

INDEX

- accountability: alt-labor group pressure for, 101;
civil society pressure for, 4, 21, 31, 44, 45,
95–96; co-enforcement and, 65, 94;
cross-border accountability, 119–20, 147,
153; of destination states, 2; for enforcing
rights beyond the workplace, 107–15, 121;
established destination states and, 116–18;
immigrant advocates and voices, 119–20;
invisible labor of, 153–57; labor advocacy
for, 79, 155; Labor Rights Week and, 56,
62; media campaigns for, 126; of Mexican
consular network, 101–20; of Mexico to
emigrant workers, 4, 31, 45, 63, 79, 97–120,
160–61; newer destination states and, 118–19;
of regulatory agencies, 5; role of place in,
116–19, 157; of sending states, 2, 8–10, 17,
97–120, 165; “soft law” and, 7; transnational
advocacy pressure for, 69, 114–15, 121, 122,
126, 129, 131, 141, 142–45, 147
- Advisory Board of the IME, *29fig.*, 37–39,
99, 103–5, 107, 154, 155, 162
- Affordable Care Act, 164
- Afghanistan, 160
- AFL-CIO, 71–72, 74–75, 78, 127, 129, 130, 138–39,
141, 143, 146
- agriculture, 2, 3, 13; California Rural Legal
Assistance and, 83; in California’s Central
Valley, 58, 88, 157; consular network and,
26, 57–59, 89, 93, 98, 104, 119; COVID-19
pandemic and, 162; disinvestment, 124;
Farmworker and Landscaper Advocacy
Project, 57, 85, 86; Farmworker Justice Fund,
Inc., *29fig.*; field safety, 57, 58; Frente Indígena
de Organizaciones Binacionales, 71–72, 77;
H-2A guest worker program, 25, 34, 44, 57,
125, 126, 141, 160; legal services, 83, 85, 86,
88; Mexico-Canada Seasonal Agricultural
Workers Program, 27, 45, 127, 144–45;
organized labor and, 32, 58, 71–72, 77, 89, 136,
139–40, 143; right to organize, 6; sustainable
development, 122, 128; transnational labor
solidarity, 32, 333; transnational networks
and, 128, 129, 131–32; unionization efforts, 98;
United Farm Workers, 58, 73, 136, 143; US
labor standards for, 23; workplace abuses, 125
- alt-labor groups, 68, 71, 73, 98, 101, 153, 158
- antidiscrimination protections and advocacy, 22,
32, 56, 57, 64, 108, 142. *See also* discrimination
antiretaliatio n protections, 5, 22, 26, 35, 145,
171n4
- Argentina, *30fig.*, 41, 67
- arrangement establishing understanding (AEU),
29fig., 40, 56
- arreglos de entendimiento*, *29fig.*, 40, 56
- Article 123 (Mexican constitution), 8, 32–33, 100,
170n6
- Asociación Nacional de Empresas
Comercializadoras de Productores del
Campo (ANEC), 139–40
- Au Pair program, 126

- Authentic Workers' Front / Frente Auténtico del Trabajo, 33, 130–31, 136–37, 139, 143
- Ayres, Ian, 67, 170n4
- Bank of Mexico, 19–20
- Basic Consular Information Binder / Carpeta Informativa Básica Consular, 47
- Basok, Tanya, 35
- Berg, Laurie, 7
- Biden, Joe, 54, 166
- bilateral collaboration, Mexico-US: timeline of key events, 29–30*fig.*
- bilateral rights framework, 123–24
- Binational Health Week, 29*fig.*, 30*fig.*, 49, 154
- Bloemraad, Irene, 70, 173n3
- Bolivia, 29*fig.*, 30*fig.*, 41, 67
- border cities and towns, 10, 48, 53, 111–12
- borders: buildup, 39, 132, 135; control, patrol, and security, 8, 39, 48, 54, 135, 137–38; cross-border advocacy, 3–4, 122, 125, 138; cross-border approach to co-enforcement, 21, 66–68; cross-border humanitarian immigration work, 140–45; cross-border labor solidarity, 46, 128–29, 130–33, 137–38; cross-border power imbalances, 9; crossings and crossing points, 90, 128, 132, 135, 167, 177n2; deaths at, 39, 132; “double divide,” 146; militarization of, 39, 96, 124, 132, 134, 135
- border wall, 54
- Bracero Program and braceros, 27, 35, 53, 66, 124, 127, 131, 154, 160, 162
- Braithwaite, John, 67, 170n4
- Bush, George W., 26, 41
