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Dreamers and Donald Trump: Anti-Trump Street Art Along the US-Mexico Border

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Description

What tools are at hand for residents living on the US-Mexico border to respond to mainstream news and presidential-driven narratives about immigrants, immigration, and the border region? How do citizen activists living far from the border contend with President Trump's promises to "build the wall," enact immigration bans, and deport the millions of undocumented immigrants living in the United States? How do situated, highly localized pieces of street art engage with new media to become creative and internationally resonant sites of defiance?

CARGC Paper 11, "Dreamers and Donald Trump: Anti-Trump Street Art Along the US-Mexico Border," answers these questions through a textual analysis of street art in the border region. Drawing on her Undergraduate Honors Thesis and fieldwork she conducted at border sites in Texas, California, and Mexico in early 2018, former CARGC Undergraduate Fellow Julia Becker takes stock of the political climate in the US and Mexico, examines Donald Trump's rhetoric about immigration, and analyzes how street art situated at the border becomes a medium of protest in response to that rhetoric.

Keywords

street art, graffiti, border, wall, Mexico, Trump

Disciplines

Communication

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Dreamers and Donald Trump: Anti-Trump Street Art Along the US-Mexico Border





It is my great pleasure to share CARGC Paper 11, “Dreamers and Donald Trump: Anti-Trump Street Art Along the US-Mexico Border,” by Julia Becker. Julia was the 2017-2018 Undergraduate Fellow at the Center for Advanced Research in Global Communication (CARGC) at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. Julia developed CARGC Paper 11 out of her honors thesis project at Annenberg, supervised by Dr. Kimberly Woolf and delivered as a CARGC Undergraduate Fellow Colloquium.

As CARGC wraps up its sixth year, it continues to incorporate undergraduate research in its core research activities. Two CARGC Postdoctoral Fellows, Samira Rajabi and Rayya El Zein, taught undergraduate courses at Annenberg in 2018-2019, and our current Undergraduate Fellow, Zubaida Qaissi, completed an independent study course designed and supervised by Dr. El Zein in fall 2018.

Based on fieldwork that Julia conducted at border sites in Texas, California, and Mexico, CARGC Paper 11 presents a textual analysis of street art in the border region, asking “how do situated, highly localized pieces of street art engage with new media to become creative and internationally resonant sites of defiance?” Taking stock of the political climate in the US and Mexico at the time of her research, Julia examines Donald Trump’s rhetoric in the media about the border region, immigrants, and immigration and analyzes how street art situated at the border becomes a medium of protest in response to that rhetoric.

Julia contributes to our understanding of anti-immigration rhetoric that has surged worldwide in the last few years. The election of Donald Trump as US president and his administration’s radical anti-immigration policies and actions are emblematic of a white nationalist turn in US and West European politics. Street art at the US-Mexico border constitutes an ideal research topic both as a subject and as a place. With this original publication, Julia contributes to our grasp of the work of anti-deportation and pro-immigration citizen-artist-activists, and to our understanding of the interconnections between city walls and digital sites in the articulation of resistance to cruel and inhumane policies.

CARGC Paper 11 is one of several CARGC Press publications launched under theme of “Geopolitics and the Popular.” CARGC research in this area includes the politicization of popular culture, the changing relationship between news and entertainment, the emergence of populism as a transnational phenomenon, the endurance of “the people” as a political category, the recasting of popular traditions by digital communication, and shifting notions of popular sovereignty and body politics and their links to authoritarianism, nationalism, and cultural identity.

We hope that you will find CARGC Paper 11 rich, engaging, and insightful. Please be sure to check out our other CARGC Papers, CARGC Briefs, and special issues of journal articles co-published by CARGC Press. If you like what you read, please spread the word about us, and help us fulfill our mission in nurturing emerging scholars worldwide.



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How do situated, highly localized pieces of street art engage with new media to become creative and internationally resonant sites of defiance?

INTRODUCTION

This CARGC Paper identifies what Earl and Kimport (2014) call the “repertoire of contention” for activists and protesters who speak out against immigration bans and an expanded wall along the southern border in the US, as promised by President Trump from the start of his presidential campaign in June 2015 through his first year in office. The paper asks: What tools are at hand for residents living on the US-Mexico border to respond to mainstream news and presidential-driven narratives about immigrants, immigration, and the border region? Likewise, how do citizen activists living far from the border contend with President Trump’s promises to “Build the wall,” enact immigration bans, and deport the millions of undocumented immigrants living in the United States (Trump 2015)? And critically, how do situated, highly localized pieces of street art engage with new media to become creative and internationally resonant sites of defiance?

To pursue these questions, this CARGC Paper examines street art as a protest tactic in the border region. For the purposes of this study, the practice of graffiti and street art is designated a political statement and here defined as a type of “mural painting, spray painting, wheat-pasting/fly posting, freehand drawing and stenciling” (Alviso-Marino 2017, 132) in public spaces. More specifically, they are non-commissioned drawings, text, or added materials on buildings or urban furniture (Klaus 2014) visible to the public. Alternatively, commissioned murals in city spaces rely on third-party funding and government authorization to become fully realized, but in receiving government sanction may exchange a more resistive message for prominent space and visibility (Landry 2017). The legal status of the art is as important as the spaces it inhabits and the shape it takes for extracting meaning. If art is state-sanctioned, questions arise over the legitimacy of its message. If it is illegal, street art retains its counter-authority integrity. Additionally, by including references to people or ideas meaningful to a global community (e.g. world-renowned leaders, combatting racism, trending hashtags, meme references, and popular movies and TV shows), the practice of graffiti and street art on the border maneuvers beyond local power dynamics to a production of generic symbols for wider audiences. Street art produced on and near the border, with a global and digital audience in mind, becomes an unlikely and imaginative new tactic in the “repertoire of contention” (Earl & Kimport 2014).

Street art is never politically neutral but carries a nature of subversive expression in response to some form of oppression (Alviso-Marino 2017; Landy 2017; Peteet 1996; Leventis 2017; MacDowell 2017). Repurposing the border wall and subverting its meaning becomes a primary concern of messages created on or near the wall. Commercial interests, for instance, contribute to the wall’s shifting function between international border and a highly visible canvas for advertising. Madsen (2015) examines the use of the border wall as a place for illegally painted marketing messages by local businesses, and the wall’s significance regarding the impact of international forces on local communities. While painting advertisements in high-traffic areas on the border wall may be a matter of convenience over confrontation, Madsen points out that the repurposing of the wall in this way is a refusal “to give the fence legitimacy” (110): a key

Street art produced on and near the border, with a global and digital audience in mind, becomes an unlikely and imaginative new tactic in the “repertoire of contention.”

theme for other non-commercial street art on the border wall. By altering the meaning of a publicly-situated object, building, or wall, street art is inherently a reclamation of autonomy and a rebuttal to dominance.

