



Now let us show it to you

A multimodal discourse analysis of websites offering
United States-Mexico border crossing tours

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Abstract

This thesis analysed in what ways organisations offering United States-Mexico border crossing tours construct and communicate meanings of the tour on their website by analysing layout and design, visual and textual elements of those websites, applying a multimodal discourse analysis. Seven websites of both United States-based and Mexico-based organisations were analysed. Although the organisations focus on different aspects of the border, they all want to give their tour on the United States-Mexican border an educational meaning. However, visual and textual elements of the border imply otherwise for most websites. Referring to or using words and images that belong to the circle of representation of typical tourism activities, the tour is given the meaning of entertainment, leisure, sensation, experiencing the out of the ordinary and fun to a greater or lesser extent. Besides, the border is presented as creating distinctions, but those are interesting and safe and not dangerous or problematic. Organisations choose to give one or two perspectives on the border (social, environmental, political, artistic) and do not show that there is a versatility of opinions and views on the borderline. Only Mexican-based organisations pay attention to the relation between the border and people living near it and the effects of the border on people.

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Introduction

Introduction

In the first episode of Netflix series *Dark Tourist*, journalist and filmmaker David Farrier takes part in a tour that gives tourists the opportunity to experience what it is like to cross the border between Mexico and the United States as an illegal migrant. Although the series never mentions where or by whom the border crossing tour is organised, it has been confirmed that this was the so-called *Caminata Nocturna* of Mexican Theme Park *EcoAlberto* (Triple J; US Immigration Bond Expert). This tour has received media attention before, discussing the peculiarity of the tour's subject and performance (Adwar; Ayres; Corduroy; Gates; Gómez-Robledo; Johnson; O'Gilfoil Healy; Wal). During a few hour trip through the desert, hills, brambles and riverbeds on the property of the *Parque EcoAlberto* in the state of Hidalgo, people are being scoffed, robbed, shouted at and fatigued. The park claims that it wants to raise consciousness amongst mostly Mexican tourists about what illegal immigrants have to go through to cross the border. Partially financed by the Mexican government, the tour is supposed to discourage Mexicans from trying to cross the border with the United States by showing them different kinds of dangers and educate people on the risks of crossing the border illegally (O'Gilfoil Healy).

Parque EcoAlberto, which is located more than a 1000 kilometres from the actual border, has been criticised for its simulated migration tour. Hasian, Maldonado and Ono have critically analysed the park and conclude in their article "*Thanatourism, Caminata Nocturna, and the Complex Geopolitics of Mexico's Parque EcoAlberto*" that the tour

allow[s] those with polyvalent interests and complex motives to craft cultural identities as they engage in social imaginaries and performative practices that allow for contrapuntal readings. For example, indigenous members of the Hñähñú community allow visitors to get a sense of some of the excitement, dread, and dangers that confront those who are willing to take the risk of crossing the Mexican-U.S. border, but they themselves can travel North and send money back home to their families (325).

Meaning and possible interpretation of the *Caminata Nocturna* are not unambiguous. The tour is supposed to discourage possible migrants from trying to cross the border, but it is also claimed that the tour might actually teach them how to do that (N. Alvarez 25). *Parque EcoAlberto* wants to focus on education and discouragement, but Hasian, Maldonado and Ono claim that the excitement and the staged dangers of the tour do also promote the tour as a sensational dark tourist attraction. This can be influenced and shaped by the narratives the organisation offers, for example during the tour itself and on the park's website. This thesis looks at how the latter functions for *Parque EcoAlberto's Caminata Nocturna* and for other United States-Mexico border crossing tours on offer, comparing the perspectives they give and the meanings they create for the tours, the border and its issues.

The United States-Mexico border

On the 8th of November, 2016, Donald Trump was elected to become president of the United States of America. One of his promises during his campaign considered the border between Mexico and the United States: Trump claimed to adopt more hard-line immigration policies and to build a border wall to restrict illegal immigration and the problems of drugs and crime associated with it. This evoked divergent reactions all over the world. Trump's wall between the United States and Mexico is still a hot and relevant topic in American politics and the (international) media, but the border and its problems have been subject for discussion long before Trump's announcements and presidency, in different contexts and for different reasons.

Before the nineteenth century, there was no border between Mexico and the United States as it is now known. Mexican migrants were not prevented from moving into the U.S., there were no fences or controls (St. John 1). The physical and legal border came into existence when Mexico and the United States decided they had to mark their territories and found out their ideas did not match, which led to a war in 1846 and eventually to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Mexico ceded about 55% percent of its territory to the United States, which included 1 million square miles, 100.000 Mexicans and 200.000 Native Americans (United States Government; Squire 6). The border would be marked by the placement of “monuments, cleared strips, and eventually, fences to make it a more visible and controllable dividing line” (St. John 2). People living in the territories that had now become American property were given one year to choose whether they wanted American or Mexican citizenship. Although the legal American citizenship did not grant them social acceptance and integration, more than 90 percent chose this option and stayed in the United States (Glass; Immigration and Ethnic History Society). The treaty did not only change the ownership of the land, but also the meanings of it. It would become “a marker of military sovereignty, a site of transborder trade, a home to binational communities, a customs and immigrations checkpoint, a divide between political and legal regimes, and even, at times, a battlefield” (St. John 3). However, the border zone remained an open region where people could move back and forth freely (Nail 168). It was not before the beginning of the twentieth century, during the Mexican Revolution and World War I, that the border would be given meaning as controlling and obstructing immigration (St. John 5). And only in 1945, the government started building substantial fences along the border (Nail 174).

Since the 1990s, the border between Mexico and the United States has been a police zone as a result of changes in the United States' national defence and security policy and the drug war in Mexico. The border crosses areas of desert, mountains and rivers, and 654 miles of the 1933 miles along the border are fenced (Mark et al.). The border is the most frequently crossed border in the world, amongst others by migrants (Nail 167). Fences and Border Patrol's operations were supposed to deter these migrants from crossing the border. People who did try could expect terrible consequences: according to non-profit organisation Alliance San-Diego, 83 people have been killed since the beginning of 2010 by

border patrols and many more have been offended or brutalised, sometimes with lifelong effects like injuries. Migrants started to cross illegally via “exceptionally dangerous stretches of desert instead of traditional migration corridors. (...) the new border policy triggered a new phenomenon of migrant deaths due to hyperthermia, overexposure, and drowning” (C. J. Alvarez). Although illegal crossing did decrease, the immigration policies also had other, horrible results.

Border tourism as dark tourism

A border is a space of contradictions, negotiation, limits, control and possibilities: it separates and simultaneously brings together two or more different countries and people. It denotes and connotes both physical and psychological against movement and interaction of humans, objects and services (Gelbman & Timothy, “From hostile boundaries” 240). According to Alon Gelbman and Dallen J. Timothy, tourists are attracted to borders because they embody “the interface of different languages and cultures, social and economic systems and political realms” (“From hostile boundaries” 240). Borders can also be markers of history, be considered heritage because they tell a certain story. Border tourism can be considered dark tourism if tourists, for example, visit hostile boundaries because they seek to experience a feeling of unsafety or political controversiality.

Hasian, Maldonado and Ono conclude that the *Caminata Nocturna* can be considered a manifestation of dark tourism, due to the “deaths associated with [illegal] border crossings at the U.S.-Mexico Border” (315). Dark tourism has been subject of interest in tourism studies for a long time. According to Sharpley & Stone, there has even been an increase in both interest in and provision of dark tourism attractions over the last half century (5). The concept can be explained as “travel to a location wholly, or partially motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death” (A. Seaton 234). The definition can also be widened, as Sharpley & Stone do: “places or events associated in one way or another with death, disaster and suffering” (5). The latter definition of dark tourism is more suitable for analysing border crossing tours since there are more ways of suffering connected to the border than death alone.

Website analysis

As Jayne Krisjanous argues, there has been relatively little research on the nature of websites in dark tourism. Analysis of the internet as part of the decision making and interpretation process of tourists is important in the field of tourism studies since an increasing number of tourists makes use of websites and other online sources for finding information. Tourists’ possible interpretations of attractions are always communicated, influenced and even constructed by the tour operator or provider. A website is one of the possible media which can affect tourists’ motivations to visit the attraction and influence their pre-visit knowledge and expectations as well as their behaviour and experience: it is part of the circle of

representation (Lee et al.). Jenkins summarises the circle of representation as “the projection, perception and perpetuation” of signs or texts (306). Texts or signs are always informed by and projecting images and language that have been used before, and their meanings always exist in frameworks of power, politics, economics, cultures, etcetera. At their turn, they inform and structure people’s perception. When people’s performances and telling of narratives confirm the images and language used, the circle of representation is complete.

Interpretation and construction of meanings of signs and texts have been studied by semiotics. The first semiotic was constructed by Charles Peirce and Ferdinand de Saussure. They found that the relation between the signifier (the representation, e.g. an image or word) and signified (what is represented) is arbitrary. Their theory was further developed by other theorists to explain the complex relationship between signifier and signified, such as their interchangeability and the importance of discourse in structures and systems of signs (MacCannell, *The Tourist* 117-119). Stuart Hall has been a very influential thinker considering those structures. He argues that language always operates in frameworks of power, in which meaning is always produced and consumed. However, meaning is never fixed or determined by the sender of a sign. Audiences (for example tourists) can receive meaning in different ways. That can be linked back to the circle of representation: people can confirm and establish the texts they are offered, but they can also unsettle or disclaim them (Procter 2).

In post-modern cultural studies, visual images, maps and even landscapes are seen as texts that represent the world. Tourist attractions can themselves be considered texts or signs, but representations containing information of attractions are signs too: plaques, travel books, stories told by visitors, and websites (MacCannell, *The Tourist* 109-110). Tourism imagery is selected carefully by amongst other tour operators, to create a specific image, a certain story. This image or story consists of many different textual, typographic, design and visual representational signifiers which can be given meaning in themselves, but which also create meaning in their correspondence or correlation. Both singular signifiers and their interplay reflects and shapes underlying cultural and social structures and ideologies, which must be taken into account when analysing this imagery (Mogan & Pritchard 25). That is why multimodal discourse analysis is used in this thesis to research the websites of United States-Mexico border crossing tours, on both sides of the border.

This research

Krisjanous researches 25 dark tourism websites to find how the dark tourism spaces in question are communicated and how resources are used to construct and communicate meanings, shape expectations and signal behaviour for the site (341-342). She chose to research a large number of websites from a broad range of countries, on different kinds of dark tourism attractions. This thesis will focus on a smaller amount of websites, owned by organisations offering United States-Mexico border crossing

tours. The websites were selected on the basis of English language, except for Parque EcoAlberto, since the tour this park is offering has been covered in many news articles and might provide interesting information for this thesis. Selected organisations are Parque EcoAlberto, Gray Line Tours, Edgeline Productions Border Tours, San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network, Center for Immigration Studies, Turista Libra and MAGA. The tours or visits offered focus on different aspects of the border between the United States and Mexico and provide the tourist with information from different perspectives. By analysing and comparing images, fonts, narratives, stereotypes, backgrounds, etcetera of the seven websites mentioned before, more understanding will be obtained of how different stories of one subject, or different versions of one story, can be shaped and commodified for a particular audience. Therefore, the research question to be answered in this thesis is: In what ways do organisations offering United States-Mexico border crossing tours construct and communicate meanings of the tour on their website?

Unfortunately, it is not achievable to analyse the full circle of representation in this research. Since it is not possible for the researcher to travel to Mexico and for example interview people on their interpretation of a tour, the receipt of meanings and following confirmation or unsettling of meanings as Stuart Hall discusses, will not be included in this thesis. Related to this, the focus of this research will also be on the supply side of United States-Mexico border crossing tours and not on the demand side.

Following the method used by Jayne Krisjanous, the first chapter will focus on design and layout: colours, symbols and spatial elements. In the second chapter, imagery will be analysed: photography, artwork and videos. The third chapter will take written signifiers into account: words, narratives and typographical choices. Looking into all different modalities and comparing and connecting them will help to create a full understanding of constructed meanings of United States-Mexico border crossing tours offered to tourists on different websites.

Chapter 1

Status Quaestionis

Border crossing

People have been crossing borders for travel since the fourteenth century, when borders were being marked in Europe. Borderlands were not as clearly marked as they are nowadays and political control was vague, so the act of crossing borders as a tourist or traveler was very different from contemporary border crossing (Timothy, “Relationships”). Until the twentieth century, borders functioned as economic, cultural, political, social and geographical barriers, that enabled and reinforced countries’ political order and control and the protection of citizens. In the past decades, globalisation and cosmopolitanism encouraged changes in worldwide borders and border policies. Instead of related to restrictions and regulations, borders have come to be seen as interfaces of connectivity and encounter, “where political entities collide, economies converge and cultures blend” (Timothy, “Relationships”). A considerable amount of borders developed from completely closed, allowing no one to cross and having an extremely low level of permeability, into open crossings having no checkpoints and a very high level of permeability. Of course, there are many levels of permeability in between, and many borders are neither completely restricted nor entirely open (Timothy, *Tourism*). The opening up of borders is considered a positive effect of growth in international travel since it encourages the cooperation between neighbouring countries and facilitates the crossing of borders (Gelbman & Timothy, “From hostile boundaries” 244; Wachowiak). According to Oscar J. Martinez, many borderlands have changed from alienated borderlands, in which there is almost no cross-border interchange and movement, or co-existent borderlands, which allow for (minimal) cross-border cooperation when needed, into interdependent or even integrated borderlands. The former concerns border regions that are linked together by economic and social activities, the latter describes open borders that allow for many forms of cross-border exchange and concurrence (Martinez 1-5; Gelbman & Timothy, “From hostile boundaries” 243). This process is also called de-bordering (Gelbman & Timothy, “Differential tourism zones” 1).

De-bordering has influenced and influences tourism: crossing borders is an essential element of travelling, which can be both hindered and facilitated by means of policies. Less strict policies and more open border or even borderlessness make it easier for tourists to travel. Gelbman and Timothy argue that there are four possible relationships between tourism and borders: borders as barriers, borders as attractions or destinations, borders as landscape modifiers and borders as transit spaces (“Differential tourism zones” 3-6). Borders are perceived as barriers because they separate spaces, economies, histories, identities, and societies, as mentioned above, and because they can obstruct the course of tourists’ travels. They can also function as tourist attractions or destinations in and of themselves: people

can be interested in the ways borders create spaces, economies, identities, and other circumstances that are different to the rest of a country or countries. Thirdly, the crossing of borders by tourists causes the development of border-tourism landscapes, involving for example hotels, shopping zones, restaurants and in some cases even red light districts. Tourists can be interested in seeing “how state limits create visual and corporeal dissimilarities on opposite sides”, how landscapes are modified by tourism (Gelbman & Timothy, “Differential tourism zones” 5). And lastly, borders function as transit zones because they need to be passed by tourists. Because tourists do not assign any further meaning to borders in this case, they can be considered transitory spaces of placelessness (Gelbman & Timothy, “Differential tourism zones” 6).

This research focuses on the border between the United States and Mexico as an attraction or destination in terms of border crossing tours. Other functions of the border (a barrier, landscape modifier or transit space) will of course also be of importance, but on a second level. Wachowiak has described that the ritual of crossing a border as a part of tourism has become more attractive in the past decades connected to globalisation, that historic borders and their remnants have become tourist attractions and that they are sometimes even attributed the status of heritage, which can be of interest to tourists. Gelbman and Timothy have researched how the Island of Peace on the Israeli-Jordanian border, the Golden Triangle of Southeast Asia and the Berlin Wall have developed from closed borders into tourist attractions, and conclude that

borders become commemorative spaces of the historical past, teaching awareness and understanding of former disagreements, with an emphasis on the positive elements of a more peaceful present and its symbolic power for the future (...), [which] may contribute significantly to preserving and encouraging lasting relations of peace and cooperation (“From hostile boundaries” 256-257).

Borders (have) not only become (former) places of danger and fear, but also places of peace, cooperation and the possibility of a better future. When countries work together, or when border tourism helps to strengthen the image and narrative of a region, its identity can be shaped, interactions can be facilitated and barriers overcome. For the development of borderlines into tourist attractions, symbolical elements are very important, since they can create meaning of those landscapes for tourists (Gelbman 193; Liberato et al. 1347). Border features like walls and flags intrigue and fascinate tourists, because they mark differences – in cultures, economic systems, politics, and in some cases time (Gelbman & Timothy, “From hostile boundaries” 240). For example, border fences can come to connote a closed and hostile border as well as an open and peaceful one: visitors of Israel’s border can feel the history of war and look at the neighbouring country through a fence, but they also know that cooperation with that country is in development (Gelbman 210).

However, not all international borders have become more open. Some borders have closed in need for more order, control and protection of citizens, amongst others the northern and southern

boundaries of the United States as a result of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. This process is called re-bordering (Gelbman & Timothy, "Differential tourism zones" 2). The United States borders are less permeable than they have ever been, making it hard for people to cross and creating boundaries of exclusion rather than inclusion (Gelbman & Timothy, "From hostile boundaries" 243). Hostility and lack of safety for people wanting to cross the border between the United States and Mexico may scare tourists away from visiting the border. However, politically controversial areas do appeal to some. Tourists can be attracted to hostile and closed borders due to the potential of actual danger, searching for something they do not experience in their daily lives when travelling, which is one of the general explanations for dark tourism (Butler).

Dark tourism

Travel to places that are associated with death, disaster and suffering is an ever-existing phenomenon, but it has not always been studied. In 1989, Dean MacCannell introduced negative sightseeing, which considered tourism to representations of poverty, bad urban structures, social ills, etcetera (*The Tourist* 40). The labels black spots and sensations sights were proposed by Chris Rojek, to indicate "the commercial developments of grave sites and sites in which celebrities or large numbers of people have met with sudden and violent death" (188). The most commonly used concept of dark tourism was first mentioned in the field of tourism in 1996 by John Lennon and Malcolm Foley. It was defined as tourism to places presenting real and commodified death and disaster, like "battlefields, celebrity death sites, graveyards, cemeteries, atrocity and disaster sites, murder locations, memorials, museums of war, torture and horror" (T. Seaton 521). Lennon and Foley focused on the location/destination aspect of dark tourism and the (re)presentation of death and suffering. Tony Seaton developed a related concept around the same time: thanatourism, concentrating on the types of behaviour, experiences and motivations of tourists instead of on destinations (521). Later, dark tourism came to be used as an umbrella term and the concepts were questioned, researched interdisciplinary and viewed from multiple perspectives. Other concepts relating to dark tourism were suggested and developed to create nuances in and define the phenomenon further: tragic tourism, grief tourism, fright tourism and morbid tourism (Bowman & Pezzullo 188). Every concept has its own focus, exclusions, problems and limitations, as it is rooted in its own discourse and context. Development of the field of study was also characterised by more "critical attention to the motivations and experiences of tourists who visit places of death and suffering" (Light 277). It was argued that the kind of place that is being visited cannot be disconnected from the motivations, goals and experiences of tourists and that studying them individually is problematic. However, as the scope of this thesis does not allow for answering questions of both tourist motivation to visit "dark" places and questions considering communication by the supply side of dark tourism, the ways in which research can connect the two will not be discussed here.

The development of dark tourism has been influenced by several historical European discourses. Tony Seaton argues that Christianity, antiquarianism and Romanticism had a notable impact on the development of tourism. Christianity is preoccupied with death and suffering and encouraged people to travel to places associated with this, in the form of pilgrimages. In the sixteenth century, antiquarianism emerged and focused on national heritage. Visitation of battlefields, death sites of national heroes and ruins became more common. Two centuries later, Romanticism inspired people to search for the Other, to escape from the everyday world, which resulted amongst others in (re)new(ed) fascinations with death (T. Seaton 526-534). After the First and Second World War, the presentation of tourism linked to death and disaster changed again. Battlefields and sites associated with victims of the war became important tourist attractions (Stone 1567). According to Lennon and Foley, the rise of global communication technologies made it easier to spread the word on and enlarge interest in tourism to places related to death, disaster or suffering. Dark tourism became a more commonly known phenomenon. Besides, the organisation and design of places were no longer mostly focused on education, but also on commodification and commercialisation, which implies that this kind of tourism has become more accessible for everyone (Bowman & Pezzullo 189). The growth of interest in dark tourism can also be connected to another aspect of contemporary Western societies. Death is not visible anymore, it “has been largely removed from the public realm and replaced with media-inspired cultural representations of Significant Other Death”, as Philip Stone describes (1566). Death has become an “other” as it is not considered part of life anymore, both own death and the dead. It can even be commercialised and sold, in some cases as art or entertainment. People may be seeing dark tourism as a way to think of the phenomenon of death in a way different from the way they would be able to think of it in everyday life, which can be connected to Butler’s explanation for the attraction of dark tourism.

