Uncoverings 2016

Volume 37 of
the Research Papers of
the American Quilt Study Group

Edited by Lynne Zacek Bassett

What the Eye Doesn't See, Doesn't Move the Heart: Migrant Quilts of Southern Arizona

Peggy J. Hazard

Illegal immigration has become a humanitarian crisis on both sides of the Atlantic. One fact often left out of the conversation about migration to the United States from Mexico is that thousands of undocumented—and frequently unidentified—men, women and children have died in the Southern Arizona deserts since the imposition of trade and border policies in the 1990s. The Migrant Quilt Project is a grassroots effort in Tucson, Arizona, to collect clothing discarded in the desert by migrants and reuse it to create quilts recording the names of these unacknowledged victims of the border crisis. The quilts are intended to memorialize the dead, reveal the severity of the tragedy, and inspire people to support compassionate policy change. Based on interviews with the project's founder, the quilts' creators, immigration activists, and the author's personal experience making a Migrant Quilt, this paper tells the story of the project's origins and the effects of the quilts on those who have made and viewed them. The quilts are invaluable documents of a particular time and place in history and this paper discusses them within the contexts of art made from migrant clothing, border-themed textile art, and the heritage of socially-conscious quiltmaking.

Death in the Desert

The Huachuca Mountains are one of southern Arizona's "sky island" ranges, where high forested peaks are surrounded by a sea of desert. Extending northwest from the United States/Mexico border, the mountains are a popular recreation area, especially for birdwatchers who flock to Ramsey Canyon, and for hikers, who can set off there at the southern entrance to the Arizona Trail. But in 2005, when longtime Tucsonan Jody Ipsen and a friend camped in the Huachucas, they came across something

Fig. 1. *Pile of Migrant Artifacts—Arivaca, Arizona,* c. 2005. Photograph by Michael Hyatt.

they did not expect to see in the scenic wilderness: discarded baby diapers, bottles, backpacks and clothes strewn along a trail. Ipsen was horrified to learn that the trash had been left behind by border crossers and that the trails in the Huachucas are a main travel route for undocumented immigrants from Mexico.

Ipsen's experience in the mountains sparked her curiosity and she began to educate herself about illegal migration from Mexico. She researched the 1990s trade policies that motivated dramatic increases in northward immigration and discovered that subsequent border crackdowns funneled migrants into a dangerous open section of the border in Southern Arizona where many of them died from exposure and dehydration. Ipsen felt compassion for the deceased migrants and their families, particularly for those whose remains were not identifiable. Although a majority of migrants are young men, she particularly wanted to understand why women left their homes, risking everything to go to the United States. She even traveled to Central America and Mexico to meet people affected by the immigration crisis, focusing on the families of women who died.

Ipsen volunteered with local humanitarian organizations, walking

migrant trails with the Tucson Samaritans and No More Deaths, encountering people in need and providing them with food, water and medical care. Volunteers also cleared trash from "layups," sites along the border where migrants rest and drop excess baggage to lighten their loads before continuing their journeys (fig. 1). As she watched bags of dirty clothing being tossed into the garbage, Ipsen wondered if something constructive could be done with the clothes instead, and hatched an idea to convert the discarded jeans, work shirts, bandanas and other discarded items into quilt-like textiles that could be inscribed with the names of deceased migrants. "We have got to use this material to show them what is going on in the desert," she said.[1]

Whether we call the people who leave their homes seeking better lives elsewhere illegal aliens, refugees, undocumented border crossers, immigrants or simply "migrants," migration is an international phenomenon that has been going on for as long as anyone can remember. From Biblical accounts of the Jews fleeing Egypt, to our ancestors who traveled across oceans for opportunities in America, to the influx of migration into Europe from war zones today, people always have been on the move in order to get someplace where they and their families could be more secure. In recent years, those journeying from Mexico and Central America to the United States have faced unnecessarily harsh dangers. According to the Colibri Center for Human Rights in Tucson, "Migration is as old as humanity itself. High rates of migrant death are not. Today we face a human rights crisis, as each year hundreds of migrants die along the U.S-Mexico border."[2]

Until the 1990s that border was relatively open, allowing workers to pass back and forth between jobs in the north and their families in the south, but the situation changed after 1994 when the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), created to expand trade between the United States, Canada and Mexico, went into effect.[3] NAFTA devastated local economies in Mexico by allowing the importation of cheap subsidized corn and other goods, putting farmers out of work by eliminating their markets.[4] Immigration to the United States—legal or not—jumped dramatically as Mexican and Central American people journeyed north to find jobs or to reunite with parents, children or spouses already living on this side of the border. United States policymakers realized that NAFTA would stimulate an influx in illegal immigration from Mexico and imposed strict border policies, sealing off traditional urban crossing areas with imposing steel walls and militarizing the border with over 20,000

Fig. 2. Andy Mosier, map, Arizona-Sonora Borderlands. With permission from Margaret Regan, *Detained and Deported: Stories of Immigrant Families Under Fire* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2015).

Border Patrol agents by 2014.[5]

To avoid detection by agents, undocumented migrants began crossing the international boundary where there were no walls and few agents, which happened to be in the most brutal, remote areas of southern Arizona (fig. 2). It was thought that the area's difficulty would dissuade anyone from trying to cross there. Former Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Doris Meissner admitted to the *Arizona Republic*, "We did believe that geography would be an ally to us . . . it was our sense that the number of people crossing the border through Arizona would go down to a trickle, once people realized what it's like."[6] People who are desperate cannot be deterred, however, and the result was an epidemic of deaths on the border due to the region's extreme heat and rough terrain, lack of water and distance from help. To make matters worse, drug cartels in northern Mexico control the activities of "coyotes," hired guides to whom migrants pay exorbitant fees to take them across the border. As coyotes usher groups of migrants through the desert, people can fall ill or be injured, and, rather than hold up the group and risk detection by the Border Patrol, sick travelers often are left behind to fend for themselves.

A United States Government Accountability Office report in 2006 showed a direct correlation between migrant deaths and United States government policies. According to the report's findings, there was a decline in migrant deaths along the southwestern United States border between 1990 and 1994, before the imposition of NAFTA and new border security policies, followed by an increase after those policies went into effect. Migrant deaths doubled from the mid-1990s through 2003, an increase attributed to a growing number of deaths in the Border Patrol's Tucson Sector, which runs along 262 miles of the international border and encompasses most of the state of Arizona, from the New Mexico state line to Yuma County.[7] The Tucson Sector is one of the busiest in the country in terms of migrant apprehensions and has the highest rates of migrant deaths in comparison to reported apprehensions.[8] The Pima County Office of the Medical Examiner in Tucson, which investigates ninety-five percent of the migrant deaths occurring in Arizona, examined 2,413 remains from 1990 to 2013. The office reported only five to twenty-one migrant deaths a year during the 1990s, but since 1999 they have investigated an average of 163 migrant deaths annually.[9] The deceased primarily have been men, but women's deaths more than doubled between 1998 and 2005.[10] Although migration slowed significantly after the global economic downturn in 2008, the rate of deaths to Border Patrol apprehensions actually increased exponentially, probably due to undocumented migrants traveling deeper into the desert to avoid detection, lengthening their journeys without sufficient food and water.[11] Sadly, a large number of the dead were unidentifiable either because they did not carry personal documents or their bodies were too decomposed by the time they were found. Their families never knew what had happened to them.[12]

