to the relative strength of the boundary that divides the Mexican from the American or the illegal from the citizen. Thus, this map discourse should not be ignored as it plays a part shaping the attitudes and behaviors towards people engaging in the U.S.–Mexico border space.

Stories, images, and maps about some aspect of the border are a near daily occurrence in newspapers and magazines throughout the United States. In contrast, it was challenging to find interesting recent or historical maps produced in Mexico prominently dispersed through Mexican media, national mapping agencies, or defense and military departments. For future scholarship, analyzing the different ways each country cartographically portrayed the border could provide additional insights into how difference might be communicated through maps and would provide a more thorough

106

understanding of border rhetoric. Though maps produce a multitude of interpretations, it would also be interesting to see how a collection of U.S.–Mexico border maps are interpreted by an appropriate sample size of the borderland population. Furthermore, the significant time gap in this map genealogy created limitations to this study, and as such, it would be beneficial to extend this research and address maps published during that 150-year gap (1853–2004) to see if the U.S. cartographic discourse has truly been consistent over time.

It is doubtful that a different method other Harley's "map deconstruction" would generate richer results for this kind of critical discourse analysis, because the method pays specific attention to the way maps can be persuasive and function to define and legitimate a nation's history and sense of "imagined community". Thus, we should continue to "deconstruct" maps and address them critically to recognize their political nature, in order to help encourage a mutual understanding among people. Foucher (2000) also argues:

> What is essential…is: to restore the practice of arbitration (why this line rather than another?); to rediscover notions of division (borders as the invention and diffusion of techniques of spatial control); to unearth old traces (borders have often been in place for longer then is thought); to identify actors (states, peoples of individuals); to pinpoint the effects of past decisions on current lines, in space (discontinuities, asymmetries and interactions), and in politics (the legitimacy given to a line by two neighbors) (p. 160).

This kind of critical framework sheds light on a number of fundamental questions about how humans perceive, understand, and relate to the world via maps and discourse in general. Hopefully this research can continue to inspire other to view maps as

107

something much greater than a directory tool, or simple pieces of paper designed to relay information about various places and spatial patterns.

This research is anticipated to have indirect implications for border policy through influencing border scholars and people within academia whose work could then subsequently influence border policy. By shedding light on this kind of cartographic consciousness, discourse within maps and ultimately border policy discourse could be made more responsive to social issues and to the way these issues are represented on maps. Furthermore, investigating the way in which the production of the U.S.–Mexico border is articulated through exclusionary measures is critical to contesting the violence and discrimination in U.S. border enforcement policies. Ultimately, this work adds to the growing body of literature in border studies and border theory that open up these issues to new critical perspectives and approaches, as well as contribute to a broader discussion of culture and equity in border policies. This research will also augment literature on critical cartography by promoting a more informed use of maps in the area of border analysis and policy based upon an understanding and appreciation of their flexibility as a medium of communication.

Conclusion

Through the art of cartography and the power of maps, humans have the phenomenal ability to delineate and specify the world according to their needs and understandings. It is important to acknowledge this power, and consider that our map discourse can have effects and should be made more sensitive to social issues and to

108

the ways in which places and people are cartographically depicted. Such an epistemological shift in the understanding of cartographic practices will shed light on how maps are produced and re-produced in diverse ways (socially, or politically) by people within certain contexts as a way to communicate or solve relational problems. In closing, this analysis has illuminated the production and definition of a particular aspect of the nation-state for the U.S. and Mexico, the two countries' shared border space, and illustrates how cartographic discourse influences border policy and can play a major role in how people understand and reconstruct the U.S.–Mexico border.

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