Using the term dark tourism also brings (possible) problems. An important point of discussion is the use of the word “dark” in dark tourism, which can be seen to connote a value judgement as it contrasts with “light”. Following the interpretation of Michael Bowman and Phaedra Pezzullo, “dark” implies that the place or act of tourism is “disturbing, troubling, suspicious, weird, morbid or perverse” (190). Light tourism, on the other hand, can be valued as good, morally right, responsible or normal (T. Seaton 525). The concept thus denies that tourists can have varied motives for travel. Besides, “darkness” is a socially constructed concept, which means that labelling a site as “dark” seems to be a complicated matter of perspective and privilege” (Bowman & Pezzullo 191). Making the debate even more difficult, a distinction can and maybe should be made between naming the subjects and places of tourism, the goals of tourists and tourist attractions and the behaviour of tourists “dark”. If the aforementioned adjectives are applicable to the subjects or places of dark tourism, its goal or effect does not have to be dark: dark tourism can actually “promote peace, educate visitors and provide visitors with opportunities ‘to critically reflect on their everyday lives’” (Seraphin 523). It might be argued that the darkness of dark tourism is also dependent on the communication of the supply side of tourism and the

motivations and interpretations of tourists. Several researchers have developed theories, models or typologies for shades of darkness in dark tourism, but as the problem with those attempts is that they are unending (Ashworth & Isaac 318), and because the goal of this thesis is not to classify attractions according to their darkness, that subject will not be further explained (Stone; Strange & Kempa).

Another problem with the term dark tourism is its suggested connection to postmodernism in Western societies. Lennon and Foley treated the concept as form of postmodernism, explaining tourists' interests and behaviour as a result of anxiety about modernity (Light 279; Bowman & Pezzullo 188; Ashworth & Isaac 317). As Ashworth and Isaac write, though, "an interest in the bizarre, and specifically death, is as ancient as tourism or commemoration itself and is as much a result and support of modernity as a reaction to it" (317). Furthermore, treating dark tourism as an aspect of postmodernism creates limits for understanding, so most contemporary scholars consider postmodernism not as essentially but optionally linked to dark tourism.

As mentioned before, this thesis will only focus on the supply side of tourism by researching attractions' websites. As the concept of dark tourism has mostly been used for this kind of research (Light 280), it will also be used in this thesis. The notion of dark tourism as defined by Philip Stone, "the act of travel to tourist sites associated with death, suffering or the seemingly macabre" is considered most applicable and will, therefore, be used in the following chapters (1568). In searching for and choosing this definition, the word "associated" is essential. Selected attractions are not all locations of death or suffering, which some definitions imply, but do cover a subject related to these concepts. The extension of death-related tourism by suffering and the macabre has also been decisive as not all tourism to United States-Mexico border crossing tours is associated with death. The word "seemingly" is also important in the choice for this definition. Interpretation and experience of the tours is never fixed and whether they can be considered dark or macabre is dependent on perspective.

Dark tourism website analysis

As assumed by Philip Stone, interpretations and experiences are strongly influenced by social environments and reality (1570). In contemporary societies, this social environment and reality are no longer only physical, but also influenced by and consisting of a digital environment including websites, social media, and social applications. This is also true for dark tourism. As Jayne Krisjanous argues, "dark tourism ventures' websites are an important means to communicate with target markets" (341) and Katie Heuermann and Deepak Chhabra write that "it cannot be denied that the purchase of tourism products by customers from websites has exponentially grown over the last few decades. These purchase intentions are, to a large extent, influenced by the image portrayed by signature websites" (217). However, there is not much literature available yet on how dark tourism websites construct and communicate meaning (Krisjanous 342). There are only two relevant researches discussing this. The

first is Krisjanous' analysis of communication on dark tourism websites in relation to tourists' pre-visit engagement with how a site is considered to be contested. Heuermann and Chhabra's study is the second one, which looks into the place of dark tourism sites at Stone's spectrum of darkness based on their websites by identifying different types of authenticity. Both analysed 25 websites of different kinds of dark tourism attractions. Heuermann and Chhabra confined their research to the United States and used coding and categorising to determine the levels of darkness of websites. Krisjanous found her subjects in different countries and applies multimodal discourse analysis and social semiotics to identify and understand how dark tourism websites create expectations, motivate, inform and signal behaviour for tourists. She based her methodology on the six-phase "Multimodal Framework for Analyzing Websites as Cultural Expressions" provided by Luc Pauwels. As the aim of this research is to find how and what meaning is constructed on the selected websites, which is closely related to Krisjanous' research, multimodal discourse analysis will be applied as explained further in the next paragraph. The thesis will add another way of comparison to the existent body of research on dark tourism websites. Instead of on divergent dark tourism attractions, the focus will be on multiple attractions marketing one particular topic and one particular location: crossing the border between Mexico and the United States. The key objective is to gain more insight into (un)conscious (divergent) meanings tourism organisations create for one particular subject and how they do that.

Theoretical framework

Multimodal discourse analysis is an extension of the principles of semiotics, so a short introduction into this science of signs will be given before looking further into discourse analysis. The first semiotic was formulated by Charles Peirce and Ferdinand de Saussure, who discovered that the relationship between a signifier (word, object, image, etcetera) and its meaning, the signified, are arbitrary (MacCannell, *The Tourist* 117). Together, the signifier and the signified are the sign, which "represents something to someone" (MacCannell, *The Tourist* 109). The relationship between the signifier and the signified always exists in a system of signs which must be unravelled to understand the meaning of a sign. This system of signs is a language, which does not necessarily need to be verbal or textual. As Stuart Hall explains, sounds, images, music, even objects can have their own language: they "stand for or represent our concepts, ideas and feelings in such a way as to enable others to "read", decode or interpret their meaning in roughly the same way that we do" (5). In the contemporary world, different media also produce meaning in their own language. According to Dean MacCannell, even the world of tourism is full of signs: attractions, plaques, travel books, informative books, guides, stories told by visitors, websites, etcetera (*The Tourist* 41). Semiotics is concerned with how representations work and how language can produce meaning. But this production of meaning does not happen in only one possible way – not everyone will interpret signs in the same way, since people may have a different background

or receive the sign in a different context or system. The theory of semiotics has been developed further to address and understand this complexity, amongst others by addressing discourse.

Discourse analysis studies representation not as a general language, but looks at the construction of meaning in a historically or spatially specific context. It is argued that language always operates in frameworks of power. This framework or context is called a regime or discourse, which defines “what is and is not appropriate in our formulation of, and our practices in relation to, a particular subject or site of social activity; what knowledge is considered useful, relevant and ‘true’ in that context; and what sorts of persons or ‘subjects’ embody its characteristics” (Hall 6). There may also be multiple discourses or circuits of meaning at work. Representation, signification and the giving of meaning will always be fluid, a kind of dialogue between sender, receiver and (shared) cultural codes. Besides, meaning is not only being constructed in the broader cultural context of the sign, but also sent and received via a particular medium; Hall’s “material form” or the “vehicle” as MacCannell mentions (Hall 9; MacCannell, *The Tourist* 111). This medium can also add a layer of meaning.

Contemporary mediums often use multiple modes to distribute signs or messages, like television (sound and visuals) and websites (multiple kinds of visual information: images and texts, sometimes also sound) and the functions and roles those modes fulfil may be (inter)changed or replaced (Machin). Interpretation based on singularly linguistic models is in many situations not sufficient or even inappropriate. Machin finds that visual signs ask for or evoke a very different semiotic process in the receiver than textual signs do. Excluding modes would create an incomplete and possibly wrong interpretation. That problem is possibly solved by multimodal discourse analysis, which is a relatively young set of concepts and approaches (Krisjanous 342). Its most important characteristic is that it looks into both how individual modes create meaning and how meaning is created by their interplay, in their context, which allows for finding more or other meanings than they would realise individually. There is not much literature available on the use of multimodal discourse analysis in tourism and the definition of modes in multimodal discourse analysis is quite uncertain. Krisjanous’ mentions “sensory modes or modalities” without defining them (342), but those terms probably refer to the physiological or sensory channels and the definition from the medium side Pauwels describes (250). Sensory channels are visual, auditory, tactile, olfactory, and gustatory. For analysing media, though, those modes are not very interesting. Continuing Pauwels’ line of thought, in this thesis modes will be defined from the medium side, which mostly uses the visual mode. The auditory mode can also be part of websites, but as that is not the case for the selected ones for this research, that mode will not be discussed. The visual mode can be split into textual parts, typography, layout and design features and images, as will be further explained in the paragraph on methodology (250).

Sub-questions

The main question of this thesis is: In what ways do organisations offering United States-Mexico border crossing tours construct and communicate meanings of the tour on their website?

In the three following chapters of this thesis, sub-questions will be discussed in order to eventually answer the main question. The sub-questions are as follows:

1. In what ways do layout and design of the websites of organisations offering United States-Mexico border crossing tours construct and communicate meanings of the tour offered?
2. In what ways do visual signifiers on the websites of organisations offering United States-Mexico border crossing tours construct and communicate meanings of the tour offered?
3. In what ways do written signifiers of the websites of organisations offering United States-Mexico border crossing tours construct and communicate meanings of the tour offered?

Methodology

Website selection

Before starting the multimodal discourse analysis, a number of websites of tourism attractions had to be selected for this research. The main prerequisite for selection was that the tourism attraction offered a tour on the subject illegally crossing the border between the United States and Mexico. Before starting the multimodal discourse analysis, a number of websites of tourism attractions had to be selected for this research. The main prerequisite for selection was that the tourism attraction offered a tour on the subject illegally crossing the border between the United States and Mexico. Selected website also had to be available in English due to the researcher's limited knowledge of other languages. The Spanish-language website of Parque EcoAlberto's website is an exception and was added to the objects of research because the tour that this park is offering has been discussed on several international and social media channels or platforms and might provide interesting information for this thesis. Other websites were found with the help of the researcher's thesis supervisor and by searching via Google, using terms like illegal border crossing, border crossing tours, border tours, Mexico-United States border, border wall and illegal migration in various combinations. The terms were searched for on Google in both English and Spanish to increase the chance of finding websites relating to the subject of this research. As the number of organisations offering a tour related to border crossing of the United States-Mexican border was not very large, no selection was made of the kind of organisations offering the tour. Both websites of commercial tourism organisations (Parque EcoAlberto, Gray Line Tours, Edgeline Productions Border Tours and Turista Libre) and websites of non-profit/non-partisan organisations (Center for Immigration Studies, MAGA and San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network) are included in this research. Below, all the organisations are introduced shortly.

Parque EcoAlberto is a vacation park that offers the combination of spa facilities, adventurous ecotourism and local dishes. It focuses on providing tourists a fun time. The Caminata Nocturna or Night Walk was born with a different intent, though; “to raise awareness in our young countrymen community and show them that they should not risk their lives seeking for a better life in another country” (Parque EcoAlberto).

Gray Line Tours, Edgeline Productions Border Tours and Turista Libre are tour operators. The former offers local and regional package tours, focusing on groups like schools, churches, associations and hotel groups, but also creating tours for individuals. Its aim is to let guests become temporary locals (Gray Line Arizona *Gray Line Tucson*). Edgeline Productions was found by a retired Border Patrol Supervisory Agent and offers one day tours on the geopolitical environment of the border. The last tour operator mentioned focuses on offering tourists “pastimes typically reserved for locals” (Turista Libre “What is Turista Libre?”).

Besides those profit-making organisations, border wall tours offered by some non-profit organisations will be researched. The Center for Immigration Studies is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit research organisation, aiming to provide immigration policy makers, academics, news media and citizens with reliable information on consequences of legal and illegal immigration into the United States. MAGA is a non-profit art organisation that was asked by the United States government to create, build and test eight border wall prototypes for Donald Trump’s proposed border wall (MAGA “Press Release”). The organisation offers only one tour to the test site and prototypes. The San Diego Maquiladora Workers’ Solidarity Network, part of the non-profit, non-governmental Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladores, also offers only one tour. The organisation “ties together people in the nation’s largest border town who want to build an alliance between working people across that border” (San Diego Maquiladora Workers’ Solidarity Network *San Diego*). The tour is supposed to teach people on the Maquiladoras and their workers’ struggles.

It is important to note that for Turista Libre, not only its webpage for tours will be analysed, but also the Eventbrite webpages offering tickets for the border tour. Information on this tour has been removed from Turista Libre’s own website, but can still be found on Eventbrite. Comparison of the information on currently offered tours on this webpage to the information on linked Eventbrite pages shows that the content of both is very similar, which makes it highly plausible that the information on the “‘Against the Wall’ border proximity pilgrimage tour” Eventbrite page has previously been placed on this page of the organisation’s website. Therefore, the content of the Eventbrite website will be analysed chapter 3 and 4. However, the layout and design of both websites is very different, so the Turista Libre website will be studied in chapter 2.

Multimodal discourse analysis

The sub-questions and main question of this research will be answered through analysis of the websites by adjusted application of the framework for multimodal discourse analysis provided by Luc Pauwels, also looking at Jayne Krisjanous' use of the framework. Pauwels proposes six phases that maintain a certain logic of discovery and migrate "from fairly easy-to-quantify and code data, to more interpretative analysis focused on discovering the metaphorical and symbolic dimensions of websites or to unraveling their intended and even unintended meanings" (252). His phases can be used as a basis and customised for analysing different kinds of website as cultural expressions.

The first phase aims at the first impressions and reactions that are not yet influenced by knowledge or further insights of the researcher. As this phase is more focused on the audience and reception than on the supply side of dark tourism, it will not be included in this research. Making an inventory of website features and attributes, main content categories and topics and denotatively reading content and form, which characterises the second phase, will be part of this thesis as this provides a first basic set of indications of the website. Attention will also be paid to what features, categories and topics are absent, which can also be meaningful. Pauwels' third phase is the "in-depth analysis of content and stylistic features", which is the most interesting and important one. Both intra-model analysis and cross-model analysis will be applied, paying attention to the potential information in individual modes and signifiers and to the complex forms of interplay between those. The cultural connotations of verbal/written signifiers, typographic signifiers, visual representational types and signifiers and layout and design signifiers and their relations and cross-modal interplay will be taken into account. Again, inverted or negative analysis will also be applied here when something's absence stands out. The fourth and sixth phase, considering point of view or voice, implied audiences, purposes and context analysis will not be applied individually but incorporated in the previously mentioned phases. "Analysis of dynamic information organisation and spatial priming strategies" goes beyond the scope of this research and the academic skills of the researcher, so it was decided that the fifth phase will not be covered here.

Website analysis of all the previously mentioned signifiers can take different approaches in terms of time. Here, a snapshot approach will be applied: the selected websites will be analysed at a certain point in time, in contrast to the diachronic approach which takes the data from multiple analyses at different moments in time and examines differences and similarities between them. As this thesis must be written within six months and the chance that the content of the selected websites will change significantly is quite small, the second approach is not considered feasible or interesting.

This thesis will try to analyse websites, their signifiers and the relations between signifiers from multiple perspectives and consider their possible meanings in the contexts of several discourses, but that will, of course, be limited by the researcher's (academic) background, scope of knowledge and available English-language sources providing more information on contexts. Meanings change as we interpret signs from another perspective, in another cultural, historical, linguistic, etcetera context: meaning may

be temporarily fixed in a particular system of representation but is never fixed “in the world”, as there are always different circuits of meaning and discourses at work through which we can create meaning (Hall 7, 10). As Tony Seaton writes, “any and all sites are polysemic and do not possess an inherent, essentialist identity that can be fixed to a single meaning whatever the intentions of their creators” (523). And on top of that, even multiple meanings found will never be fixed or all-encompassing.

Chapter 2 | Layout and design analysis

Introduction

As explained in the introduction, this thesis mostly follows the phases of multimodal discourse analysis as proposed by Luc Pauwels. Before conducting an in-depth analysis of all kinds of signifiers the webpages contain (formal elements like layout and design, visual representations and written signifiers) it is important to make an inventory of features and attributes, and determine the main topics of the research objects. All objects of research offer a border crossing tour, but the websites look and work differently. In this research, only the webpages considering the tour were researched, not the complete websites, as those often contain pages and aspects that do not add value to this research. Only for Edgeline Productions Border Tours the full website was analysed, as its multiple pages all contain information on the border tour offered. After determining the features and attributes of the webpages/website, their layout and design will be discussed in this chapter.

Features and attributes

The features and attributes of websites can give information on the intent of the website's organisations. As Richard Hallett and Judith Kaplan-Weinger write, "Tourism websites are consciously composed to include some texts and exclude others, so that the site constructs for a destination an identity that is both indicative and inviting. Incorporating multiple modalities, website creators exploit patterns and functions of linguistic and visual semiotics" (117-118). All websites use a combination of written and visual representational signifiers. However, the Center for Immigration Studies has relatively little text on its webpage for the 2020 Border Tour, because that tour has not been planned yet. San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network on the other hand has included no photographs and only one image on its webpage; the network's logo. This will be analysed further in the chapter on visual signifiers.

The size of the websites and their pages are also important. Cuauhtemoc Luna-Nevarez and Michael R. Hyman make a distinction between small and large page sizes in their research on destination website design. Small pages have a length "less than or equal to two screens using a 1024 x 768 pixel resolution", large pages are more than two screens long (96). Among the research objects, only the tour-focused pages of Edgeline Productions Border Tours and San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network are small-sized.

The most commonly present aspects and features, although not present on all websites, are the name of the organisation; the title of the tour; a description of the (goal and/or itinerary of the) tour; information on price and reservation or tickets; photographs; a video; testimonials or reviews from

previous guests; hyperlinks to more information on other media platforms; a map of the tour or location; social media links and contact information. The name of the organisation and name of the tour can be considered essential and are included on all websites. Logically, a description of the tour, its goal and its itinerary is given on every webpage except for the Center for Immigration Studies' one, because there is currently no tour offered. It does announce that the 2020 Border Tour will be announced in the fall. Information on costs can sometimes be found in the tour description (Parque EcoAlberto, San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network, Turista Libre) or can be found by following a ticket link or button to another page of website (Gray Line Tours, Edgeline Productions Border Tours, MAGA). The Center for Immigration Studies does, again, not display those since there are at the moment of research no tickets that can be bought. Some websites (Gray Line Tours, Edgeline Productions Border Tours and MAGA) have also inserted a map, mostly via Google Maps, with the location of the organisation or even the tour's route. This is an important element for enhancing the visitor's experience and website reliability (Luna-Nevarez & Hyman 95). Photographs are often included in the header of the page and combined with the description of the tour. Half of the websites (Gray Line Tours, Edgeline Productions Border Tours, MAGA and Turista Libre) use only one photograph per page to illustrate the tour or environment (map, header or footer not included). Center for Immigration Studies and Parque EcoAlberto have included more photographs. MAGA, Edgeline Productions Border Tours and San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network are the only ones using a video to create a visual impression of their tour, although MAGA is the only one inserting it directly onto the page. The other two use a hyperlink to the visuals. Hyperlinks are also used to refer to social media, often in the shape of social media icons on the top or bottom of the page (Center for Immigration Studies, Parque EcoAlberto, Gray Line Tours, MAGA, Turista Libre), or additional information on other media platforms. The latter is only used by the San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Network, which links to a blog on maquiladora workers' struggles, and Parque EcoAlberto, that refers to photographs and tour schedules on their Facebook page. Contact information is included on all websites, although websites include this on a separate "contact" page except for Edgeline Productions Border Tours and San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network, which show their contact information in the header or footer of every webpage. The in- or exclusion of those elements and how they construct meaning will be analysed in the following chapters on visual and written signifiers.

Remarkably absent on most websites are testimonials and reviews from visitors or spaces for direct interaction, such as feedback areas. Only Center for Immigration Studies contains "Accounts and Pictures of Past Tours" and "Testimonials from Past Guests". Other websites do not want to attract its audience with this aspect. The research objects do also not refer to well known, comparing and evaluating tourism websites like TripAdvisor or Yelp, although some of the researched organisations can be found on those platforms – in particular tours offered by tour operators. The websites do refer to their social media pages, which are a common and important source of destination information for

potential tourists as they can find reviews or accounts of experiences of past visitors here (Luna-Nevarez & Hyman 104). This can be connected to what kind of image the organisations want to create or to what kind of people they want to attract. It is remarkable that only the Center for Immigration Studies has included reviews of tourists, because the organisation explicitly wants to provide people with reliable information and is non-profit. Showing testimonials makes the tour seem more of a leisure activity. The actual commercial organisations that need to convince tourists to take part in their tours do not show any testimonials, implying a more educational purpose and independence of profit made by having as many tourists as possible participating.

Another aspect that is absent on all research object except for the Edgeline Productions Border Tours website are advertorials. This is common on tourism websites offering tours, as they want to focus on selling their own products and not someone else's. Luna-Nevarez and Hyman also note that the efficacy of ads is declining, although many commercial websites contain at least one (104). This combined with the fact that advertorials make websites look more commercial and consumer-oriented, which the research objects do not seem to be aiming for, may have led the investigated organisation to not include banner ads.

Layout and design

In this chapter the formal elements layout and design will be discussed, before looking into the visual and written signifiers of the websites. According to Luc Pauwels, "website design and layout features are essentially tools used to attract, direct and invoke the desired effect on, or response from, website visitors. However, through the choices, they also convey producer-related ideas, opinions and aspirations" (255). It is important to take this into account for answering the main question. The sub-question that will be answered in this chapter is: In what ways do layout and design of the websites of organisations offering United States-Mexico border crossing tours construct and communicate meanings of the tour offered?

All organisations offering a border tour have created their own website, not following or using a template. They are structured or designed in similar manners, though: all websites show the organisation's name and a menu on top; have a white or light grey background, allowing the pictures and text to attract most attention; and are vertically oriented.