Transforming Trash

In 2007, after her epiphany in the desert layup, Ipsen formed an organization called *Los Desconocidos,* Spanish for "the unknowns," in reference to the large percentage of deceased migrants who are never identified. *Los Desconocidos* had two interrelated goals: to document migrants' deaths in the Border Patrol's Tucson Sector with an annual memorial quilt and to increase public awareness of the deaths and why they are happening. Ipsen thought that a quilt would be a provocative object, "a good visual" for the cause. She was not a quilt maker, but she knew that quilts had been used in the past to raise consciousness about human rights abuses.[13]

Certainly the best-known quilt in the service of social change is the NAMES Project, often called simply "the AIDS Quilt," begun in 1985 by Cleve Jones when he created a panel in memory of his best friend who had died from the disease. In an *Uncoverings* paper, "A Text of the Times: The NAMES Project," Lawrence Howe discussed how the unique multi-panel quilt raised public awareness by revealing the names behind the AIDS statistics.[14] As the quilt grew in size, the disease progressively ravaged not only members of the gay community but others who were vulnerable. When it was dramatically displayed on the Mall in Washington, D.C., the gigantic quilt was viewed as both a remembrance of those who died and a collective political statement demanding a cure. The enormity of the quilt made it impossible to ignore the fact that thousands of quiet deaths were occurring unabated, while the personal stories embedded in the panels swayed public opinion from blaming the victims for getting sick, to feeling compassion for them.

Twenty years after the birth of the NAMES Project, Ipsen imagined a Migrant Quilt Project to reveal that thousands of unacknowledged deaths were happening in Southern Arizona. Ipsen invited individuals and organizations to make quilts for each year since 2000, when documentation of deceased migrants began. She believed that heartfelt, handmade quilts could be an effective means to honor those who died and to encourage people to support humane immigration reform. Her employment of quilts to influence popular opinion harkened back to the famous motto of nineteenth-century abolitionists regarding needlework expressing anti-slavery sentiments: "May the point of our needles prick the slave-owner's conscience."[15]

Ipsen and her fellow activists gathered textile items in the layups that could be used to make the Migrant Quilts. To be clear, they never collected materials near a death site, out of respect for the deceased person and to preserve the scene for the medical examiner. Much of what they salvaged was iconically American: denim blue jeans along with faded shirts and bandanas. Ipsen thoroughly washed the clothing and volunteers fashioned purses and tote bags from the jeans, calling them "Sonoran Sacks" and selling them to support start-up costs for *Los Desconocidos*.[16] Some of the more heart-wrenching items found in the layups were Mexican *bordados*, hand-embroidered cloths typically used to wrap tortillas. The juxtaposition of blue jeans and sentimental *bordados* in those sites was undeniable evidence of globalization, but their presence also humanized migrants. In an article about art made from migrants' discards,

Robert Neustadt observed, "Contemplating these hand-crafted cloths, embroidered with care, one recognizes that these so-called 'illegal alien criminals' are, in fact, people with dreams, people with families, people who love other people."[17]

Ipsen was not the first person to consider reusing migrants' cast-offs for creative purposes. Artists in Southern Arizona and beyond have been inspired by the untold stories and residual energy contained in items left behind in the desert. In the process of making art, they have transformed things that were seen as trash into icons of human suffering. Tucson photographer Michael Hyatt photographed objects he found along migrant trails for his book, *Migrant Artifacts: Magic and Loss in the Sonoran Desert,* a compelling photo essay witnessing to the dangers and tragedy of migrants' journeys.[18] Debbi McCullough has used personal items she found in the desert to create shrines, artist books, and scroll-like *Calendars of Death* listing migrants who died from 2010 to 2011. The calendar for July, the deadliest month, measured six inches wide by nine feet long.[19] Valarie James, who lives in a rural community where both migrant and Border Patrol presence are high, gathered discarded clothing, personal items and *bordados,* assembling them into evocative installation pieces that she exhibited locally and internationally to bring attention to migrant deaths.[20] James, McCullough, and two other artists collaborated to create three life-sized figures for an outdoor installation, *The Mothers; Las Madres/No More Tears; No Más Lágrimas.* They built one figure by layering a pulp made from migrants' jeans and desert plants over a precast body form, and covered two companion figures with burlap bags used to smuggle marijuana. The *Madres,* standing in a sculpture garden at a community college in Tucson, represent mothers affected by immigration: vulnerable migrating mothers and broken-hearted mothers at home waiting for word of their loved ones.[21]

Anthropologists interpret items left behind by migrants as cultural objects imbued with meaning about the people who owned them. A poster produced by the Colibri Center for Human Rights attempted to bring a human face to migrants. *The Things They Carried: A Memorial to Lives Lost on the Border* depicts more than 100 items recovered by the Pima County Medical Examiner's Office near the bodies of migrant men, women and children who died in Arizona between 2000 and 2009; sometimes, these objects are the only clues to help families identify the remains of their loved ones. The drawings of identification cards, photographs, asthma inhalers, birth control pills, religious images, rosaries, contact lens

cases, underwear, books, cosmetics, stuffed animals, toothbrushes, eyeglasses, jewelry, playing cards, etc., prove that migrants are human beings like us.[22] At the University of Michigan, the Undocumented Migration Project (U.M.P.), led by Jason DeLeon, an assistant professor of anthropology, studies immigrants' discards from an archaeological perspective. DeLeon takes students on collecting treks in the borderlands of northern Mexico and Southern Arizona. In 2013, the University's Institute of Humanities displayed the objects gathered by the students in an exhibit, *State of Exception,* along with Robert Barnes' videography shot along the border fence, in an effort to inspire new conversations and ways of thinking about immigration policy.[23]

Birth of the Migrant Quilt Project

When someone agrees to make a Migrant Quilt, Ipsen assigns the quiltmaker or group a list of deceased migrants' names from a specific federal fiscal year, which runs from October 1 until September 30. As an agency of the United States Homeland Security Department, the Border Patrol uses the federal fiscal year to count migrant statistics, and Ipsen thought it apt for the quilts to do so as well. She obtains the lists of names from the organization *Derechos Humanos* (meaning "human rights"), which compiles them from the Pima County Office of the Medical Examiner's data. Ipsen provides migrant jeans and other cloth items to use as the primary material for the quilts, but quiltmakers supply the foundation or backing fabric and anything else they need to finish their quilts. They are free to design their quilts according to their own inspiration and can employ any fiber art techniques they like to create the quilts, but must conform to a few basic rules. Each quilt is to be inscribed with the names of every decedent on the fiscal year's list, with unidentified migrants indicated as *"Desconocido"* or "Unknown." The words "Tucson Sector" and the quilt's date range are to be written at the top of the quilt. Upon completion, quiltmakers agree to give their quilts to *Los Desconocidos.*