At its essence, street art is an assertive counteraction within a larger, infrastructural power scheme. Describing the use of street art for activist purposes in Yemen, Alviso-Marino (2017) names the art itself as a “sensitizing device for political awareness” (130) that is situated at “the intersections of space, contentious politics, and artistic practices” (124). Reflective of local power dynamics in the public sphere, Peteet (1996) explains it as a cultural production during political contest, a means of resistance, and a rite of passage into tactics of activism. Street art both assumes and fashions its audience and critically, it is “contextualized in sets of power relations...in spaces where competing, yet highly unbalanced, systems of power interface and meaning [is] constructed..., constituting a voice for those who have felt voiceless in the international arena” (Peteet 1996, 145-155). Visual expressions of art on the street are necessarily comingled with the political public sphere where they are placed and can only be understood in the context of the culture and power in which they are asserted.

THE POLITICAL CLIMATE OF 2016 & ANTI-TRUMP STREET ART

From his announcement of candidacy in June 2015, to his inauguration on January 20, 2017, and throughout his first year in office, President Trump’s rhetoric and enacted policies regarding border security and immigration were a linchpin for protests around the country. At his candidacy announcement speech, Trump made promises that were repeated throughout his campaign: “I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I’ll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall. Mark my words” (Trump 2015). Statements like these fueled his campaign, mobilized his support base—even leading to popular chants at his campaign rallies to “Build the wall!”—and marked him at the center of a media craze throughout 2016. Seven days after he was inaugurated, President Trump signed an executive order that barred admission of all people arriving to the US from seven Middle Eastern countries. On September 5, 2017 Trump indicated he would end Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA (sometimes referred to as the Dream Act), the Obama-era policy, unless Congress replaced it. This decision prompted marches around the country and the uptick in hashtags such as #DefendDACA, #Dreamer, #DefendDreamers, #DACA, and #NoBanNoWall (Sweet 2017; Shear and Hirschfield Davis 2017; McGraw, Kelsey, and Keneally 2017). The border region continues to be a target of Trump’s rhetoric and policies, and has subsequently become a concentrated site of anti-Trump and anti-border wall street art.

In light of Donald Trump's rhetoric in the media about the border region, immigrants, and immigration, this paper aims to investigate how street art situated on or near the border acknowledges and responds to that rhetoric.

Anti-Trump street art has been observed all over the world since the beginning of the 2016 presidential campaign, three examples of which are shown in Figures 1, 2 and 3. A collection of sixty-five anti-Trump street art pieces in *The Huffington Post* (Moran 2017) lists the wide range of locations around the globe anti-Trump sentiment has found a public audience. Across North America, South America, Europe, Australia, the Middle East and Asia, as well as on social media platforms like Twitter and Instagram, Trump's likeness has popped up on urban furniture and in the digital public in subversive forms. The majority of the images in the compilation, when shared on social media, were accompanied with hashtags such as #trump, #donaldtrump, #dumptrump, #drumpf, #alleyart, #streetart, #anti trumpstreetart, #icanteven, #humanrights, #refugeeswelcome, #nastywoman, #pussygrabber, #notmypresident, #makeamericagreatagain, and #makeamericamexicoagain. By accompanying these images with one or more hashtags, the artists—or social media users who discovered the art on the street—invite the viewer to continue their engagement with the art online. Figures 1, 2, and 3 demonstrate the tactic used by street artists of combining locally significant, globally resonant pop culture figures and themes into messages that are meaningful to more people. The street art found on the border also uses this tactic.



Left: Figure 1. *Resistencia de los Pueblos*. A mural on the walls of a migrant shelter in Tabasco, Mexico. The text translates to “Trump, you will be the one who ignites the fire of resistance of the people.” Artist unknown. Center: Figure 2. *KKK Trump*. Depiction of Trump as an affiliate of the Klu Klux Klan. Credited to the Japanese artist [@281 Anti Nuke](#). Right: Figure 3. *Lie Lie Land*. Trump and British PM Theresa May. By the artist [@bambi](#).

In light of Donald Trump's rhetoric in the media about the border region, immigrants, and immigration, this paper aims to investigate how street art situated on or near the border acknowledges and responds to that rhetoric. Trump's rhetoric during his historic candidacy prompted creative resistance all over the world, but how does creative resistance take shape in the region that was a central focus of his campaign? This study aims to build on literature that valorizes the practice of political street art as a legitimate voice in the public forum (Kraidy and Krikorian 2017; MacDowell 2018; Poell 2013) while determining how artists create street art that resonates with global and digital audiences, and engages them in a counter narrative to mainstream media.

METHODOLOGY

This CARGC Paper is a textual analysis of street art in the border region about immigrant portrayals, the border wall's presence in local communities, and Donald Trump. While negative, derogatory, or simplified depictions and narratives about immigrants and the border region have existed in mainstream media for some time, the data collection in this study specifically focuses on found street art or text that rebutted those narratives, were incited by statements from Donald Trump, or depicted Trump directly. Images of art works were also collected to provide context as well as contrast the narratives around Trump and his policies. The result is two interrelated themes of street art collected as a sample for analysis: street art or text about immigration and the border region, and street art or text about Donald Trump.

To gather a collection of images for this analysis, I investigated two arenas. The first was on the border wall or in the immediate vicinity of the two largest border crossings: San Ysidro, California, and El Paso, Texas. The San Ysidro crossing in Southern California, which connects Tijuana, Mexico to the greater San Diego, CA area, and the El Paso crossing between El Paso, Texas and Ciudad Juárez, Mexico are the two busiest points of entry for the entire border. They each average upwards of 30 million people per year entering into the United States by vehicle or on foot (US Department of Transportation 2017). By travelling to these two border communities and surveying for street art on the border wall, near the crossings in high-traffic areas, and in highly visibly and locally significant spaces within the city limits, I found multiple concentrated sites of street art about immigration, the border region and Trump.

The second arena I explored was social media, in particular Instagram and Twitter. When searching for Trump-related street art more broadly, I discovered numerous hashtags as part of captions that accompanied street art images of Trump, or the text of the hashtags were embedded in the actual image itself (Moran 2017). I conducted the search using the search functions on both Instagram and Twitter, with combinations of the following hashtags: #TrumpStreetArt, #FuckTrump, #DumpTrump, #StreetArt, #NoBanNoWall, #DefendDreamers, and #DefendDACA. From this search, I discovered a curated site of dozens of Dreamer and DACA-themed street art pieces in Long Beach, California, 130 miles north of the border, and 25 miles south of downtown Los Angeles. Although much further from the border than the other street art found near the San Ysidro, California and El Paso, Texas border crossings, this site has street art with content thematically relevant to the research questions in this study, and the county in which it is situated is home to an estimated 814,000 undocumented immigrants (Hayes and Hill 2017).

SEGUNDO BARRIO: EL PASO, TEXAS

The five images selected as a sample from El Paso’s street art scene demonstrate the kinds of portraits and styles readily visible throughout the city, and particularly in Segundo Barrio. They were selected because of their close proximity to the border (all were less than a mile away from the border wall) and because they represent the range of human depictions in the neighborhood, which contrast starkly with the two depictions of Trump found in the area.