All research objects are structured or designed in similar manners. The texts are mostly black, except for the text on the webpage of the Center for Immigration Studies, which is greenish and dark blue. Colour schemes used for the header and titles are often blue or brown or a combination of the two. Gray Line Tours adds a sharp yellow to those colours and Parque EcoAlberto stands out for adding greens to its bright scheme. The only striking colour of the San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network's website is the orange of the header. Except for Parque EcoAlberto and Gray Line Tours, the

websites do not use loud colours in their layout, which creates the impression and emphasises that their goal is to provide the audience with information, not to entertain or indoctrinate it to do anything. The modest use of colours also has another effect for the webpage of Center for Immigration Studies: the original social media symbols attract more attention because they are positioned at the top of the page and because their colours do not fit into the regular colour scheme and shapes of the website. The Center could have chosen to change the design of those symbols and place them at the bottom of the page to make them less present, as is the case for the websites of MAGA and Parque EcoAlberto. Besides, two of the social media symbols are already included in the Center's site menu, and those have actually been adapted to its design. This makes the symbols on the page stand out even more.

Spatial relations and balance are not challenging either: the texts can be read from top to bottom in one or two columns. Parque EcoAlberto, Gray Line Tours, MAGA and Center for Immigration Studies use two columns, often showing text in one and pictures or additional information in the other column. Parque EcoAlberto is the only website positioning the text that provides the most important information in its right column. It is also one of the three websites distributing this text evenly between the margins instead of aligning it on the left, which makes sense because that would attract attention to the left side of the website. The other two websites centring its essential texts are Center for Immigration Studies and Edgeline Productions.

Some of the researched websites are modern-looking: they have a clean, flat and square design with a limited amount of verbal information. Their design is not avant-garde or highly attractive though, just pleasant, well-arranged and user-friendly. San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network and Edgeline Productions Border Tours have a more old fashioned look. The former's layout does even look like a Word-document, a piece of paper that can be hung on walls and trees for promotion or distributed around the neighbourhood.

Most of the research objects are not daring the audience, challenging it or offering space to wander around and explore the website. Information is provided in a quite rigid, symmetrical and predefined structure. Considering the vertical orientation of the websites, the essential information is often given in the upper half of the page. When the viewer scrolls down less important information can be found, implied by the size, placement and amount of text. Turista Libre offers equally important information from top to bottom of its page, since multiple tours are presented. Horizontally, the left side of the pages often requests most attention, especially when a website consists of two columns as mentioned before. The right sides often offer additional information, illustrative images, or a button to buy tickets. This is an important element of the website, but by guiding the attention of the audience here at the end of its reading and viewing journey, it will not consider it as the primary goal of the organisation. Again, the layout and design of the websites implicate that their intent is to provide information.

Parque EcoAlberto's and Edgeline Productions' websites do (seemingly) offer slightly more space for exploration. The reading behaviour of Parque EcoAlberto's website is not only guided by columns, but also by movement of the content: while scrolling down some images, like the header and footer, and text blocks (dis)appear. This makes the site look more playful, creating a scrapbook-like look that connotes the creation of memories. It also suggests open space for the viewer to move around, but actually determines where the readers' attention is attracted to even more than other websites do. Another website that allows for wandering is Edgeline Productions' one, since the information on the tour is distributed over multiple webpages instead of concentrated on one. All websites contain a horizontally oriented menu that leads to information other than the tour. Edgeline Productions uses a vertical menu, leading to more information of aspects of the border tour, such as "Your Guide", "Satellite Map" and "Costs and Schedule". This invites the reader to explore different pages without implicating one is more important than the other and makes the tour feel more personal.: the information is left for the audience to be searched and found and is not just sent to be consumed. This individual feeling is strengthened by inclusion of pages like "Your Guide", "Border Tales" and the idea that you do not buy a ticket, but "Sign Up", as will be further discussed in the chapter on written signifiers.

Conclusion

Luna-Nevarez and Hyman conclude that "in general, [tourism destination] websites are moving to simpler but more visually attractive designs, with the focus shifting from text-based content to visually appealing multimedia elements" (104). This is not the case for the researched websites, though. In comparison to for example the larger tourism destination websites of California or the United States, the subjects of this thesis are more text-oriented and not very visually developed or attractive (Visit California; Brand USA). Multimedia elements influence first impressions of tourists looking at a website, encourage them to explore it further and can create the impression of reliability and high quality (Luna-Nevarez & Hyman 95). As has been mentioned before, the websites promoting a tour on border crossing seem to have another goal than attracting tourists and making them take part in the tour offered. Use of an unambiguous website with a clean design, that is easy to use, without too much promotional or additional elements and commercial transactions, gives the impression that the organisation is not commercially oriented, but informative.

Chapter 3 | Visual analysis

Introduction

As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, all research objects contain photographs, images and/or (links to) videos. San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network is the only organisation using only one visual element on its webpage, the others contain multiple elements. MAGA, Edgeline Productions Border Tours and San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network are the only websites in this thesis using a video to create a visual impression of their tour, with MAGA including it on its page and the other two using a hyperlink to refer to material on another media platform. In this chapter, all photographs, images and videos will be analysed. Because the approach of this research is to analyse the webpages considering the tours, the videos that can be found via hyperlinks on Edgeline Productions Border Tours' and San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network's website will not be included. The sub-question answered in this chapter is: In what ways do visual signifiers on the websites of organisations offering United States-Mexico border crossing tours construct and communicate meanings of the tour offered?

According to Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, "we decode images by interpreting clues to intended, unintended, and even merely suggested meanings. These clues may be formal elements such as colour, shades of black and white, tone, contrast, composition, depth, perspective, and style of address to the viewer" (26). Of course, this decoding happens within the frame of reference of the viewer, in a certain setting and context. Elements of this setting such as age, gender, cultural identity and political and social context cannot be changed, but there are also aspects of the position of the viewer that can be chosen. Stuart Hall has determined three different positions viewers can take to decode images: the dominant-hegemonic reading, which focuses on the "dominant message of an image in an unquestioning manner"; the negotiated reading, combining the dominant meaning with an interpretation from the image; and the oppositional reading, taking a position "completely disagreeing with the ideological position embodied in an image or rejecting it altogether" (Sturken & Cartwright 57). The researcher will try to take all positions in this chapter and decode the images from different points of view, but will of course be influenced by cultural identity, age and political and social context.

Photographs

Road trips and fences

Center for Immigration Studies and Gray Line Tours show pictures of the border in a national park-like, off road, sunny, dry area with some vegetation. An important difference between the photograph on the Gray Line Tours and the photographs on the Center for Immigration Studies webpage is that the latter

connote a road trip due to the prominence of the dirt road in the picture. That is confirmed by the results from the Google Images search for these pictures (appendix 2 and 6) and even from the search on the second picture that does not show a road (appendix 4): the images are described with words linked to national parks, backpacking, camping, road trips, travelling, etcetera. They also come from websites on those subjects or themes. The images connote an experience for fun, with friends, careless, exploring new places, seeing extraordinary landscapes, which in a dominant-hegemonic reading mean that the tour is attractive for tourists. The dirt road itself connotes the countryside in a quite romantic way; it connotes the wild, the unspoiled and yet to be discovered world that allows for escapism from daily life. The second picture (appendix 3) confirms this reading, because there is no human presence or modernity visible in the picture, only peaceful nature. The other pictures subtly show human presence: as can be seen in appendix 1, the first picture on Center for Immigration Studies' webpage for its annual border tour shows some tourists in the distance near the border fence and a large, white car. The third picture (appendix 5) does not include any human beings but suggests human presence by the point of view: the photograph was taken from behind an automobile's windshield. Gray Line Tours' photograph works the same: there's no person visible in the picture, but there are houses with chairs on the porches (appendix 7). In all three pictures, the viewer's attention is drawn to this human presence: the first image shows a focus on thirds and the people are placed on the lower horizontal line of thirds. In appendix 5, the perspective of the human eye is emphasised by the visibility of the car's nose, which has a very different colour than the brownish and greenish shades of the rest of the picture – apart from the sky, which mirrors the blue grey colour of the car and therefore directs attention back to the bottom of the photograph. The border wall or fence is present, but not primarily and might even be overlooked, especially in the second and third picture. Gray Line Tours' image guides the viewer's eye along diagonals: from the upper left corner to the lower right corner as well as from the upper right corner to the lower left corner, the eye moves along the porches. In the left half of the photograph the fence is most prominent, in contrast to the pictures on Center of Immigration Studies' website. As both organisations are offering a tour on the researched webpage, a focus on humans in their pictures underscores the dominant message. The way in which this happens can in an oppositional way be read as striking, in particular for the Center of Immigration Studies: this is not a tourist organisation that promotes a fun tour, but strives to offer reliable information on the immigration issues on the United States-Mexico border. Choosing to show photographs that connote careless and fun discovery does not seem to suit its goal. Gray Line Tours does emphasise its dominant message and goal as a tour operator with the selected photograph: it wants to let tourists become "temporary locals" (Gray Line Arizona *Gray Line Tucson*). The proximity of the houses to the border fence makes visible that the fence or wall is not just a physical construction, but a demarcation that affects lives.

Both organisations have selected photographs showing a border fence, not part of the border wall. According to Thomas Nail, the United States-Mexico border fence functions in another

way than the wall does: “The US-Mexico fence functions centripetally to capture a flow of migrants from the south in a number of ways” and “the wall regime at the US-Mexico border functions to centrifugally expel migrants outward, away from the center” (165, 183). In addition, the United States-Mexico border fence works according to three technologies: the offensive funnel fence, the defensive security fence and the binding monument (Nail 165). Neither the capturing nor the expelling of migrants is shown or referred to in the images of the discussed websites, though, and the border is also not depicted as offensive, defensive or monumental. The website of Gray Line Tours creates the message that the fence’s most important function is to mark a territory and create a “division between the wild outside and the fenced-in interior”, as there are only some plants visible on the left side of the border and houses on the other (Nail 173). This division effectuated by the border is not portrayed as being social, but as environmental or concerning nature. In Center of Immigration Studies’ photographs, the message is created by connotation of a rural bordering technique, functioning as a “physically distinctive and visually imposing territorial landmark”: the fence is dividing the landscape, but does not directly show to keep something or someone in or out (Nail 172). In a dominant-hegemonic reading, it just marks the borderline.

Another important difference between the wall and the fence is that the former is considered to be more urban, military and permanent, whereas the fence is mostly found on rural and wild lands and considered hybrid (Nail 165, 183). The choice for depicting a fence instead of a wall can thus be connected to the connotations of the road trip and exploring an unspoiled countryside mentioned before, evoked by the images on Center of Immigration Studies’ webpage, creating the dominant message that the tour offered is exploratory, fun and interesting.

Fences near the sea

Edgeline Productions Border Tours also shows images of the fence on its website, but of a very different kind: it depicts fences running into the sea (appendix 8 and 10). Contrary to the photographs on Center for Immigration Studies’ webpage, the fence is the most prominent element of the picture. That is a result of its place on the diagonal lines from corner to corner in the photograph shown in appendix 8, and of its place in the horizontal as well as vertical centre of the photograph in appendix 10. The photograph in appendix 8 clearly connotes the border wall, as becomes clear from the Google Image search results shown in appendix 9. However, in a dominant-hegemonic reading, the fence is again not depicted as dividing people and creating a social separation, but as forming an environmental border or mark. Its offensive and defensive functions in relation to migrants are not referred to by the picture.

Results of the picture in appendix 10 are described by words like “beach”, “holiday”, “coast”, “ocean views”, etcetera, which are typical tourism connotations of sand and sea (appendix 11). The border fence’s social effect on people living near the border and its offensive or defensive effect on

migrants are not only ignored, but even opposed by the image and its connotations. Instead of dividing, defending, offending, political and possibly even problematic, the border fence is here depicted as part of a landscape that allows for leisure and relaxation. This stands in stark contrast to the border wall connotations of the photograph in appendix 8. The dominant message created by this image is that the tour is mostly fun to take part in.

Walls

Some websites for border tours do not show the borderline as marked by fences, but by a wall. As mentioned before, the functions and connotations of border walls differ considerably from the functions and connotations of border fences. Where the fence is considered defensive, centripetal and domestic, the wall is more offensive, expelling, urban and centrally organised (Nail 51, 183). This implies that the organisations choosing to show a part of the border wall instead of the border fence create a different kind of meaning for the people visiting their website.

MAGA and Turista Libre both show a photograph of two or three of the border wall prototypes designed by MAGA. This organisation presents itself as “a United States-based non-profit art organisation” that has designed and built prototypes as “models for testing and evaluation for President Trump’s proposed border wall between the United States and Mexico” on its website for the border wall prototypes (MAGA “Press Release”). It thereby makes clear that it supports Trump’s political ideas. MAGA’s agenda is not only to show people art in the form of the prototypes, but also to show why construction of physical walls is needed as “part of a multi-pronged strategy to prevent the illegal migration of people, drugs, and human trafficking, and acts of terrorism” and convince people that their models are suitable to do so (MAGA “Press Release”). Besides, they want, or actually wanted, because the prototypes have already been demolished, to argue that the prototypes should be preserved as a national monument. In the picture included on the MAGA prototypes website (appendix 25) people are visiting, watching and photographing the wall. They are no regular tourists, looking at the fact that several of them are wearing suits, one is wearing a tie, and one is taking a photograph with a professional camera. The surfaces of the two prototypes cover the largest part of the picture, attracting most attention, which is strengthened by the vertically symmetrical composition. Both in the vertical and horizontal composition, thirds are important: the prototypes both cover about one third of the vertical composition and the horizontal composition attracts attention to the mountains behind it in the background of the image. Applying a dominant-hegemonic reading, all the brownish colours in the image imply and emphasise a dry, infertile and mostly uncultivated environment, which is a depiction with negative connotations of the border area, suiting MAGA’s agenda. Visitors are literally and metaphorically standing on the American side of the border, the side where the sun shines. The other side, the uncultivated landscape, can be interpreted to be Mexican. But, applying an oppositional reading, the

pylon visible in the middle of the picture shows that Mexico actually is cultivated and connects the two countries to each other via electricity and power.

The photograph shown on the Eventbrite ticket page for the Turista Libre proximity pilgrimage is taken from the same side of the prototypes and shows the same two prototypes MAGA presents, adding one more (appendix 27). There are no people present in the picture and the prototypes are not only shown in front of an actual border wall, but also behind one, isolating them from the rest of both the United States and Mexico. Again, brown mountains are visible in the background, but here that landscape is disturbed by a billboard. The image seems quite similar to MAGA's picture at first sight: the border wall prototypes are shown with the actual border wall and mountains in the background, it has the same colour schemes of blues and browns, and halves as well as thirds are emphasized in the composition. However, Google Images search results for both pictures are remarkably different. The picture used on MAGA's website connotes border wall images and discussions, whereas Turista Libre's photograph connotes buildings that are extraordinary in architecture and design (appendix 26 and 28). The latter connotations seem to be more suitable for MAGA presenting itself as an art organisation than for Turista Libre as a commercially oriented tourist organisation. However, showing art is not MAGA's dominant message: the organisation actually wants to assert and convince visitors that construction of a (new) border wall by the United States is necessary. Connotations that result from Google Images thus give a dominant-hegemonic interpretation. That is also true for Turista Libre: the organisation wants to offer visitors an interesting and entertaining activity, implying the out of the ordinary and artistic.

Turista Libre's choice for a photograph with a connotation to art is also visible in the picture that is used for the 2019 border proximity pilgrimage (appendix 29). Here, the wall is not depicted completely, only one particular part of it. It shows a mural of a heart with an eye and a white dove. The combination of those three elements suggest that the symbols are Catholic, referring to the sacred heart connoting divine love, the all-seeing eye and the dove of peace, love and divinity and together connoting charity and compassion to all people (Lewis & Llewellyn-Jones). However, the sacred heart is often depicted with flames, a cross, and the all-seeing eye with rays of light in a triangle (Rosario; ReligionFacts). That is not the case here. Other connections can be found in the story "The Tell-Tale Heart" by Edgar Allen Poe, which is a story of murder and guilt. In a negotiated reading, tourists can understand this image on the website of Turista Libre as a religious image and/or an accusation of the governments for not solving migration-related issues such as deaths of those trying to cross the border illegally, empathising with (local) Mexican people which is Turista Libre's intention.

Focus on people

The header of Edgeline Productions Border Tours homepage contains photographs that focus on another aspect of the tour than the fence or wall between the United States and Mexico: the person behind the

organisation. The first image that appears when someone arrives at the website is one of owner and guide Mike Harris, who is a retired supervisor of the United States Border Patrol (appendix 12). He is the only person in the picture looking directly into the camera, smiling, his face emphasised because it is centralised in the composition and by the black colour plane around it. Besides his face, the green suits with the little yellow badge on the chest and blue quads attract attention in the picture, which stresses the fact that Harris used to be a Border Patrol agent. Thomas Nail writes how

Today the USBP uniform retains the same green-coloured uniforms as the army – making clear its offensive military function and contrasting it with the blue uniforms of civil police officers (...) transforming human beings into standardised and homogenous units with uniform regulations, grooming regulations, and other physical and ideological regulations (...). The standardised body of the agent is ‘hardened’ with armour and then stacked into an ordered configuration by a central, federal power. Border Patrol agents’ bodies are made into ‘human walls’ (184).

Connotations of impersonality, offensiveness, harshness and impenetrability are obviously part of an oppositional reading as Mike Harris uses a picture of a smiling Border Patrol agent with friendly, bright colours. But the Border Patrol agents are literally framed by a wall and all of their faces, except from Mike’s, are invisible due to a cap, sunglasses or because they look away from the camera. As mentioned before, walls are considered urban, military and permanent, and in this picture those characteristics are allocated to the Border Patrol agents. The second image appearing shows Mike Harris standing in front of a Border Patrol vehicle (appendix 13). Applying a dominant-hegemonic reading, the picture is sunny, careless, and could even be a vacation photo taken during a safari trip, with the dry mountain landscape in the background. It shows characteristics of informal and touristic pictures. On the other hand, Harris is centralised and attention is attracted by him wearing his Border Patrol uniform and the words “Border Patrol” on the left of the car, just above the horizontal middle line of the pictures. Here, in contrast to the picture shown before this one, Mike’s face is not visible due to sunglasses. The composition of the photograph is a triangle, directing the viewer’s look from Mike to the words “Border Patrol” toward the car’s nose and into the distance. In an oppositional reading, attention is drawn to elements that evoke a negative feeling for certain people and the landscape of the mountains can be interpreted as inhospitable. As the screenshot in appendix 14 shows, the image connotes the police, terrorism, armoured vehicles and crime.

Three other photographs focusing on people, although it are not the ones behind the organisation, are the ones on the right side of Center of Immigration Studies’ page on its annual border tour (appendix 15). Read in a dominant-hegemonic manner, the images shown are typical for news broadcasts on television: one person telling a story is positioned in the middle of the screen, sitting in front of neutral background or green screen, or two people are displayed in a split screen, both looking into and talking to the camera. Their face is centred and they are filmed from chest upwards. Men are shaven, have a short and clean haircut and wear a suit and tie. Women also have a tight haircut and wear

a blouse or decent clothes. Showing the pictures on the page for the annual border tour underlines the dominant message that the information given by the organisation on this webpage and during the tour is comparable to information provided during news broadcasts: it will be fact checked, neutral and reliable.

In the header of Parque EcoAlberto's website, people are shown from a perspective that differs remarkably from the pictures of people on other websites. This photograph (appendix 16) was taken from a very low vantage point, using the worm's eye view, implying inferiority and vulnerability of the viewer (New York Film Academy). Because the object looked at appears to be larger than it actually is, it seems to hold power over the viewer and becomes more intimidating than it might be experienced to be in real life. That suits the goal of Parque EcoAlberto's night walk in a dominant-hegemonic reading, letting people experience what it is like to try crossing the border as an illegal migrant, who is extremely vulnerable. The worm's eye view and implication of night vision by the foreground being greyish and the background being very dark also connotes enabling the viewer to see things he would usually not perceive, offering an unordinary experience. That can be connected to tourism being a way of escaping everyday life, which is in combination with seeing death and disaster typical for the Romantic kind of dark tourism (T. Seaton 526-534). Searching for this picture on Google Images shows that this kind of image is reminiscent of films, which strengthens the feeling of escaping and the opportunity of experiencing something that cannot be found in everyday life, strengthening the dominant message that tourists should take part in this tour (appendix 17). An oppositional reading could also be applied to the image. The combination with the darkness of the night in the shape of a black background and horizon, the environment does not only seem large but even infinite, making the walk seem even harder to complete and enlarging the intimidation, fear or respect tourists might feel towards people taking part in this tour or trying to actually cross the border. On the other hand, the people shown are wearing very regular outfits, jeans, sneakers and a vest, creating an impression of the tour opposite to what has just been argued and matching the dominant message: it makes the tour seem accessible to everyone.