- Campbell's Soup farmworkers campaign, 32, 129
- Carpeta Informativa Básica Consular (CIBAC), 47
- Center for Assistance and Information to Mexicans / Centro de Información y Asistencia a Mexicanos, 30*fig.*, 51, 163
- Centro de Información y Asistencia a Mexicanos (CIAM), 30*fig.*, 51, 163
- Centro de los Derechos del Migrante (CDM), 30*fig.*, 44, 45, 122, 125–27, 135, 139, 141–44, 164
- Change to Win coalition, 74
- Chao, Elaine, 29*fig.*, 39, 41
- charismatic leaders, 156
- charlas* (talks), 16
- civil rights, 7, 22, 38, 58, 75
- civil society: consular offices and, 158; diversity of, 161–62
- civil society-state relations: accountability and, 119–20; conflicted consular relations, 101–7; diaspora rights beyond the workplace, 107–15; key patterns in, 153–62; Mexican evolution of, 98–101; place and, 116–19, 157–58
- clientelism, 32, 90
- coalition-building, 137–45
- co-enforcement, 63–66; assessments of, 94–96, 170n4; choosing relevant partners, 157; civil society and, 10, 12, 24, 68–71, 161; consular network and, 17, 82–96, 117, 166; critics of, 35; cross-border approach to, 21, 66–68; labor organizations and, 71–92; labor outreach and, 103; legal services and, 82–96; “side-to-side” versus “up-and-down” models, 67; Trump administration and, 166; wage theft as target of, 14. *See also* Labor Rights Week; tripartite model of co-enforcement
- Colectivo Migraciones para las Américas (COMPA), 142
- collective bargaining, 7–8, 22, 32, 34, 56, 59–60, 64, 70, 72, 74, 121, 123, 130–31, 136, 149, 157, 177n1
- Comité Fronterizo de Obrer@s (CFO), 136–39
- Community Outreach and Resource Planning Specialists (CORPS), 24, 69, 152, 166
- Compa, Lance, 31
- Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM), 32–33, 99, 129, 138
- Confederation of Mexican Workers / Confederación de Trabajadores de México, 32–33, 99, 129, 138
- Consejo Consultivo del IME (CCIME), 29*fig.*, 30*fig.*, 37–39, 99, 103–5, 107, 154, 155, 162
- consular network. *See* Mexican consular network
- Consular Partnership Program, 30*fig.*, 39, 45, 47, 58, 69
- corporatism, 32
- COVID-19 pandemic, 162–64; budget and resource challenges, 49, 50; consular network and, 77, 163; health and economic impacts on migrant workforce, 162–64; impact on migrants, 3; relief programs, 6; Semana de Derechos Laborales (Labor Rights Week) and, 56–57; testing and vaccinating worker populations, 95
- debt and indenture, 33, 127, 160
- Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), 3, 53–54, 57, 83, 91, 112, 134, 156
- de Graauw, Els, 70, 173n3
- Délano Alonso, Alexandra, 2, 9, 154, 165
- Departamento de Documentación, 36, 48
- Departamento de Protección y Asistencia Consular, 36, 49–53, 78, 105, 107, 152, 155, 158

- Department of Documentation, 36, 48
- Department of Fair Employment and Housing, California, 59, 84
- Department of Labor (DOL), 29*fig.*; advocacy pressure on, 167; Bureau of International Labor Affairs, 40, 47, 152; complexity and oversight of, 165–66; Consular Partnership Program, 30*fig.*, 39, 45, 47, 58, 69; CORPS program, 24, 69, 152, 166; Joint Declaration (2004), 23, 29*fig.*, 39–42; LABORAL call center, 30*fig.*, 51, 158; memorandum of understanding on worker rights (2008), 8, 40, 64, 122, 153–54; MOUs with Department of Homeland Security, 26; Trump administration, 166; Wage and Hour Division, 21–24, 39–42, 47, 55, 69, 74, 152, 165; workers' fears of, 103. *See also* Labor Rights Week; Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA)
- Department of Legal Protection and Consular Assistance, 36, 49–53, 78, 105, 107, 152, 155, 158
- Derbez, Ernesto, 39, 41