Figure 4 is a stenciled, spray-painted portrait of Benito Juárez, president of Mexico from 1857 until his death in 1872. Placed on the wall on the east side of the convention center between downtown and Segundo Barrio, his portrait is framed with his most famous phrase: “*El respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz*,” which translates to “Respect for the rights of others is peace.” Formerly a governor of the majority indigenous southern Mexican state of Oaxaca, and of indigenous heritage himself, he remains a symbol of Mexican nationalism, a local historical hero and stalwart figure against foreign intervention. Ciudad Juárez is his namesake. The stenciled image of him is based on black and white historical photographs, though it is “colorized” by paint. His official portrait as president lives on as a signifier of Mexico’s autonomy and triumph over foreign threats, and his likeness is a reaffirmation of Mexico’s dignity as a diverse nation (a *mestizaje* or culture of mixed ancestries).

Laughing Girl, a two story tall portrait of a young girl perhaps ten years old (Figure 5), was also in Segundo Barrio. Her facial features, dark hair, and regionally traditional garb suggests she is of some indigenous heritage, and her expression is exuberantly carefree. Because her eyes are closed, she neither looks back at the viewer nor her surroundings, and she is completely absorbed in her happiness, high above the pedestrian viewer. The immediate connotation of a young girl with a halo shape around her head parallels images of Virgin Mary (see Figure 6) seen throughout the neighborhood.

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Figure 4. Benito Juárez. Immortalized hero of Mexican nationalism, defender against foreign intervention, and icon of indigeneity.



Figure 5. Laughing Girl. Portrait of a young girl, laughing, two stories tall, with a halo-like frame around her head.

Within Segundo Barrio and throughout Mexico the icon of the Virgin Mary is a pervasive image in public and private spaces, and is a reminder of the Catholic Church's influence in Mexican culture. The figure in this painting strongly alludes to a Catholic-style icon. Her head is framed by the short brim of her *sombrero* with alternating bands of white and black, which is identical in shape to the halos framing the heads in icon images of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary and angels. Unlike the Virgin Mary, who is usually looking down and to the side, this figure faces upwards, an expected expression of sorrow turned into one of unbridled joy. The text next the girl's face which has since been incompletely painted over reads "Liberation is not white."

About one mile to the north of the Benito Juárez and Laughing Girl figures, the largest piece of street art in Segundo Barrio (Figure 7) appears on a side street mixed with residences and small businesses. It is situated on the side of long, one story building in front of an empty field. A young boy is depicted lying down dead on his stomach and side.



Figure 6. Virgin Mary. Three examples of the Virgin Mary in Segundo Barrio, a figure who represents Catholicism's strong presence in the borderland.



Figure 7. Boy Lying Dead. A symbolic enlargement of death's unjust and persistent presence for migrant children in the area. Note pedestrian at bottom right for scale.

Because no face is showing, it can be assumed that the central subject of the painting is not necessarily an identified person's life lost, but an enlargement of lives lost more generally, in ways that are distinct to the border region.

The figure is comprised of neutral colors—the colors of the surrounding landscape—and despite its size, it is easy to miss. The child is painted in muted colors, facing away from the viewer, and shoeless, he wears socks with holes in them. The color palette of variations on grey, together with his face hidden from the viewer, indicate a subject to be overlooked. What is remarkable about this image is the scale of the child. The size certainly makes it the biggest painting encountered, as it takes up roughly one residential block (note the pedestrian walking on the bottom right of the image for a scale comparison). The colors and posture of the figure indicate immobility and death. The scale of the painting, however, declares the subject's presence and death simultaneously, and reminds the viewer of Alan Kurdi, the Syrian toddler who drowned in the Mediterranean as he and his family attempted to reach Europe. Furthermore, because the child's face is not showing, it can be assumed that the central subject of the painting is not necessarily an identified person's life lost, but an enlargement of lives lost more generally, in ways that are distinct to the border region: migrants who have died by border agent gunfire or by the elements in the desert attempting to cross in to the US long before they reach the border.

Figure 8 is the final piece of the sample of contextual art in and around Segundo Barrio and, like the Boy Lying Dead in Figure 7, is enormous in scale, yet made up of several smaller figures, text, and motifs. Painted on the side of a building on the edge of Segundo Barrio—a stone's throw away from the Rio Grande and the border—a warehouse wall is made up entirely of blue graffiti text (probably names of artists, though illegible to me) and images of human-like figures, dressed in Chicano-style street clothes, with green skin, and "alien" teardrop shaped heads. The paintings and surrounding text are highly detailed, brightly colored works in spray paint, but the most notable theme in this piece is the alien motif of the figures.



Figure 8. Borderland Aliens. A rerouting of the term "illegal alien" so often applied to Latinos of color, especially in the border region.

The figures are a clear play on the "illegal alien" label. The artist(s) embrace, self-deprecate, and reclaim the often-derogatory term in an inventive and entertaining jest. The entire piece serves as an articulation of everyday Chicano culture (particularly in the attire and car choice), a nod to wider stereotypes about Latinos, and an affirmation of the humanity of Latinos in the border region. The political-cultural context in which the piece was created exists as a reminder

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of how having brown skin equates to a suspicion of illegality, and this alien painting responds to and turns those assumptions on their heads. The larger theme of the alien painting is that Latinos in the border region know, in their everyday lives, they are culturally and politically suspected to be illegal solely by their race, culture and very presence in the United States. The artists not only know they are labeled as such, but reroute the label as one inherent to their identity as an “othered” and suspected race. The figures look neutrally at and greet the viewer, express themselves with understated signifiers of Latino and Chicano culture, and reaffirm their presence.

Figure 9 features one of two depictions of Trump found together on the El Paso side of the border in Segundo Barrio, and it is rich in detail. The figure has yellow-orange hair in Trump’s signature swooshed coif, the skin is light pink suggesting the figure is Caucasian, and the eyes, encased in two thick eyelids and without eyebrows or eyelashes, are a light blue color. The face is finished out with oddly-shaped bulging cheeks, one visible pig’s ear jutting out at an angle from beside the eyes, a few warts at the base of the ear, a large wrinkled snout topped with its own small swoosh of yellow-orange hair, colorless human-style lips resting in a small frown, and a low-hanging, shadowy set of skin folds below the chin and continues to where the head meets the rest of the body. The end of the body is rounded out with two bare buttocks and a short, curled tail.



Figure 9. Pig Trump. Trump painted in a revolting way, inviting mockery as if he’s been caught with his pants down.