The tourist gaze

The third picture that is displayed on the homepage of Edgeline Productions Border Tours when one arrives on the site shows a Border Patrol in a field of yellow flowers with a city in the background and the text "Riding the Border Line" and makes one think of a postcard that can be bought at souvenir shops (appendix 18). Yellow flowers, a sunny blue sky and handwritten font connote carelessness, love and spring or summer. The words "Border Patrol" are visible on the car as in the previous picture and again on the horizontal middle line, attracting attention, but they are less prominent. This is the photograph that remains visible as one starts reading the text on the homepage, the other two disappear, trying to let the feeling connoted to the postcard picture linger with the tourist. That "postcard-feeling" is also raised by the photograph on the Costs and Schedules webpage, showing a pier and a sun setting above the horizon of the sea (appendix 19). Google Images results are described by words like "pier",

“sunset”, “boat tour”, “cruise”, “park”, etcetera (appendix 20). In a dominant-hegemonic reading, those picture indicate a relaxed trip. In a negotiated reading, a romantic trip may even be implied.

Another photograph on the same page shows what seems to be a football stadium at first sight, but actually is the San Diego bull ring (appendix 21). This was deduced from the picture’s name when downloaded, which is “bullring”. Although the sea is visible in the background of the picture, the emphasis obviously is on the bull ring. Research teaches that the ring was built in 1960 and stands “mere feet away from where the border fence trails into the Pacific in Playas de Tijuana, in the absolute corner of Mexico” (Chinn). This means there is a connection between the bull ring and the border fence that goes beyond the visibility of the border in the image and raises connotations for people knowing the history of the ring, but obscures this meaning for uninformed people. Besides, the border fence can only be spotted at the horizontal middle line by looking very closely. Because it is very small and blends into the landscape, a viewer that does not know the meaning and history of the bull ring may not even notice it. In a negotiated reading, it is also of importance that “The stadium also serves as the main stage for the Love Bug’s brief career as a matador in Walt Disney’s 1980 classic *Herbie goes Bananas*” (Chinn). This Disney film showing car Herbie’s adventures is filled with clichés and stereotypes of Mexico, according to Phil Patton in his book on the Volkswagen Beetle or Bug (110-111). Reading in an oppositional manner, however, the connotations of this image are not only stereotypical, but also very simplistic, careless and perhaps even childish due to the connotation of the Disney film, creating a similar image or feeling with the tourist as the postcard image mentioned before does but in a more negative sense.

The page Tour Itinerary of Edgeline Productions Border Tours shows an image of shrub land, a typical desert plant (appendix 22). It is not a particularly interesting image and mostly used to create a sense of the environment. Gray Line Tours’ header shows the Grand Canyon as can be seen in appendix 23, considered one of the tourist destination highlights and must sees of Arizona, that is actually not part of the tour itself. Those pictures inform people’s perception and behaviour based on similar images used now or before by other tourism websites and other media: they show the tourist what he expects to see when looking for a tour in the environment within which the organisations mentioned operate. The circle of representation created here is related to the tourist gaze following John Urry’s definition: “What we gaze upon as tourists may have been arranged for us in advance, we may go there because other tourists have gone before us” (MacCannell, “Tourist agency” 24). Applying a dominant-hegemonic reading, those images have the goal of showing tourists what they are used to see, thereby encouraging them to take part in the tour.

Parque EcoAlberto’s webpage on its night walk shows one picture that really catches the eye due to its bright colours and the stark contrast between light and dark (appendix 24). It differs very much from all the pictures on the other websites, except for the one on the Costs and Schedules page of Edgeline Productions Border Tours (appendix 19). The colours and prominence of the diagonal lines in

the picture attract most attention to the flames of the torches. A torch as “the beacon of light, and the burning flame as symbols of hope and enlightenment are internationally recognised, thoroughly public symbol” (Lindberg-Wada 71), and is often “used as a symbol of a political movement or idea that has an important positive influence” according to the Cambridge Dictionary (Cambridge University Press). In American it is not only a source of enlightenment, but also of guidance, illumination and inspiration according to the Collins Dictionary (Collins). It can also be connected to the Statue of Liberty, which is also holding a torch as a national symbol of freedom and hope. The statue is also considered to have significance as an “inspiration to immigrants who sailed past her on their way to America”, seeking for a better life (The Statue of Liberty – Ellis Island Foundation). It does not only connote freedom and friendship to Americans, but to people from all over the world. Those connotations suit the dominant message of Parque EcoAlberto, as it wants to get attention for Mexican illegal migrants that leave their homes in search for freedom and a better life. Another connotation in the dominant-hegemonic reading is linked to the expression of “passing the torch”, which means “to transfer or bestow one’s position or responsibilities to someone else”, coming from the ancient Greek tradition of passing the torch during a running race (Farlex, Inc.). A similarity can be drawn between this meaning and the actual Night Walk: the tourist has just completed a kind of race, struggling to reach the finish line, organised by an organisation that asks him to understand and spread the message of what illegal migrants have to go through. The torch connotes both what illegal migrants want to achieve and what Parque EcoAlberto wants to tell by organising this tour. Besides, the prominent diagonal line in the composition of the photograph and the blurriness create a sense of motion, of inconclusiveness and instability, which matches the feeling illegal migrants have when attempting to cross the border, the feeling tourists have when taking part in the night walk, and the feeling Parque EcoAlberto’s organisations wants to evoke in order to encourage people to take action, because change is possible.

Maps

MAGA and Gray Line Tours show a map on the page of the tour. The Edgeline Productions Border Tours website is supposed to include a map, but the connection between the page “Satellite Map” and Google Maps does not work correctly, so that map will not be discussed here. The map on the Eventbrite ticket page for the Turista Libre proximity pilgrimage will not be taken into account either, as this webpage is used as a basis for analysing the tour that has previously been displayed on Turista Libre’s own website, which does not show a map of the tour or the organisation’s location.

MAGA is the only organisation that has chosen to show the full route of the tour in its map, using Google My Maps instead of Google Maps and showing the most important locations that are visited in red markers (appendix 30). According to a negotiated reading, Google My Maps implicates a sense of intimacy, being let in on information that is private, because this platform is used to create personal maps and share them with friends (Google). Intimacy is considered a quality of tourist

organisations or travels that tourists appreciate, so this map can influence their impression of the tour positively (Trauer & Ryan). The names of the locations and their exact addresses or coordinates are not shown in the map, but the markers can be clicked to see what they represent: the Museum of Contemporary Art in San Diego, Nilo de las Aguilas, which is where the prototypes are located, and the viewpoint of the border wall prototypes on the United States-side. The kinds of locations chosen emphasise the subjects that the organisation is engaged with: art and the border wall prototypes. Showing the full tour creates a feeling of transparency, which is also considered to be important to tourists (Sigala et al. 133). Besides, the map shows that the border will be viewed from both countries, which could imply, in an oppositional reading, that the tour also metaphorically shows perspectives on the border from both countries. That is not probable, as MAGA supports Trump's political ideas, whose policy is oriented on the United States and not Mexico-friendly.

Gray Line Tours shows a map with a red marker of certain coordinates shown at the top of the image (appendix 31). It does not become clear what those coordinates or the marker represent, though, as the marker is not clickable and the only additional points of reference in the map are an avenue, what seems to be the borderline, and AutoZone Auto Parts. Descriptions of places in the lower half of the map are in Spanish, emphasising the contrast between both sides of the border in a negotiated reading. Some important information is left out in this screen shot of the map: when zooming in, it is found that the United States Customs and Border Protection is located just above the borderline shown here (appendix 31). As this connotes strict controls and possible problems with passing the border and Gray Line Tours is a tourist organisation, the choice to not display this location suits the tour's aims.

Illustrations

Edgeline Productions Border Tours and San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network use an illustration on their websites. For both organisations, this illustration functions as their logo. The other organisations also have logos, but those only consist of text and will therefore not be discussed in this chapter.

The illustration on San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network website shows people thrown into "maquilas", coming out as a meaty mess of bones and flesh (appendix 32). "Maquilas" refers to the maquiladora, which is according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary "a foreign-owned factory in Mexico at which imported parts are assembled by lower-paid workers into products for export" (Merriam-Webster, "Maquiladora"). The image obviously proclaims that the organisation is against maquiladoras and the way its workers are being exploited. Instead of depicting the workers as processing raw materials into export products, they are being shown as the raw materials themselves that are not just processed, but pulverised. Focusing on the labourers' struggles and their

terrible working conditions, this image explains and emphasises the dominant message of San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network.

Edgeline Productions Border Tours logo can be read in a dominant-hegemonic, negotiated and oppositional way. The image shows a greater roadrunner in a desert, in front of barbed wire, wearing a United States border patrol badge around its neck, a Mexican hat as well as a United States cap on its head (appendix 33). The sombrero was originally worn by cowboys and farmers to provide them with shade while working long days in the hot sun. The United States cap is not a Border Patrol cap, as this is either dark green or black and the cap in the picture is white and blue. In a dominant-hegemonic reading it connotes the United States Marine Guard outfit, as this includes a hat with those colours. That means the United States is presented as being controlled, organised, armed, etcetera. Mexico is implied to be lagged behind, still providing shade with a hat and working on the lands.

The greater roadrunner lives in the desert of the south western United States and northern Mexico, but was originally mostly found in eastern, central and northern Mexico (Mayntz). The bird was named the official state bird of the state New Mexico in 1949, just after the area was annexed as part of America after the Mexican-American War (State Symbols USA; Squire 6). This explains why an originally Mexican bird was chosen to be the state mascot. Edgeline Productions does not operate from New Mexico, but from the Californian city San Diego, which could fuel an oppositional reading. In a negotiated reading it could emphasise the connection between the United States and Mexico. The greater roadrunner owes its name to its preference for running or walking over flying and in particular its activity of running along roads and natural pathways at speeds of 15 miles per hour or more to catch its prey, patrol its territory or chase away intruders (State Symbols USA; Mayntz). It is also known for not migrating. The greater roadrunner can be seen as a symbol for the United States Border Patrol in a dominant-hegemonic reading, which tries to keep people from migrating and patrols a territory. That is contrasted in an oppositional reading by the greater roadrunner's connotation of a positive attitude towards migrants, because some Native American peoples saw them "as symbols of strength, courage, speed and endurance" and "frontier people believed roadrunners led lost people to trails" (Mayntz; Hughes). Choosing this bird as the symbol for the organisation implies, when a negotiated reading is applied, that it is not necessarily anti-immigrant or at least considers the protection and survival of immigrants as important as the protection of the border. Another connotation that can occur with tourists is the Road Runner created for Warner Bros in 1948, although this cartoon bird does not really look like the actual greater roadrunner or this illustration of the bird (Mayntz).

Instead of two signs denoting both countries being placed on each side of the wire, there is one sign saying both "Mexico" and "USA". This makes it unclear on which side of the fence the roadrunner is standing, literally and figuratively, just like the two kinds of hats do. However, the

barbed wire does visually separate the names of the countries. Matching Edgeline Productions Border Tours' dominant message, they are not suggested to be connected peacefully. In the background of the image, cactuses, a rising or setting sun and deserted area could suggest the lands around the border are not pleasant, but the warm colours also indicates it is not the environment is not that bad. In short, the illustration logo of Edgeline Productions Border Tours gives a quite ambiguous impression of several border issues.

Videos

MAGA is the only organisations showing a video on its webpage for a border wall tour. The video starts with a close-up of one of the prototypes it has designed for United States president Trump's new border wall, subsequently zooming out and gradually showing more of the surroundings. Throughout the video, there is a horizontal orientation: the viewer's eyes are attracted to the border fence, the border wall prototypes, fences behind the border fence, cars and caravans, all following horizontal lines. Only two roads behind the border fence follow a diagonal line into the distance, creating a grid-like structure in the video. This diagonal orientation emphasises how big the prototypes for the wall are in comparison to the contemporary wall, trucks, houses and people, connoting their strength and importance in a dominant-hegemonic reading. The video's colours are all very greyish and brownish, with some red and blue details. It does not show the same background of mountains as the photograph lower on the webpage (appendix 25), but a seemingly industrial area or even a car dump. Apparently, the border area is not supposed to be seen as an interesting or attractive area, but problematic and in need of ordering, making the prototypes seem the most modern elements in the environment, which suits MAGA's dominant message that the wall should be built.

Absent elements

Photographs contain a lot of information, as discussed above. Information or representations can also be meaningfully absent, when it would have been logical to include them on the webpages. Because the borderline between Mexico and the United States is an object of tourist attention for all websites discussed in this thesis, representations of the following elements would have logically been part of the pages, according to Alan Gelbman and Dallen J. Timothy:

features of border landscape, such as welcome signs, flags, passport controls and custom buildings, [which] add intrigue and fascination to the crossing experience. These icons are meaningful because they mark the interface of different languages and cultures, social and economic systems and political realms ("From hostile boundaries" 240).

Those features may spark tourists' interest in taking part in a tour and/or visiting the border. The "motivation for crossing borders [of those tourists] may reflect a romantic nostalgia for the mystique

about what awaits on the other side, and the border formalities and differences in landscape, which make the experience more foreign and exciting” (Gelbman & Timothy, “From hostile boundaries” 241). Organisations researched in this thesis may not want to attract tourists with these motivations, but people who are interested in the struggles and problematic conditions of the current border. Possibly, features of the border landscape mentioned by Gelbman and Timothy are not included on the websites for that reason.

Other kinds of images that would have been logically included in those webpages as they target tourists are “animated images (...) and additional images that illustrate current events, places to go and local cultural aspects”, showing why a destination, or in this case tour, is interesting to visit (Luna-Nevarez & Hyman 104). Gray Line Tours and Edgeline Productions Border Tours are the only organisations displaying this kind of images. Gray Line Tours does so in its header and not on the webpage particularly focused on the tour on border crossing. Edgeline Productions shows those images on its Costs and Schedules webpage, which contains the least attractive information and might therefore need most convincing additional material. Again, the organisations apparently do not want to connote the common tourist’s goals of fun, leisure and relaxation, but focus on tourists searching to be educated (Hallett & Kaplan-Weinger 12).

Conclusion

All organisations researched in this thesis use visual elements on their webpages for border crossing tours. Gray Line Tours, Center for Immigration Studies and Edgeline Productions Border Tours show the fence as marking the border line and creating an environmental division, in landscapes that connote tourist activities. This is especially remarkable for Center for Immigration Studies as a research organisation that wants to veraciously present the impacts of immigration on the United States. Webpages by MAGA and Turista Libre include depictions of the border wall, but focus on its physical construction instead of on the environment. MAGA’s picture and video have negative connotations considering the border, suiting its aim to show why a new border wall is needed in support of president Trump’s political choices in a dominant-hegemonic reading. Turista Libre’s images connote extraordinary architecture, design and artistic creations. The migrant funnelling and capturing function of the border fence and offensive, expelling and urban functions of the wall are not represented on any of the webpages. Attention for human presence and activities considers tourists, not people living there or migrants. Only Gray Line Tours subtly presents the border as a demarcation that affects lives.

Some websites also include images that are not related to the border fence or wall, but, following a dominant-hegemonic reading, attract and please tourists through connotations of carelessness, fun and exploring, by showing representations of leisurely tourism. However, an oppositional reading of those pictures on Edgeline Productions Border Tours’ website generates negative connotations related to the

border. The illustration that serves as the logo of Edgeline Productions Border Tours also contains both positive and negative symbols for the United States as well as Mexico.

Parque EcoAlberto has not included visual representations of walls or fences on its webpage. In a dominant-hegemonic reading, the images that are included imply an extraordinary, sensational experience. Symbols in the images connote a more educational or even religious message.

In short, in a dominant-hegemonic reading all organisations portray the border as a place of distinction and oppositions, without depicting it too negatively and thereby scaring tourists away. They connote an entertaining activity show tourists that is safe and interesting to visit and experience the border and its effects. Maps do not add valuable information for the meaning of the website. In an oppositional reading, all of them create an incomplete image of the border or even romanticise the border by neglecting that it is a contested and possibly dangerous area, especially for illegal migrants. In some cases, they contradict their own goal or unintentionally connote danger, offensiveness and problems. The only organisation visually representing the border unambiguous and purely negative is San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network, having its logo as the only visual element of the webpage.

Chapter 4 | Textual analysis

Introduction

Besides layout and design and visual elements, written signifiers of websites offer a lot of information on the tour and the organisation offering that tour. The question answered in this chapter is: In what ways do written signifiers on the websites of organisations offering United States-Mexico border crossing tours construct and communicate meanings of the tour offered?

As was explained in chapter 1, words are signifiers that can have their own language: they “stand for or represent our concepts, ideas and feelings in such a way as to enable others to “read”, decode or interpret their meaning in roughly the same way that we do” (Hall 5). Words always have a meaning at the level of denotation, “the simple, basic, descriptive level, where consensus is wide and most people would agree on the meaning” (Hall 38). At the level of connotation, meaning is connected to broader themes and meanings, which is not descriptive but interpretative and dependent on culture, knowledge and history (Hall 38-39). In this chapter, the texts on the selected websites will be analysed by looking at both denotations and connotations of words that were used. However, as the look of a text can influence or implicate the kind of meaning people (should) give to texts and words, fonts and their connotations will be analysed first.

Fonts

Just like sound for verbal language, the look of visual language can express a tone, feeling or mood and carry certain connotations. Typefaces give additional information on and can influence the meaning of words (Brumberger 208; Shaikh et al. 1834; Ferrari 9-11). Although this is widely accepted in the fields of communications and typography and consensus has been reached on certain characteristics of typefaces, there is little empirical evidence or research on how a font or typeface is connected to the way a text is perceived (Brumberger 208; Shaikh et al. 1834). Possible connotations are often based on intuition and anecdotal evidence. Besides, the use and interpretations of typefaces change over time, which makes it harder to come to conclusions (Brumberger 208). On some levels, though, conclusions have been drawn.

The most important distinction in typefaces is between the serif fonts, sans serif fonts and monospaced fonts. The former is considered more serious, elegant and traditional (Bryant; Shaikh et al. 1834). Doing research on the typeface persona – personality attributes that are used to describe and characterise typefaces –for onscreen media, Shaikh et al. conclude that “serif fonts scored highest on the following personality traits: stable, polite, mature, formal, assertive, attractive, elegant, and practical” (1836). The shape of the serif does also contribute to the connotations evoked. Rounded serifs give a

more friendly tone or feeling to a text, whereas squared serifs create a more official tone of voice (Brumberger 208). Sans serif fonts, on the other hand, are regarded as more modern, technical and dynamic. Shaikh et al. found those fonts have a “flexible, creative, happy, cuddly, unstable, rebellious, youthful, casual, and feminine” persona (1836). The sans serif fonts are also more easy to read on a computer screen and therefore more often used in digital media (Ferrari 37). The last type of fonts, the monospaced ones, are considered to be “conformist, unimaginative, dull, plain, rigid, sad, rude, unattractive, coarse, impractical, and masculine” (Shaikh et al. 1836). Besides the type of font, its width and stroke thickness also influences how it is interpreted: typefaces that are lighter in weight seem more delicate and feminine, and typefaces that are heavier appear to be more aggressive and masculine (Brumberger 208).

For this thesis, the fonts used on the researched websites have been determined using the browser extension Fontface Ninja. After installing this extension, one can determine the name, size, letter spacing, line height and colour of a font by hovering over it. An overview of the fonts used can be found in appendix 34. Their characteristics and possible connotations will be discussed here.

Serif fonts

Center for Immigration Studies, San Diego Maquiladora Workers’ Solidarity Network and MAGA use a serif font on their webpage for the border tour. The former two use it in the title of their website or page. As sans serif fonts are considered to be more easily readable on digital media, the absence of serif fonts on other websites can be explained. The use of serif fonts for titles is more logical than using them for regular text, because the font size of titles is often larger and use of a serif font does therefore not have as much effect on its legibility as it would have for smaller sized texts (Bryant). Center for Immigration studies used the typeface Serif and San Diego Maquiladora Workers’ Solidarity Network presents its title in Times New Roman. This typeface was designed for British newspaper The Times in 1932 and has since become the most famous typeface in the world. It is considered to be classic as well as old-fashioned, anonymous as well as authoritative (Frank; The Times and The Sunday Times). As a result of being a newspaper typeface later used for reports, academic texts, etcetera, Times New Roman connotes credibility, formality, seriousness and intelligence (Ferrari 36). As a non-profit organisation defending the rights of workers, San Diego Maquiladora Workers’ Solidarity Network wants to be taken seriously, a goal which this typeface obviously serves well.

MAGA uses the serif font Adobe Garamond Pro for its regular text. The Garamond typeface was released in 1989, but based on a design that was developed in the 1500s for books. It was considered to have “an unprecedented degree of balance and elegance, and stand[s] as a pinnacle of beauty and practicality in typefounding” (MyFonts). It is still an important typeface used in texts that are supposed to be read continuously and considered to be graceful, refined and confident (Nichols; Brumberger 208).

Garamond is thus very appropriate for creating a sense of authority and sophistication, which suits MAGA as an art organisation creating this project for the government. Connotations like elegance, formality and maturity are also desirable for the message MAGA wants to deliver to people visiting the site and possibly taking part in the tour. This font may also connote traditionality or even being old-fashioned, going against MAGA's image of being innovative and artistic (Shinn 1).