- diaspora diplomacy, 61, 69
- Diplomatic Civil Service, 46
- Dirección General de Protección a Mexicanos en el Exterior (DGPME), 35–36, 49–50, 51, 56
- discrimination: antidiscrimination protections and advocacy, 22, 32, 56, 57, 64, 108, 142; consular labor intake and, 52*fig.*, 59, 60; gender- and sex-based, 32, 122, 164; labor and employment law, 70; legal service providers for, 83; by Mexican consulates, 82; national-origin, 40; racial, 3, 170n3
- double divide, 146
- drug trafficking, 179n2
- drug wars and violence, 134, 141
- Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights Project / Proyecto de Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales, 45, 108, 127, 139, 140–41, 143–44
- economies of scale model, 5
- El Campo No Aguanta Más, 139
- El Salvador, 29*fig.*, 30*fig.*, 41, 54, 74, 118, 136, 142, 145
- Employment, Education and Outreach (EMPLEO), 29*fig.*, 51, 58–59, 158
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), 21, 22, 23, 40, 42, 43*fig.*, 64, 68, 74, 107, 119, 152
- Finance Ministry, 48–49, 165
- Fine, Janice, 67
- Flores Magón brothers, 3
- food sovereignty, 140, 159
- Fox, Vicente, 29*fig.*, 37, 39, 115, 137, 171n17
- Frente Auténtico del Trabajo (FAT), 33, 130–31, 136–37, 139, 143
- Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales, 71–72, 77
- General Directorate for the Protection of Mexicans Abroad, 35–36, 49–50, 51, 56
- gig economy, 2, 163
- Global Compact for Migration: approval of, 1; national sovereignty and, 1, 7, 177n2; provisions and objectives of, 1; United States withdrawal from, 177n2
- Global Workers Justice Alliance (later known as Justice in Motion), 45, 122, 126, 129, 139, 141–43
- Golash-Boza, Tanya, 32
- González, Gilbert, 53, 98
- González Araiza, Luis Enrique, 8
- grasstops groups, 9, 115, 120
- Great Depression, 32
- Great Recession, 20, 34
- Guatemala, 29*fig.*, 30*fig.*, 41, 54, 74, 118, 138, 140, 142, 145
- guest worker programs, abuse of, 126–37
- Guía de Procedimientos de Protección Consular*, 50–51
- H-2A guest worker program, 25, 34, 44, 57, 125, 126, 141, 160
- H-2B guest worker program, 34, 44, 57, 126, 141
- Hamlin, Rebecca, 160
- health care and health insurance: Affordable Care Act, 164; Binational Health Week, 29*fig.*, 30*fig.*, 49, 154; Seguro Popular, 20, 29*fig.*, 30*fig.*, 119; for undocumented and unauthorized workers, 20, 30*fig.*, 164
- Hirschman, Albert O., 101
- Hispanic Contractors of America, 39
- Honduras, 29*fig.*, 30*fig.*, 41, 54, 74, 118, 142, 145
- hotlines, 49, 51, 55, 65, 74, 84, 86–87, 108–10, 158
- human rights, 5, 6, 8, 34, 50, 54, 75, 86, 111, 121, 126–30, 133–35, 139–42, 146, 150, 160
- Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), 26, 85, 103
- immigration enforcement: raids, 25, 26, 75, 152; US labor standards and, 25–27
- Independent Trade Union of Workers of “La Jornada,” 46
- indigenous organizations, 112–14

- Institute of Mexicans Abroad, 29*fig.*, 36, 37–39, 49, 73, 99, 104, 154
- Institutional Revolutionary Party, 32, 99, 115, 144
- Instituto de los Mexicanos en el Exterior (IME), 29*fig.*, 36, 37–39, 49, 73, 99, 104, 154; committee structure, 38; *jornadas informativas*, 30*fig.*, 37–39. *See also* Consejo Consultivo del IME (CCIME)
- Instituto Nacional de Migración, 160
- Instituto Nacional de Transparencia, Acceso a la Información y Protección de Datos Personales (INAI), 49, 152, 166
- Inter-American Court of Human Rights, 6–7
- Inter-American System for the Protection of Human Rights and Migrant Worker Rights, 31