The first Migrant Quilt was made by Project Amor, a Tucson nonprofit organization serving low-income Spanish-speaking families of children with disabilities and literacy needs. The quilt, documenting migrant deaths from October 1, 2003 to September 30, 2004, was made by Project Amor's staff members along with adults and children receiving services from the organization (fig. 3). Participants wrote migrants' names or *"Desconocido"* on four-inch denim patches cut from blue jeans. Despite the

Fig. 3. Project Amor, *2003–2004 Migrant Quilt*, 2008. Canvas and denim with paint and mixed media. 91 1/2 x 55 1/2 inches. Wilson Graham Photography.

morbidity of their task, they used colorful dimensional fabric pens to write the names and painted often-whimsical motifs on the patches, such as hearts, flowers, stars, rosaries, crosses, hands, and even a drawing of a baseball. They applied ribbons and bows, small pom-poms, rickrack and buttons to some of the squares. Staff members assembled the huge "quilt" by gluing the patches onto a bright red canvas panel, and covered the patches' raw edges with red braid. At the top, they painted "Tucson Sector" and "2003–2004" and installed grommets to facilitate hanging the quilt.

Admittedly, it stretches the definition of the term to call this textile creation a quilt. There is no fabric sandwich, no batting, and the only place it was stitched was to sew a channel for a stick at the bottom to help the canvas lie flat. It is a quilt in spirit, however, assembled from fabric cut into squares and arranged in a grid format. Furthermore, it was deliberately modeled on earlier social justice quilts, especially the NAMES Project quilt, and was intended to inspire compassion in the hearts of those who viewed it. With the completion of this quilt, the Migrant Quilt Project was official and Ipsen had a visual. She loaded photos of the brightly-colored work on the *Los Desconocidos* website and printed its images on a flyer to recruit people to make additional quilts.

The second quilt came about as the result of a personal invitation to Suzanne Hesh, a Tucson immigration activist who moved in the same circles as Ipsen. A contemporary textile artist and retired art teacher, Hesh had been involved with fabric, needles and thread since childhood. In the 1980s, she was intrigued with making art quilts, which allowed her to combine fabric with her design impulse. When migrant deaths in Southern Arizona became a major crisis, she founded a border and immigration ministry at her church and began writing a biweekly emailed newsletter listing opportunities for involvement and study. Her passion for teaching others about the immigration crisis is an expression of her belief that everyone is the same in the eyes of God. She stated, "We all deserve equal opportunity to live in dignity, fulfill our destinies, take care of our families, live with respect and be respected."[24]

Hesh has produced over a dozen textile artworks expressing her compassion for migrants who die needlessly and tragically. She stitched *Memorial for Fourteen* in honor of fourteen migrants who died in an auto accident in southern Arizona in 2001. On *Los Desconocidos,* she hand-embroidered the words "*los desconocidos*" line after line, in beige thread on beige linen, the words becoming fainter with each repetition until they

Fig. 4. Project Amor, *2003–2004 Migrant Quilt*, 2008. Canvas and denim with paint and mixed media. 91 1/2 x 55 1/2 inches. Wilson Graham Photography.

completely disappeared. *Leyvanta la voz (Raise your voice)* was based on a nine-patch quilt block, each square illustrating an aspect of the flight of migrants (fig. 4). On the label for an exhibit in Tucson, she wrote: "It commemorates all people in migration, especially those who travel South to North. For thousands, their movement, identity and lives are lost in the desert, in the land a few minutes or miles from where you are reading this."[25] Hesh has been active in the international *Fuentes Rojas* (Red Fountains) movement to raise visibility for victims of the violent drug wars in Mexico, hand stitching police reports about victims' deaths in red thread

on men's white handkerchiefs.[26] Her art and border activism are integrated, flowing back and forth in her life. "Art is always a natural expression of social issues," she explains. Not surprisingly, Hesh was receptive to Ipsen's request to create a Migrant Quilt, which would give her another opportunity to express her feelings about "avoidable death an hour's drive from where I live. How could I not respond to that?"[27]

In addition to being the author of this paper, I am an artist and a quiltmaker and have been in an art group with Hesh for many years. At a meeting in early 2010 she told us about the Migrant Quilt Project and invited group members to collaborate with her to make a quilt. Alice Vinson, then an art graduate student, agreed, and so did I, wanting to expand my horizons after retiring that spring from my career as an art curator. Our quilt would document the names of 205 individuals, a large portion with unknown identities, whose bodies were recovered during the 2005–2006 fiscal year. We met to brainstorm design layouts, and settled on a scrappy arrangement of patches cut from the clothing and *bordados* that Ipsen gave us. We wanted the effect to be raw and rustic, similar to the materials themselves and the conditions in which they were salvaged.

Our project "got real" when we dumped out the bags of clothing and sorted the items between us. I have collected and worked with fabric for many years, and had even stitched a blue jean quilt for my son in the 1980s, but with this project I encountered cloth in a completely different context. In contrast to the yard goods from which I usually make quilts, the faded jeans, sun-bleached shirts, and threadbare bandanas seemed as if they still held the energy and pain of the people who had worn them. Although we realized that they were not from dead bodies, it was overwhelming to handle such intimate items belonging to strangers who had been through harrowing journeys. Then Vinson started to cry as she held up a tiny pair of twelve-month-sized denim overalls. Ipsen did not anticipate the emotional responses to working with the clothing and was surprised by how moving the experience has been for her and the quiltmakers. "We are making the quilts out of migrants' clothing, so you get this hands-on, tactile feel of a life that crossed out there."[28]

Reading the spreadsheet with the names of the deceased migrants for our quilt was emotionally fraught as well. A cold official document, it listed the victims' names or the word "Unknown" chronologically according to the dates their remains were discovered. Additional columns indicated the decedents' sex, age, country of origin, geographic coordinates for where they were discovered, and cause of death, which most often was

Fig. 5. Peggy Hazard, Suzanne Hesh, & Alice Vinson, *2005–2006 Migrant Quilt*, 2010. Canvas and denim jeans with shirts, bandanas, embroideries, cloth and paint. 86 1/2 x 60 inches. Wilson Graham Photography.

hyperthermia or exposure, but also included blunt force injuries, auto accidents, homicide, hanging, and undetermined reasons. This was more information than we had expected and at that point we lost whatever naïveté we still held onto about migrants' experiences. In contrast to the grim data in the listings, the people's long, lyrical names felt like poetry to read aloud: "Gloria de Quintanilla, Benito Acevado Castañeda, Stephany del Toro Hernández."

We divided the names between us and devised our own techniques for inscribing them onto mostly rectangular patches we cut from the clothes (fig. 5). Hesh machine-embroidered free-motion cursive text in big, looping letters to write names on pieces of denim, a man's shirt collar, and the back pockets of jeans. Vinson, who enjoys slow handwork, claimed the soft plaid men's shirts and used a reverse appliqué technique to create windows in her patches, framing names she had computer-printed on white fabric. I have a devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe, the patroness of Mexico whose image often accompanies migrants on their journeys in the belief that she will deliver them safely. So that she would have a presence on the quilt, each of my patches contained a small printed picture of the Virgin beside the migrant's name or the word "unknown" computer-printed in red letters on white fabric.