Sans serif fonts

In other texts, titles, subtitles and menus, sans serif fonts have been used, which is a more logical choice because the connotations of modernity, flexibility, creativity and youth suit the tourism sector well. Center for Immigration Studies, Parque EcoAlberto and San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network use the typeface Helvetica for their regular texts, which is widely known and used in the (visual) branding and advertising industry since the 1960s. It is considered to be transparent and neutral but also as hip, modern, kind, and compassionate (Ferrari 25, 38; Shinn 3-4; Zoller Seitz). As a result of its extensive use, it has become an emblem of globalisations and the machine age (Zoller Seitz). This image of being hip and modern and the recognisability of the font has a positive effect on the message(s) an organisation distributes. Its use in the marketing sector, however, connotes conformity, unoriginality and commercialism, implying that the organisation's goal is mostly to sell its tours (Zoller Seitz). Parque EcoAlberto is a commercial vacation park, but just like Center for Immigration Studies and San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network, it does not position itself as giving this tour for the goal of making money.

For its titles and menu, Parque EcoAlberto uses the font Montserrat, just like Gray Line Tours. The former also presents its regular text in the Montserrat typeface. This geometric sans serif typeface was created by an Argentinian designer and inspired by the signage of a Buenos Aires neighbourhood (Shoaf, "Montserrat"). Although many people may not be aware of this, the font can connote South America and/or large cities as a result of the shape of the letters. Large cities know a certain kind of tourism, which will then be connected to the tour offered by Gray Line Tours or Parque EcoAlberto.

Montserrat is also called the free alternative to the typeface Proxima Nova (Shoaf, "Montserrat"). MAGA uses this typeface for the title of its website, the menu and the title of the webpage, while Turista Libre chose to use it for the regular text. Proxima Nova has become one of the most popular fonts on the web, looking modern and geometric (Simonson). This typeface will not ask for much attention and look familiar, thereby making the organisation seem known and reliable. Turista Libre's regular text is presented in the Futura typeface, which is considered to be "no-nonsense, cool and restrained" (Brumberger 208). Its design is based on the Bauhaus style, appreciating function over form, and has been used extensively in very different sectors: "album covers, film posters, magazines,

automotive advertising and even the Olympic Games (Moscow 1980)” (Harris, “Here’s everything”), creating the same effect as Proxima Nova.

Gray Line Tours presents its regular text in the Roboto typeface, which is designed and used by Google for Android, YouTube, Google Maps and other of its services. It was developed to enlarge reading comfort and be able to balance content density (Marek). This makes the font likely to be used for its functionality, allowing the reader to focus on the content of the text instead of on its looks. The same applies to the website’s titles font, Open Sans, a ubiquitous font on the web that can be considered the new Arial (Shoaf, “Open Sans”). Arial does also not ask much attention, but there is more to this typeface than the formerly mentioned ones. Edgeline Productions Border Tours’ uses both Arial and Verdana for its website. Both belong to Windows’ standard fonts, the former has become one of the most used typefaces in the world (Shaw). But although that makes both typefaces quite unremarkable, they do have connotations of being dull, rigid, conforming and sad, which does not do the organisation’s message any good (Shaikh et al. 1837).

Titles of the tours

Not only the fonts of website texts have certain implications and connotations. The title of a tour often gives one of the first impressions of its goal or approach. The organisations researched in this thesis have chosen the following titles for their border tours:

Caminata Nocturna (Parque EcoAlberto)
Border Tour (CIS)
Border Crisis (Gray Line Tours)
Border Wall Prototypes Tour (MAGA)
Against the Wall Border Proximity Pilgrimage (Turista Libre)
Tijuana Maquiladora Tour (San Diego Maquiladora Workers’ Solidarity Network)
Riding the Border Line (Edgeline Productions Border Tours)

Choices for inclusion or exclusion of the word “tour” is important. This word “is used for a journey with several stops that ends at the place where it began” (Merriam-Webster, “Journey”). Use of “tour” also immediately connotes tourism, whereas the word “caminata” (walk) connotes exercise in combination with pleasure, and “pilgrimage” refers to a journey undertaken for some sacred goal or to a holy place (Merriam-Webster, “Pilgrimage”). It can also be simply seen as a synonym for a tourist undertaking, though (Litrell et al. 199). Parque EcoAlberto combines the words “caminata” and “nocturna” (night or nocturnal), thereby creating a sense of something exciting, daring, mysterious, maybe even scary. It does not give the idea that the tour will be primarily informative or educational, as the night is not a logical time to teach people something. Together with the images of fire, people walking in the dark, the use of commercial typefaces and use of loud colours in the layout, the impression is given that this tour will be thrilling. Turista Libre named its tour “Against the Wall Border Proximity Pilgrimage”, immediately stating the organisation’s political opinion on the border wall and giving the tour a sense of something

that can or even should be joined to contemplate a particular subject or come to a certain insight by use of the word “pilgrimage”. The latter does not seem to be in line with the “no-nonsense” Futura typeface that is used for most text on the website. It does match with the use of the image on the page of the tour that took place in March 2019, however, which does also seem to suggest a religious approach. For the January 2018 tour, an image connoting a more political approach was chosen, matching the “Against the Wall” part of the title but not the “pilgrimage” aspect.

Center for Immigration Studies, MAGA and San Diego Maquiladora Workers’ Solidarity Network gave their tour a very clear, basic, practical and serious title, which suits the organisations’ purposes and matches the formal serif typeface and neutral images that are used or even absence of images.

Gray Line Tours and Edgeline Productions Border Tours have not included any words referring to tour, journey, trip, etcetera. That can be explained because both organisations have “tour” in their names. “Border Crisis” suggests a very different approach than “Riding the Border Line” does: the former seems to focus on the problems and controversy, the latter sounds careless and pleasurable as it connotes horseback riding. Those connotations are reinforced by the images used on the homepage and the “Border Tour” page of Edgeline Productions and the main image on Gray Line Tours’ page. The serious approach of Gray Line Tours’ border tour does not logically stem from the organisation’s goal, though, and the light-hearted sound of Edgeline Productions’ title does not match its naming the border a “study of contrasts”.

Texts

Titles of the tours may thus match or (unintentionally) contrast the goal of an organisation and the image it wants to create or has explained to create in the previous chapters, but that is even more the case for the descriptions of the tours in other texts on the webpages, as will be described in this paragraph.

Gelbman and Timothy describe how different factors “can explain the attractiveness of borders for tourism: the border as subject, the location and environment at the border and the development of the borderlands along the boundary” (“From hostile boundaries” 241). In this chapter, it will be taken into account which factors are addressed or responded to by every organisation.

Some organisations include a dense or elaborate description of the approach and goal of the tour on their website (Parque EcoAlberto, Center for Immigration Studies, Gray Line Tours, Turista Libre and Edgeline Productions Border Tours), others only provide the reader with an itinerary (MAGA and San Diego Maquiladora Workers’ Solidarity Network). The former websites will be discussed first.

Parque EcoAlberto

Parque EcoAlberto focuses on delivering three different messages in its descriptions and texts. First, the website visitor sees the words “Caminata Nocturna” (night walk) three times in different colours and sizes. As explained above, the choice for the word “caminata” or “walk” is important. The subtitles of the tour are more connected to connotations of “nocturna” (scary, mysterious, exciting), though, using words like “journey”, which means “travelling a long distance, often in dangerous or difficult circumstances” (Merriam-Webster, “Journey”), “torch”, which can connote illumination and guidance, but also the danger and excitement of fire, and “race”, denoting contest and adrenaline (Merriam-Webster, “Race”). Use of the word “show” reinforces this sense of ebullience. As these connotations are evoked first, this language is obviously meant to attract attention and lure the tourist into taking part in the tour, suggesting that he will experience something extraordinary and entertaining, just like the header image does.

The second goal of the tour is education of both the tourist and the community members of Alberto, mostly created in the second paragraph of the website text. Here, a “forgotten community, far from literacy” is juxtaposed by words like “a better future”, “raising awareness”, “vision” and “motivation”. This gives the tourist the idea that he is not only gaining knowledge himself by taking part in the tour, but also creating opportunities for the people working at Parque EcoAlberto. Empathy is raised by speaking of Alberto as an isolated, forgotten community that could not keep up with society, causing people to risk their lives searching for better opportunities. Those opportunities are negatively represented as the American Dream, ““a better life in another country””. The quotation marks could suggest a quote, but also cause the sentence to sound ironic, as if people are chasing something that can never be reached, expressing criticism towards the United States. This tour thus focuses on the social effects of the border on Mexican people, which cannot be linked to one of the three factors of attraction to the border Gelbman and Timothy mention (“From hostile boundaries” 241). Parque EcoAlberto actually could not use those factors, because it addresses a phenomenon that is connected to the U.S.-Mexico border but is not actually located at or near the border, but in the middle of the country.

Finally, a religious meaning of the tour is sparked by use of words like “torch”, “believe”, “Catholic church”, “the purpose of life”, “unity, solidarity and trust”, “ancestors”, “eternal life” and the emphasis on community, especially in the last paragraph of the tour description. This meaning is consistent with the large image of the torch show. In contrast to the top of the page where the reader is addressed directly, the tourist is here referred to as participant and part of a group. The end of the text emphasises the meaning of the torch show: by honouring ancestors that gave their life as they tried to cross the border, they are signified as a kind of martyrs, giving the reader a sense of religiosity and becoming part of a ritual.

After the description of the tour, tips and information on the price of the tour are given, which are described in very practical language that does not allow for many connotations. It is remarkable that the focus changes from spiritual or mental to physical aspects of the tour and that words like “heavy”,

“difficult” and “protect” are used, referring to the title of the tour. However, by addressing that the Caminata Nocturna is not suitable for everyone, the tone becomes different from and more serious than the top of the page. The combination of a serious tone considering education and practical information with an enthusing and promoting tone suits Parque EcoAlberto as a vacation park that offers the villagers a source of employment. More surprising is the religious connotation created for the tour.

Center for Immigration Studies

Center for Immigration Studies has relatively little text on its website, because it is currently not offering a border tour. Visitors of the website can “Read accounts and view pictures of past tours”, though. This header implies a certain approach of the tour: “account” suggests a “statement or exposition of reasons, causes or motives” or “a description of facts, conditions or events” (Merriam-Webster, “Account”). That sounds quite objective and serious. On the other hand, “pictures” sounds less objective than “photographs” would, because the latter connotes a representation of reality and the latter can be a painting or mental image. This gives the title a more approachable or less scientific sound.

In the titles of those accounts, a certain transformation can be discovered. Titles of earlier accounts, lower on the page, connote a more neutral view on the border: “Reflections from the border”, “Sunshine, Saguars, and smuggles”. A reflection is “the production of an image by or as if by a mirror”, an objective representation (Merriam-Webster, “Reflection”). Later accounts suggest more changes, first without a sense of threat or negativity (“Holding steady in West Texas”), and then with slightly negative connotations (“Unrest in the Rio Grande Valley”). The last account describes a real crisis, followed by the often in newsreels and papers used words “a report from Arizona”, which sounds formal and connotes warzones. The border is presented to have become more hostile and problematic over time. This creates an interesting contrast to Gelbman and Timothy’s research of hostile borders that have transformed into inviting tourist attractions. The goal of Center of Immigration Studies is comparable to the goals of Gelbman and Timothy’s research subjects, though: it wants people to learn from the past by referring to it and showing it in a tourist context (“From hostile boundaries” 256). Where Gelbman and Timothy’s subjects use historical information to point to a better present, Center for Immigration Studies points to a better past in order to encourage its visitors to change the present on this page. This tour thus focuses on Gelbman and Timothy’s factor of the development of the border(lands) (“From hostile boundaries” 241).

Below the titles of the accounts, “Testimonials from past guests” can be found. “Testimonials” are evidential statements and recommendations, which makes this section sound formal and pre-selected: only positive reviews are included here (Merriam-Webster, “Testimonial”). A lot of reviews do indeed have a formal tone, discussing the quality of the tour (“top notch”, “well-done”, “take care of every detail”, “arrangements were superb, as was the guidance and logistics on the entire trip”,

“outstanding”, etcetera) and the educational value (“packed with knowledge”, “enhancing the roster of learning”, “so much experience and information”, etcetera). Some testimonials focus on the emotional or adventurous effect of the tour, which makes the tour seem less serious and more touristy. “Intense”, “dazzled”, “awe-making”, “piquant extras” and “dangerous border sites” connote something extraordinary and spectacular. Those words do not suggest an important contemporary problem. They are meant to tempt people to take part in the tour. One more striking element of this section is the names of the guests quoted: all are Anglo-Saxon and none Mexican or European. The organisation’s goal is “providing immigration policymakers, the academic community, news media, and concerned citizens with reliable information” and this page suggests that that audience is (mostly) American (Center for Immigration Studies “About”).

Gray Line Tours

Gray Line Tours’ tour focuses very much on giving a factual, objective view on the situation at the border, according to the website text. Words like “news”, “the source”, “fact-finding” and “first hand” emphasise this approach. Those words and the way in which they are used also suggest there is no mediator between the tourist and the information he will get during this tour, which is not true because the stops and information given have already been selected by the organisation. The first paragraph of the text seems to imply that there is one singular truth to be found on the border situation, but in the second and third paragraph, words like “discussions” and “your own opinion” suggest otherwise. Gray Line Tours creates the feeling that the information provided is unprejudiced and that the tourist will be given the space to find his own truth. This multidimensional approach also appears in the second paragraph, by paying attention to both a non-profit organisation and economical elements, and by showing sympathy towards migrants as well as undermining their struggles through equating migrants to tourists by calling both of them “thirsty travellers”. The word “rejuvenation” is important in this context, as it has the connotation of giving people new energy, of a luxury, not the negative connotation of a basic need that can make the difference between life and death.

Leaving the tourist the opportunity to form his or her own opinion distinguishes this tour from the others. Use of the word “mission” is also distinctive, connoting an official activity that people have been selected for as well as a calling or vocation or a religious activity that everyone should be charged with (Merriam-Webster, “Mission”). “Explore”, used in the section “Why should you go”, gives a very different image of the tour than “mission” does: it connotes both investigation or study and “travel over new territory for adventure or discovery” (Merriam-Webster, “Explore”). A studious approach is thus combined with a more touristy approach. The itinerary also contains a double message: the use of the word “highlights” in combination with the text “Border Fence; A Close Look at Humanitarian Efforts; Nogales Port of Entry” is striking, as the former points to the best part of something and the latter mark

a problematic situation. The itinerary also clarifies that the focus of the tour in terms of Gelbman and Timothy's factors of attraction is on the border as subject ("From hostile boundaries" 241).

Using words than can connote different and sometimes even contradicting meanings and letting tourists form their own opinion allows Gray Line Tours to attract a broad range of people. It may also discourage people who do not feel the need to discuss the issue. The tour is directed at people visiting or living in the United States, as Tucson is located in the U.S. and Mexican people are often not allowed to cross the border, but is presented to be suitable for pleasure seeking tourists, serious people and perhaps even politicians or businessmen.

Turista Libre

In the description of Turista Libre's tour, the amount of numbers and names immediately strikes the eye when compared to descriptions of other organisations. The description is factual and takes a historical or political approach to the border. The word "historic" is mentioned regularly as well as important events (Operation Gatekeeper, the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty, the Gadsden Treaty and the Mexican-American War) and political institutions or organisations (the Trump Administration, Friendship Park, International Boundary Commission, Espacio Migrante and Virginia Avenue Transit Center), which implies that the tourist is expected to have a certain level of background knowledge on (the history of) the border and that the organisation wants to attract tourists by focusing on the development of the border(lands) (Gelbman & Timothy, "From hostile boundaries" 241). Turista Libre promises the tourist he will experience Mexico like a local, which explains this approach: in order to understand the situation at the border, people's opinions and struggles, one needs to be aware of historical developments and changes. On the other hand, words like "expedition", "like never before" and "iconic spots" suggest a more touristic approach with show and extraordinary elements that cannot be seen or found in daily life. But this only happens in the first paragraph of the description, inviting people to read further.

Towards the end of the description, it is mentioned that lunch will be consumed at one of the gastro parks in Tijuana, which are hip kinds of food parks or halls in (semi) industrial zones, bringing together different restaurants and food trucks. This element is obviously included in the tour and mentioned here to attract tourists, but has nothing to do with the border and the story Turista Libre is trying to tell.

There are other ways in which Turista Libre does not specifically focus on the local, human experience. From the way the stops are introduced, one can conclude the tour focuses on the physical elements and effects of the border instead of on the human or social effects which would help to understand the border situation from the locals' point of view. The border wall prototypes are described to be demolished, the Friendship Park in Playas the Tijuana is explained to be the place "where the border fence trails some 100 yards into the Pacific" and the boundary monuments "stand half in one

country, half in the other”. Here, the focus is on the border as subject (Gelbman & Timothy “From hostile boundaries” 241). The political discussions on the prototypes, the function of Friendship Park as a historic meeting park for people with family or friends living on the other side of the border and the monuments as “points of centripetal social attraction that draw in and bind people in their surrounding area” are not mentioned in the description, taking the focus away from people’s experiences (The Friends of Friendship Park; Nail 178). On the other hand, including the border monuments, in contrast to all the other border tours discussed in this thesis, does in itself suggest that human experience of the border is important for Turista Libre, as memory is an important function or aspect of the monuments: “They serve as material reminders in the form of pits or wounds dug in the earth and filled with a vertical structure that will resist the chaos of forgetting” (Nail 178). This is not literally included in the text, though.

In the fourth paragraph, interest is moved towards people by introducing a photographer and members of Espacio Migrante. It is not explained why those people join the tour and what their function or contribution will be, but both are Mexican-based and engaged with raising awareness on the social effects of the border in Mexico. A donation to Espacio Migrante, a binational non-profit organisation that supports migrants, refugees and deportees, is included in the price of the tickets, through which Turista Libre expresses its sympathy for the organisation and migrants, which does create a sense of attention for local experiences. The border as subject is not the only approach of the organisation: border people of the social environment of the border is another factor of attraction, which is not included by Alon Gelbman and Dallen J. Timothy (“From hostile boundaries” 241). Here, however, that cannot be explained by lack of the tour’s proximity to the border.

Edgeline Productions Border Tours

Edgeline Productions focuses on contrasts relating to the border, as it mentions in the very first sentence of the website. Those contrasts exist between migrants and the border patrol and between the socio-political context and nature in the border area and are presented as stories told. This gives the tour the sense of not being too serious, but mostly meant to be amusing and entertaining, which is strengthened by words like “enjoy”, “explore”, “see the sights”, “fascinate”, “amuse” or “show”. Although the sentence “the obstacles and the challenges that face Border Patrol Agents and migrants alike” seems to equate the two parties, the border patrol’s side of the story is approached more positively than the migrants’. That is amongst others suggested by the words “saga”, which connotes heroism and legendary people, and “protect” in the first paragraph (Merriam-Webster, “Saga”). Besides, migrants “carve trails”, which sounds primitive, being “a track made by passage through a wilderness”, and the border patrol does its best to secure “our border” on dirt roadways, which are not ultimately modern as they are not paved but are cultivated and made for regular passage (Merriam-Webster, “Trail”, Merriam-Webster, “Dirt road”). In relation to migrants, the border is marked by “the gauntlet of fences, ravines and

washes”: a gauntlet connotes both protection and battle, as it is part of medieval armour as well as part of the saying “to throw down the gauntlet”, which is to open a challenge; ravines and washes are natural and possibly dangerous phenomena (Merriam-Webster, “Gauntlet”). Migrants are “dissuaded”, undermining the violent way in which this sometimes happens, to cross the border by a “billion-dollar fence project”, which makes the prototypes sound important and ignores that they are controversial and even problematic to some. So even though the website tries to make people with all kinds of political preferences and ideas feel welcome, the language used expresses more sympathy to the border patrol. This makes sense because the tour guide is a retired border patrol agent.

The same applies to descriptions of nature versus the socio-political context of the border. Nature is described as beautiful, “unique”, offering “excellent vistas” – but those descriptions never consider the border area in general, only the “San Diego County”, “Tijuana River Valley” or “Southern California”, all located on the United States-side of the border. Those areas are described in a very poetical, visual style, making them seem even more attractive. This style is not used for the human-related aspects of the border, thereby creating a contrast between those focus areas. Another striking contrast is created by describing animals being endangered, while there is never any kind of danger mentioned when it considers the border patrol or migrants.

Edgeline focuses on the environment of the border in terms of Gelbman and Timothy’s factors of attractiveness of borders, in particular on its diversity (“From hostile boundaries” 241). It also pays attention to the contrasts between migrants and border patrol, but does not pay any attention to the expelling of migrants which the border patrol does or the environmental damage that has been caused in order for the border patrol to function properly (Nail 170, 186). Just like the photographs used on the website do only show the border as a marker in the landscape. That landscape is described to be beautiful and attractive, but the effect of the border has not been taken in to consideration.