This portrayal of Donald Trump evokes pure revulsion. Physically, everything from the exaggerated crack on his behind to the loose, wrinkled skin hanging from his neck emphasize a creature meant to be disgusting to look at and easy to laugh at. Between the neck and the rear end, it is like the viewer has caught Trump with his pants down, and indeed, this pig wears no pants. The color of the skin is pink, as some pigs are, but the artist cleverly altered the skin color depending on the part of the body. Around the nose/snout, eyes, and most clearly under the chin, the skin becomes a sicklier, greyish pink. On the rump, the skin is bright and vividly pink, reminding the viewer to not overlook the fact the president is half naked. The transformation of Trump into a pig forms a brilliant caricature: one that invites a mocking reaction from the viewer.

Figure 10, situated in a similarly-sized line of graffiti text just below the Trump/pig art in Figure 9, is a large set of spray painted text and images in the same graffiti style. This drawing is, of course, based on the popular and enduring children’s fairy tale rhyme: “Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall; Humpty Dumpty had a great fall; all the king’s horses and all the king’s men; couldn’t put Humpty together again.” Trump is Humpty Dumpty, he is pictured atop a wall, and his eggshell body is cracked and broken as he has a “great fall.” Egg yolk, either ingeniously or conveniently color matched to his hair and eyebrows, drips from the side of his body down the wall he is falling from.



Figure 10. Humpty Dumpty Trump. Trump diminished in size and nursery rhyme imagery, suggesting his failure is certain, imminent, and irreversible.

Trump has made the construction of an expanded border wall between Mexico and the United States one of his main talking points as a candidate, and as president, he has continued to return to his promise to build a wall in his speeches and on Twitter to rouse support with his base and reiterate his intentions. Several street artists and political cartoonists have used Humpty Dumpty as an easily translatable, derogatory connector between Trump and his support base’s perpetually articulated desire to “Build the wall!” However, some memes and art posted on social media have even used #HumptyTrump as a hashtag to accompany depictions of Trump as Humpty Dumpty in support and celebration of his promise to build the wall. This piece of street art, though, standing at perhaps 200 yards or less away from the international border, uses the scale of Trump’s egg body against the surrounding larger size of the text and cinderblocks he sits on as way to diminish his personhood. The diaper, too, reduces his intelligence and functioning to that of an infant, or at least someone who is incontinent. Either way, in El Paso, Trump is drawn to be characterized simplistically as childish, a fool, and to be laughed at.

This piece of street art uses the scale of Trump’s egg body against the surrounding larger size of the text and cinderblocks he sits on as way to diminish his personhood.

THE CEMENT CULVERT: CIUDAD JUÁREZ, MEXICO

On the Mexican side of the border in the cement culvert running beneath the two main international border crossings, I observed scores of text and drawings written and drawn on the cement. The culvert leading down to the water has wide flat areas and steeply angled walls that display most of the drawings and writings visible to the pedestrians passing overhead on the bridges. The highest concentrations of street art I found were directly underneath the bridges, and drawings and text often overlapped with each other, competing for space. I selected the text and artwork here as samples from this site because they were the most prominently visible, without many surrounding pieces distracting from them, and are probably seen and noticed most frequently by pedestrians. I also included two large portraits of famous political



Figure 11. Oil Racism Stinks. Indicator of ongoing tensions between border patrol and residents on both sides of the border.



Figure 12. Berlin Wall. A parallel label given to the US-Mexico border, in the hopes that it will be torn down one day, too.



Figures 13 (left) and 14 (right). Nelson Mandela and Che Guevara. Two world-renowned political figures provide a contrast in favorability to depictions of Trump.

figures—one of Che Guevara and one of Nelson Mandela—not only because they were highly visible underneath the bridges, but also because they (like Benito Juárez of Figure 4 in El Paso) contrast starkly with the two portrayals of Donald Trump found in the culvert.

Prominent and powerful statements regarding immigration and the border wall appear in this data set. Figure 11 shows the English words “Oil Racism stinks fuck *la migra*” written at the top of the culvert in red paint with the Santa Fe Street Bridge in the background above it. “*La migra*” is a slang term in Spanish broadly used for border patrol and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers. Further down the culvert is a large rectangular block, painted in blue, with the text “Berlin Wall” painted in white letters outlined in black. The bold lettering spans the height of the angled wall in the culvert and is nearly twenty feet high.

Aside from a mural featuring Donald Trump and Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto (Figure 16), I observed only two other large-scale portraits of humans (greater than two to three feet) in the culvert: those of Nelson Mandela and Che Guevara. The painting of the South African president who led the charge against apartheid is painted in great detail, favorably presents Mandela, and is prominently visible from the crossing bridge above. His head is the only part of his body shown and he is depicted with a wide smile, looking directly at the viewer. A leftist revolutionary, central figure to the Cuban Revolution, and martyred hero and icon of socialism, Ernesto “Che” Guevara’s famous visage is painted beneath the border crossing bridge,

accompanied with text to the left of his head, “Viva Cuba!” and text to the right which reads “a 50 años to ejemplo sigue vivo,” translated as “for 50 years your example is still alive.” The portrait is inspired by a widely replicated photograph of him, which has become a symbol of revolution, and shows only his head as he looks up and away, wearing his Basque style hat, with his face framed by his long hair.

In contrast to the portraits of Guevara and Mandela, two separate large pieces in the culvert show Donald Trump. The first is done in chalk, and includes the text “He is fucking the world.” The figure of Trump is shown on his knees holding his penis, which is pointed towards a globe. The entire drawing is done simply: Trump’s body and hair is outlined in white chalk, his face is outlined in black, and he is given blue eyes, a red mouth, and red tie. In front of him is a blue and green globe, and below, the text is outlined in blue and green block letters.



Figure 15. Chalk Trump. The figure of Trump is shown on his knees holding his penis, which is pointed towards a globe.

The second Trump piece is a larger and more detailed mural spray painted in the fall of 2016, just before the November presidential election. Trump is painted head to toe on the slanted wall in the culvert, rising to about twenty feet tall. He is wearing a childish outfit of black shoes and striped blue and white socks, a blue suit with shortened legs and sleeves, and a white dress shirt with a blue tie. His yellow-orange hair is curled into an enormous spiral atop one side of his head, and on the other side sits a Mickey Mouse hat at a slant. He holds a bricklayer’s trowel in his right hand while his left hand places a brick with the word “Mexico” written on it onto a partially built wall. Across the painted wall from him is Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto who also holds a trowel pointed towards his own face (the tip appears to be covered in blood). He is dressed in a black suit jacket, white dress shirt and tie, and a white apron synched at the waist and lined with frills at the bottom. The apron falls to the length of his upper thighs, where beyond that only bare legs are shown from his thighs downward. One hand holds the trowel while the other hand (also seemingly covered in blood) is gripping the partially built wall. Peña Nieto’s mouth is covered in grey tape. Finally, in between the two figures is a rough outline of a brick wall, and above the wall the words “#FuckTrump!” are spray painted.

