A Contra corriente
Una revista de estudios latinoamericanos
Vol. 21, Núm. 3 (Spring 2024): 1-24

Humanizing the Beast: Deterritorialized Citizenship in *Llévate mis amores* (2014)

Ivett López Malagamba
Kalamazoo College

Dios no puso barreras en ningún país.
Las barreras las estamos poniendo nosotros
[God didn't set up barriers between countries.
We are the ones who raise them.]

—Rosa Romero,
founding member
of Las Patronas

Rosa Romero is one of the protagonists in Arturo González Villaseñor's documentary *Llévate mis amores* (2014). Strangely translated as *All of Me*, the film offers an intimate portrayal of the women who lead and run the Patronas. This organization provides food, shelter, and other services to the hundreds of migrants that pass through southern Mexico traveling on La Bestia, the network of freight trains that carry migrants toward the southern U.S. border. Rosa's powerful words capture the film's implicit call to stop the criminalization of migrants in Mexico and beyond. First and foremost, however, her words speak to the need to defend "los derechos de los demás a ser libres, el derecho a vivir bien y el derecho a transitar libre por el mundo" ("Intereses"). In the film, this attitude manifests itself in their tireless work and selfless dedication to the migrants.

Llévate mis amores presents a complex depiction of U.S.-bound Central American migration by focusing on two communities affected by it. Its portrayal of the Patronas, as the women are known, shows the challenges faced by local communities that come in contact with the migrants passing through Mexico. A major challenge for people and organizations that help and protect migrants involves securing the funds and in-kind donations that sustain their work. For example, this effort extends to collecting many empty plastic bottles to fill with water and give to the migrants every day. In addition, pro-immigrant individuals and groups are often at the center of tensions arising within their larger communities. The Patronas have seen members leave the group for fear of the negative perceptions associated with their activism or because their work has put them in conflict with local government and religious institutions.[1]

Tensions also arise between local residents who perceive the migrant phenomenon as a threat to the social order. Wendy A. Vogt has documented the transformations experienced by local communities that serve as transit spaces for migrants. Individuals and organizations that protect migrants often become targets of criminal groups profiting from the "local economies of commodification" generated by migration. The violence exerted on these communities increases fears and anxieties among local residents. Consequently, migrants are "seen as not having a legitimate claim to rights, resources, and pity within the communities they pass through. Access to health care and human rights protections become points of struggle and debate" (Vogt 776). An example of such hostility occurred in Tijuana in November 2018 when a group of residents took to the street to protest against Central American migrant caravans, who, protesters claimed, had no right to be there. These racist and xenophobic actions were reinforced by then Tijuana mayor who described migrants as "vagos" and "mariguanos" threatening the safety of the city (Camhaji "Xenofobia" y "El alcalde"; "Caravana"). In the U.S., anti-immigrant actions and sentiments are not uncommon and in recent years were heightened by the anti-immigrant policies and rhetoric embraced by the Trump administration. As for its presence on mainstream media, one only has to turn on Fox News to see how such rhetoric is used as right-wing political propaganda (Bump).

[1] Film director Tin Dirdamal addresses conflicts between religious authorities and the Patronas due to the former's opposition to the women's work (278). In *Llévate mis amores*, Norma Romero also alludes to frictions they've had with the church and government institutions.

Llévate mis amores concerns the opposite side of the issue. It celebrates the love, the empathy, and humanitarian spirit of individuals dedicated to helping migrants. The film follows the Patronas as they go about their day, speaking about their motivation and the hardships they overcome to continue their work. The documentary also brings attention to the migrants themselves. It depicts individual stories of men and women, most of them of Central American origin, who made an impact on the women and vice versa. These voices, most of which remain anonymous, give testimony about the harrowing and dangerous journey that so many undocumented migrants must overcome to reach the southern U.S. border. Their voices embody the economic, social, and political precariousness created by the neoliberal state, which in the last few decades has forced thousands to leave their homes in search for a safer life in the U.S.[2]

I propose that the documentary's effectiveness lies in its portrayal of the powerful bond forged between the anonymous migrant bodies perched on the trains and the women who sling the packaged meals to them as the trains pass by. Although ephemeral, this encounter brings to light the possibilities and the urgency for political interventions at the margins of the state. The documentary offers a humanizing perspective of the Central American migration phenomenon by overcoming political categorizations that deem the migrant as Other and/or illegal noncitizen. In its most compelling gesture, *Llévate mis amores* focuses on the configuration of a contract among civilians as an understanding of responsibility towards others. In this essay, I analyze how the encounter between Patronas and migrants advocates for a more

[2] In this article, the term precariousness denotes a condition associated with scarcity and insecurity, which scholars Constanza Burucúa and Carolina Stinisky, reading Pierre Bourdieu, define as: "an inherent condition of late capitalism, affecting not only the sphere of labor but, from there, spreading into both the domains of the public and the private" (4). Translating Bourdieu's 1997 lecture "La précarité est aujourd'hui partout", they continue: "[P]recariousness is part of a new type of domination, based on the institution of a generalized and permanent state of insecurity aimed at forcing workers to submit to the acceptance of exploitation" (4). Nicholas De Genova's conceptualization of movement, for which he uses Agamben's theories on precariousness, is illuminating to understand the process by which a permanent state of insecurity pertaining to "illegal" migrants is created: "[F]reedom of movement must therefore be radically distinguished from any of the ways that such a liberty may have been stipulated, circumscribed, and domesticated within the orbit of state power" (39). For De Genova, "freedom of movement" is the manifestation of "life in its barest essential condition" which is, at the same time, "inseparable from that still more basic human power which is generative of the very possibility of social life, namely, our capacity to creatively transform our objective circumstances" (39). As such, the citizen's "freedom to move" stands in contrast to the "right to move", and here "right" is understood as a liberty sanctioned by the nation-state, which produces the migrant's condition of illegality, exclusion, and vulnerability.

inclusive form of affiliation among vulnerable and dispossessed subjects. In this sense, dispossession also defines the life of the Patronas, whose actions are possible through the gendered and marginal roles and spaces they occupy within patriarchal structures. The film's depiction of the affiliation between Patronas and migrants, which also engages the participation of the spectator, restores the social pact that the contemporary neoliberal state is unable to guarantee. I argue that *Llévate mis amores* successfully calls for a redefinition of citizenship as an ethical practice of solidarity that sets forth a contract of and for community. Ultimately, this pact delivers a sense of justice for those whom the state's territorialized citizenship dispossesses of humanity and dignity.