Another effect or aspect of the photographs can also be recognised in the text: use of words like “beach”, “ocean” and “sand” connote typical tourism activities. Another approach of convincing tourists to follow the tour is also found in making the text sound more personal by use of the imperative and “you”. By using words like “join” and “intimate”, the tourist is given the feeling that he or she will experience something out of the ordinary, something private that not everyone will have the opportunity to experience, known as one of the main reasons for people to travel (Hallett & Kaplan-Weinger 12). Emphasis is also put on fun, entertainment and amusement by use of words like “enjoy”, “fascinate”, “show” and “explore”. There is also a lot of attention for the visual elements of the tour; the sights, seeing, gazing, vistas, and the tour even includes a photo moment. Elements and words included connote or imply the tourist gaze, as photography is important in (re)producing, (re)constructing and experiencing tourism (Larsen 241-242). Taking photographs in itself connotes (reproduction of) clichés and pleasurable performances, again focusing on enjoyment. Besides, the tourist is implied to be a passive audience, mostly consuming, choreographed by tourist commonplaces and the tour operator: he

is offered or even instructed what to look at/photograph, and does not decide this by himself. Edgeline Productions creates the sense that the tourist is given opportunities and room to create his own view and opinion, but is actually quite determining.

MAGA

In contrast to the websites discussed before, MAGA only provides the tourist with a very practical description of the tour itinerary. A lot of emphasis is on the difference between the countries. “United States”, “Mexico” and “border” are mentioned often, also in combination and unnecessary: the tourist knows that the border that will be crossed is the United States-Mexican border, but that is still made explicit.

MAGA’s website is the only one showing incorrect and inconsistent spelling: “The highlight of the tour are”, “U.S.-Mexican border” versus “US-Mexican Border”, and Border Wall Prototypes is written both with and without capital letters. In some cases, some words are even missing: “outside the downtown branch [of the] Museum”, “and then [go] to the Border Wall Prototypes”. Correct spelling and a clear and readable text contribute to the sense of website reliability, which is thus reduced in this case (Luna-Nevarez & Hyman 95). That does not suit MAGA as a professional organisation, presenting its tour to be appropriate or intended for business people by its images, lay-out and language.

As the text does not provide much additional information on the goal and context of the tour, attention is drawn to the stops; the border wall prototypes, the Museum of Contemporary Art San Diego and Tijuana. Starting at the Museum gives the tour connotations of being art-minded, cultural, and perhaps even elitist. It suggests the tour will visit and view the prototypes as art forms rather than separating elements on the border. As MAGA is an art organisation, the choice for this starting and end point of the tour is wise, although it is never suggested that the Museum will be entered or has anything to do with the prototypes, the tour or MAGA in itself. Emphasis on the quality and importance of the border prototypes is also implied by use of the word “highlight”, meaning “something that is of major significance or special interest / something that is very interesting, exciting or important: the best part of something” (Merriam-Webster, “Highlight”). In terms of factors of attraction, MAGA focuses on the border as subject, but it actually only focuses on the prototypes as (future) part of the border.

The sentence “Duration varies based on traffic, border and weather conditions” clarifies that the situation on the border is not stable. However, equating the border conditions to the traffic and the weather conditions makes them sound less impressive or possibly dangerous. By mentioning that the guidance is available in both English and Spanish it is also suggested that the tour and border are open to people from the United States as well as from Mexico. This implication is later questioned, though, by a paragraph explaining that multiple entry visa or passport and travel requirements might be needed for people that are not a United States of Canada citizen. The organisation does not offer help of any

sort in finding out what those requirements are and how they can be met, making non-United States or -Canada citizens feel less welcome. The United States is the only context or part of the world that matters, matching Donald Trump's policy, for whom MAGA works.

San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network

The information given on the tour page of San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network's website is mostly practical. The first sentence of the page, "Come to learn about Tijuana maquiladora workers' conditions and struggles!" is the only one marketing the tour, the rest of the text is (presented as) practical information. The tourist is mostly spoken to directly and sometimes spoken of as a tour participant or group. Most actions are described without referring to the people taking part in the tour. This creates a distance between the information given and the tourist, which is not profitable for the organisation as it wants to create sympathy towards and teach people on the struggles of maquiladora workers.

After inviting the reader to take part in the tour, an important notice is given, explaining the importance of carrying a passport, reading a U.S. travel alert and urging the participant to sign a waiver. The latter is "the act of intentionally relinquishing or abandoning a known right, claim or privilege", often in order to receive a benefit in exchange (Merriam-Webster, "Waiver"). Together with the word "alert", this creates a connotation of danger that may scare readers away from taking part in the tour. It is a bold choice to place this notice at the top of the description, before giving any further information on what the tour includes. At the end of the text, the waiver is mentioned again, making clear that it is an important condition for taking part in the tour and making it linger with the tourist. An uncomfortable feeling about the tour and the border is evoked in more ways: the schedule mentions how "More than 7000 immigrants have died trying to cross the border since 1994, when NAFTA was imposed" and "maquiladoras, distorted urban development and wild industrialisation define Tijuana" and the word "struggles" is used often. This impacts the sense of safety of this tour.

Remarkably different from other websites and descriptions of itineraries is that the schedule of San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network includes not only times and/or places that will be visited, but also the subjects that will be discussed at those stops. The tour also includes a group dialogue on the situation of the border and people's experiences of the tour, inviting the tourist to actively take part in the tour and reflect on it as well as on themselves. Another original element is that working women of a local cooperative Ollin Calli will join the tour. In contrast to the NGO and researcher/photographer that are joining Turista Libre's tour, this cooperation is founded and run by local people. As San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network wants to support the workers, the choice to give this organisation a voice is a logical one that positively adds to the image of the tour. Words like "artisan" and "handicrafts" connote authenticity and as the latter will be brought to the tour,

also souvenirs. Tourists often purchase crafts, considered authentic for “the unusual social and cultural conditions under which the product was produced”, which gives the tour a more touristy tone (Litrell et al. 198, 200). Giving locals a voice in the tour can also be connected to the phenomenon of the back region in tourism, in which the tourist enters a private sphere, or rather a staged back region, where the tourist gets the idea that he enters a private sphere but actually does not as it was meant to be shared with tourists. Talking to locals that are not guides and getting to know their project and products makes the tour feel more intimate, something tourists are often looking for (MacCannell, “Staged Authenticity” 92, 99; Hallett & Kaplan-Weinger 12). To what extent that actually is the case can be questioned.

The attention for the people living near the border and their living conditions does not belong to one of the factors of attraction described by Gelbman and Timothy (“From hostile boundaries 241). As is the case for Turista Libre and Parque EcoAlberto, the tour’s focus is on border people rather than on the border itself, its environment or its development. There also is attention for the environment of the border, but because the tour mostly mentions negative aspects or effects, this cannot be considered a factor of attraction for tourists.

The fees for the tours are described as “donations”, implying that it is not obligatory to pay for the tour. However, the word “optional” following the solidarity price indicates that the other two actually are not donations, but costs. “Donations” connotes a giving money to a charity or public institution (Merriam-Webster, “Donation”). Part of the price of the tour goes to the maquiladora workers’ organisations, which actually is a donation. This goes against a sentence at the end of the page, though, which says that the tour is sponsored by the local cooperative Ollin Calli and by the San Diego Maquiladora Workers’ Solidarity Network. A lot of questions are raised here. The sentence is either formulated wrongly or points to a strange financial construction of the tour, but will in both cases not make a good impression on the tourist.

Conclusion

All the organisations researched in this thesis want to create the impression that they give tourists an opportunity to get to know more on different elements of the United States-Mexico border. They all suggest that they are providing the tourist with reliable, objective information. Three websites do so via using a well-known sans serif font, which connotes maturity, authority and reliability. Every organisation also uses words and formulations that relate to the tourist gaze or tourist commonplaces, however, connoting leisure and entertainment. For some websites, those connotations can also be found in the use of sans serif fonts that connote creativity, casualty and modernity.

Gray Line Tours and San Diego Maquiladora Workers’ Solidarity Network want to offer the tourist the opportunity to form his own opinion and discuss the context of the border during the tour, but only Gray Line Tours offers a tour that can attract a broad range of people. Parque Eco-Alberto, Turista

Libre and San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network give a Mexican view on the border. Center for Immigration Studies, Edgeline Productions Border Tours and MAGA give an American perspective on the border. Parque EcoAlberto and Gray Line Tours (to a lesser extent) use words that connote a religious approach of the border situation. Turista Libre takes on a historical approach, Edgeline a natural environmental one, MAGA gives the tour an artistic touch.

Taking Alon Gelbman's proposal of factors of touristic attraction to borders into account, Center for Immigration Studies and Turista Libre focus on the development of the border, Gray Line Tours and MAGA approach the border as a subject, and Edgeline mostly pays attention to the environment of the border. Parque EcoAlberto and San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network cannot be connected to one of Gelbman's factors, though, as their approach to the border is based on its effects on (Mexican) people, which also applies to Turista Libre's tour. As was also true for the visual elements of the websites, it is remarkable there is little attention paid to the relation of the border to people and vice versa. Only the organisations offering a Mexican view on the border include this.

Conclusion

Conclusion

This thesis analysed in what ways organisations offering United States-Mexico border crossing tours construct and communicate meanings of the tour on their website by analysing layout and design, visual and textual elements of those websites.

In terms of layout and design, websites offering United States-Mexico border crossing tours communicate their goal of educating tourists through a clean design, an easy to use website, with no or only a few promotional or additional elements and commercial transactions. Visual elements are included, but are not many and those are not dominantly present. In contrast to other tourism websites, focus is on text instead of on visually appealing multimedia elements. This emphasises that the organisations are not commercially oriented, but want to inform people.

Visual elements of the websites create a very different meaning for the border tours offered. They consist of photographs, maps, illustrations and videos. At first sight and applying a dominant-hegemonic reading, most elements give the tourist the impression that it is safe and in many cases even entertaining to visit the borderline. This happens through elements that connote typical tourist activities. Images representing the border fence or wall do show that the border is a place of distinctions or oppositions. None of the webpages represents the functions of the fence and border wall as explained by Thomas Nail, funnelling or capturing migrants and offending or expelling migrants respectively. Only one website visually shows that the border effects the lives of people living near the border, although that effect is not shown to be particularly negative. The organisation that does present the border quite negatively supports president Trump and has created prototypes for a new border wall, so it is to its advantage to create this image. Applying an oppositional reading, some images do connote negative and problematic effects of the border, especially the images on the website for a tour given by a border patrol agent. Only one website gives an unambiguous interpretation of the border that suits the meaning created by layout and design, because the only visual element it has included is its illustrated logo.

Textual elements of the websites actually combine the impressions or meanings created by the layout and design and visual elements: to a greater or lesser extent, all websites describe and suggest that they will provide the tourist with relevant, factual information. But all website also use words that connote typical tourism activities and goals like leisure, entertainment and sensation, in order to convince people to take part in the tour. Only one organisation gives a very factual description of the tour. The texts of the tours clarify more than the other elements what audience is being addressed. Three Mexican-based organisations focus on audiences interested in the social issues, one with a historical

approach, one with a more religious approach, and one with an activist approach. The United States-based organisations use an artistic-political approach, a slightly religious approach and a natural environmental one. As is true for the visual elements of the websites, the effect of the border on the people is neglected by United States-based organisations. Mexican organisations do pay attention to social situations of people living near the border. Connecting this to Alon Gelbman's proposal of factors of attraction for border tourism, the social situation should be added to the factors of the border as subject, the environment of the border and the development of borderlands.

Although the organisations researched in this thesis seem to want to give their tour on the United States-Mexican border an educational meaning, visual and textual elements of the border imply otherwise. Referring to or using words and images that belong to the circle of representation of typical tourism activities, the tour is given the meaning of entertainment, sensation, experiencing the out of the ordinary and fun. Besides, the border is presented as creating distinctions, but those are interesting and safe and not dangerous or problematic. Organisations choose to give one or two perspectives on the border (social, environmental, political, artistic) and do not show that there is a versatility of opinions and views on the borderline.

For tourists that are not familiar with the situation at the United States-Mexico border, tours will seem entertaining and interesting, an effect created by visual elements and language used. The perspective chosen will seem objective because of the formal and textual elements of most websites. Only the tour of a Trump-supporting art organisation and a social activist organisation will not seem fun or entertaining but mostly informative. For people that have more background information on the border, the other websites indirectly create a negative image of the tour or organisation, because they give an incomplete image of the border or even romanticise the border by neglecting that the border is a contested and possibly dangerous area, especially for illegal migrants, focussing on entertainment and leisure.

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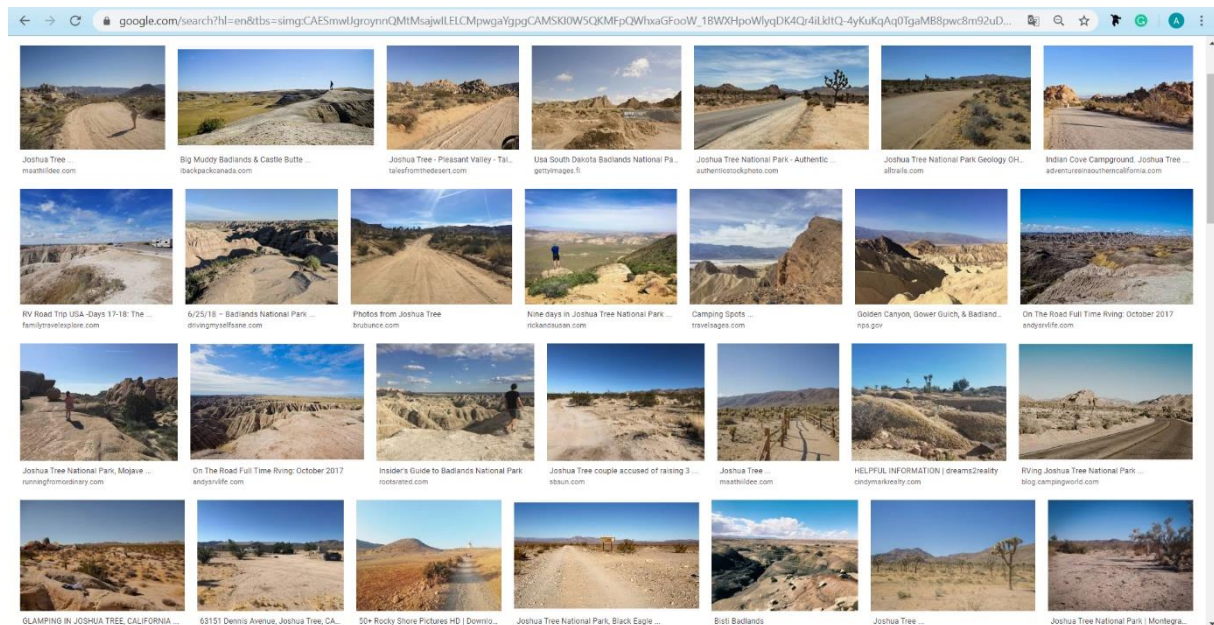
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Appendix 1



Center for Immigration Studies. Photograph of the United States-Mexico border wall and tourists on the webpage for the annual border tour. *Center for Immigration Studies*. Downloaded October 11 2019. <https://cis.org/Annual-Border-Tour>

Appendix 2



Screenshot of the results of searching on visually similar images of the photograph of the United States-Mexico border wall and tourists shown on the Center for Immigration Studies webpage for its annual border tour. *Google*. Downloaded October 13 2019.

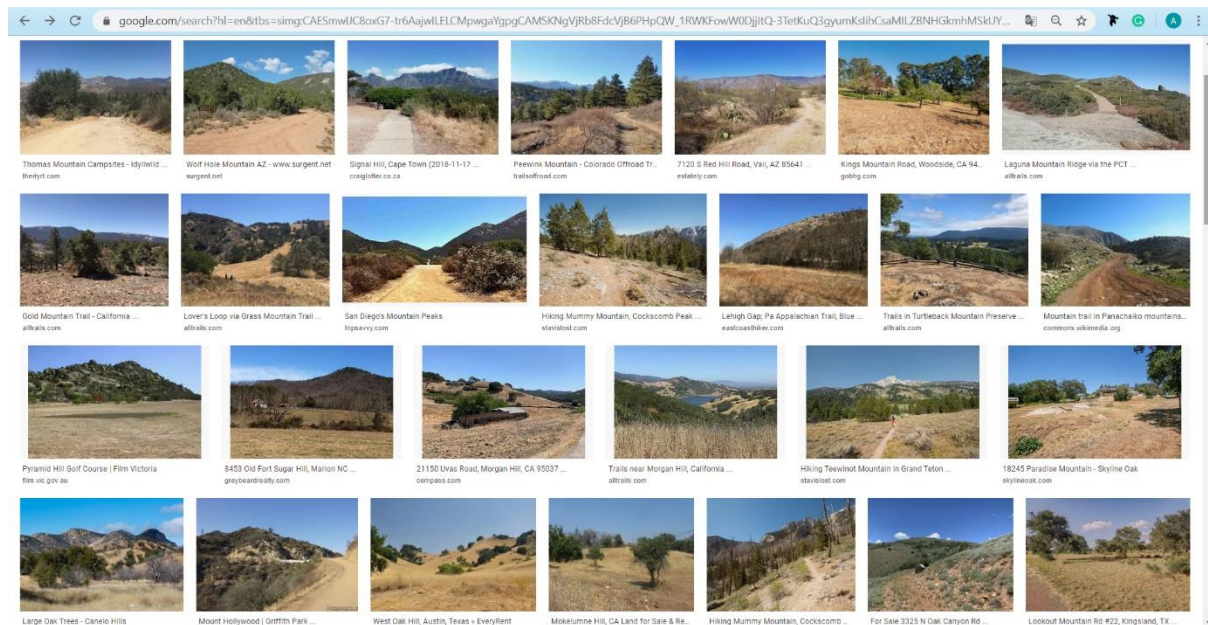
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Appendix 3



Center for Immigration Studies. Photograph of the United States-Mexico border area on the webpage for the annual border tour. *Center for Immigration Studies*. Downloaded October 11 2019.
<https://cis.org/Annual-Border-Tour>

Appendix 4



Screenshot of the results of searching on visually similar images of the photograph of the United States-Mexico border area shown on the Center for Immigration Studies webpage for its annual border tour. *Google*. Downloaded October 13 2019.

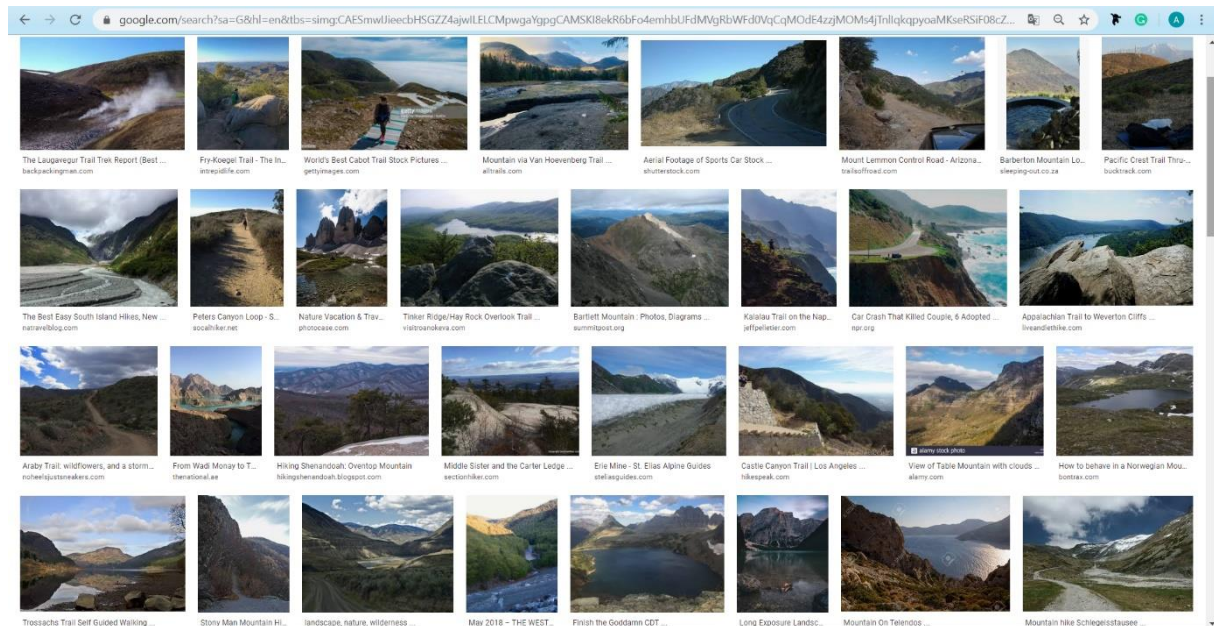
https://www.google.com/search?hl=en&tbs=simg:CAESmwIJC8oxG7-tr6AajwILELCMPwgaYgpgCAMSKNgVjRb8FdcVjB6PHpQW_1RWKFowW0DjltQ-3TetKuQ3gyumKslihCsaMILZBNHGkmhMSkUYbxe7Z2HDhC_14rtyOZ1wChU7ZseCvL6oK6VYrDOFWMw374lNX1CAEDAsQjq7-CBoKCggIARIEGR6EjAwLEJ3twQkahwEKFQoDb2Fr2qWI9gMKCggvbS8wOXD6dAoaCgdzYXZhbm5h2qWI9gMLCgkvbS8wMWM3ZDMKFwoEaGlSbNqliPYDCwoJL20vMDRfNXNnChoKCG1vdW50YWlu2qWI9gMKCggvbS8wOWRfcgodCgpydXJhbCBhemVh2qWI9gMLCgkvbS8wMWY0dGQM&sxsrf=ACYBGNRx5DZ1vdwS86EZ5Z3_aP2rWcHjCA:1570962312765&q=oak&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwizj-7UgpnAhXQZFAKHfFMBucQsw56BAgBEAE&biw=1920&bih=943

Appendix 5



Center for Immigration Studies. Photograph of the United States-Mexico border wall from a car on the webpage for the annual border tour. *Center for Immigration Studies*. Downloaded October 11 2019. <https://cis.org/Annual-Border-Tour>

Appendix 6



Screenshot of the results of searching on visually similar images of the photograph of the United States-Mexico border wall from a car shown on the Center for Immigration Studies webpage for its annual border tour. *Google*. Downloaded September 19 2019.