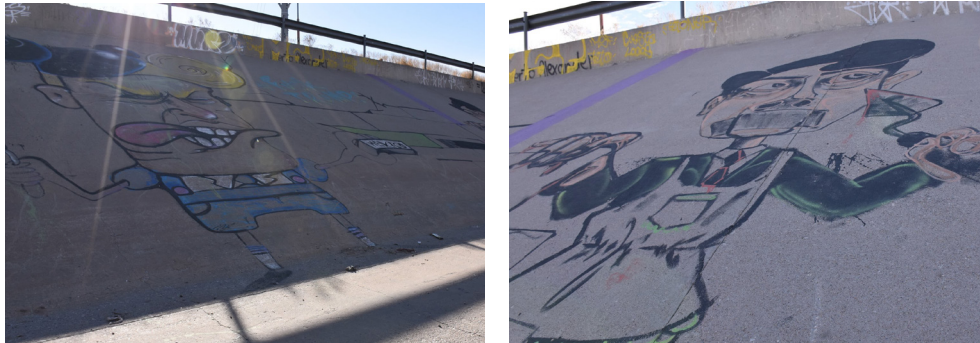


Figure 16. SpongeBob Trump. Image ridiculing Presidents Trump and Peña Nieto, specifically portraying their ineptitude and racism.

Of the five locations in this study, this was the largest painting of Trump found. The depictions of Trump and Peña Nieto are prominently placed right under the border crossing bridge, and because of the extremity of the portrayal, its size, location, timing of completion just before the election, and numerous everyday audience, when it was first painted it received coverage from press around the world. The painting of Trump here borrows from the look of SpongeBob Squarepants, the main character from a popular Nickelodeon kids' television cartoon show. The head takes up the majority of the rectangular-shaped body, and the image is completed with stick-thin legs, short sleeved formal attire, and identical socks to SpongeBob, marking it as an unmistakable nod to the pop culture cartoon character, who is known for his naiveté, unrealistic optimism, and lack of social awareness.

Though the renown of Trump, Mandela and Guevara is arguably equal, the judgements passed by the artists' depictions of the three leaders in the border culvert contrast starkly with each other. The street art on both sides of the border in the El Paso-Juárez community is in agreement about who is to be admired and who is to be mocked. The Mandela and Guevara images are not too distant in style from the portraits found a mile away in El Paso. Dignified, stately, and empowered, the faces of Mandela and Guevara recall courage and victory over racism, like the Laughing Girl (Figure 5), and resistance to foreign intervention, like Benito Juárez (Figure 4). In a similar fashion, the enormous scale of SpongeBob Trump infantilizes him as an idiot cartoon, like Humpty Dumpty Trump (Figure 10), and invites mockery and disgust as he's caught with his pants down in Chalk Trump (Figure 15) and Pig Trump (Figure 9). The content of Chalk Trump takes it a step further and portrays Trump as a vulgar aggressor. In this piece, the artist responds to Trump's rhetoric with an explicit message: Trump isn't just drawn assaulting Mexico or the borderlands, but the world.

The content of Chalk Trump takes it a step further and portrays Trump as a vulgar aggressor. In this piece, the artist responds to Trump's rhetoric with an explicit message: Trump isn't just drawn assaulting Mexico or the borderlands, but the world.

THE LARGEST BORDER CROSSING: SAN YSIDRO, CALIFORNIA

On the US side of the San Ysidro, California border crossing, I found no street art. Infrastructurally, in San Ysidro, as with El Paso on the US side, it was difficult, if not impossible, to get close to the border wall. It was usually behind a stretch of land, several dozen yards deep that had “Restricted Access” signs in red lettering around it. Additionally, running immediately adjacent to the border wall was often a paved road used for border patrol vehicles, and therefore obstructed from public use, which would explain why no art was found on the US side of the border.

At the Border Field State Park, where the border wall meets the Pacific Ocean on the American side, visitors can go directly up to the border wall in a stretch of about 100 yards and speak with people on the other side of the border in Playas de Tijuana. However, the beach is not easily accessible. Just above the beach is a lookout and picnic area with a flat lawn, facilities, and some benches and tables. Border patrol agents are stationed a few yards away monitoring the beach and the park, and as with other areas around San Ysidro, visitors are not allowed to get close to the border fence. Overall, the border area on the US side is designed to discourage or outright forbid visitors from approaching or going near the border fence, so even if there was art or text on the wall, it would be visible to very few.

TOURIST TOWN: TIJUANA, MEXICO

The site in Tijuana with the highest concentration of street art on or near the border was Playas de Tijuana, the public access beach area where the border fence meets the Pacific Ocean, and a little tourist spot with meandering food vendors, *mariachi* bands, and souvenir stands. There is a small park with benches, picnic tables, and a lookout for people to see up and down the beach. The border fence at Playas de Tijuana was nearly completely covered in text and drawings. Listed here are some examples of repeated ideas, phrases, and themes seen up and down the border wall at this site.



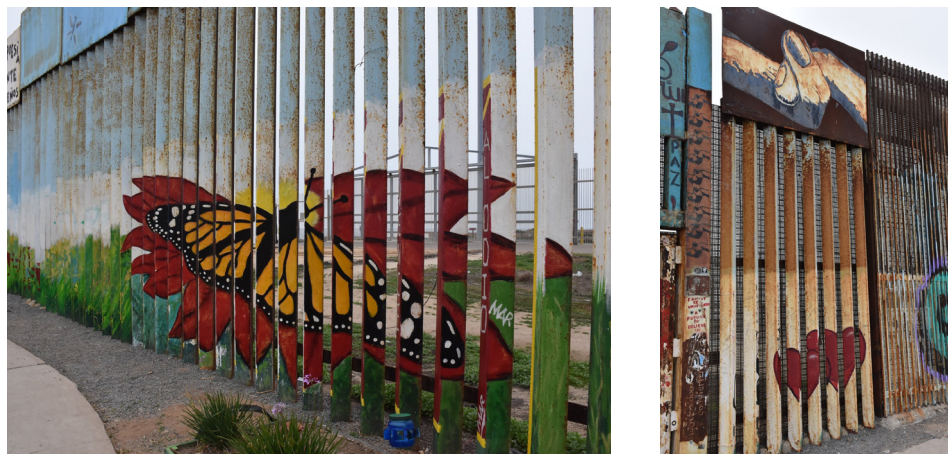
Figure 17. Tijuana Wall Text Sample. From left to right the text reads “Somos America,” “Tear down the wall,” “El arte es una extension de ser,” “Resiste sin odio, sin muros,” “No wall,” and “Haz mas arte.”

Figure 17 shows mostly text spots on the wall that share messages of unity and anti-wall declarations. The six examples from the compilation in Figure 17 say, from left to right, say “Somos America” (“We are America”), “Tear down the wall,” “El arte es una extensión de ser” (“Art is an extension of being”), “Resiste sin odio, sin muros” (Resist without hate, without walls), “No wall,” & “Haz mas arte” (Make more art). Alongside the text are small images of handprints, hearts, flowers and butterflies.