- International Labour Organization (ILO), 1; Comité Fronterizo de Obrer@s (CFO) and, 136, 138; Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention (No. 87), 34; Free Trade Agreements and, 123; Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention (No. 143), 7, 123; Migration and Employment Convention (No. 47), 7, 123; North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation and, 33; procedures for lodging complaints with, 147; Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention (No. 98), 131; *testimonios* in litigation brought before, 144; United States Mexico Canada Agreement and, 149; on workplace fatalities, 4
- J-1 guest worker program, 34, 126
- Justice in Motion (formerly known as Global Workers Justice Alliance), 122, 126, 129, 139, 141–43
- Keck, Margaret E., 31, 122, 159, 171n7
- Labor Affairs Window Program, 30*fig.*, 57, 61, 154
- Labor Commission, California, 24, 84, 157
- labor enforcement, models of: deterrence oriented, 152; “fire alarm” approach, 5; generalist, 22; specialized, 22
- labor intake statistics, 59–60
- labor movement: benefits of labor-consulate collaboration, 77–79; challenges to labor-consulate collaboration, 79–82; consular network and, 73–77; consular offices as captive audience outreach, 74–75; consulates as regional actors, 75–76; consuls as influential conveners, 74; immigrant advocacy history, 71–73; Labor Rights Week and, 70, 72–73; Mexican union membership, 100; US union membership, 71, 100, 101
- Labor Rights Week, 56–59, 92, 103, 107, 111, 154; consular labor intake statistics, 59–60; goal of, 156; key themes and actors, 56–59; legal services and, 82, 85, 87, 89, 92; local stakeholders, 58; media and, 16, 43*fig.*, 57, 60, 64, 81, 89; origins and early history of, 38, 55–56; outreach summary, 43*fig.*, 155; pilot programs, 9, 38, 39, 55, 76; significance of, 55–56; yearly themes, 57*fig.*
- League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), 55
- Lee, Min Sook, 35
- Legal Assistance Program to Mexicans by Attorneys in the United States, 51, 53, 86
- legal services: benefits of legal service provider-consulate collaboration, 88–92; challenges to legal service provider-consulate collaboration, 92–94; consular network and, 85–88; Labor Rights Week and, 82, 85, 87, 89, 92; significance for worker rights, 82–85
- letters of agreement (LOAs), 23, 39–41, 61
- Lipsky, Michael, 5, 21
- Lombardo Toledano, Vicente, 3
- López, Esther, 38, 39, 73
- López Obrador, Andrés Manuel, 48, 54, 131, 169n2, 178n24
- matricula consular* (consular ID), 47–48, 60, 90–91, 104, 108, 115
- media: consular networks and, 36, 64–65; Labor Rights Week and, 16, 43*fig.*, 57, 60, 64, 81, 89; Mexican government and, 179n2; resources and reach, 110–11; Spanish-language, 36, 75; transnational migrant rights groups and, 114, 126
- Medina, Eliseo, 38, 39, 73
- Medina Mora, Eduardo, 27, 30*fig.*
- memoranda of understanding (MOUs), 23, 26–28, 35, 39–42, 56; 2004 MOU, 39–41; 2008 MOU (Labor Rights Week), 40, 42, 44; Labor Rights Week outreach, 43*fig.*; signing ceremonies, 58–59
- Mexican Action Network Confronting Free Trade / Red Mexicana de Acción Frente al Libre Comercio, 128, 131, 136–37
- Mexican consular network: *abogados consultores*, 53, 158; accountability of, 101–20; Chicago office, 27, 53, 55–58, 72–77, 81, 155, 162, 163;

- conflicted relationships, 101–7; COVID-19 pandemic and, 162–64; diaspora needs beyond the workplace, 107–15; evolution of state-society relations, 98–101; expansion of, 19–20; functions and resources, 47–50, 64; labor advocacy and, 46–55; labor cases intake, 52*fig.*; labor outreach and diplomatic neutrality, 53–55; labor protection services, 50–53; Labor Rights Week and, 55–62, 64; local context and, 116–19; Marcelo Ebrard, 160; *matrícula consular* (consular ID), 47–48, 60, 90–91, 104, 108, 115; media presence, 36, 64–65; noninterventionist stance of, 26, 53; organizational structure, 10; staff, 46; US consulates, 11*fig.*