The three of us met again to pin our patches to a large piece of cotton canvas tacked on my studio wall, intentionally leaving the side edges of the quilt ragged. I filled in blank spaces with leftover scraps of the clothing, big flowers cut from *bordados,* and snippets of red printed fabric, then machine-stitched all the elements to the canvas. Hesh created a bright gold banner for the top and painted "Tucson Border Sector" and "10/2005 –9/2006" on it in large script, attached red and white flowers from *bordados,* made a label for the back, and installed grommets for hanging. Then we gave the quilt to Ipsen.

Unbeknownst to us, "our quilt" was displayed at an event in Tucson a few weeks later, and an acquaintance who saw it contacted me to express how much she liked it. Her positive comments made me proud of our accomplishment, knowing that the quilt was having its intended effect to honor migrants who had died, and make a public statement about their deaths. Ipsen lent the quilt to a border conference in Maryland where it represented in words and image the disaster taking place in southern Arizona.

Ipsen continued to show the quilts locally, including at a Peace Fair in Tucson and at annual Border Issues Fairs held at a church in Sahuarita, south of Tucson. Shura Wallin, co-founder of the Green Valley/Sahuarita Samaritans, saw the Migrant Quilts at the fairs for many years and considers them powerful objects. "Every scrap of fabric had a dream behind it," she said, "and every name had a dream, and those dreams died in the desert."[29]

Ipsen observed that, like the artists who made the quilts, viewers also are affected emotionally. "People get very weepy," she commented. "They don't understand the broad spectrum of the whole thing, and this is a visual that people can see and grasp and come to understand." The sheer magnitude of the quilts communicates their message: the huge size, the incomprehensible number of names on them, and the large percentages of unidentified deaths. "It challenges one's belief to see as many as 200 names on a quilt and one-third to one-half are unidentified. Their families don't have closure, they don't have a body to mourn."[30]

When cultures collide, as they do in the borderlands, issues can get complicated and be difficult to sort out; naturally, not everyone who views the Migrants Quilts is sympathetic to their purpose. When Ipsen displayed the quilts at an artists' open studio weekend in a mountain town north of Tucson, the response by a group of women from a nearby retirement community was to tell Ipsen that the migrants had broken the law and their deaths were not "our" problem.[31] While it is true that the names documented on the quilts represent people who acted illegally, the point of making and exhibiting them is to reveal the deceased migrants' relationship to us as fellow human beings whose lives deserve to be acknowledged and whose deaths should have been prevented.

In October 2012, the author included two Migrant Quilts in an exhibit, *Quilts Making a Difference,* at the Tucson Meet Yourself festival. The popular annual folk life event was founded by folklorist Dr. James Griffith, whose life's work has been the interpretation of the people and customs on the borderlands where Southern Arizona and northern Sonora, Mexico, intersect. The exhibit featured quilts used in Arizona to raise consciousness and support social issues and needs, such as a World War I-era Red Cross fundraising quilt and quilts auctioned by Quilt for a Cause to support breast cancer screening and treatment, as well as quilts made to commemorate the women's vote and to express grief after the 9/11 attack

and the 2011 Tucson shooting.[32]

It was exciting to show the Migrant Quilts in the context of other consciousness-raising quilts, adjacent to a display of quilts from the Southern Arizona AIDS Foundation memorializing community members who died from AIDS, and near a lawn where panels from the NAMES Project were ritually unfolded in a ceremony. The Migrant Quilts' dramatic scale and brilliant colors seemed to draw festival visitors into the exhibit space, but people tended to grow quiet when they looked closer and realized that the quilts were constructed from migrants' clothing and recorded the names of fellow human beings who perished only miles away from where they stood.

Ipsen set up a workspace at the exhibit where festival-goers could decorate "*Desconocido*" name patches for a future quilt. Laraine Daly Jones, Collections Manager at the Arizona Historical Society, visited for a few hours one afternoon, embroidering denim squares. Reflecting on that day, she said,

> I was moved to tears when I first saw the memorial quilts made as part of the Migrant Quilt Project. So many people who succumbed to the unflagging, unbearable desert heat, and many of them are known only as Los Desconocidos, their given names lost. Somewhere loved ones worry and pray for them, wondering what has happened to them, and they will probably never know. I am grateful that there are quilters who have found a way to remember them, so that their lives do not end without meaning.[33]

One day during the festival, Tucson artist Jennifer Eschedor viewed the quilt exhibit. "Before I knew it, I had struck up a conversation with Jody [Ipsen], and she was so welcoming," Eschedor recalled. "It unfolded for me that day."[34] Eschedor decided she "was in" and agreed to make a Migrant Quilt. Although she was aware that her friends, Hesh, Vinson and this author had made one, "the concept of it was not of any personal concern until I started to realize just how many deaths were involved, and hearing about Jody's first-hand experiences. That, to me, really drove it home." Receiving the salvaged clothing had a big impact on her: "When Jody first gave me the clothing in a paper bag it was packed with such emotion. We had talked so much about the deaths that they were loaded objects."

Eschedor majored in textiles at Kent State University but quiltmaking

was not in the academic curriculum. "It was that whole art versus craft argument," she explained.[35] She got involved with quilts later, when her mother retired and the two of them explored quiltmaking as a shared activity. It became a passion; her mom joined a group, and Eschedor discovered friends with whom she made safety-themed wall quilts for a women's shelter. Looking back, she realized that the shelter pieces were her first experience with socially-conscious quilts. "Power can be so misused," she explained. "With the migrants, we are talking about government intervention, but with abused women we're talking about . . . where power is being misused within relationships." Associations between relationships in the insect and human worlds have been a recurring theme in Eschedor's art, which she has expressed with pictures of beetles, human skulls and skeletons printed from hand-cut linoleum blocks. Incorporating Mexican *Día de los Muertos* imagery in her work has helped Eschedor explore her feelings about death.

Although Eschedor included lino-printed skulls on her Migrant Quilt documenting 2011–2012, she did not associate the quilt with her personal art because the primary purpose for making a Migrant Quilt was to get the names out (fig. 6). She exercised artistic license with the quilt, nevertheless. "I really wanted it to seem sort of beat up, to represent the brutality that they had experienced. So rather than appliqué the names on the top, I tore the denim to reveal the names underneath. That process conveyed more suffering."[36] She deliberately chose pieces of clothing "that were clearly worn or stained because they had more energy . . . and I could imagine the person who wore them." She stitched in pieces of dark blue bandanas and a baseball cap with the Virgin of Guadalupe embroidered on it, "because it represents the importance of religion in day-to-day life for many of the migrants."[37]

This quilt featured three intact *bordados* that Ipsen found in layup sites. One, stitched with a spray of red flowers, spelled out the Spanish words *"Duerme amor mio,"* which translates to "Sleep, my love," while on a second cloth embroidered leaves and flowers framed the text *"Contigo en la distancia,"* meaning "With you from a distance."[38] Considering that the cloths ended up in a lonely Arizona canyon, the sentiments sewn onto them were poignant. Had the mothers or sweethearts who made the cloths folded warm tortillas inside before stashing them in their loved ones' backpacks? In her heart, Eschedor believed that the women who stitched the *bordados* had lost their loved ones to the harsh desert.[39]