Four larger drawings from the Tijuana sample demonstrate US-Mexico relations, immigration, the restrictive nature of the border wall, and Trump. Figure 18 is a large and detailed painting of a monarch butterfly sitting atop red flower. Monarch butterflies are graceful symbols of migration for Mexicans. The monarch butterfly species, distinct for its vibrant orange and black pattern on its wings, lives all over the American Midwest and central Canada, and each year completes a migration south over thousands of miles back to several exact spots in Mexico (most famously and in highest numbers in the state of Michoacán), which are dedicated protected reserves for the monarchs. Figure 19 shows two interlocking fingertips at the top portion of the wall, while the bottom portion is a simple graphic of two overlapping hearts on a white background. For family members who are separated by the wall and do not have the freedom to travel back and forth across the countries’ border, they will meet at the border fence, but only be able to touch each other’s fingers instead of embracing.

Messages of unity, brotherhood, and love painted on the wall at this site follows the trend of street art’s purpose along the border is to reroute, subvert, respond, and transform.

Love Trumps Hate (Figure 20) features a hybrid flag, made of a fusion between the US and Mexican flags. The text written on the flags says “Love Trumps Hate” on the US portion of the flag and the Spanish version of the same phrase, “El amor vence al odio” on the Mexican portion of the flag. This is the only image I found at the Playas de Tijuana site that contained a reference to Trump. While an explicit mention of Trump, the phrase “Love Trumps Hate” became a popular chant at protest marches after the election, a prominent hashtag on social media,



Left: Figure 18. Monarch Butterfly. A dignified symbol of migration. Right: Figure 19. Pinky Kiss. References the separation experienced by family members who are only able to link fingers when they meet at the wall.



Figure 20. Love Trumps Hate. This hybrid flag shows the unity of the two countries despite what is perceived as hateful speech by Donald Trump.



Figure 21. "Fuck Trump" on Grey Wall. Expletive written on possible sight where the Rape Trump mural was.

and a concise play on Trump's name, rerouting the figure of Trump for those that oppose him to something positive. Messages of unity, brotherhood, and love painted on the wall at this site follows the trend of street art's purpose along the border is to reroute, subvert, respond, and transform.

The second site of data collection in Tijuana, Colonia Libertad, is a very modest neighborhood that abuts the border wall, east of the San Ysidro crossing. The roads are either paved or very rough dirt and gravel. The border wall in this neighborhood became the site for an anti-Trump mural which received a great deal of attention in the local press (see Figure 22). Only one of the two Trump murals selected here was still visible in Tijuana as of February 2018. Figure 21 shows a section of the wall where a grey block of paint covers the wall, and what could have been the site of the "Rape Trump" mural in Figure 22. Several pieces of writing are concentrated there, including the words "Fuck Trump" in black spray paint with a yellow arrow underneath it. Figure 22 is a large mural done by the street art collective Indecline. Trump is set against a white background and smaller black text on the lower portion of the mural reads in Spanish as directions to Trump Tower in New York City from that specific spot. The mural is flanked by two painted ladders drawn to look like they are propped against the wall. The painting may have been done sometime in 2016, but as of February 2018 was no longer visible and was probably painted over with grey paint.

This mural is as graphically explicit as Chalk Trump in Juárez (Figure 15), and is certainly the most prominent controversial piece. Trump is postured after a widely disseminated photograph of him during one of his speeches (Figure 23 also uses the same pose of Donald Trump) and what is stunning about this mural is the sexually graphic and violent nature of the content. The mural commands the viewer to sexually assault a presidential candidate, then gives directions to his house. As if the text was not graphic enough, the presence of a brightly colored ball gag

drives home the taboo. This piece of street art was drawn in direct response to Trump calling Mexican immigrants rapists. It reverses the label of rapist and takes it to the next level. Put another way, the mural communicates a primitive ultimatum: it retaliates for being called rapists by rhetorically promising rape to the name-caller.

The last significant piece of street art I found in Tijuana is a mural of four women painted alongside Trump, who is posed in the same way as he is in Figure 22. The painting is by a local muralist named Mode Orozco, who, as far as could be investigated, was not commissioned to complete it (Rowe 2016). It depicts, from left to right, Donald Trump, a Syrian woman, a Chinese woman, a Guatemalan woman, and a Mexican woman with their respective countries' flags filling up the background. The mural is painted on the side of houses in front of an empty field that runs alongside a main arterial road through Tijuana that leads to the Otay border crossing, about one mile north of the painting. Above the artists' name reads larger text in red lettering: "Todos Somos Migrantes" or "We are all migrants."

This immense mural touches on several themes relevant to the local community of Tijuana, but like the political figures in the cement culvert of Juárez, they also reach outward to resonate globally. Butterflies, as a favorable metaphor for migration, again make an appearance



Figure 22. Rape Trump. A direct reaction to Trump's claim that Mexican immigrants are rapists. The smaller text is directions to Trump Tower in New York City. Photo from <https://www.sandiegoreader.com/photos/2015/nov/06/88045>.



Figure 23. Trump and Four Women of Color. Large mural of Trump alongside four women from Syria, China, Guatemala, and Mexico. Smaller text in the right lower corner reads: "Todos somos migrantes," which means "We're all migrants."

This immense mural touches on several themes relevant to the local community of Tijuana, but like the political figures in the cement culvert of Juárez, they also reach outward to resonate globally.

and situate the subject matter as an alternative perspective on immigration and the migrant experience. The halo again makes an appearance (like Laughing Girl in Figure 5) around the Mexican woman’s head. The artist’s decision to portray four female immigrants situated above Donald Trump in eloquent, beautiful and dignified poses further reacts to the pervasive ordering of society Donald Trump would seem to prescribe, one aspect of which is the acceptance and normalizing of “locker room talk.” This mural reaches beyond Trump’s effect on the local community and calls for a dignification of women of color from around the world.

THE DREAMERS TUNNEL: LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

Although I saw dozens of street art pieces in the curated Dreamers Tunnel—a place for street artists based near and far from Long Beach to come and paint content about DACA recipients, or “Dreamers”—I will limit my discussion here to four pieces that directly depict Donald Trump within the context of pro-immigration and anti-wall themes in the space. The first image (Figure 24) shows a demon character. On the top of the head are the distinguishing characteristics: a swooshed yellow head of hair signifying President Trump’s likeness, and two tall horns rising out of the hair, solidifying this figure as a demon or the devil.

The second (Figure 25) shows Trump as a small, rounded cartoon character, hiding behind some large illegible text (again, probably an artist’s signature) that is styled similarly to the El Paso paintings of Trump with cinderblocks feature in the lettering. The cartoon character holds two halves of a torn white paper that reads “DACA” and above his head are the stamped and stenciled words spray painted in red that read “DACA VOID.” Situated as a short character, he looks up at the “DACA VOID” text and beyond that to two large portraits of young female Dreamers. He is shown as creepy and conniving as he leers at the two young women with a malicious grin.



Figure 24. Devil Trump. Trump literally being demonized and marked as a perpetrator of a certain kind of hell.