The Origins of the Patronas and Llévate mis amores

The work of the Patronas began in 1995, when Norma and Bernarda Romero, sisters and founders, gave bread and milk to a group of hungry men they encountered on the train that passed through their town. The name Patronas is a reference to the town's official name, Guadalupe, honoring the Virgin of Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico. Realizing that men and women traveling "like flies" on top of the train cars was a daily occurrence, they decided to cook meals for them the next day ("20 años"). As time passed, other women from the town, most of them family members, joined the group.[3] The organization is supported by public and private donations and the help of volunteers. In addition to feeding migrants, the women perform other essential tasks that ensure migrants' protections and rights. The work extends beyond the kitchen and the train tracks. The Patronas often act as intermediaries between migrants and Mexican authorities and institutions. Vocal pro-migrant advocates and educators, they travel throughout Mexico and abroad to raise awareness about the "reality lived by migrants in Mexico" ("Norma Romero"). In 2013, the Mexican government awarded the organization the National Human Rights Commission Award. In her acceptance speech, Norma Romero defined their labor as a defense of human dignity ("Discurso"). Today, the organization's headquarters, *La esperanza del migrante*, functions as a migrant kitchen and shelter.

[3] The Patronas featured in *Llévate mis amores* are: Bernarda Romero Vásquez, Daniela Romero Huerta, Fabiola González Herrera, Guadalupe González Herrera, Julia Ramírez Rojas, Karla María Aguilar Romero, Leonila Vázquez Alvizar, Leonila Romero González, Lorena Aguilar Hernández, María Karina Aguilar Romero, María Antonia Romero Vásquez, Mariel Nájera Romero, Norma Romero Vásquez, Rosa Romero Vásquez, and Teresa Aguilar Hernández.

While the group has been known for a long time among migrant advocates, the women and their work have become known to bigger audiences in recent years. This is not a coincidence. In the last decade, the U.S. southern border has witnessed record levels of migrants and refugees seeking to enter the U.S. In addition to poor economic conditions and political corruption, the high levels of crime and gang-related violence afflicting Central American nations have forced an increased number of families and unaccompanied minors to leave their homes.[4] The immigration crisis, as it is reported in U.S. and Mexican media, witnessed an unprecedented surge in the detention of migrants at the U.S.-Mexico border in the years when the filming of the documentary took place (prior to 2014). More than 50,000 Central American minors were "intercepted" in the 2014 fiscal year alone (Dominguez Villegas). In recent years, these statistics have grown. In August 2019, the Migration Policy Institute reported that as of June 2019, more than 363,000 migrant families from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras had been apprehended by the U.S. Customs and Border Patrol, a number that tripled the total apprehensions of FY 2018 (O'Connor et al.). These figures attest to the colossal dimension of the problem and the film's plea to address it, above all, from a humanitarian point of view. Investigating the U.S.-bound journey from Central America and southern Mexico, Wendy A. Vogt's analysis addresses the systemic and institutional processes that have turned human mobility into profitable local and global economies for criminal organizations, local communities, and even local and federal authorities. Thus, the so-called migrant crisis has made migrant aid necessary and urgent. Responding to this phenomenon, the Patronas provide a necessary economic and emotional support for migrants who become targets of violence in Mexico. Not surprisingly then, in the last decades, individuals and groups helping migrants have been a subject of interest for press organizations, educational institutions, and civil society in Mexico and abroad.

During its circulation through film festivals, *Llévate mis amores* won important prizes and mentions, including best film at the 2015 Certamen Internacional de Cine Documental sobre Migraciones y Exilio (CEMEDOC), the Viva Mexico Rèncontres

[4] Some of this displacement has its origins in the civil wars that devastated the region through the last decades of the twentieth century. For more on the dynamics and transformations in recent Central American northbound migration, see the following publications by the Migration Policy Institute: "Crime and Violence in Mexico and Central America: An Evolving but Incomplete U.S. Policy Response;" "El Salvador: Civil War, Natural Disasters, and Gang Violence Drive Migration;" "Connecting the Dots: Emerging Migration Trends and Policy Questions in North and Central America;" "Central America: Crossroads of the Americas;" and "The U.S. Asylum System in Crisis: Charting a Way Forward."

Cinematrographiques Audience Award in Paris, the award for Best Human Rights Message at the Millennium Documentary Film Festival in Belgium, and the México Primero Award at Los Cabos International Film Festival. Intellectuals and film critics praised the film's compelling emotional appeal. The title of Elena Poniatowska's review of the film in *La Jornada*, "Las Patronas o la multiplicación de los panes" attributed god-like omnipotence to the women. Highlighting the violence affecting Mexico, particularly the state of Veracruz where the Patronas operate, Poniatowska lauded the women for "lleva[r] vida a los rieles de la muerte". For Mexican film critic Fernanda Lozano, the film's strength lies in its cyclical structure, which she credits for allowing an in-depth exploration of oppressive social and economic structures as well as prejudices against migrants within Mexican society. Finally, Samantta Hernández Escobar highlights that the film's realism allows for the strong connection between the film and spectators. For Escobar, this connection enables a much-needed public understanding of migration issues particular to Mexico's southern border.

The origins of *Llévate mis amores* date to 2011 when Villaseñor visited a rural community radio station in Veracruz ("Director").[5] During his visit, he joined the young men he was working with on a trip to collect bread donations for the Patronas, whom he didn't know at the time. After learning about the women, he decided to tell a story that gave "voice to all of them"; and thus, the project was born. While his documentary was the first feature-length film focused entirely on the group, previous films and other academic and journalistic audiovisual projects introduced the Patronas to national and international audiences. Tin Dirdamal's documentary *De nadie* (2005), winner of the Ariel for Best Documentary and the Audience Award at the World Cinema Competition at Sundance Festival in 2006, dedicates a chapter to the community of Guadalupe, specifically to members who have fed the migrants for years. One of these citizens is Norma Romero, who speaks about the ethical responsibility to help migrants. *De nadie* shows the Patronas at work in the kitchen. These images are invoked in *Llévate mis amores* years later. The title in *El tren de las moscas* (2010, Nieves Prieto Tassier and Fernándo López Castillo) is inspired by a metaphor describing the migrants on the freight trains. This short film documents the work of the Patronas. Its use of *huapango* music to bookend the testimonials and images of the women contributes to the uplifting tone, which earned the creators Best

[5] In addition to *Llévate mis amores*, his debut film, Villaseñor directed the short fiction film *Caminar los días* (2018).