- Mexican migrants in US, 19–21; demographic profile, 10–13; labor precarity of, 13–15; percentage identifying as Mexican, 12*fig.*; percentage Mexican born, 11*fig.*; percentage noncitizens, 13*fig.*; percentage with low-wage jobs, 14. *See also* undocumented and unauthorized workers
- Mexican migrant worker engagement and protection: Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, 32–33; labor regimes, 32–34; shift in focus of, 34–36; supranational legal framework, 27–32
- Mexican Revolution, 32, 99
- Mexico-Canada Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program, 27, 45, 127, 144–45
- Migrant Rights Center / Centro de los Derechos del Migrante, 30*fig.*, 44, 45, 122, 125–27, 135, 139, 141–44, 164
- Migration Collective for the Americas / Colectivo Migraciones para las Américas, 142
- militarization, 39, 96, 124, 132, 134, 135
- minimum wage, Mexico, 32, 131, 138, 140, 149
- minimum wage, US: in California, 24, 85; enforcement, 64; labor advocacy and, 72; regulations, 22; right to, 5; stagnation of, 23; violations, 9, 14, 17onn8
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *See* Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores
- Ministry of Labor. *See* Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social
- multiscalar approach, 4–5, 10
- National Association of Marketing Companies of Rural Producers / Asociación Nacional de Empresas Comercializadoras de Productores del Campo, 139–40
- National Council of La Raza, 55
- National Immigration Institute, 160
- National Institute of Transparency, Information Access and Private Data Protection / Instituto Nacional de Transparencia, Acceso a la Información y Protección de Datos Personales, 49, 152, 166
- National Labor Relations Act, 32
- National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), 21, 22, 23, 29*fig.*, 32, 40, 42, 43*fig.*, 64, 74, 152
- National Safety Council, 39
- nation building, 1
- neoliberalism, 32, 33, 64, 128, 134, 139, 161, 167
- NGOs, 29*fig.*, 140–42; binational agreements and, 44; boomerang effect and, 122, 171n7; Central American, 137; consular advocacy and, 68; consular labor protection services and, 53; as consulate contractors, 158; donor relationships, 146; NAALC and, 124; security concerns, 159; transnational networks and, 129–30, 136–37
- North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation (NAALC), 9, 28, 29*fig.*, 30*fig.*, 31, 33, 35, 44, 45, 122–25, 130, 143–44, 148, 155, 158
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 6, 16, 18, 28, 29*fig.*, 33–34, 46, 114–15, 122–32, 136–40, 148–51, 155, 164
- Obama, Barack, 26, 27, 41, 42, 51, 75, 134–35, 152
- Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), 4, 22, 29*fig.*, 39–42, 43*fig.*, 47, 55, 59, 68, 74, 77, 107, 117, 152, 165
- Oswalt, Michael M., 67–68
- Paisano Program, 37
- pandemic. *See* COVID-19 pandemic
- Partido Acción Nacional (PAN), 115, 144
- Partido Revolucionario Democrático (PRD), 144
- Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), 32, 99, 115, 144
- patronage, political, 32
- peasant social movements, 139
- Peña Nieto, Enrique, 53, 87, 142
- Philippines, 30*fig.*, 31, 40, 41, 42, 126, 158
- Piore, Michael J., 156
- Plazas Comunitarias, 36, 103, 109
- polarization, political, 20
- portable rights model, 3–5, 18, 115, 125, 129, 142, 145, 149–50, 155, 158–61, 177n4

