

Jeremy Slack, editor, *The Shadow of the Wall: Violence and Migration on the U.S.-Mexico Border*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018. 280 pp. Hardcover: \$35.00. ISBN-13: 978-0-8165-3559-0.

The Shadow of the Wall: Violence and Migration on the U.S.-Mexico Border is a collection of articles from the Migrant Border Crossing Study (MBCS). As such, it contains a multiplicity of voices discussing a variety of topics with a heavy emphasis on statistics. This book was written for scholars and policy makers, and presents an innovative way to research and understand the problems that migrants from Mexico face on their journey to the United States. The results of this study provide valuable insight into the failures of the United States' current border policies. The drawback of the approach taken, however, is that the information presented is not easily accessible by the general population, limiting the impact of a book that could have directly impacted current debates on immigration policy.

The opening chapter demonstrates the value of the post-deportation methodology by expanding the reach of existing quantitative studies on migration from Mexico, and shows how the MBCS bridges the gap between qualitative and quantitative research in this field. The authors then describe Wave I, focusing on unauthorized migration into Southern Arizona, Wave II, which addresses issues of violence and security, and Wave III, based on findings from two hundred interviews that were conducted during the study period. Herein, the authors describe in painstaking detail the research site, selection criteria, sampling, weighting the data and comparable data sources on repatriated Mexican migrants, as well as the limitations of Waves I and II. The background information to the project is important for methodological issues, and the approach taken, that links the quantitative and the qualitative data, is constructive and successful. The personal stories are captivating, and they capture the raw emotion that people experience in the shadow of the wall. The downside of such personal stories, especially those abuse, is that they can be dismissed as "isolated incidents" (19). By using both qualitative accounts of the migrant experience along with quantitative data allows the authors to truly capture the frequency of migrant abuse and mistreatment.

Chapter 2 is based on qualitative research from seventy-one interviews that detail how migrants react to increased border enforcement. Often, migrants make decisions that will increase their chances of death while decreasing their vulnerability to structural violence. One example is the decision by mules to bring drugs into the US without the aid of coyotes, who are expensive, and apt to rob their clients. This is an example of making the "best" of a situation, which often results in violence that is exacerbated by current border policies. This article would have been even more poignant had it included more quotations personal stories from the 71 interviews, of which only "Jose's Story" is told in its entirety.

Chapter 3 provides insight into the research team's internal debate on whether to continue researching after a shooting occurred near where they were conducting research. One researcher suggested that no research is worth losing one's life over, while another proposed that the team continue their research as long as they were not facing as much risk as their interviewees. The third researcher opined that, although the violence was not a direct threat to the researchers, public security was not guaranteed, so the risk was unnecessary.

After presenting these three opinions, the authors discuss the difficulties of researching violence, and the article ends with a call to action for other researchers.

We need to confront the challenges of working in these environments head on and recognize new and important issues that are influencing our field sites. Yes, it is scary. Yes, it is dangerous. Yes, it is more work. But it is necessary if we want our

research to take a prominent place in debates about human rights, abuse, and the nature of conflict (69-71).

The main theme of the entire collection is violence, so violence against researchers fits into the theme. However, it was confusing to throw in violence against researchers in-between two articles that focus on violence against migrants. This article would be better placed after the first article about the research methods. This would be a better placement because the reader would learn the research methodologies, dangers that researchers face, the difficulties of researching violence, and then get into the meat of the book and focus on violence against migrants.

Chapter 4 looks at whether recent changes to border enforcement enacted by the Consequence Delivery System (CDS) deter migration and whether those changes have harmful impacts. The authors look specifically at four areas of the CDS: Operation Streamline, the ATEP, interior enforcement programs, and due process abuses against migrants. The authors conclude by arguing that the MBCS findings show that the U.S. may be experiencing more migration due to the rise of these enforcement mechanism because they are leading to high rates of family separation. People who consider the U.S. as their home “are willing to endure the hardships at the border, discrimination in the United States, and the harsh penalties of an increasingly criminalized immigration system” (87). The authors make the point that the current immigration system is not working because no amount of punishment will deter migrants from their loved ones. This article is an excellent example of one that would be beneficial to the general public because the general public needs to see why the current immigration system is not working.