Short film prize in the Festival de Cine Político de Ronda in 2011. *María en tierra de nadie* (2011, Marcela Zamora) follows a young mother trying to reach the U.S. southern border and a second mother whose daughter, María, is one of the thousands of migrants who have died and/or disappeared during their journey. The film traces the dangerous route by mapping the transit zones and organizations encountered by migrants through the mothers' stories, including the Patronas. Completing the filmography is the short documentary *Gracias Madre* (2012), made by university students in Veracruz; Rompeviento TV's profile of the Patronas (2011); the episode "Las Patronas" (2014, Ernesto Contreras) part of the HBO series *Héroes cotidianos*; and the more recent documentary *La cocina de las patronas* (2016, Javier García).

The success of *Llévate mis amores* magnified public awareness of, and interest in, the Patronas and immigration issues in Mexico. Upon the film's release and circulation, the organization and the film creators formed a partnership. Often one or two women attended screenings to offer testimony about their work. Doing so lent credence to the film's truthfulness and strengthened its emotional effect. This partnership also served the organization's objectives. Speaking about the film was an opportunity to raise awareness about the migrant situation and, at the same time, seek in-kind and monetary funds to continue the work. The partnership, however, came to a halt. In a statement issued in January 2019, the Patronas announced that they were no longer in contact or working with the film creators due to differences of opinion. They expressed discontent with the filmmakers whom they denounced for commercializing the name and cause of the organization without their consent ("Statement").

This conflict brings up considerations regarding the politics of representation at play in documentary film. Because it deals with individuals and/or subjects that exist in the real world, documentary film relies on an ethical imperative and a relationship of trust between subjects represented and those who represent them (Nichols 31). In documentary film, ethics must mediate to balance the power dynamics involved in the relationships established between people in front of and behind the camera. What happens then when those whose lives are represented in a documentary speak out against the film? Should audiences continue to view and speak about the film as a representation of their lives when the act of representation, more than being just a reproduction of likeness, has social and political implications beyond the moving image? In the case of *Llévate mis amores*, how can ethical and ideological

differences between the filmmakers and the Patronas be reconciled without reversing power dynamics that their disavowal attempts to undo?

Film scholar and theorist Bill Nichols proposes that documentary filmmakers' ethical practices regarding the representation of others should be dictated by the question: "What do we do with people when we make a documentary?" (31). However, since the value of the subjects represented lies in "the ways in which their everyday behavior and personality serves the needs of the filmmakers," the question should be modified to: What do we do *to* people represented? This question is at the center of the conflict between the Patronas and the creators of *Llévate mis amores*. Undoubtedly, the film expanded the popularity of the organization and influenced public perception of the women. Ultimately, the filmmakers' work changed the group dynamics of the Patronas. Among their claims was the fact that women who were not part of the organization had been asked to promote the film for the benefit of those women and the filmmakers.

In an interview with Lauren E. Shaw, Tin Dirdamal addressed the responsibility of filmmakers regarding the ways in which their work and actions affect the lives of those they film. Coincidentally, he was reflecting on the conflicts that emerged after the release of *De nadie*, which, as was previously mentioned, increased public awareness of the Patronas at a time when their work was not well known. *De nadie* helped increase the amount of donations received by the Patronas, whose work was later recognized by Mexico's president (Dirdamal 279). These transformations created distrust and division among the group. Dirdamal's reflections point to the power relations intrinsic to documentary filmmaking, which in his case, unintentionally created conflicts within a community he wanted to help: "[W]e don't realize how our actions will have an impact. Or if what we offer as a solution is really a solution…Coming from the outside and providing food affected the balance and the beauty of what these women did. In many ways, I wish I hadn't done that film" (279).

Writings about *Llévate mis amores* must acknowledge the Patronas's disavowal of the film because its artistic merits and critical success owe much to their participation and contribution. After all, any examination of the film that takes the women's image and identity as an object of study ultimately formulates and influences public perceptions of their image and identity in the real world. In this sense, my interest in this film is sparked by its representation of an ethical responsibility toward the migrant, often represented as a subject excluded from rights and protection.

Exploring the film beyond the controversy surrounding its creators, the film's aesthetics reveal the Patronas as subjects of action and enunciation, whose authority emerges from their own experience. As such, the film gestures to the deconstruction of the power dynamics established between creators and subjects represented. At stake in this analysis is the representation of the Patronas as authorities and practitioners of an ethical practice based on justice and empathy towards the other.

A Pact for *and* of *Community at the Tracks*

The film begins with a fixed camera extreme long shot showing where the story will take place. This lingering establishing shot hints at the location. Hidden behind a veil of clouds is a mountain of which only its snow-covered peak is visible. Despite its limited visibility, the imposing mountain is recognizable. It is the Pico de Orizaba, Mexico's highest mountain, located in Veracruz. The following close-ups and long shots show the local tropical landscapes. The film then cuts to a campfire outside a house. A young woman appears and places a huge pot on the fire. She pours cooking oil into it. As the observant camera follows her actions, she begins to tell her story in voiceover. She is twenty-four years old and has two young children, Daniel and Jorge. For five years, she lived with Jorge's father until he went to work in the U.S. When he returned, she continues, he drank a lot and was very aggressive. The film carries on with more fixed camera shots: a small barn, a resting dog, an older woman walking to the fields, and a small-town store. It is the start of the day. A new voice, which we assume belongs to one of the women shown in the store, begins to narrate her story. Without revealing her name, like the previous woman, this Patrona speaks of her wish for her children to have a good life. In this town, she observes, working in the fields is the only way to make a living. So, she works hard to give her children an education, hoping their lives will be better than hers.