- poverty, 20, 34, 81, 83, 98, 112, 124–25, 145
 presidential election of 2016 (US), 16*fig.*
 Prevención, Capacitación y Defensa del Migrante (PRECADEM), 141
 Programa de Asistencia Jurídica a Personas Mexicanas a través de Asesorías Legales Externas en los Estados Unidos de América (PALE), 51, 53, 86
 Programa de Asistencia Jurídica Telefónica Gratuita (JURIMEX), 51, 86
 Programa Paisano, 37
 Programa para las Comunidades Mexicanas en el Extranjero (PCME), 37
 Program for Mexican Communities Abroad / Programa para las Comunidades Mexicanas en el Extranjero, 37
 Proyecto de Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales (ProDESC), 45, 108, 127, 139, 140–41, 143–44
 RADAR, 127
 Red Mexicana de Acción Frente al Libre Comercio (RMALC), 128, 131, 136–37
 Refugee Convention, 179n3
 refugees, 118, 140, 150, 160, 166, 179n3
 Regional Initiative on Labor Mobility (INILAB), 142
 remittances: collective remittances, 61, 100, 161; family remittances, 19–20, 39, 66, 96, 100, 132, 154, 170–71n1
 responsive regulation, 65, 67
 retirement programs, 20
 “right to stay home,” 100, 133, 139, 155, 159
 Roosevelt, Franklin, 32
 Rosado Marzán, César F., 67–68
 Ryder, Guy, 4
 Salinas de Gortari, Carlos, 37, 161
 Sassen, Saskia, 32
 Schrank, Andrew, 156
 Second World War, 27, 35
 Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público (SHCP), 48–49, 165
 Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social (STPS): binational agreements and, 44–45; Coordinación General del Servicio Nacional de Empleo, 44; functions of, 27–28; labor attaché, 30*fig.*, 35
 Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (SRE): binational agreements with US, 8, 9, 16–17, 23, 27–28, 39, 61–62, 64, 69, 95, 153–54; budget, 48–49; COVID-19 pandemic and, 162; Dirección General de Protección a Mexicanos en el Exterior (DGPME), 35–36, 49–50, 51, 56; Fortalecimiento para la Atención a Mexicanos en Estados Unidos, 49; functions of, 27–28, 35, 39, 48, 155–56; Instituto de los Mexicanos en el Exterior (IME), 29*fig.*, 36, 37–39, 49, 73, 99, 104, 154; labor intake database, 14, 59; Labor Rights Week and, 56–57, 60; organizational structure and staff, 46–50; Programa de Asistencia Jurídica a Personas Mexicanas a través de Asesorías Legales Externas en los Estados Unidos de América (PALE), 51, 53, 86; Programa para las Comunidades Mexicanas en el Extranjero (PCME), 37
 Seguro Popular, 20, 29*fig.*, 30*fig.*, 119
 Semana Binacional de Salud, 29*fig.*, 30*fig.*, 49, 154
 Semana de Derechos Laborales. *See* Labor Rights Week
 Serna de la Garza, José María, 1, 31
 Service Employees International Union (SEIU), 38, 39, 58, 71–73, 77, 78, 80–81
 Services Immigrant Rights and Education Network (SIREN), 84
 Servicio Exterior Mexicano (SEM), 46
 sexual harassment, 3, 21, 57, 68, 83, 170n3
 Sikkink, Kathryn, 31, 122, 159, 171n7
 Sindicato Independiente de Trabajadores de La Jornada (SITRAJOR), 46
 Social Security, 32, 50
 Social Security number, 26, 75
 “soft laws,” 1, 7, 31, 121, 123, 173n2
 Solana, Fernando, 37
 Southern Poverty Law Center, 83, 125
 sovereignty, 18; consular network and, 82; food, 140, 159; guest worker programs and, 148; migrant-refugee binary and, 160; UN Global Compact for Migration and, 1, 7, 177n2
 state-civil society relations. *See* civil society-state relations
 street-level bureaucracy, 5, 20–21, 23, 156
 Teamsters, 75, 80, 81, 136
 Temporary Protected Status (TPS), 3
 TN (Trade NAFTA) visa program, 125
 trafficking, drug, 179n2
 trafficking, human, 8, 26, 41, 52*fig.*, 59, 69, 84, 127, 170n7
 transnational immigrant advocacy, 114–15