Chapter 5 is focused completely on how violence guides the strategy for border enforcement. The authors give a quick history of border militarization. They then talk about the abuse migrants experience by U.S. authorities. Ten percent of migrants reported some form of physical abuse, and the authors argue that this abuse originates from an institutional mandate. There is a major flaw in this conclusion, and that flaw is the lack of evidence. The fact that ten percent of migrants report abuse seems to suggest that there are a few rouge agents, not a rouge agency. While the authors specifically address this point, they do so in a section that is only a page and a half long. The authors needed to provide more information, for example, the authors refer to reports criticizing the CBP, but only give a few short examples and do not provide quotes from these reports. The authors needed more facts to support their strong conclusions.

Chapter 6 examines the social implications of criminalizing the immigration process. The authors outline the history of the criminalization of immigration law from “prevention through deterrence” and militarizing the border to the limiting of the judicial review process for immigration violations. The authors argue that there are two social consequences to the criminalization of immigration:

“(1) significantly reducing migrants’ chances of gaining legal permanent resident status (or having this status revoked) and (2) introducing migrants into illegitimate means structures that may precipitate involvement in narcotics and human smuggling by incarcerating them alongside serious criminal offenders” (125).

The authors demonstrate the social consequences through stories like the one Luis Alvaro Rodriguez who went from being a business owner and family man to a criminal. Through stories, the authors do an excellent job of bringing home the disturbing fact that the United States continues to utilize these procedures that do not even work.

Chapter 7 was entirely based on quantitative data. The authors provided conclusions from the MBCS and compared those conclusions to other studies. For example, earlier studies had found that firsthand migration experience was the single most important predictor of crossing mode. The findings from the MBCS confirmed this and found that more experienced migrants traveled with

family and friends rather than coyotes compared to people who had crossed the border at least once before. Earlier studies had found that age was a predicator of crossing modes, however the MBCS found no statistically significant relationship between age and crossing mode. This article makes several important contributions to the study of migration. Specifically, this research is unique in the fact that it describes the relationship between the several factors and use of specific coyotes.

Chapter 8 looks at how human smuggling and drug-trafficking related to each other. The authors argue that the current security situation at the border is changing the migrants' experience. After Operation Gatekeeper, human smuggling became more professional, violent, and tied to drug trafficking. It became more difficult for migrants to cross the border, so drugs became a more valuable than just human smuggling alone. Since drugs are more profitable, groups of migrants are often coordinated to provide cover for drug trafficking. The authors conclude by calling for more research of illicit organizations, but as the reader, it would have been beneficial to know how this additional research could be used to create solutions to the problems.

Chapter 9 focuses on kidnapping. The authors argue that the increase in kidnapping is a result of the higher cost of migration, the militarization of the border, and the increasingly severe penalties for immigration violations. This article highlighted a key problem, provided useful data, and easy solutions. The best part of the article was the personal stories. Juanito's story was particularly horrifying,

"I stayed alive by being submissive...they didn't think I was strong so they didn't care what I did and kept me around... the men that fought back got killed instantly. They dissolved the bodies in a vat in the back of the complex and spread what was left on the fields. It was white like fertilizer... there were kids there. They were between six and nine years old. They smothered them with plastic bags and immediately cut out their livers, kidneys, and heart. They made me help six times" (198-199).

The United States' policies are making this vulnerable population more vulnerable, and there are simple things the U.S. can do to alleviate that vulnerability. It is hard for the reader not to feel that an injustice has been done while reading this excellent article.

The final chapter focuses on minutemen and how migrants learn about minutemen. However, this article was anti-climactic. The reader has spent the entire book focusing on violence. This article just focuses on whether migrants know who minutemen are, how migrants define the minutemen, and where migrants learn this information. This article would have fit better with the theme of the book if the research would have focused on violence against migrants by minutemen. This article is a disservice to the book, so it may have been best to exclude this article entirely.

Overall, this book is an excellent read, but it would benefit from a reorganization of the chapters. The book adds invaluable information on what migrants' experience while crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. In many instances, the authors call for change to the current policies in the United States. If immigration policy is going to change, it's going to need the backing of the American people. The invaluable information in this book that shows why the policy needs to change, is not accessible to the general public, so the book will arguably not have the effect it could have had if it were written in a different style.

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