The film sets up its story with these first testimonials. It is a film about a collective of women who will each share their humanitarian work, but first and foremost, it will delve into their personal lives and identities. Going back and forth between the women, the film shows the generational and experiential diversity of the collective. In these first minutes, the camera returns to the young woman seen first. Now she is shown cooking rice alongside an older woman whose voiceover ponders the question: "¿Quién soy yo?", the question that structures all the testimonials. A few minutes later, presumably another day or at another moment in the day, the woman from the store speaks again. This time she is outside, surrounded by firewood and

boxes containing bags of food. Talking to the camera, she identifies herself as Toña. It's her turn to cook. On this day, she explains, there is not enough bread or fresh tortillas to put in the lunches, so she made tortilla chips with leftover tortillas.

The scenes around the domestic space build up to the moment when the Patronas and the migrants meet at the train tracks. At minute fifteen, the train appears for the first time when its whistles announce its arrival. A handheld camera now captures the action. At the makeshift kitchen, four women pack lunches hastily, making sure each bag contains all the foods prepared that day. Standing around the huge pots of food, they race to get as many meals packaged as possible. The train is approaching. It's time to go. The tension builds as the rhythm created by the montage accelerates. The hand-held camera and the continuity editing create a sense of urgency and expectation. The images jump back and forth between the kitchen and the street. The camera follows the women through the rural streets until they arrive at the tracks just as the train appears. To show the culminating moment, the film switches to a stationary camera placed on the side of the tracks. For one minute and eight seconds, spectators witness the tragic spectacle: women slinging the bags onto the moving cars as hundreds of anonymous hands try to catch them.

These nineteen minutes establish the documentary's visual style and narrative structure. Villaseñor primarily employs a stationary camera to focus on the women's actions and locate the film within the community of Guadalupe. As the women reveal their personal histories, the camera fixates on their spatial surroundings, making the town as much a protagonist as each woman. This is not an opulent community. On the contrary, the rural *mise-en-scène* attests to the limited economic opportunities available, thereby confirming the efforts that inhabitants must make to earn a living. The close-ups contribute greatly to the emotional effect and gesture to the profound self-awareness the Patronas have regarding their sense of responsibility toward others' well-being. When the action moves to the tracks, the stationary camera positions spectators above and below the action, augmenting the dramatic mood. Conveying the film's cyclical narrative structure, the images shift between the domestic space—which is also the women's workspace—and the train tracks. By the end, the film has shown many moments constituting life as it is lived day after day in the community. This spatiotemporal continuity ultimately achieves the narrative resolution with which the film closes. This resolution, however, is more profound. At the end of the film, the spectators have witnessed the coming together of two realities. The train sequences demonstrate how the humble gesture of providing food to migrants

reconfigures the very sense of community for the migrants and the communities that help them. This act becomes clear in the last scene.

The film ends with one last meal delivery. It is nighttime. The train is moving slowly. The camera focuses on the smiling faces of the women passing out the food. By now, the spectators know these faces and the stories of hardship and success behind them. Leonila, the matriarch, hands out individual pieces of bread, while Norma gives out packs of cookies. As the fleeting hands of the migrants reach out, the expression "Gracias" is heard repeatedly. With no more food left, Norma tells the migrants: "Dios te bendiga". A voice yells back "¡Dios te bendiga, madre!". Another voice shouts out: "¡El Salvador!" She smiles. Where they come from, however, doesn't matter. The country's name here is nothing more than an expression of intimacy and affection that the migrants give in return. What this final scene uncovers is the faces of the Patronas in which spectators recognize the breakdown of difference. For these women, the migrant is not a different Other, but a human being who deserves at the very least a piece of bread to soothe their hunger.

As outsiders watching the train sequences, the spectators witness the recognition of humanity enacted by solidarity bonds forged among strangers in an ephemeral encounter. As the train passes by, the cinematic medium frames the event as the configuration of a community that remains long after the train disappears. Therein lies the documentary's powerful approach to the migration issue. On the part of the Patronas, feeding the migrants is a moral responsibility dictated by religious beliefs. By serving migrants they are following Jesus's teachings to help their fellow men and women, no matter who they are or where they are from. For the migrants, the humble gesture represents the care and solidarity they rarely find after they leave their homes. While many do not see the faces that feed them, the generosity of the Patronas remains with them. In this regard, they truly take the women's love with them, as the Spanish title of the film suggests. I propose, then, that the enactment of communal relationships presented by the film reformulates a new form of affiliation by establishing a pact for community: a call for solidarity and for creating alliances with others, especially those who have been excluded from power or deemed undesirable by the neoliberal state. In this process, the cinematic medium becomes central precisely because it interpellates spectators beyond the represented world, thereby amplifying the sense of community beyond the cinematic screen.

The urgency and necessity to reconfigure or create new forms of affiliation and community responds to the exclusionary and injustice-producing mechanisms of

the market-oriented state in today's world. The symbolism of the train for the modern state and the film's representation of the freight trains speak to this condition. Once the symbol par excellence of modernity and progress, the appearance of the train in the nineteenth century brought about economic and ideological transformations that consolidated geopolitical relations and power hierarchies worldwide. In the Latin American context, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the train epitomized a modernization project that would incorporate young and emergent nations to a globalized and interconnected economic and political program. A century later, more than strength and prosperity, the train embodies the failures and limitations of such modernity. Illustrative of the weakened modern state and contemporary post-national processes, La Bestia literally carries migrant bodies-turned-commodities across borders.

The privatization of the state-owned Mexican railway system began in the mid-1990s with neoliberal policies established by the Zedillo administration. Through these reforms the Mexican state granted concessions to private companies which, as articulated in the reforms, would "modernize and develop" the railway system and economy (López Ortíz 491). Transformed from a "state monopoly to a foreign private oligopoly," today the Mexican railway functions as a freight service network.[6] Not only is the citizen turned into a consumer under the neoliberal regime, but, as the deregulation and privatization of the railways system shows, the citizen is also turned into a product whose circulation is necessary for the continuity of such regime. Perched in trains as freight, migrants are reduced to commodified "illegal" and undesired bodies. La Bestia is evidence of the broken social contract and the void created by the nation-state's inability to guarantee protection to those it governs. Far from inspiring the awe and wonder it once did for early film audiences, in *Llévate mis amores* the arrival of the train conjures the suffering and horror generated by a backward globalization, one in which "deregulation and economic free trade [demand for citizens] to fend for themselves" (Loustaunau 301).[7]

---

[6] For the history of the privatization of the railway system in Mexico, see "The Unending Journey of the Migrant Mother in *Los invisibles* and *De nadie*" (2018, Esteban E. Loustaunau), "Ferrocarriles Mexicanos: del monopolio de estado al oligopolio extranjero" (2019, Heriberto López Ortíz), and "A dos décadas de la privatización del ferrocarril en México: los casos de Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, y Empalme, Sonora (México)" (2020, Ricardo López Salazar). This history and its ruinous consequences for citizens is also addressed in *De nadie*.