<https://www.google.com/search?sa=G&hl=en&tbs=simg:CAESmwJIiecbHSGZZ4ajwILELCMpwgaYgpgCAMSKI8ekR6bFo4emhbUFdMVgRbWfd0VqCqMde4zzjMOMs4jTnlIqkqpyoaMKseRSiF08cZLxYPKKZgVZyUXMOucuyYTRNz9TQmlN86VAV0ixNHOPQtIYa2bKioXCAEDAsQjq7-CBoKCggIARIEVZyIAQwLEJ3twQkahwEKHAoJZGlydCBYb2Fk2qWI9gMLCgkvbS8wNm5tanYKHAoJcm9hZCB0cmIw2qWI9gMLCgkvbS8wY25mcHoKGgoIbW91bnRhaW7apYj2AwoKCC9tLzA5ZF9yChQKA2NhctqliPYDCQoHL20vMGs0agoXCgV0cmFpbNqliPYDCgoIL20vMGhtMDMM&sxsrf=ACYBGNRIFManB4UKxfeFV-GdG9msEq0pxA:1570963246653&q=dirt+road&tbm=isch&ved=2ahUKEwiCk5aShpnlAhVBLIAKHQ1-BiYQsw56BAgBEAE&biw=1920&bih=943>

Appendix 7



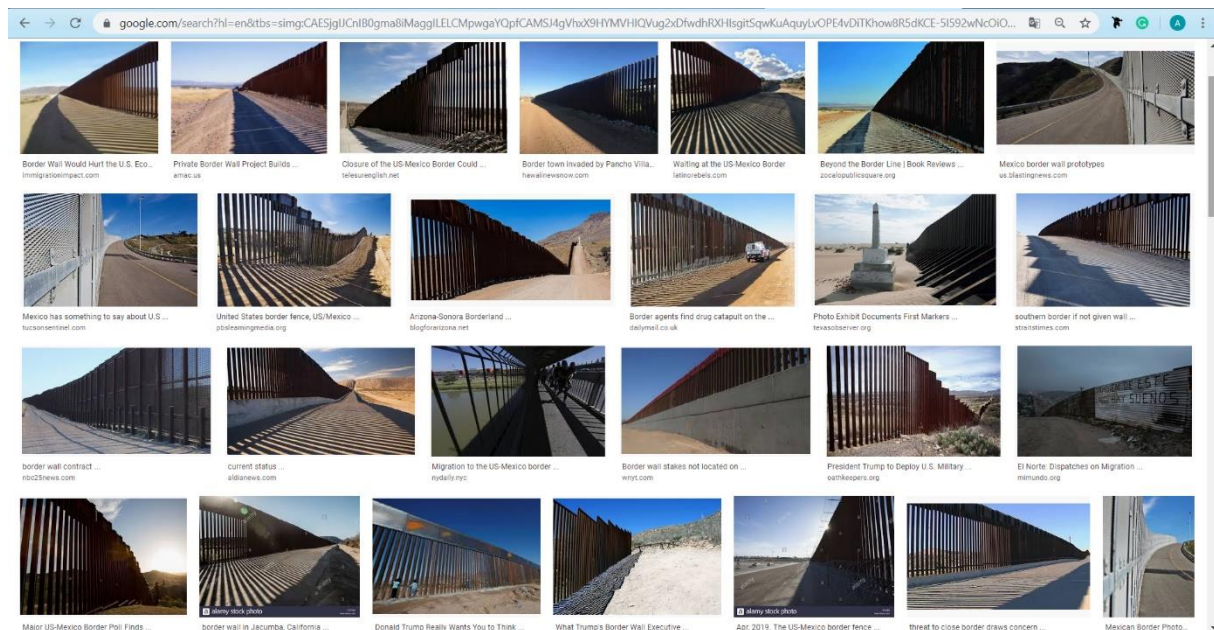
Gray Line Arizona. Photograph of the United States-Mexico border wall. *Gray Line Tucson*.
Downloaded October 13 2019. <https://graylinearizona.com/tours/border-crisis-2/>

Appendix 8



Edgeline Productions Border Tours. Photograph of the border fence running into the sea. *Edgeline Productions Border Tours*. Downloaded October 13 2019. <http://edgelineproductions.com/index.php>

Appendix 9



Screenshot of the results of searching on visually similar images of the photograph of the border fence running into the sea on the Edgeline Productions Border Tours website. *Google*. Downloaded October 13 2019.

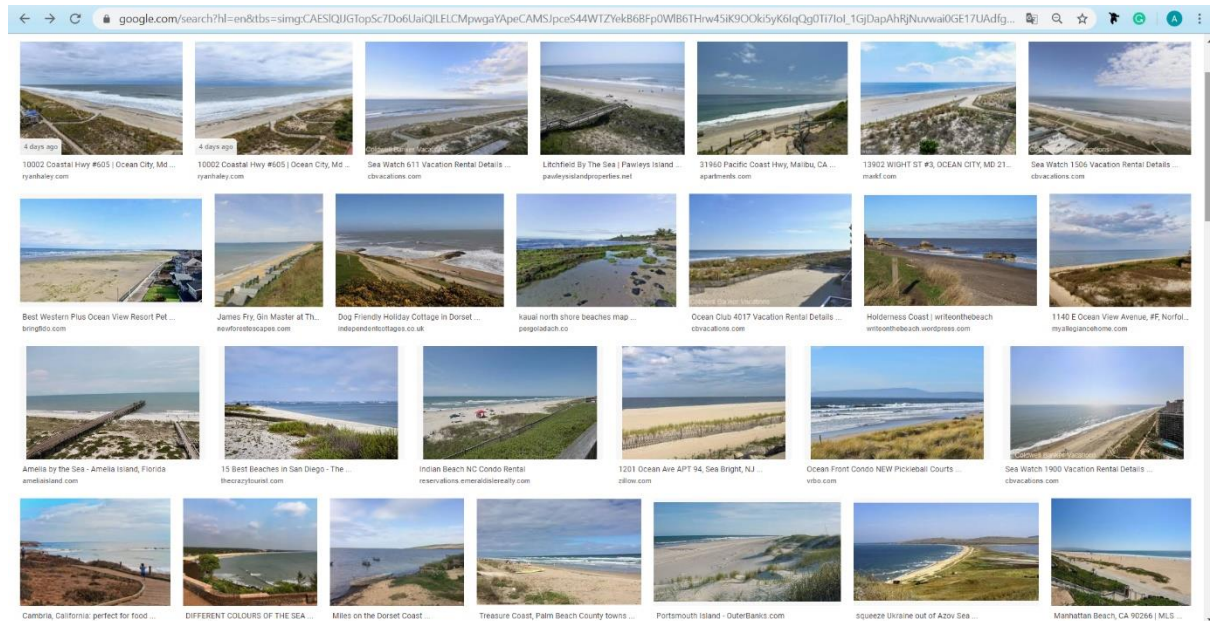
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Appendix 10



Edgeline Productions Border Tours. Photograph of the border fence running into the sea seen from the dunes on the page “Border Tales”. *Edgeline Productions Border Tours*. Downloaded October 13 2019. <http://edgelineproductions.com/border-tales.php>

Appendix 11



Screenshot of the results of searching on visually similar images of the photograph of the border fence running into the sea from the dunes on the page “Border Tales” on the Edgeline Productions Border Tours website. *Google*. Downloaded October 19 2019.

https://www.google.com/search?hl=en&tbs=simg:CAESIQIJGTopSc7Do6UaiQILELCMpwgaYApeCAMSJpceS44WTZYekB6BFp0WIB6THrw45iK9OOk5yK6IqQg0Ti7IoI_1GjDapAhRjNuvwai0GE17UAdfgZ0meDZSYaRaAAVWovzSLNpkxlSsrEdPD-udTHGwgeQgBAwLEI6u_1ggaCgoICAESBMGzMu0MCxCd7cEJGoMBChUKA3NIYdqliPYDCgoIL20vMDZucHgKGAoFc2hvcMxapYj2AwsKCS9tLzAyZm05awoXCgVjb2FzdNqliPYDCgoIL20vMDFseGQKFwoFb2NIYW7apYj2AwoKCC9tLzA1a3E0Ch4KC2JIYWNoIHJpZGdl2qWI9gMLCgkvbS8wY2ZwNjYM&sxsrf=ACYBGNQ1cDqtW5-OMBwePsgBO3yrOWvGPw:1571486917472&q=sea&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiXrfd7pKjlAhXIJIAKHZ56C6cQsw56BAgAEAE&biw=1920&bih=943

Appendix 12



Edgeline Productions Border Tours. Photograph of Mike Harris, owner and guide of the organisation.

Edgeline Productions Border Tours. Downloaded October 19 2019.

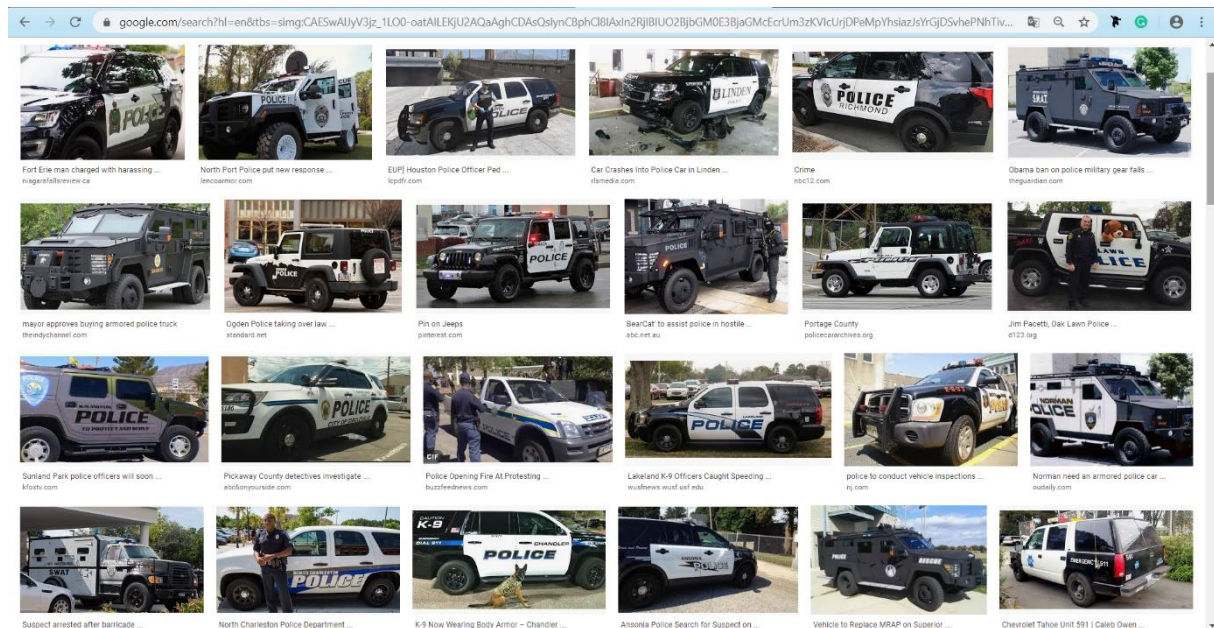
<http://edgelineproductions.com/index.php>

Appendix 13



Edgeline Productions Border Tours. Photograph of Mike Harris, owner and guide of the organisation, in front of a Border Patrol car. *Edgeline Productions Border Tours*. Downloaded October 19 2019. <http://edgelineproductions.com/index.php>

Appendix 14



Screenshot of the results of searching on visually similar images of the photograph of Mike Harris, owner and guide of the organisation, in front of a Border Patrol car on the Edgeline Productions Border Tours website. *Google*. Downloaded October 25 2019.

https://www.google.com/search?hl=en&tbs=simg:CAESwAIJyV3jz_1LO0-oatAILEKjU2AQaAghCDAsQsIynCBphCI8IAxIn2RjIBIU02BjbGM0E3BjaGMcEcrUm3zKVlcUrjDPeMpYhsiazJsYrGjDSvhePNhTivrBjQpDiodxr28kdbRxy6OvaqXvMy6HwcCrh8kauJPv4qkgV0NQI5wcgBAwLEI6u_1ggaCgoICAESBNoEzJoMCxCd7cEJGqIBChwKCWh1bW1lciBoMtqliPYDCwoJL20vMDNtbV9yCiMKEG9mZi1yb2FkIHZlaGljbGXapYj2AwsKCS9tLzAzNWZfagokChFfbWVyZ2ZVuY3kgdmVoaWNsZdqliPYDCwoJL20vMDNqMWx5Ch0KCWVtZXJnZW5jedqliPYDDAoKL20vMDI1cnZ5NgoYCGZwb2xpY2XapYj2AwoKCC9tLzA1d3M3DA&q=hummer+h2&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjJtp6vh7flAhWO3KQKHfEIAO0Qsw56BAgAEAE&cshid=1571994385662170&biw=1920&bih=943

Appendix 15



Todd Bensman Discusses
Case of Abdulahi Hasan Sharif



Jessica Vaughan Discusses
Immigration Policy



Mark Krikorian Discusses E-
Verify

Center for Immigration Studies. Photographs shown linked to Media Interviews on the page for the annual border tour. *Center for Immigration Studies*. Downloaded October 25 2019.
<https://cis.org/Annual-Border-Tour>

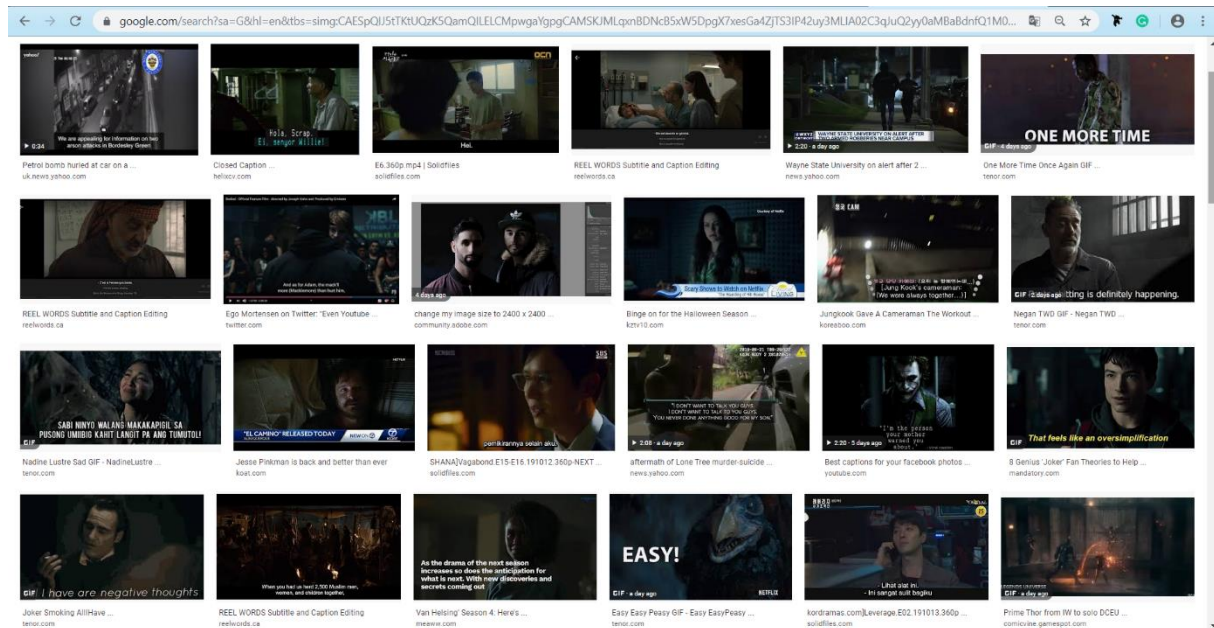
Appendix 16



Parque EcoAlberto. Photograph of people walking the night walk on the “Night Walk” webpage.

Parque EcoAlberto. Downloaded October 26 2019. <http://www.ecoalberto.com.mx/web/caminata.php>

Appendix 17



Screenshot of the results of searching on visually similar images of the photograph of people walking the night walk on the “Night Walk” webpage of the Parque EcoAlberto website. *Google*. Downloaded October 26 2019.

https://www.google.com/search?sa=G&hl=en&tbs=simg:CAESpQIJ5tTKtUQzK5QamQILELCMPwgaYgpgCAMSKJMLQxnBDNcB5xW5DpgX7xesGa4ZjTS3IP42uy3MLIA02C3qJuQ2yy0aMBaBdnfQ1M0oOkOQh5xlmff0up7E9L7JaUKs7SRhZfq_1RyAu1VJ9DfzAioubKtWHoCAEDAsQjq7-CBoKCggIARIEEh6hZgwLEJ3twQkakQEKIQoNcGhvdG8gY2FwdGlvtbqliPYDDAoKL20vMGI3NXdnNAobCghkYXJrbmVzc9qliPYDCwoJL20vMDFreXI4ChgKBW5pZ2h02qWI9gMLCgkvbS8wMWQ3NHoKHAoJZ2VudGxlbWFu2qWI9gMLCgkvbS8wMTIwNXEKFwoFamVhbnPapYj2AwoKC9tLzBmbHk3DA&q=photo+caption&tbs=isch&ved=2ahUKEwj2JPMYbnlAhURL1AKHQSIDYQQsw56BAgBEAE&biw=1920&bih=882

Appendix 18



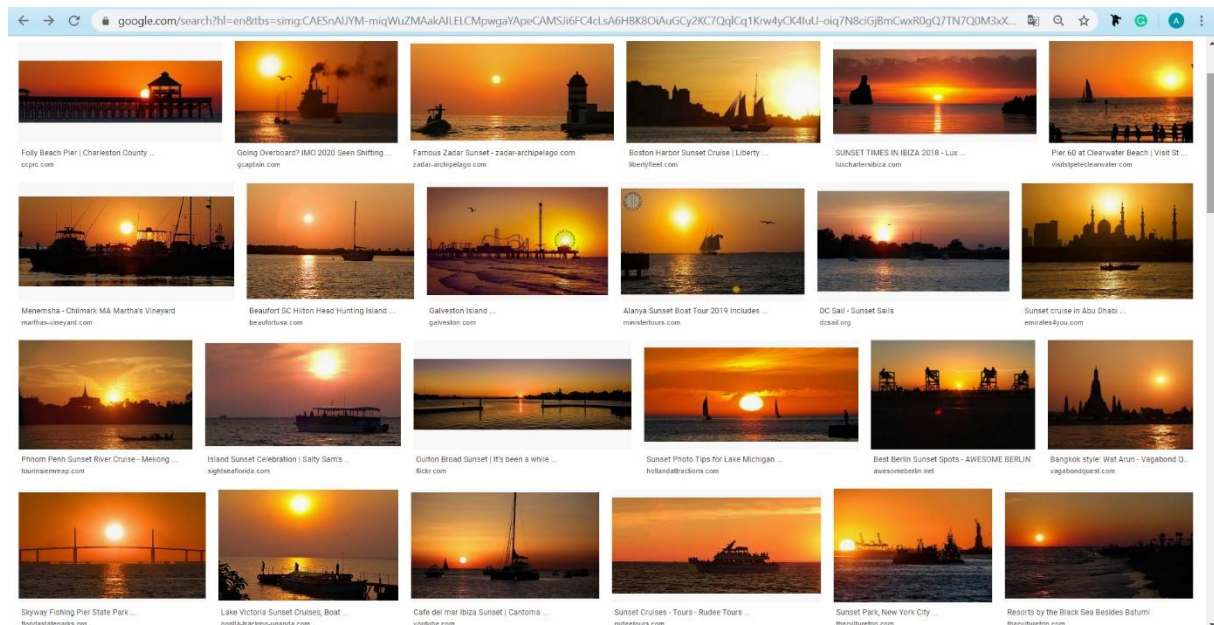
Edgeline Productions Border Tours. Photograph of a Border Patrol car. *Edgeline Productions Border Tours*. Downloaded October 19 2019. <http://edgelineproductions.com/index.php>

Appendix 19



Edgeline Productions Border Tours. Photograph of a pier at sunset on the page “Costs and Schedule”.
Edgeline Productions Border Tours. Downloaded October 19
2019.<http://edgelineproductions.com/costs.php>