A large and detailed mural of Trump is shown in Figure 26, broadly depicting Trump as a gargantuan overlord standing over the border wall. There are two main elements in the mural: Trump in the center of the image, and several figures of monarch butterflies and anthropomorphized trees at the base of the mural. The text on the upper left hand corner reads “The Dream Killer” and is styled after the popular Netflix television series “Stranger Things.” The text in the upper right hand corner reads as “Showbat Productions,” a nod to the series the content of the mural borrows from and to the artist’s name.

The large figure in the center of the mural is a depiction of Donald Trump, identifiable by his royal blue suit jacket and red tie (one of his consistent outfits as candidate and president). His head has been rendered in the form of a pyramid with a



Figure 25. DACA Void. Cartoon Trump holds and rips a paper in half that says "DACA," as he glares at two other drawings of Dreamers.



Figure 26. The Dream Killer. Large mural of Trump uprooting humans/trees on the US side and dumping them in Mexico.

single red eye, and painted in a bright straw-gold yellow as a signifier of Trump's most widely recognized physical attribute, his hair color and style. His clothes also include a red band around his upper arm with a white circle and black dollar sign, and the tip of his tie drapes over the cement wall he is on and features a circled star in red. Only his torso is showing and outstretched to both sides are his arms. His right hand (showing Caucasian skin different from his all-yellow head) clutches an anthropomorphized tree/woman. She has been uprooted by Trump and is being moved towards the other side of the wall where other uprooted trees lay on the ground with blood around them. Trump's left hand lets go of one such tree wearing a graduation cap and holding a diploma as they are dropped headfirst on what is assumed to be the Mexican side of the border.

Another key component of the painting is the continuation

of Trump's body becoming the wall. His legs and lower body are replaced by the wall as it blockades the US from Mexico. Off in the distance on the right side, the Mexican side of the border, a small amount of text drawn to look like it was painted on the border wall says "F*ck Trump," in white and "EZLN" in red, a reference to the agrarian revolutionaries from Southern Mexico which rose to prominence in the 1990s as the Zapatistas. Budding out from the wall are loose boulders and smaller rocks which turn into monarch butterflies as they fly away from the wall. Newly formed monarch butterflies in this image resiliently reside as larger mature version on the US side of the wall, while only one butterfly is shown on the Mexican side of the wall. The US side features lush green grass and the horizon shows a city skyline; on the Mexican side, the ground is yellow and tan, with only the wall on the horizon.

This is a mural rich with details, symbolism and meaning. The central theme is a monster violently displacing people, families, and communities. Further, race is explicit in the figures. Trump has light, white-skinned hands that contrast to the dark brown color of the tree people. The trees signify natural flourishing of human life and contrasts starkly with the unnatural, stone and iron humanoid caricature of Trump. The border wall is clearly a violating presence for the entire landscape, though monarchs arise gracefully out of its construction.

The final Trump piece in the Long Beach sample is a streamlined mural of Trump as the clown *It*, based off of characters and content from the 2017 release of a remake of the horror film *It*. Trump, like the title character of *It*, is wearing a clown's outfit with a ruffled, layered neck piece, and his face is painted in white with two red lines drawn from his red lips up over his cheeks and into his forehead. The lines subtly become the shape of horns as they reach his forehead. His expression is a determined scowl, and he, like most of the children behind him, gaze directly at the viewer.



Figure 27. Dreamers. Large mural of Trump as a clown, luring in children with red balloons.

PLACING STREET ART IN THE REPERTOIRE OF CONTENTION

This CARGC Paper investigates how ideas are exchanged and protest happens on the US-Mexico border through the medium of street art. Problematic media narratives from national outlets about the region and immigrants garner pointed responses from street artists who offer their own definitions of the wall, women, people of color, and the broader culturally hybrid region of the border. Rhetoric from President Trump is outright incendiary for street artists and the direct responses to and references of Trump in the borderland street art scene state compellingly exactly what they think of him. After searching five locations in the border region for immigration, border wall, border region and Trump-related street art, a sample of thirty-one

There is consensus across all sites that the border wall is an unwanted presence, women and people of color are depicted with grace and autonomy, and Trump is an impish fool at best, and a tyrannical predator at worse.

pieces of art and text was collected. Ten pieces explicitly reference or depict Donald Trump, while the remaining twenty-one had content referencing local people of the border region, political figures, immigrants, or sentiments about the border wall. All were analyzed for their denotative, connotative, and intertextual meanings.

Some themes, styles, and content were repeated across the five sites where street art was found. First, all of the Trump depictions were painted intending him to be viewed negatively by the art's audience. Second, cultural references from other media genres (for example, popular television shows or historical photographs) were borrowed and infused into the content of the art. Third, with the addition of hashtags, some of the art from each site assumed their audience would be at least partially, if not fully, virtual. Additionally, there is consensus across all sites that the border wall is an unwanted presence, women and people of color are depicted with grace and autonomy, and Trump is an impish fool at best, and a tyrannical predator at worse.

The US-Mexico international border is nearly 2,000 miles long and is the site of a unique region. Another name for the area colloquially used is "the borderlands," being neither solely northern Mexico nor the southwest United States. Two countries and two cultures meet over hundreds of miles and several border "sister" cities making the area distinct. The people there are prone to view history in the immediate vicinity of both sides of the border as equally their own. Put another way, El Pasoans describe landmarks and the history of Juárez as part of their own regional pride, and vice versa, citizens of Juárez mourn the wall because it obstructs them to the full extent of the place, peoples and region they call home. The borderlands is home to a hybrid culture, and is, as the street artists convey, an area misunderstood by promulgators of a larger more extensive wall, increased border patrol personnel, and immigration bans.

In Juárez and Tijuana, Mexican citizens cannot vote for American politicians, including the US president, and so if they oppose the policies affecting their border communities, they must turn to other methods to get their voices heard. Likewise, undocumented immigrants living in El Paso and Southern California cannot exercise their franchise and vote for legislators who represent their interests. While the street artists painting on the American side perhaps have the right to vote, their artwork represents those that do not have that right, and so may use the genre of the voiceless. If they, or their allies, desire to oppose politically powerful figures publicly they must turn to means other than voting, and street art has become a vibrant and novel tool in the repertoire of contention for borderland communities.

The practice of street art is stealthy, resilient, non-violent, clever, reactive, proactive, and usually illegal. Reactively, it takes ownership of labels about an array of people and ideas (immigrants, Latinos, women, and the border region, to name a few) and reorients powerful or widespread negative rhetoric towards authentic and defiant self-representation. Laughing Girl of Figure 5, Borderland Aliens in Figure 8, and the women of four different nationalities in Figure 23 are all examples of this in practice. Proactively, street art works to confront those who mislabel, while diffusing and dismantling the power that harmful rhetoric can have. The monarch butterfly of Figure 18 (a beautifying symbol of migration) plays with dominant ideas about the "American

The genre of street art assumes infrastructure can have imbalances of power and gets to work protesting it, on multiple fronts and scales, by interacting visually with it, resurfacing urban furniture, and diverting the power of larger forces.