[7] The list of fiction and documentary films featuring La Bestia includes: *De nadie* (2005, Tin Dirdamal), *Sin nombre* (2009, Cary Fukunaga), *Los invisibles* (2010, Marc Silver and Gael García Bernal), *La Bestia* (2010, Pedro Ultreras), *El tren de las moscas* (2010, Nieves Prieto

Particularly regarding Central American migration, the constitution and restrictions of state-sanctioned citizenship have resulted in the precarization of life and the illegalization of migrants. Debates on northbound Central American and Mexican migration anchor the problem in border security and economic concerns that ultimately reify a conception of citizenship associated with nationality or territorial belonging. Such debates commodify migrants as "desirable vs. non-desirable," "legal vs. illegal," etc. Furthermore, these classifications territorialize processes and understandings of citizenship precisely because the nation-state distinguishes and discriminates between citizens and noncitizens. Examining the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, art critic Ariella Azoulay theorizes about the fragile condition and exclusionary function of state-sanctioned citizenship. She notes that the notion that citizens constitute a distinctive collective that shares common interests—for which political power exists to serve and protect—hides those very same citizens' exposure and lack of protection from that same power.[8] Subordinated to nationalism and territorial belonging, citizenship functions to distinguish citizens from noncitizens preventing the former from "participating in a common cause with…others who are governed, but who are not citizens" (Azoulay 49). For Azoulay, the misidentification of the relationship between political power and the citizen (the governed) points to the problematic and injustice-generating force of citizenship.

In *The Civil Contract of Photography,* Azoulay argues that photography can enact ethical and solidarity relationships among citizens and noncitizens. The photograph can act as a tool of resistance that challenges exclusionary policies and mechanisms. Her proposal for a "civil contract of photography" relies on the photograph's potential to forge relationships among photographers, photographed subjects, and audiences, who may be individuals not bound by shared citizenship, but rather by an

---

Tassier and Fernando López Castillo), *Lecciones para Zafirah* (2011, Carlina Rivas and Daud Sarhandi), *María en tierra de nadie* (2011, Marcela Zamora), *Who is Dayani Cristal?* (2013, Marc Silver), and *La jaula de oro* (2013, Diego Quemada-Díez).

[8] Scrutinizing the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789), Azoulay examines the principles that set forth the process in which men, recognized as citizens, entered a body politic. The declaration constitutes citizenship as a "political partnership" and as an unalienable right of man to representation and participation in government. However, there are moments, like a state's declaration of war or a state of exception, that expose a fissure in the civil contract. In such instances, Azoulay writes, the citizen's protections and rights are threatened or sacrificed in the name of a greater collective: "the citizen's identification with this collective, which is designated either as the 'nation,' 'state,' or 'body politic,' obscures the core of his or her political existence as governed, obliterating the citizen's possible partnership with citizens of other nations or with noncitizens who, together, could stand up to the governmental power" (34).

ethical responsibility and a call to action. Any individual who possesses a camera is capable of taking photographs as a response to an ethical call and as a manifestation of solidarity with stateless subjects and noncitizens. The civil contract of photography challenges the nation-state's territorialization of citizenship by "reaching beyond its conventional boundaries and plotting out a political space in which the plurality of speech and action is actualized permanently by the eventual participation of all" (Azoulay 35). Reading Azoulay, Jens Andermann sums up clearly:

> La imagen fotográfica es el depósito que asegura la transmisión del reclamo que un sujeto fotografiado alguna vez confió, no tanto a la cámara ni a su operador inmediato sino más bien a través de estos, a la ciudadanía de la fotografía, en tanto comunidad de gobernados sin soberano. Esa ciudadanía fotográfica, a la que entramos desde cualquiera de las posiciones-sujeto que asigna la relación fotográfica (fotógrafo, fotografiado, espectador), garantiza la horizontalidad de esta relación [y] nos impone el deber de cuidarla y defenderla. …[E]l hacernos entrar en el contrato civil de la fotografía es también un reclamo contra la infracción de ciudadanías políticas en la modernidad. (313)

Llévate mis amores creates a plural and inclusive political space by challenging the territorialization and exclusionary market logic under which migration policies and debates are based. No longer a "Central American" or "Non-Mexican," the migrant becomes a human being, just as vulnerable as the Patronas. Particularly in the train scenes, the film appeals to a sense of moral obligation and an active response to the state of injury and marginalization created by contemporary restrictions on citizenship on the one hand, and the illegalization of migrants on the other. Ultimately, the ephemeral encounter between Patronas and migrants generates a type of justice through the configuration of a sense of community manifested as solidarity with those whom the state's exclusionary mechanisms have dispossessed of humanity and dignity. Before delving into the effectiveness of the documentary in engaging subjects behind the camera, I will examine its depiction of the affiliation between the subjects in front of it.

Norma is the most recognized Patrona, who often acts as the spokesperson of the group. In the documentary, rather than disclosing personal details of her life, her testimonies focus on the history of the organization and her involvement in it. As she very articulately explains, the organization is not improvised. On the contrary, the women are educated and well-informed regarding migrants' rights. In fact, educating themselves allows them to assist migrants within the boundaries of the legal system and without infringing on Mexican laws. Therein lies the power and courageous

nature of the women's actions. Their work responds to the stigmatization and precarization suffered by the migrants as result of their codification as illegals and undesired subjects by the legal system and, in some cases, Mexican citizens. Norma's story about the Patronas's response to a call for help shows the political nature of their actions and how these challenge the status quo:

> Eran como quinientos migrantes que yo decía "¿y yo qué voy a hacer con tanta gente que ni conozco y que no sé ni a qué me estoy metiendo?" Pero yo en ese momento le dije "Señor, pues si tú me pusistes aquí, tú me vas a ayudar". …Yo les dije "sí los voy a ayudar, pero solamente al que viene lastimado" y me dicen: "Con que lo ayudes a él, nos ayudas a nosotros". …El ir a una clínica donde me negaron el servicio. El llevarlo a un médico donde también se me dijo que por ser persona ilegal no podían atenderlo. Ya después de ahí, traerlo y dijimos "vamos a curarlo". Lo que hicimos fue darle el medicamento y darle un baño. Pasamos toda la noche. Nos dieron las seis de la mañana cuando esta persona volvió en sí. …Esa persona estuvo con nosotros más de veinticinco días en recuperación junto con sus demás compañeros y se fueron en septiembre y el mero 25 de diciembre nos llamaron para decir que habían pasado todos. A partir de ahí empezamos a hacer el trabajo en las vías con los muchachos, no en la iglesia, sino en las vías. (DVD)

Framed in close-up, Norma's gestures reveal her dedication and conviction. As she continues, the image switches to show footage of the train tracks. It is a telling moment. Imposed onto the image of the tracks, her voice detailing the women's resoluteness to help migrants despite the denials speaks to the concern for life and dignity in spite of everything. Norma is never identified by name. The lack of information identifying the individuals by name functions to foreground the sense of community as the imperative sustaining the faith and work of the women.[9] No matter who those migrants are, the women are willing to help them and—as the migrants told her—by helping one, she helps them all. By bringing together her face and voice and the footage of the train tracks, the documentary symbolically composes the configuration of community that the discourse of illegality denies. Challenging the liminality that defines the migrant identity, *Llévate mis amores* calls for the reconfiguration of citizenship on the principles of solidarity and community.

The film enacts a pact not just between the Patronas and the migrants, but also between the subjects in front of the camera and those behind it—constituencies which, borrowing Azoulay's ideas, constitute the citizenry of film. At stake in the documentary is the urgency and need for the subjects behind the camera, whether as

[9] The documentary does not identify the women and thus, at the end, spectators will not know their names, except for the few revealed orally during the testimonials.

creators or spectators, to recognize forms of citizenship that dissociate the concept from nationality and territorial belonging. *Llévate mis amores* engages spectators in a call to action to create within a civil space a more inclusive affiliation that allows the representation of vulnerable and injured subjects. The cinematic strategies employed conjure the presence of the spectator and open a space for his or her participation in the call for the reconfiguration of citizenship.

Throughout the documentary, the sounds and images of the trains presage their ominous presence. In the train sequences, however, an uncanny eeriness is present. Despite the undertone of hope evoked by delivery of meals, there is also a heightened presence of death and danger. The beast-train imposes its force and menace over the bodies on it and around it. It is well documented that migrants traveling on the trains often fall asleep, causing them to fall off. Many of them die or lose limbs in this manner. This danger haunts the train scenes as the fragility of life is laid bare when the bodies reach outwards to catch the bags of food. As spectators, we are fearful, imagining bodies falling off the cars, a fear made all too real after the appearance in the film of Cristóbal, a teenage migrant who lost his leg after falling from a moving train.

The camera's position raises awareness to the performative aspect of the documentary. That is, its placement highlights its mediating function. As the Patronas sling the bags onto the moving train, the choice of low and high angle shots has a twofold effect. First, low and high angles position viewers on the ground, looking up at the Patronas facing a multitude of hands, as well as the dangerously close fast-moving train. Second, the angle choice gestures to the embodied and subjective experience from which the documentary creates its knowledge and message. Refusing to capture the passing-by of the train from the perspective of the Patronas and placing viewers instead in an unusual position, the camera forces spectators to recognize their outsider position. As spectators we may feel what is like to be there, but the camera makes us fully aware that we are outsiders to this reality; it is through the camera that we are allowed a glimpse to such reality. We may feel what it is like to be there, but we are not there.

In its forward movement, the beast-like train unmasks the unrelenting time of progress dictated by profit accumulation. Those who are left behind, marking neoliberalism's catastrophic toll, inhabit the world dispossessed of representation, a means of existence, and even humanity. The scenes at the train tracks make evident the inequalities suffered by the working poor and the overall pauperization of life

resulting from exclusionary policy-making on the part of nation-states, which favor economic growth and transnational alliances over social welfare. In the train scenes, the camera draws attention to the urgency concerning Central American migration, understaning urgency not only in the literal sense—since both Patronas and migrants risk their lives to deliver and catch a meal, respectively—but also in a more existential sense. In current political debates concerning migration to the southern U.S. border, the migrant has become a rhetorical and political token to speak about security and economic concerns. *Llévate mis amores* exposes the moral bankruptcy of such rhetoric. As spectators, we witness the humanizing perspective taking over the political when we see the women throw the fragile plastics bags onto the moving trains. Villaseñor's film opens a space in which subjects beyond the cinematic screen witness the state of injury engendered by the state and respond to the call for action, as a result of the failed state and despite it. The film proposes the enactment of a community constituted by individuals brought together not by nationality or territorial belonging, but by an interest to restore onto human existence a sense of justice.

The Patronas's Gendered Voice and Authority

Throughout the film, the Patronas speak about the difficult and painful moments that have marked their lives. One after another, they share the adversities they continue to face, including poverty, health issues, discrimination, domestic violence, lack of education, and single parenting, among others. Due to existing gender disparities, almost all have suffered from structural and systemic inequalities. Leonila, now an elderly woman, reveals that she did not go to school because her father did not believe women needed to be educated. She was put to work on the plantation instead. Her daughters could not escape their disadvantaged fate either. In order to help the family, Rosa and Toña became domestic workers as teenagers. Like them, most of the Patronas were denied access to education. Fortunately, this situation is changing. Contrary to their grandmothers and aunts, the youngest Patronas, the third generation, are in school preparing for future careers. Overall, however, the testimonies underscore how their lives have also been affected by a broken social contract. These are citizens who have been deprived of protection and guarantees, and whose socioeconomic position has been determined by gender oppression. Their activism and political intervention originate in these gendered dynamics.

The Patronas, however, do not see themselves as victims. On the contrary, they inhabit a world where social and economic inequalities are the norm and as such life is confronted. Instead of victimhood, their narratives convey a sense of dignity, respect, and love for life. These women have dreams and life aspirations that ultimately seek the procurement of a better life for themselves and others. This philosophy is the foundation for their strong sisterhood. The Patronas have subverted structural and systemic oppression from within the domestic spaces they occupy. Their name, Patronas, despite originating in the town's name, also gestures to the gendered politics and authority of the women and its undermining of patriarchal structures.