 transnational labor advocacy, models of: boomerang effect, 31, 122, 159, 164, 171n7; dual-target campaigns, 122; two-way dynamic, 31

- transnational networks: agriculture and land, 131–33; capacity and funding disparities, 145–47; coalitional frictions, 145–48; coalition-building, 137–45; creation of, 135–37; future of, 148–50; human rights, 133–34; organizing challenges and uneven power, 147–48; origins and history of, 128–30; rights of families and children, 134–35; sectoral dynamics of, 130–35; workers' rights across borders, 130–31
- Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire, 4
- triangulation, 151
- tripartite model of co-enforcement, 8, 17, 18, 32–33, 61, 67, 170n4; assessing, 94–96; boomerang effect and, 122; goals of, 5–6; Mexican history of, 100; NAALC and, 124; organized labor and, 99, 100; possibilities and limits of, 155–57
- Trump, Donald, 16*fig.*, 26, 53, 74, 87, 112, 134, 164, 166
- undocumented and unauthorized workers: Affordable Care Act exclusions for, 164; claims-driven worker regulation and, 21–22, 24–26; CMW on, 6–7; consular network and, 78, 87, 89, 101, 102, 110, 111; in gig economy, 2; health services for, 20, 30*fig.*, 164; international labor law and, 7; legalization program for, 135; legal services for, 83–85, 87, 89; *matriculas* and, 108; organized labor and, 71–72, 78; rights of, 123, 125; temporary guest worker programs and, 126; union organizing of, 139; US rights of, 5–7; US statistics and trends, 12, 14, 31, 34–35, 120, 125, 175n77; vulnerability of, 4, 21–22, 24, 25–26; wage and hour violations and, 8, 170n3; workplace protections for, 2–3
- UnidosUS, 55
- UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (CMW), 6–8, 31, 123, 177n2
- United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE), 46, 77, 130, 136
- United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW), 38, 39, 46, 55, 58, 71–81, 127, 142, 144, 149
- United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA), 164
- UNITE-HERE!, 71, 73
- Univisión, 36
- Uruguay, 30*fig.*, 41, 136
- US immigration policy, 6, 12–13, 53–54, 166
- US labor standards enforcement, 21–22; claims-driven worker regulation, 21–22, 24–25; immigration enforcement and, 25–27; labor inspection, 22; overlapping jurisdictions, 23–24; siloed issue arenas, 22–23
- Ventanilla de Salud, 40, 49, 119, 163
- Ventanilla Laboral (Labor Affairs Window Program), 30*fig.*, 57, 61, 154
- Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, 25, 28, 120
- visas, US: T visa, 26, 57, 84; U visa, 26, 57, 84
- voice after exit, 154
- Vosko, Leah, 7–8, 35
- wage theft, 146; complaints and cases, 13, 59; consular labor protection, 51, 52*fig.*, 53, 59, 60; “Down with Wage Theft” campaign, 72; Labor Rights Week activities, 57; legal services for, 84; LOAs and MOUs, 40, 41; prevalence of, 14; prevention programs, 170n9; sanctuary cities and, 6
- Wagner, Ines, 8
- worker centers, 15, 25, 73, 90–91, 95, 98, 101–8, 110, 113–19, 136, 147, 150, 153
- workplace fatalities, 4, 57
- World Health Organization (WHO), 7
- Zapatista movement, 3, 33, 132

Founded in 1893,

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
publishes bold, progressive books and journals
on topics in the arts, humanities, social sciences,
and natural sciences—with a focus on social
justice issues—that inspire thought and action
among readers worldwide.

The UC PRESS FOUNDATION
raises funds to uphold the press's vital role
as an independent, nonprofit publisher, and
receives philanthropic support from a wide
range of individuals and institutions—and from
committed readers like you. To learn more, visit
ucpress.edu/supportus.