Dream” and reroute those ideas to more general, humanist dreams of peace and equality, irrelevant of country or place. The portraits of Mandela and Guevara in Figures 13 and 14 reinforce those claims.

Street art is in conversation with mainstream media, presidential rhetoric, and its physical environment, and it “talks back” to its surroundings in the public forum of the street. The genre of street art assumes infrastructure can have imbalances of power and gets to work protesting it, on multiple fronts and scales, by interacting visually with it, resurfacing urban furniture, and diverting the power of larger forces. A pedestrian crossing the border bridge in El Paso looks down to view the infamous border, but instead sees Trump painted as an imbecile. The content can be playful, serious, agonizing, tragic, angry, and a host of other emotions present in all art, but it is made what it is because of the smelly, dirty, trashy, shadowy, sewage-filled, gritty, and local places they inhabit. The sub-cultural and resistant nature of street art messages is diminished when these factors are taken out of the equation and only interacted with virtually on a screen, but first and foremost street art anywhere is an assertion of autonomy and a rejection of dominance.

From this study’s sample, the genre of street art can be seen as a subversive tool for political resistance, an authentic means of self and political representation, and a form of activism for flashpoint and ongoing causes. The set of messages this CARGC Paper examines is compelling evidence that street art needs to be continually valorized and explored in the scholarly conversation for its legitimacy as a voice in the public forum (Landry 2017; Young 2017) and affirmed for its usefulness as a response to forms of oppression (Alviso-Marino 2017; Landy 2017; Peteet 1996; Leventis 2017; MacDowell 2017).

CONCLUSION

In light of the historic 2016 election and Trump’s focus on immigration and the border region, I explored a data set of artwork that responded to the racism, xenophobia, and fixation over immigration policies which took the national stage. To gather data for this study, I sought out pieces at key symbolic sites of powerful infrastructure along the border. Concentrated sites of hundreds of pieces of street art or text were visited, and therefore, a limitation of this study is that not all of the pieces could be evaluated and analyzed. Future research investigating the entire set of street art and text found at just one of these sites as a content analysis would benefit the interdisciplinary field of street art studies. A content analysis of all the art and text found at highly concentrated sites like Playas de Tijuana or in the cement culvert of Ciudad Juárez would further clarify and identify themes and issues specific to local areas.

Likewise, the collection in this study is from visits that lasted only a few days. Another compelling approach to researching border street art would be a sample gathered over time and within the context of key border region legislation, policies passed in government, or surrounding elections where immigration and the border wall are central to the candidates, as they were for

Trump in 2016. For instance, after the data for this study was collected, President Trump visited San Diego to see prototypes of new border walls, which would be an event likely to incite even more reactive street art than what was already there. An effects study of exposure to street art in person versus street art online would also be a productive exploration of the greater value and weight street art has in the public forum. An additional note of limitation within the data collection phase of this study is that there were areas in Tijuana and Juárez that were unfamiliar to me (Juárez being of concern for the recent Level 2 travel advisory from the US State Department for Americans travelling there to “exercise increased caution”), and so I could not remain in the cement culvert of Juárez long to thoroughly study each piece, nor could I venture into every border neighborhood in Tijuana to look for street art.

Across all the art in this study, colorful murals and smaller pieces of the American sites in El Paso and Long Beach contrasted with the grittier, smellier, more muted and faded palettes of Juárez and Tijuana. However, the visage of Donald Trump was always clear, unmistakable, vibrant, and unfavorable. Art that referenced the border wall rejected its legitimacy and protested its presence on both sides of the border. Finally, text and drawings depicting immigrants and immigration amplified their likenesses and gave credence to their experiences. Pro-immigration, anti-wall and anti-Trump street art on the US-Mexico border exists and, in a stunning diversity of depictions, agrees that the wall is an unwanted presence. Immigrants and regionally important figures are worth representing on grand and dignified scales. Most potently and explicitly, Donald Trump is a reviled, mocked and degraded character for street artists who participate in the public conversation about the border region. Border politics affect residents on both sides of the border, but unless those residents have the right to vote in American elections, activists must turn to other means to join the debate about how their region is represented, perceived and formed. As a critical tool for participatory citizenship in the US-Mexico region, pro-immigration, anti-wall, and anti-Trump street art is a creative and subversive medium, changing rapidly with its fusion with the digital world, and provides a voice for protest, representation, and resistance in the borderlands.

Pro-immigration, anti-wall and anti-Trump street art on the US-Mexico border exists and, in a stunning diversity of depictions, agrees that the wall is an unwanted presence. Immigrants and regionally important figures are worth representing on grand and dignified scales.

| Figure # | Title | Location |
|----------|-------------------------------|--|
| 1 | Resistencia de los Pueblos | Tabasco, Mexico |
| 2 | KKK Trump | Tokyo, Japan |
| 3 | Lie Lie Land | London, England |
| 4 | Benito Juárez | Segundo Barrio, El Paso, Texas |
| 5 | Laughing Girl | Segundo Barrio, El Paso, Texas |
| 6 | Virgin Mary | Segundo Barrio, El Paso, Texas |
| 7 | Boy Lying Dead | Segundo Barrio, El Paso, Texas |
| 8 | Borderland Aliens | Segundo Barrio, El Paso, Texas |
| 9 | Pig Trump | Segundo Barrio, El Paso, Texas |
| 10 | Humpty Dumpty Trump | Segundo Barrio, El Paso, Texas |
| 11 | O! Racism Stinks | Cement culvert, Juárez, Mexico |
| 12 | Berlin Wall | Cement culvert, Juárez, Mexico |
| 13 | Nelson Mandela | Cement culvert, Juárez, Mexico |
| 14 | Che Guevara | Cement culvert, Juárez, Mexico |
| 15 | Chalk Trump | Cement culvert, Juárez, Mexico |
| 16 | SpongeBob Trump | Cement culvert, Juárez, Mexico |
| 17 | Tijuana Wall Text Sampling | Playas de Tijuana, Mexico |
| 18 | Monarch Butterfly | Playas de Tijuana, Mexico |
| 19 | Pinky Kiss | Playas de Tijuana, Mexico |
| 20 | Love Trumps Hate | Playas de Tijuana, Mexico |
| 21 | "Fuck Trump" on Grey Wall | Colonia Libertad, Mexico |
| 22 | Rape Trump | Colonia Libertad, Mexico |
| 23 | Trump and Four Women of Color | Colonia Libertad, Mexico |
| 24 | Devil Trump | Dreamer's Tunnel, Long Beach, California |
| 25 | DACA Void | Dreamer's Tunnel, Long Beach, California |
| 26 | The Dream Killer | Dreamer's Tunnel, Long Beach, California |
| 27 | Dreamers | Dreamer's Tunnel, Long Beach, California |

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