Sociologists Verónica Montes and María Dolores Paris Pombo situate the activism of the Patronas—what they call a "feminist ethic of care"—within the long tradition of Latin American women's participation in social movements. Care, in fact, is the driving force behind their actions, and the film emphasizes the love and affection they feel toward the migrants. Not surprisingly, then, the scenes around the domestic space invite contemplation and conjure a temporality governed by an affective logic: the documentary directs attention to the dedication that goes into putting together the meals. It is telling that Toña reveals that she will make tortilla chips to replace the bread, or the fresh tortillas that originally would go in each meal. Tortillas symbolize more than a decent meal. Acting as mothers and sisters who feed, shelter, comfort, cure, and take care of the migrants fills a void left by the state. Like the Madres and Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo in Argentina, the Arpilleristas in Chile, the CoMadres in El Salvador, and the Caravana de Madres Centroamericanas (Montoya Domínguez), the Patronas engender a political intervention at the margins of the state.

Llévate mis amores employs strategies that allow the Patronas to assert a feminist politics and subjectivity. These strategies bring to light the women's authority, which subverts the authorial and gender hierarchies also involved in the making of the documentary. Focusing on the women's daily routine in the house or at work, the observational camera reaffirms the centrality of the women's voice and experiences guiding the documentary's message. Their authority is amplified by participatory mode practices. This happens when Villaseñor, presumably, and/or other voices behind the camera, intervene to elicit clarification or information from the participants in front of it. The filmmakers never appear on camera. Only their voices are heard. For Nichols, what distinguishes the participatory mode is the filmmaker's engagement with the world represented, so that "what happens in front

of the camera becomes an index of the nature of the interaction between filmmaker and subject" (138). Standing in for the audience, the filmmaker's collaboration and interaction with the participants on camera open a window into what it is like for someone to be in the world as represented by the film.

In *Llévate mis amores*, two moving moments come about when a male voice behind the camera asks questions that bring the women to tears. In one instance, Lorena, a young Patrona is asked to respond to the question "¿Quién es Lorena?". Unable to articulate an answer, she begins to cry and turns her back to the camera. After a moment, she continues. She shares that she was raised by an alcoholic father, a situation that shaped her fortitude and character. Another powerful moment occurs when a voice behind the camera brings up Daniela's wishes to migrate to the U.S. Sitting in front of the camera, Daniela is in tears immediately. Like the migrants she helps, she dreams of going to the U.S. to give her children the opportunities that a single mother in her situation is not able to. These moments show how their own suffering impels these women to help others. Lorena often accompanies migrants taken to the hospital because she has also experienced illness and loneliness. Daniela helps the migrants who aspire to better economic opportunities, just like her. These moving moments expose an understanding of the world in which vulnerability and empathy form the basis of human relations.

The filmmakers' participation in the film confirms their outsider status, as they are visitors who stand in for an audience and learn from those speaking to the camera. At play in the documentary is precisely the transmission of an embodied knowledge and experience. These minimal interventions expose this aspect. During these moments, the Patronas's role as possessors of knowledge and experience comes to the forefront for both filmmaker and spectator. Both the observational and participatory modes (the latter manifested as acknowledged intrusions) confront subjects behind the camera with the subjective quality of the world represented. Ultimately, what these outsider voices lay bare is that, as spectators, we are learning about the precarious condition of the women and Central American migration through the unique and subjective experience of the individuals who face the situation directly. Thus, the filmmakers' intrusions point to the documentary's refusal to speak for the women or the migrants. It is their experience that the filmmakers and spectators must see and hear. Doing so establishes Villaseñor's positioning vis-à-vis the Patronas. They are the voice of authority, whereas he is not.

What the observational and participatory techniques achieve is a re-humanizing act that restores onto the migrant figure their individuality and subjectivity.[10] By doing so, the film constitutes new possibilities for affiliation in the face of exclusionary policies that continue to perpetuate gender and socioeconomic disparities. In the case of the Patronas, their activism originates in a shared sense of injustice out of which a space for political intervention emerges.

Conclusion

Vulnerability is crucial to understand the Patronas, on the one hand, and the political and artistic intervention of the documentary on the other. As their testimonials make clear, these women are individuals who struggle every day to make ends meet. Theirs, however, is a story of resilience within a patriarchal economic and political system that excludes them from power and representation. Recognizing their own vulnerability in the migrant figure, they have engendered a new political feminist subjectivity. The political and urgent intervention of the film, despite their disavowal, relies on the articulation of such subjectivity. *Llévate mis amores* is not just Villaseñor's sophisticated vision of their lives and work. The film exposes the solution to the Central American migration problem as an endeavor that requires the effort and compromise of a whole community, including the subjects represented and, most importantly, the audiences of the film. It calls attention to the urgency of solidarity actions in the face of the injurability of life. Ultimately, *Llévate mis amores* captures the fulfilment of human dignity as justice through the restoration of a social contract based not on shared nationality or territorial belonging, but on community and ethical responsibility.

Works Cited

Andermann, Jens. "Sombras de luz: paisajes y cuerpos posfotográficos en la Argentina contemporánea". *El pasado inasequible: Desaparecidos, hijos y combatientes en el arte*

[10] Other films that share this humanizing perspective include: *Which Way Home* (2009, Rebecca Cammisa), *Sin nombre* (2009, Cary Fukunaga), *La jaula de oro* (2013, Diego Quemada-Díez), and *Who Is Dayani Cristal?* (2014, Marc Silver).

y la literatura del nuevo milenio, edited by Jordana Blejmar et al., Eudeba, 2018, pp. 293-318.

Azoulay, Ariella. *The Civil Contract of Photography*. Zone Books, 2008.

Bump, Philip. "Fox News Must Humbly Inform You that the Caravans are Back." *The Washington Post*, 8 June 2022, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/06/08/fox-news-must-humbly-inform-you-that-caravans-are-back/.

Burucúa, Constanza, and Carolina Sitnisky, editors. "Introduction: Forms of the Precarious in the Cinemas of the Americas." *The Precarious in the Cinemas of the Americas*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 1-15, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76807-6_1.

Camhaji, Elías. "La xenofobia sale a las calles de Tijuana". *El país*, 19 November 2018, https://elpais.com/internacional/2018/11/18/mexico/1542511725_499305.html.