Two years later, when Eschedor made a second Migrant Quilt repre-

Fig. 6. Jennifer Eschedor, *2011–2012 Migrant Quilt,* 2012. Denim jeans and cloth with bandanas, hat, milagros, embroideries and mixed media. 46 1/2 x 52 inches. Wilson Graham Photography.

senting 2012–2013, she decided that the skull image would have a stronger impact when repeated many times. (fig 7) "I really wanted the skull to be used as a sign of death. Nothing cutesy; I didn't want it to be like *Día de los Muertos* in any way; I just wanted it to be *dead*."[40]

Expressions of Grief

In a 2010 *Uncoverings* paper, "Wrapped in Meanings: Quilts for Families of Soldiers Killed in the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars," Jonathan Gregory described patriotic quilts made to comfort the families of U.S. servicemen who died in the line of duty. His description of the quiltmakers' motivations to "do something" about the war's suffering, placing the names of the dead on the quilts, and using symbols and text thought to be mean-

Fig. 7. Jennifer Eschedor, *2012–2013 Migrant Quilt*, 2014. Denim jeans with cloth, paint and mixed media. 69 1/2 x 56 inches. Wilson Graham Photography.

ingful to the servicemen's families, parallels the intent, process, and significance of the Migrant Quilts.[41] Likewise, Carolyn H. Krone and Thomas M. Horner's paper, "Her Grief in the Quilt," described the therapeutic value of quiltmaking as an activity to heal those who are grieving and also documented the practice of incorporating loved ones' clothing in memo-

rial quilts.[42] Intimate objects, especially clothes that have been worn next to the body of the deceased, can be a comfort for survivors, and NAMES panels often have included clothing and personal items for this reason.[43] The decision to make the Migrants Quilts from discarded migrants' clothing was highly symbolic and the quiltmakers felt it restored dignity to those doomed people. Although the clothes in the Migrant Quilts do not come from death sites, it is difficult for viewers to avoid associating the fabric with the individuals whose names are on the quilt. "If you at all are sensitive or aware," said Suzanne Hesh, "you can assume that the people who wore the clothing went through a horrific experience."[44]

Cornelia Bayley is an energetic quiltmaker who lives in Green Valley, a retirement community south of Tucson, and has seen the migrant crisis play out almost literally in her backyard. When hiking in nearby hills, she has come across discarded migrant backpacks, rotting socks, and disintegrating water bottles. She was aware of the humanitarian tragedy before moving to Arizona in 2012 and has friends who are members of the Samaritans, but as much as she wished she could ride out into the desert to assist migrants, it was not something she could do. She found a good way to serve the cause when she encountered Ipsen and a display of Migrant Quilts at a Border Issues Fair in Sahuarita.

Bayley has made quilts since her college days at Berkeley in the late 1960s. "I almost never haven't quilted," she said, but she did not like to work with quilt patterns, preferring more free-form, forgivable techniques such as log cabins and strip piecing.[45] She sewed a number of autobiographical quilts when going through tough times, such as a house-themed quilt she made when she feared she would lose her house after her divorce. Whenever someone close to her died, she made a quilt "to work out the pain, get through the hard part."[46]

In her enthusiasm for the Migrant Quilt Project, Bayley made two quilts in a single year, but found it difficult to begin the first one, recording the deaths from 2010–2010, because reading the names of the migrants was so distressing (fig. 8). "I was very upset by it," she said; "I cried."[47] In fact, she cried so profusely while embroidering names on the faded denim patches that her red cotton thread ran. She realized that the bleeding symbolized her sadness and thereafter deliberately wetted the thread so that it would run to create an impression of tears on the quilt. Near the upper right corner, beneath the Virgin of Guadalupe, she wrote the words "*Con Nuestras Lágrimas*" and its translation, "With Our Tears," and surrounded the text with a rosary.

Fig. 8. Cornelia Bayley, *2010–2011 Migrant Quilt,* 2014. Denim jeans and cloth with embroideries, beads, milagros, crosses and mixed media. 61 x 54 1/2 inches. Wilson Graham Photography.

Bayley sewed a wide swath of landscape-printed upholstery fabric across the center of the quilt and accented the scene with stitchery and embellishments. She embroidered the moon and stars on the left side of the sky, and the sun on the right, giving the sense of a day and night passing, evoking the experience of migrants trudging through the desert day after day. She stitched hills, mountains, saguaro cacti, and flowers, and created a cemetery of crosses. The Virgin of Guadalupe appeared twice on

the quilt, along with coffin and skeleton-shaped beads, buttons, and *milagros*.[48] On the lower right, Bayley draped a *bordado* over a patch embroidered with the questions, "Did you see a bird the day you died? Were you hot, thirsty, and frightened?"

Bayley's second quilt, for 2001–2002, put death squarely in the viewer's face (fig. 9). It featured a landscape cut from a quilting fabric that depicts saguaros silhouetted against a stunning orange sunset. The classic Arizona backdrop was not used here as a pretty postcard image or an office of tourism advertisement, but as the setting for death. She wrote "Lost Dreams, Lost Hopes, Lost Loves, Lost Lives" across the sky and on the ground below. This quilt included less migrant clothing and more fabric from Bayley's eclectic stash. "I use fabrics with Mexican themes,

Fig. 9. Cornelia Bayley, *2001–2002 Migrant Quilt*, 2014. Denim jeans and cloth with beads, milagros and mixed media. 89 1/2 x 47 inches. Wilson Graham Photography.

Mexican *milagros,* and other religious artifacts that have cultural origins in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and other places where these travelers started their perilous journey, leaving behind their families, full of hopes and dreams for their future."[49]

Some people wear their hearts on their sleeves, but Bayley wears hers on her quilts. The Migrant Quilt Project dovetailed with her values and world view. "I've always been very progressive. I've made political quilts, anti-war quilts, so this was just a natural."[50] She was honored to help share the message about how many people have died in the desert. "You can't live here without thinking about those people, and we know the brutality of the desert. So there wasn't any way I could not do something." The same year that she made the Migrant Quilts, Bayley sewed a quilt to comfort a Tucson woman, Rosa Robles Loreto, who took sanctuary at Southside Presbyterian Church to avoid deportation and keep her family intact. Bayley has attended hearings for Operation Streamline, a "zero tolerance" border enforcement program that drastically increased immigration prosecutions and forced undocumented migrants through the federal criminal justice system and into United States prisons. "That's another thing I am thinking of making a quilt on," she shared with the author. "It broke my heart."[51]

Nancy Amann is a self-proclaimed "snowbird" from Maryland, who spends her winters in Tucson. Like Bayley, she tried to volunteer with the Samaritans but it was not right for her, and when she met Ipsen at a Border Fair and viewed the Migrant Quilts, she saw that as her way to be involved.[52] Amann helped Ipsen complete the Migrant Quilt for 2007–2008 from patches made a few years earlier by high school students in Douglas, a border town in southeastern Arizona (fig. 10). Library aides and students in Spanish language classes stitched the names with beautiful embroidery or wrote them with fabric paints, sometimes in a graffiti-like style. They embellished patches with buttons, fringe, braid and painted cactus, crosses and skulls. Amann completed the name patches and made all of the *desconocido* patches, which on this quilt far outnumbered the named ones.