Appendix 20



Screenshot of the results of searching on visually similar images of the photograph of a pier at sunset on the page “Costs and Schedule” on the Edgeline Productions Border Tours website. *Google*. Downloaded October 19 2019. https://www.google.com/search?hl=en&tbs=simg:CAESnAIJYM-miqWuZMAakAILELCMPwgaYApeCAMSJi6FC4cLsA6HBK8OiAuGCy2KC7Qq1Cq1Krw4yCK4IuU-oig7N8ciGjBmCwxR0gQ7TN7Q0M3xX0EBEITTkCqJVNhVJKWX0od14c4eUcTsKqdz2Q8CMBDR23cgBAwLEI6u_1ggaCgoICAESBKrzkiMMCxCd7cEJGooBChcKBHBpZXLapYj2AwsKCS9tLzAxcGhxNAoVCgNzdW7apYj2AwoKCC9tLzA2bV9wChkKBnN1bnNldNqliPYDCwoJL20vMDFiMnc1ChUKA3NIYdqliPYDCgoIL20vMDZucHgKJgoScmVkiHNreSBhdCBtb3JuaW5n2qWI9gMMCgOvBS8wODBkazJoDA&sxsrf=ACYBGNQII7GpMhc6EPwK49AEfUpNdj6eMg:1571767769775&q=pier&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi81dicu7DlAhVCJFAKHciwC14Qsw56BAgBEAE&biw=1920&bih=943

Appendix 21



Edgeline Productions Border Tours. Photograph of the San Diego bull ring by the sea shown on the page “Costs and Schedule”. *Edgeline Productions Border Tours*. Downloaded October 19 2019. <http://edgelineproductions.com/costs.php>

Appendix 22



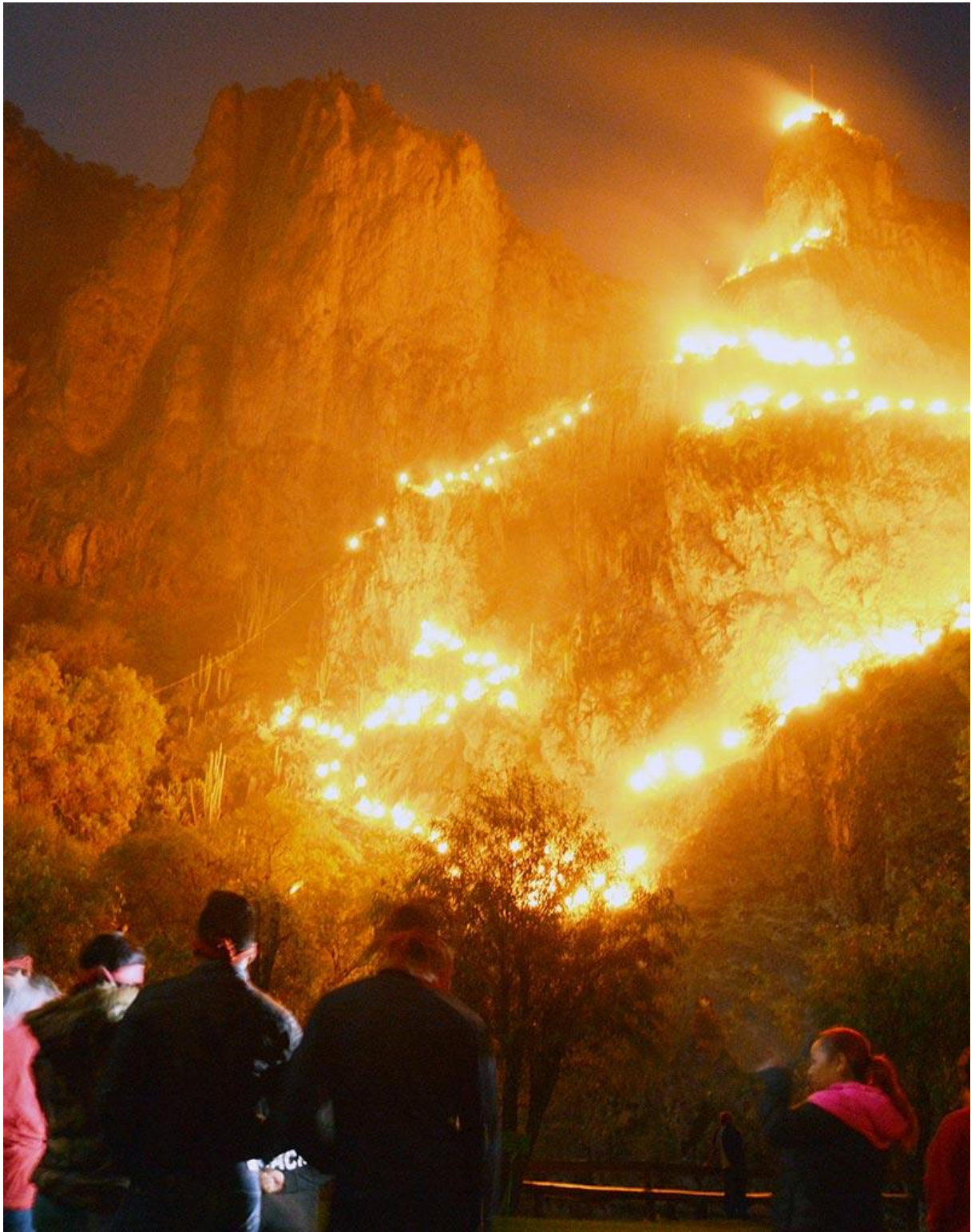
Edgeline Productions Border Tours. Photograph of shrublands on the “Tour Itinerary” page. *Edgeline Productions Border Tours*. Downloaded October 19 2019. <http://edgelineproductions.com/border-tour.php>

Appendix 23



Gray Line Arizona. Photograph of the Grand Canyon used as the header of the website. *Gray Line Tucson*. Downloaded October 19 2019. <https://graylinearizona.com/tours/border-crisis-2/>

Appendix 24



Parque EcoAlberto. Photograph of the torch show at the end of the night walk on the webpage “Night Walk.” *Parque EcoAlberto*. Downloaded October 26 2019.

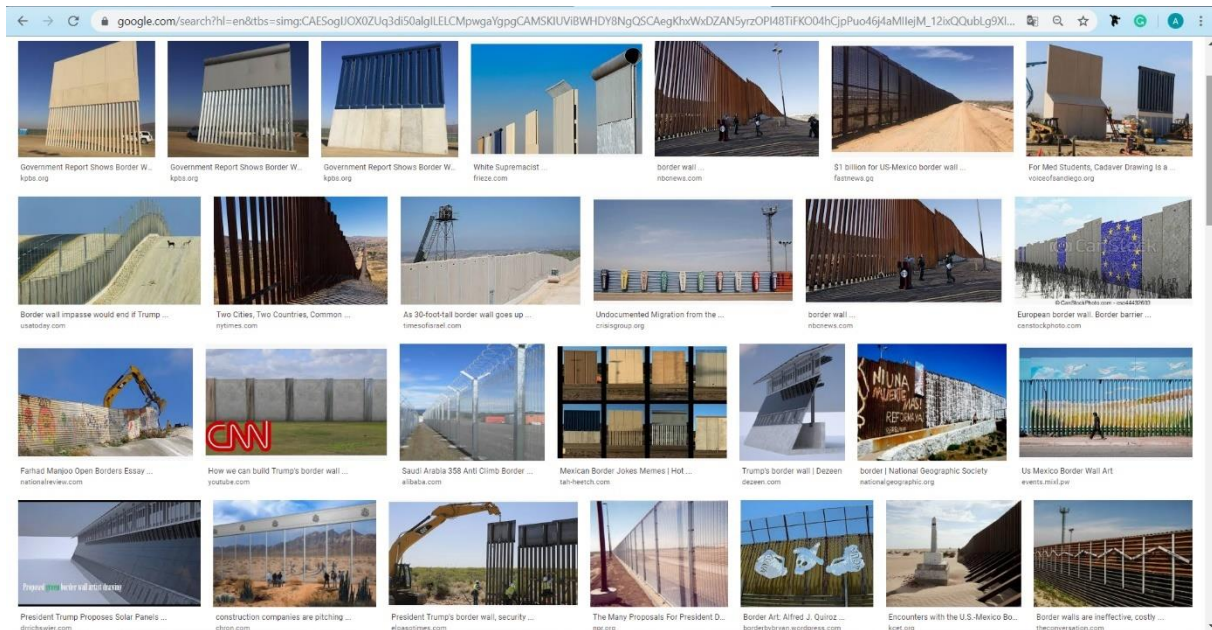
<http://www.ecoalberto.com.mx/web/caminata.php>

Appendix 25



MAGA. Photograph of the Border Wall Prototypes on the “Tours” webpage. *Prototypes*. Downloaded October 27 2019. <https://www.borderwallprototypes.org/tours/>

Appendix 26



Screenshot of the results of searching on visually similar images of the photograph of the Border Wall Prototypes on the “Tours” webpage on the MAGA Border Wall Prototypes website. *Google*.

Downloaded October 27 2019.

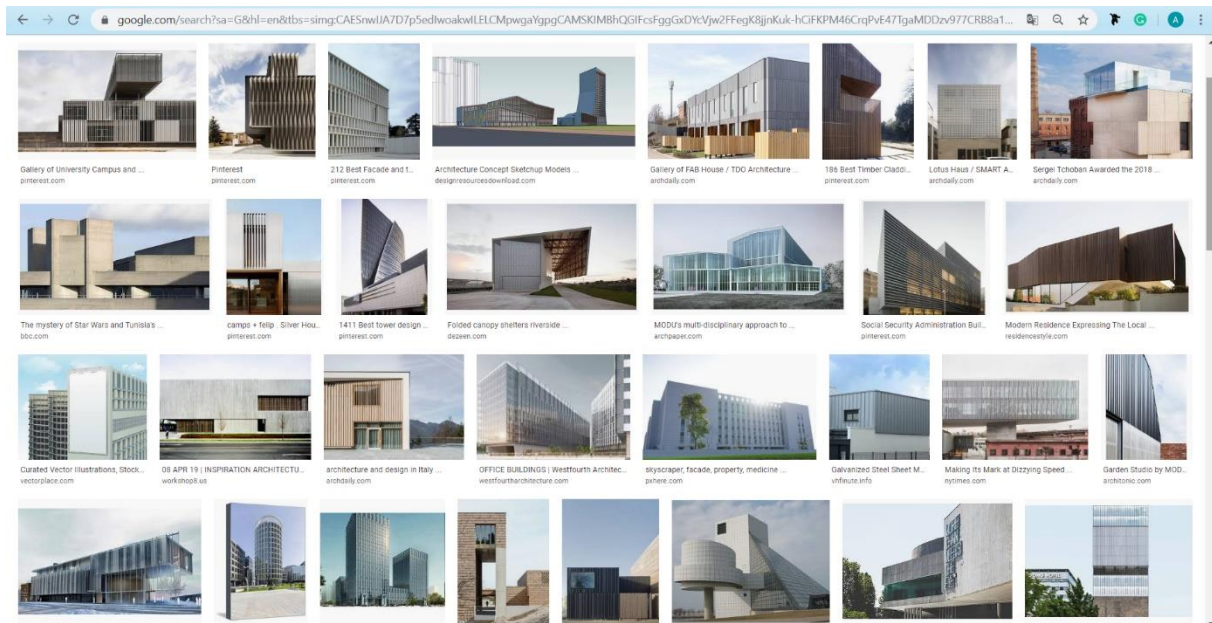
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Appendix 27



Eventbrite. Photograph of the Border Wall Prototypes on the ticket page for the ‘Against the Wall’ border proximity pilgrimage tour 2018 by Turista Libre. *Eventbrite*. Downloaded October 27 2019. <https://www.eventbrite.com/e/against-the-wall-border-proximity-pilgrimage-tickets-40004871648>

Appendix 28



Screenshot of the results of searching on visually similar images of the photograph of the Border Wall Prototypes on the ticketpage for the 'Against the Wall' border proximity pilgrimage tour by Turista Libre on the Eventbrite website. *Google*. Downloaded October 27 2019.

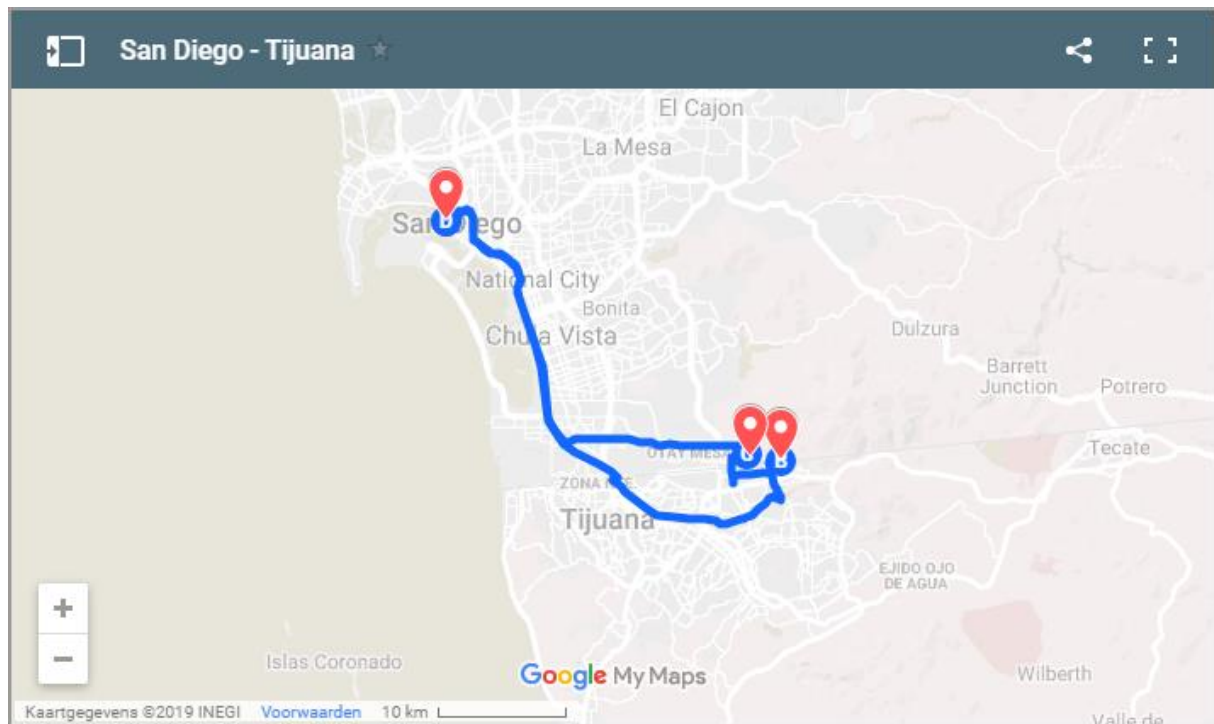
[https://www.google.com/search?sa=G&hl=en&tbs=simg:CAESnwIJA7D7p5edIwoakwILELCMPwgaYgpgCAMS...KjXgHyVG0r44j3diAEDAsQjq7-CBoKCggIARIEjtX0sQwLEJ3twQkaiwEKGQoGZmFjYWRl2qWI9gMLCgkvbS8wMXgzMTQKHwoMYXJjaGl0ZWN0dXJl2qWI9gMLCgkvbS8wM25mbXEKGQoHcGx5d29vZNqliPYDCgoIL20vMGpoOHcKGgoGbhVtYmVy2qWI9gMMCgovbS8wMjV0bnljChYKBHJvb2bapYj2AwoKCC9tLzA2aHlkDA&sxsr=ACYBGNQKYvjKJE8AqNefv-fsEjPi4AcVZg:1572167888882&q=facade&tbs=isch&ved=2ahUKEwiRyazkjbzlAhXKYIAKHXX7CGYQsw56BAgBEAE&biw=1920&bih=943](https://www.google.com/search?sa=G&hl=en&tbs=simg:CAESnwIJA7D7p5edIwoakwILELCMPwgaYgpgCAMS...)

Appendix 29



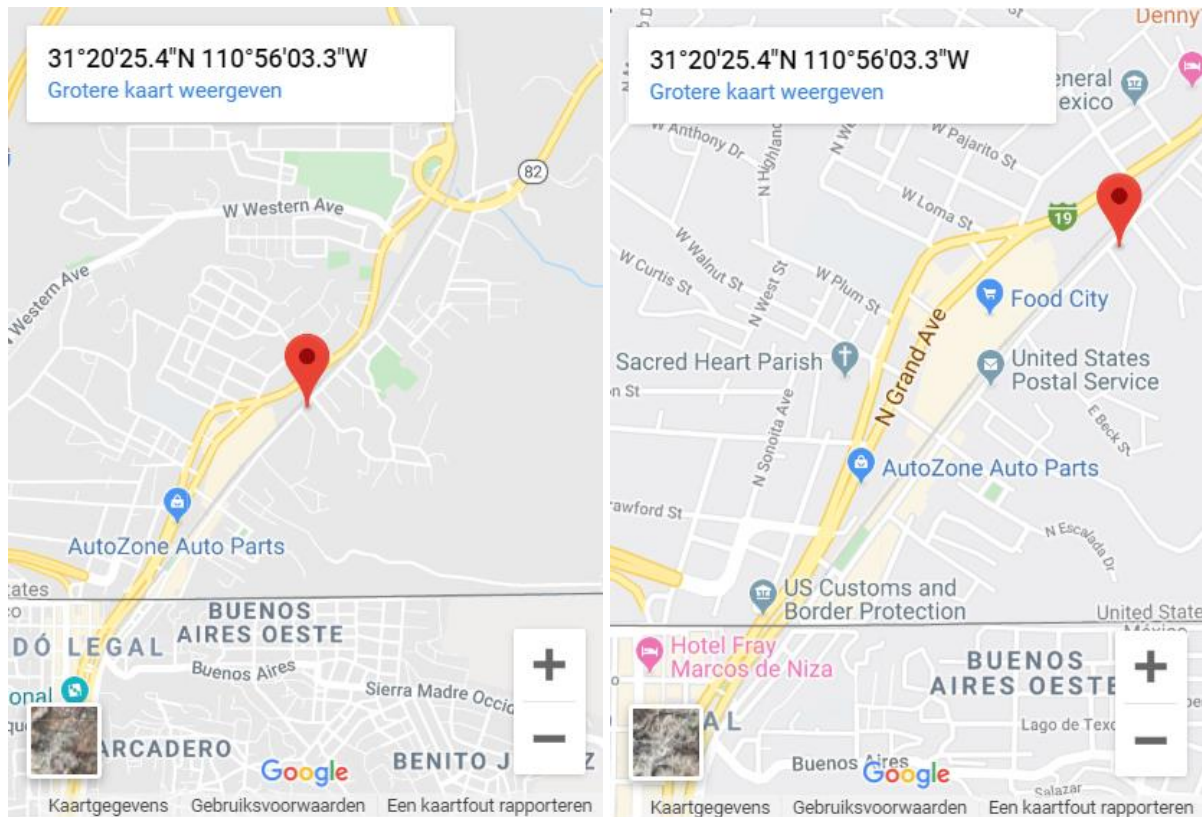
Eventbrite. Photograph of the Border Wall Prototypes on the ticket page for the ‘Against the Wall’ border proximity pilgrimage tour 2019 by Turista Libre. *Eventbrite*. Downloaded October 27 2019. <https://www.eventbrite.com/e/against-the-wall-border-proximity-pilgrimage-tickets-55593092436>

Appendix 30



MAGA. Map of the Border Wall Prototypes tour on the “Tours” webpage via Google Maps. *Prototypes*. Downloaded September 18 2019. <https://www.borderwallprototypes.org/tours>

Appendix 31



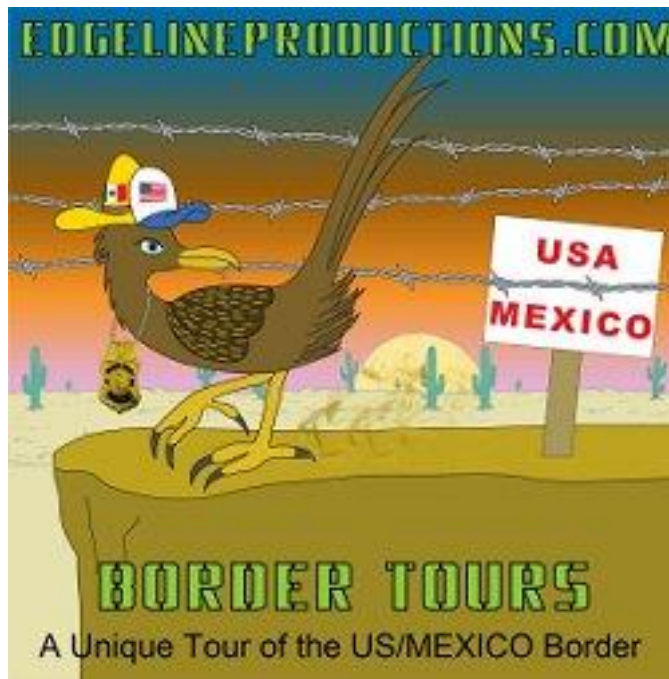
Gray Line Arizona. Map of the border area via Google Maps. *Gray Line Tucson*. Downloaded September 18 2019. <https://graylinearizona.com/tours/border-crisis-2/>

Appendix 32



San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network. Logo illustration. *San Diego Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network*. Downloaded November 2 2019. <http://sdmaquila.org/>

Appendix 33



Harris, Mike. Edgeline Productions Border Tours logo illustration. *Edgeline Productions Border Tours*. Downloaded November 2 2019. <http://edgelineproductions.com/index.php>