___. "El alcalde de Tijuana arremete contra la caravana de emigrantes". *El país*, 17 November 2018, https://elpais.com/internacional/2018/11/17/mexico/1542412389_526379.html.

Which Way Home. Directed by Rebecca Cammisa, Docurama, 2009.

De Genova, Nicholas. "The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement. Part 1: Theoretical Overview." *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement*, edited by Nicholas De Genova and Nathalie Peutz, Duke UP, 2010, pp. 33-65, *HeinOnline*, https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.beal/deporgim0001&i=1.

De nadie. Directed by Tin Dirdamal, Producciones Tranvía, 2006.

Dirdamal, Tin. "Intimate Gaze of Significant Concers." Interview by Lauren E. Shaw. *Telling Migrant Stories: Latin American Diaspora in Documentary Film*, edited by Esteban E. Loustaunau and Lauren E. Shaw, U of Florida P, 2018, pp. 275-285, https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=1703373&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

"Director Arturo González Villaseñor on Telling the Story of Las Patronas, the Women Who Feed Immigrants." Interview by Iñaki Fernández de Retana, *Remezcla,* 2015, remezcla.com/features/film/director-arturo-gonzalez-villasenor-interview-las-patronas/.

"Caravana en Tijuana: '¡Fuera Hondureños!': las protestas en contra los migrantes en la frontera entre México y Estados Unidos". BBC News Mundo, 19 November 2018, www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-46264542.

Dominguez Villegas, Rodrigo. 2014. "Central American Migrants and 'La Bestia': The Route, Dangers, and Government Responses." *Migration Policy Institute*, www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-american-migrants-la-bestia.

El tren de las moscas. Directed by Nives Prieto Tassier and Fernando López Castillo, Olokatu, 2010, www.youtube.com/watch?v=V0Emdc2G-Qk.

Gracias Madre. Directed by José Manuel Reyes and Iris Amandy González, Jorongo Producciones, 2012, www.youtube.com/watch?v=NdYVfeDkb8g.

Hernández Escobar, Samantta. "Llévate mis amores: Amor incondicional en la frontera sur". *Gato Pardo*, 2016, gatopardo.com/arte-y-cultura/llevate-mis-amores/.

La Bestia. Directed by Pedro Ultreras, Visiones Films, 2010.

La cocina de las patronas. Directed by Javier García, Sacbé Producciones, 2016.

La jaula de oro. Directed by Diego Quemada-Díez, Animal de Luis Films et al., 2013.

Las Patronas. Directed by Ernesto Contreras, *Héroes Cotidianos*, HBO Latinoamérica, 2014, HBO Max.

Las Patronas. "Discurso al recibir el Premio Nacional de Derechos Humanos 2013". *Las Patronas*, 2013, lapatrona.wordpress.com/2013/12/13/discurso-al-recibir-el-premio-nacional-de-derechos-humanos-2013/.

___. "Intereses personales". Facebook, www.facebook.com/meraspatronas/about?ref=page_internal.

___. Statement on *Llévate mis amores*. Facebook, 2019.

___. "20 años de 'Las Patronas'". Las Patronas, 2015, lapatrona.wordpress.com/2015/02/20/20-anos-de-las-patronas/.

"Las Patronas, una bendición para los migrantes". *Perspectivas*, Rompeviento TV, 2013.

Leeciones para Zairah. Directed by Carolina Rivas and Daoud Sarhandi, Creadores Contemporáneos, 2011.

Llévate mis amores. Directed by Arturo González Villaseñor, Strand Releasing Home Video, 2017.

López Ortíz, Heriberto. "Ferrocarriles Mexicanos: del Monopolio de estado al oligopolio privado y extranjero". *Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas*, UNAM, pp. 489-502.

López Salazar, Ricardo. "A dos décadas de la privatización del ferrocarril en México: los casos de Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, y Empalme, Sonora (México)". *Memorias: Revista digital de historia y arqueología desde el caribe colombiano*, May-August, pp. 191-217, dx.doi.org/10.14482/memor.44.972.

Loustaunau, Esteban E. "The Unending Journey of the Migrant Mother in *Los invisibles* and *De nadie*." *Telling Migrant Stories: Latin American Diaspora in Documentary Film*, edited by Esteban E. Loustaunau and Lauren E. Shaw, U of Florida P, 2018, pp. 89-115, search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=1703373&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

Los invisibles. Directed by Marc Silver and Gael García Bernal, Amnesty International, 2010.

María en tierra de nadie. Directed by Marcela Zamora, Women Make Movies, 2010.

Montes, Verónica, and María Dolores Paris Pombo. "Ethics of Care, Emotional Work, and Collective Action of Solidarity: the Patronas in Mexico." *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, vol. 16, no. 4. pp. 559-580.

Montoya Domínguez, Marta. "Caravana de madres centroamericanas retoma búsqueda de sus hijos desaparecidos en México". *France 24*, 5 February 2022.

Nichols, Bill. *Introduction to Documentary. 3rd ed.*, Indiana UP, 2017.

"Norma Romero. Las Patronas." *Hotbook*, hotbook.com.mx/norma-romero-las-patronas/.

O'Connor, Allison, et. al. "Central American Immigrants in the United States." *Migration Policy Institute*, August 2019, www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-american-immigrants-united-states-2017.

Poniatowska, Elena. "Las Patronas o la multiplicación de los panes". *La Jornada*, 16 October 2016, www.jornada.com.mx/2016/10/16/opinion/a03a1cul.

Rojas, Ana Gabriela. "Caravana de migrantes en Tijuana: por qué la llegada de centroamericanos causa en la ciudad fronteriza una hostilidad contra los migrantes que no se había visto antes". *BBC News Mundo*, 19 November 2018, www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-46260057.

Sin nombre. Directed by Cary Fukunaga, Scion Films, 2009.

Solórzano, Fernanda. "Llévate mis amores". *Cine aparte, Letras Libres*, 2016, letraslibres.com/cine-tv/cine-aparte-llevate-mis-amores/.

Vogt, Wendy A. "Crossing Mexico: Structural Violence and the Commodification of Undocumented Central American Migrants." *American Ethnologist: Journal of the American Ethnological Society*, vol. 40, no. 4. 764-780.

Who is Dayani Cristal? Directed by Marc Silver and Gael García Bernal, Pulse Films, 2013.