One patch that Amann made incorporated a poignant photograph of Josseline Quinteros, a fourteen-year-old girl immortalized in *Death of Josseline,* an insightful book about the human side of the immigration crisis by Tucson author Margaret Regan.[53] In January 2008, Josseline and her younger brother were traveling with a group from their town in El Salvador, on their way to San Diego to be reunited with their mother,

Fig. 10. Douglas High School & Nancy Amann, *2007–2008 Migrant Quilt*, 2014. Bed sheet and denim jeans with cloth, paint, bandana, ribbon and mixed media. 83 x 69 1/2 inches. Wilson Graham Photography.

when Josseline became sick and could not continue. The group's coyote left her behind, assuring the teenager that the Border Patrol would find her, but that did not happen. Josseline had only the clothes she was wearing for protection from below-freezing nighttime temperatures, and she died alone in the Arizona borderlands. Three weeks later, a volunteer on

patrol found her body after spotting her bright green tennis shoes in the desert.

As the quilt's centerpiece, Amann used a bandana Ipsen had found in a child's abandoned backpack, depicting the Virgin of Guadalupe flanked by flags of the United States and Mexico. An eighty-eight-year-old friend quilted the bandana onto a tan-colored sheet, and Nancy arranged the name and *desconocido* patches around it. To emphasize the meaning of the quilt, she placed patches below "Tucson Sector" containing the words "Broken Hearts/Broken Dreams/Broken Promises" and "The detritus/of the/Sonoran Desert." Still not finished, she "wanted people to know the ages and cause of death to make their deaths more real," so she created "prayer flags" from red ribbons, wrote the death information on them, and stitched the flags along the bottom and two sides of the quilt. Amann said:

> I'm not a terrific quilter, just enthusiastic about the project. My hope was that anyone viewing the quilt would realize how many bodies weren't found in time to identify them. All the parents, children, grandparents, lovers . . . who had no idea what happened to those people. I want people to understand that no matter how they feel about the problems of illegal immigration, the migrants are people. Like you and me.[54]

Verni Greenfield took an interesting approach for her 2009–2010 quilt by writing the names of the deceased migrants on the red and white stripes of a United States flag that she sewed onto a blanket found in a layup (fig. 11). In the field of blue where fifty stars usually lie, she designed a nighttime landscape depicting an empty road heading toward hills on the horizon, with a scattering of stars in the sky. Using such a politically-charged symbol as the American flag was a bold decision and effectively illustrated where the migrants were headed. Greenfield stated that working with the materials felt like a "sacred act" and that the quilt's humble materials "reflect the sacrifice and embody the remnants of deceased immigrants' dreams and hopes of a new life in 'El Norte.'"[55] She wanted her quilt to remind those who are Americans by birth not to take their citizenship for granted. "Most Americans never need to sacrifice for freedom and opportunity and may misunderstand or feel threatened by those who strive to join them."

Fig. 11. Verni Greenfield, *2009–2010 Migrant Quilt*, 2011. United States flag and cloth with paint and sequins. 62 x 67 inches. Wilson Graham Photography.

Human Rights on the Border

In 1994, the year that NAFTA was established, Consueulo Underwood, a Mexican American artist who taught at San Jose State University, created *Virgen de los Caminos (Virgin of the Roads)* to represent the struggle of Mexican people who, as she and her parents had, come to the U.S. hoping to give their families better lives (fig. 12). She embroidered the Virgin of Guadalupe in the center of the quilt and stitched flowers resembling those on Mexican *bordados* on the four sides and corners. The quilt's charm ends there; embroidered barbed wire crisscrosses the width of the quilt, signifying the separation of people and opportunity at the international boundary, and the Virgin's face is a hollow-eyed skull. The barely-visible white quilting stitches repeatedly spell the word "caution" and trace the

Fig. 12. Consuelo Jiménez Underwood, *Virgen de los Caminos,* 1994. Embroidered and quilted cotton and silk with graphite. 58 x 36 inches. Smithsonian American Art Museum 1996.77, Museum purchase.

outlined silhouette of a fleeing family, a symbol used on highway warning signs in the U.S. border states to alert drivers to watch for people on foot.[56]

Los hilos de la vida (The Threads of Life) was a cooperative quilting group that evolved out of a parenting and family literacy class for Spanish-speaking women in Mendocino County, California. From 2005 to 2010, women in the group designed and sewed appliquéd story quilts depicting their families' illegal migration experiences, as well as dreams, memories and often-painful personal stories. In the process of making their quilts, they learned to express themselves visually and, in speaking about the quilts, they improved their verbal skills as well.[57] Angeles Segura's emotionally-moving quilt, *The Great Risk,* illustrated her family's fatal journey across the border into the saguaro-studded Arizona desert, during which her mother died. *Death Lives in the Desert* by Luz Maria Bucio, portrays the dangers endured by migrants: jumping the line, hiding behind rocks, children dying from lack of food and water, and capture by Border Patrol agents (fig. 13).[58] During the years that the group was active, their quilts were widely visible in exhibits and in print, including a book that the co-operative published.[59] The quilts were exhibited in northern California, and at the National Museum of Mexican Art in Chicago, the American Visionary Art Museum in Baltimore, and the Pacific International Quilt Festival. Karen Musgrave interviewed thirty-eight members of the group for the Quilt Alliance's Save Our Stories Project.[60] In contrast to the Migrant Quilts made by sympathetic outsiders who are concerned about migrant deaths as a human rights cause, the quilts sewn by these women and by Underwood depict their own personal experiences with the border, migration and death.

In 2008, the Michigan State University Museum presented an exhibit called *Quilts and Human Rights* that included a compelling quilt, *Strange Fruit: A Century of Lynching and Murder 1865–1965.*[61] Made by April Shipp of Auburn Hills, Michigan, to document the names of lynching victims in the United States, it bears a striking resemblance to the Migrant Quilts, with its long list of people who died. Shipp was inspired to make her quilt after viewing a disturbing photograph in a book showing a woman lynched alongside her son and hanging from a bridge.[62] She sewed the quilt from a variety of fabrics in shades of mourning black and machine-embroidered the names with a rich gold Sulky thread to indicate her belief that everyone was precious in the eyes of God. She stated, "I did this Quilt in loving memory of my people, people I have never met, people whose names are not only woven into the fabric of this Quilt but also into the

Fig. 13. Luz Maria Bucio, Death Lives in the Desert, 2006. Quilted cloth with tulle and mixed media. 33 x 38 inches. Collection of Karen Musgrave.

fabric of my heart."[63] *Strange Fruit* is Shipp's attempt to reveal and emphasize the scale of an injustice that was ignored or unknown to the wider public. The hundreds of names embroidered on the lynching quilt, like the hundreds inscribed on the Migrant Quilts, serve as a monument to the memory of Shipp's people, a textile equivalent to the war memorials erected around the world to express communal grief and preserve the names of the dead for posterity.

These relatively recent quilts dealing with border issues and racism are contemporary manifestations of the human rights quilts made by nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century women. As Ferrero, Hedges, and Silber demonstrated in their landmark 1987 book, *Hearts and Hands: The Influence of Women and Quilts on American Society,* women stitched quilts to raise money and consciousness about the abolitionist cause and female suffrage, to support Civil War soldiers, and to show their alliance with the Temperance movement. In the decades since *Hearts and Hands* made its mark on quilt history scholarship, several *Uncoverings* papers have documented further examples of the places where quiltmaking converged with social and political matters, from a paper about quilts supporting Presi-

dent McKinley's campaign, to a dramatic story of justice being served when a quilt made by women prisoners proved that they had been unfairly charged with their crimes.[64] These papers, and others referred to earlier in this work, described how quilts communicated what their makers did not have the ability to articulate with their voices or their vote.

Quilts and Human Rights, published this year and based on the 2008 Michigan State University exhibit, continues the discussion of humanitarian quiltmaking addressed in *Hearts and Hands.* The book by Beth Donaldson, Marsha McDowell, Lynn Swanson and Mary Worrall surveys quilts used to "demonstrate solidarity with movements dedicated to advancing international human rights . . . to provide vehicles for the expression of feelings and memories about human rights violations, and to engage individuals in actions that will solve human rights issues."[65] One of the Migrant Quilts can be viewed in a section exploring how quilt projects in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century addressed issues related to "race, ethnicity, women's rights, gender, worker's culture, disabilities rights, and involvement in war."[66] The authors of *Quilts and Human Rights* also direct and coordinate the Quilt Index, the growing online database and public resource on quilts and quilt history. To increase the usefulness of the Quilt Index, they created thematic galleries, including one for "Human Rights Quilts" where documented Migrant Quilts will be cross-referenced, and they are working to document all the NAMES panels from the AIDS Memorial Quilt, to provide an interactive site for researchers and the loved ones of AIDS victims.

Compassion and Culture

A Haitian proverb says, "What the eye doesn't see, doesn't move the heart." The makers of the Migrant Quilts used discarded clothing, needles and thread to express their solidarity with migrants as fellow human beings.[67] When the quilts are displayed, people can see in them the clear and visible evidence of out-of-control migrant deaths taking place in southern Arizona. The quiltmakers hope that viewers feel compassion for the victims and are stirred to support policy change to eliminate the deaths. At the time this paper was written, eleven quilts were completed and three were in process, bringing the project up to date with a quilt representing every federal fiscal year since 2001–2002. Ipsen envisions that the Migrant Quilt Project will continue creating annual quilts "until the last person passes away in the desert, which could be centuries from

now. We don't know."[68]

Anthropologist Robin Reineke, Director of the Colibri Center for Human Rights, has been involved closely with the crisis of migrant deaths on the border. A co-founder of the Missing Migrant Project, since 2006 she has worked to connect unidentified migrants' remains with their families. She views the Migrant Quilt Project as an artistic expression that actively mourns the loss of life in an environment where the deaths have become commonplace and that blames migrants for their own deaths:

> This casual acceptance of the near daily loss of life in the southwestern U.S. is harmful not only to migrants and their families, but to the social wellbeing of our entire society. Only through grief, through public and political mourning, will we be able to collectively declare that these lives matter. From there, we can assert that their deaths are an unacceptable result of U.S. border policy. But first, they must be recognized as lives worth grieving. The Migrant Quilt Project is an act of care that reclaims these losses as our losses, and for that reason, is critically important.[69]

Ipsen sees the Migrant Quilt Project as "a permanent documentation of those lives lost and for what reasons and policies."[70] In order to preserve the quilts, they will be offered eventually to a history or anthropology museum that collects artifacts for the interpretation and study of border and immigration issues. While the quilts are valuable material culture objects representing a critical period in the histories of the United States and Mexico, ultimately, their makers feel that the importance of the Migrant Quilt Project will lie in its ability to play a role in inspiring a transformation of social and political consciousness.

Notes and References

1. Jody Ipsen, interviewed by author, March 20, 2015.
2. The Colibri Center for Human Rights, Fact Sheet, www.colibricenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Fact-Sheet_Edited.pdf, 2014.
3. Office of the United States Trade Representative, Executive Office of the President, *North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)*, ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements/north-american-free-trade-agreement-nafta.
4. Daniel E. Martinez, Robin C. Reineke, Raquel Rubio-Goldsmith, and Bruce O. Parks, "Structural Violence and Migrant Deaths in Southern Arizona: Data from the Pima County Office of the Medical Examiner, 1990–2013," Journal on Migration and Human

Security 2, no. 4 (2014): 260.
5. Department of Homeland Security, Customs and Border Protection, www.cbp.gov/newsroom/stats/typical-day-fy2014.
6. Arizona Republic, August 10, 2000, in Raquel Rubio-Goldsmith, M. Melissa McCormick, Daniel Martinez, and Inez Magdalena Duarte, *The "Funnel Effect" & Recovered Bodies of Unauthorized Migrants Processed by the Pima County Office of the Medical Examiner, 1990–2005*, Report Submitted to the Pima County Board of Supervisors, The Binational Migration Institute, University of Arizona, 2006, 5.
7. United States Government Accountability Office, *Illegal Immigration: Border-Crossing Deaths Have Doubled Since 1995; Border Patrol's Efforts to Prevent Deaths Have Not Been Fully Evaluated*, Report to the Honorable Bill Frist, Majority Leader, U.S. Senate, GAO-06-770, August 2006,14.
8. *United States Border Patrol Sector Profile, Fiscal Year 2014* (Oct. 1st through Sept. 30th), www.cbp.gov/sites/default/files/documents/USBP%20Stats%20FY2014%20sector%20profile.pdf.
9. Martinez, et al., "Structural Violence and Migrant Deaths in Southern Arizona," 267.
10. United States Government Accounting Office, *Illegal Immigration: Border-Crossing Deaths Have Doubled Since 1995*, 24–25.
11. The Binational Migration Institute, *A Continued Humanitarian Crisis at the Border: Undocumented Border Crosser Deaths Recorded by the Pima County Office of the Medical Examiner, 1990–2012*, The University of Arizona, June 2013, 27.
12. Brady McCombs, "Nearly 1,700 bodies, each one a mystery," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson), August 22, 2010.
13. Jody Ipsen interview.
14. Lawrence Howe, "A Text of the Times: The NAMES Project," in *Uncoverings* 12, ed. Laurel Horton (San Franciso, CA: American Quilt Study Group, 1991), 11–31.
15. Pat Ferrero, *Hearts and Hands: The Influence of Women and Quilts on American Society* (San Francisco, CA: The Quilt Digest Press, 1987), 72.
16. Jody Ipsen interview.
17. Robert Neustadt, "Art Created From Undocumented Immigrants' Discarded Objects," *Utne Reader*, (September/October 2013): 1.
18. Michael Hyatt, *Migrant Artifacts: Magic and Loss in the Sonoran Desert* (Los Angeles: Great Circle Books, 2007).
19. "Where Hope Goes to Die—An American Desert by Deborah McCullough," *When Women Waken: A Journal of Poetry, Prose and Images by Women*, November 30, 2013, www.whenwomenwaken.org/where-hope-goes-to-die-an-american-desert-by-deborah-mccullough.
20. Margaret Regan, "Tales From the Outskirts: Amado, Amado's Valarie James turns items left behind by migrants into compelling art," *Tucson Weekly*, July 22, 2010.
21. Sally Curd, "Las Madres Depict Migrants' Journeys," *Aztec Press* (Tucson), November 23, 2010 and Robert Neustadt, "Art Created," 3.
22. *The Things They Carried: A Memorial to Lives Lost on the Border*, Colibri Center for Human Rights; colibricenter.org/things-carried.
23. "Following the Footsteps: Timely 'State of Exception' Presents 'Human Cost' of Undocumented Workers Entering U.S. from Mexico; Exhibit at Institute of Humanities," *Montage*, University of Michigan, January 2013; www.montage.umich.edu/2013/01/follow-

ing-the-footsteps.
24. Suzanne Hesh, interviewed by author, April 14, 2015.
25. Ibid.
26. Daniela Pastrana, "A Memorial of White Scarves Protests Calderón's Legacy," Inter Press Service News Agency, www.ipsnews.net/2012/11/a-memorial-of-white-scarves-protests-calderons-legacy.
27. Suzanne Hesh interview.
28. Jody Ipsen interview.
29. Shura Wallin, interviewed by author, May 5, 2015.
30. Jody Ipsen interview.
31. Ibid.
32. Margaret Regan, "Fabric of Our Lives: Quilts with Powerful Messages are on Display at Tucson Meet Yourself," *Tucson Weekly,* Oct. 11, 2012. See the Red Cross Quilt in Helen Young Frost and Pam Knight Stevenson, *Grand Endeavors: Vintage Arizona Quilts and Their Makers* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Publishing, 1991), 79–81.
33. Laraine Daly Jones, email correspondence, May 7, 2015.
34. Jennifer Eschedor, interviewed by author, April 10, 2015.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. "Quilters' Experiences," Los Desconocidos, losdesconocidos.org/quilter-experiences.
38. A similar embroidered Mexican textile, dated 1980s, is in the collection of The British Museum, AM1990.08.347.
39. "Los Desconocidos," Jennifer Eschedor: Artist and Teacher, eschasketch.com/my-art/los-desconocidos.
40. Jennifer Eschedor interview.
41. Jonathan Gregory, "Wrapped in Meanings: Quilts for Families of Soldiers Killed in the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars," in *Uncoverings* 31, ed. Laurel Horton (Lincoln, NE: American Quilt Study Group, 2010), 161–204.
42. Carolyn H. Krone and Thomas M. Horner, "Her Grief in the Quilt," in *Uncoverings* 13, ed. Laurel Horton (San Francisco, CA: American Quilt Study Group, 1992), 109–126.
43. Lawrence Howe, "A Text of the Times," 21.
44. Suzanne Hesh interview.
45. Cornelia Bayley, interviewed by the author, April 16, 2015.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Milagro means "miracle" in Spanish. The tiny metal religious forms used in Mexico and Latin America depict the object for which someone needs a miracle, such as a crippled leg, diseased heart or kidney, or a new house. They may represent a prayer or are offered in thanksgiving for prayers answered, and might be pinned to clothing on saint statues or hung on shrines. Eileen Oktavec, *Answered Prayers: Miracles and Milagros Along the Border* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995).
49. "Quilters' Experiences," *Los Desconocidos.*
50. Cornelia Bayley interview.
51. For more on Operation Streamline, see www.tucsonsamaritans.org/operation-streamline.html.
52. Nancy Amann, email correspondence, May 5, 2015.

53. Margaret Regan, *The Death of Josseline: Immigration Stories from the Arizona Borderlands* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010), xix-xviii.
54. Nancy Amann email.
55. "Quilters' Experiences," *Los Desconocidos.*
56. Virgen de los Caminos, Smithsonian American Art Museum, 1996.77.
57. Laramie Treviño, "Stories in Stitches Tell of Peril, Hope/'Threads of Life' Sewing Project Also Helps Build Literacy in Southern Mendocino County," *SF Gate* (San Francisco), *Special to the Chronicle*, December 21, 2005.
58. "Death Lives in the Desert by Luz Maria 'Luzma' Bucio," Hilos de la Vida, *Art and Remembrance*, artandremembrance.org/hilos-de-la-vida-english/#mg_ld_1478.
59. Molly Johnson Martinez and Anderson Valley Artists, *Los Hilos de la Vida, Threads of Life: A Collection of Quilts & Stories* (publisher unknown, 2009); Karen Musgrave, "Los Hilos de la Vida (The Threads of Life)," *Quilters Newsletter*, December 2007, 36–39; Karen Musgrave, "Latina Quilts: Mexican Heritage and American Quiltmaking," in *Quilts Around the World: The Story of Quilting from Alabama to Zimbabwe*, ed. Spike Gillespie (Minneapolis, MN: Voyageur Press, 2010), 74–78.
60. Q.S.O.S. Interviews By Project: Los hilos de la vida QSOS, Quilt Alliance, www.allianceforamericanquilts.org.
61. April Shipp, *Strange Fruit: A Century of Lynching*, 2003, machine-pieced silk, cotton and corduroy, embroidered with cotton and metallic thread, 126 in. x 120 in., Michigan State University Museum, 08.
62. Kathleen Thompson and Hilary MacAustin, *The Face of Our Past: Images of Black Women from Colonial America to the Present* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1999), 112.
63. April Shipp, www.quiltindex.org, record 1E-3D-225B.
64. Arlesa J. Shephard, "Quilts for McKinley: Women's Involvement in Politics," in *Uncoverings* 29, ed. Laurel Horton (Lincoln, NE: American Quilt Study Group, 2008), 138–157; and Jane Amelon, "The Persuasive Power of a Quilt: A Study of a Women's Prison Project," *Uncoverings* 30, ed. Laurel Horton (Lincoln, NE: American Quilt Study Group), 77–101.
65. Mary Worrall, Marsha MacDowell, and Lynne Swanson, *Quilts and Human Rights* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2016).
66. Mary Worrall, email correspondence, April 16, 2015.
67. Before I was invited to collaborate on a Migrant Quilt, I did not identify myself as an activist by any means. I was aware of the immigration crisis taking place just miles from my home, but it was not on my personal radar. Looking back, I am grateful that I received the opportunity to collaborate on a Migrant Quilt because it gave me a way to take a stand on an important issue. Cutting patches from denim jeans and inscribing them with the names of people I never knew was, first of all, an effort to dignify the memory of those who had died, but it also was an act of consciousness-raising unlike anything I had ever done.
68. Jody Ipsen interview.
69. Robin Reineke, email correspondence, May 19, 2015. Read more about her work at www.colibricenter.org/team.
70. Jody Ipsen interview.