

The Work of the Puente Movement from April 23rd, 2010-September 6th, 2012:
Shifting Dis /Courses and Bridging Differences to Oppose Senate Bill 1070

by

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ABSTRACT

Scholars have attended to paradoxes inherent in wider public discourse where subordinated groups most affected by laws and sanctions have the least political, material, and rhetorical capital to speak back to them. Such scholarship often focuses either on the subordinated status of a group or the work of subordinated groups going public as part of a collective mass movement for social change. In doing so, scholarship risks undermining the agency of subordinated rhetors or treating mass-movement rhetoric as somehow both exceptional and yet necessary for enacting cultural citizenship. What is less frequently studied is the agency that local publics demonstrate through their tenacious organizational decision-making in the face of political, material, and rhetorical sanctions. In response to this gap, this project features the Puente Movement, a mixed-documentation-status grassroots organization in Phoenix, AZ. Specifically, I've analyzed this organization's public efforts from April 23rd, 2010 to September 6th, 2012 to oppose Senate Bill 1070—a state-specific measure to stop undocumented immigration across the Mexico/Arizona border and deport current undocumented residents. I situate the study in the larger context of Latino cultural citizenship. Combining a critical-incident interview technique and a rhetorically informed decision-making framework, I analyze Puente's active construction and public circulation of argumentative appeals in relation to their decision-making that attempted to leverage Puente's identity and membership to serve its constituents and to continue to direct wider public attention to SB 1070. Using a five-part framework to assess potential risks and benefits, the study documents the complexity of this decision-making. For instance, the study shows how Puente's strategy of Barrio Defense Committees negotiated the tension between protecting the identification of local

residents and publically protesting the injustices of immigration sanctions. It also highlights how a strategy to use member's undocumented status as a point of publicity actively engaged tensions between the narratives Puente members wanted to present to the public about undocumented people and the images otherwise circulated. Behind these strategies and others like them is Puente's persistent effort to re-frame immigration controversy. Findings are relevant to the study of Latino/a social movements, public-spheres scholarship, and action-research with subordinated rhetors.

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CHAPTER 1

FRAMING THE PROBLEM AND GAUGING RISKS

On April 23rd, 2010, Arizona Governor Janice Brewer signed Senate Bill 1070 (SB 1070) into law, also known as the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act. This state-specific bill was aimed at stopping undocumented immigration across the Mexico / Arizona border and deporting current undocumented people residing in the state (“SB 1070”). Brewer and other pro-SB 1070 supporters argued that the state of Arizona was in a crisis—the violence and crime taking place on the border due to undocumented immigration and drug trafficking would continue and eventually infiltrate deeper into the state (Brewer; “Robert Krentz;” “Specifics,” Wagner; Wood). This border-crisis argument was negated by accounts from border-town police, border-town residents, and FBI crime reports (Wagner, “Violence”). In addition to counter claims against the border as a crisis zone of crime, wider public discourse from pro-immigrant politicians and advocacy groups argued that SB 1070 would unnecessarily criminalize immigrants and lead to racial profiling (Johnson; Lemons; Nowicki; Sáinz). Like past immigration measures, what was all but missing from wider public discourse in late April of 2010 was the voices of the undocumented—for this group, SB 1070 was certainly a crisis, one with political, rhetorical, and existential ramifications. For instance, publically protesting against SB 1070 would risk exposure of one’s documentation status, heightening the already present danger of deportation and family separation. In addition, like past efforts going public in protest against immigration sanctions, publically protesting as undocumented carries the risk of exacerbating anti-immigrant sentiment (cf. Beltrán, *The Trouble* 131; cf. Chavez 153; cf. Gonzalez).

Scholars have attended to such paradoxes inherent in wider public discourse where subordinated groups who are most effected by laws and sanctions have the least political, material, and rhetorical capital to argue against them (Fraser, “Rethinking;” Higgins and Brush; Squires; Warner; Young). Scholarship and discourse that focuses solely on the subordinated status of a group can serve to perpetuate such status since doing so elides the tenacious ways that subordinated groups do go public, often under the most daunting circumstances (Cushman xviii-xxi; cf. Spivak 90-91). Additionally, scholarship that studies subordinated groups going public, such as Latino/a and Chicano/a groups, more often tends to focus on larger national movements and or organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) or the Chicano movement, subsequently no adequately attending to the importance of smaller, more local grassroots organizational work which has national implications (cf. Flores and Benmayor 2; cf. García, *White but*; cf. Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed*; cf. Orozco, *No Mexicans*). And, scholarship that focuses on Latino/a and or Mexican movements led by undocumented people also tends to focus more on broad brush characterizations, leaving out the more fine-tuned, botton-up analysis of the complexity of such grassroots organizational work (cf. Betrán, *The Trouble*; cf. Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*; cf. Coutin, *The Culture*). To be clear, while such analytical work provides theoretical fruit, it also tends to favor limiting top-down paradigms of public life, falling short of understanding how subordinated publics enact agency and the rhetorical and material means in which they do so in the face of severe sanctions (cf. Spivak 90-91; cf. Squires 465).

In response to this, this project studies the active construction and public circulation of argumentative appeals in relation to an activist organization's decision-making— decision-making that attempts to leverage an organization's identity and membership both to serve its constituents and to continue to direct wider public attention to a public controversy. The study documents the complexity of this decision-making by grounding its analysis in the rhetorical work of a mixed documentation status grassroots community-based group called the Puente Movement / Puente Arizona (Puente) concerning SB 1070.

In light of Puente's efforts cultivating controversy around SB 1070, the organization's decision-making merits disciplinary attention. I make this assertion in light of the ways that the organization calls up short prevailing disciplinary understandings of public discourse and, thus, serves as a catalyst for more grounded theorizing. Scholars have given importance to developing a more nuanced understanding of multiple public spheres, especially subordinated ones (Fraser, "Rethinking" 122-124; Long 142; Squires 465). Catherine Squires, for instance, has focused on expanding discourse on marginalized publics by attending to the different ways these publics might interact with wider publics given the level of oppression faced, the existing "internal politics of that particular public sphere," and the resources available (Squires 448). Squires' argument expands discourse on marginalized publics by drawing distinctions among enclaves, counterpublics, and satellites. According to Squires' taxonomy, a group such as Puente would likely cultivate its status as an enclave, sheltering as it does the membership of undocumented immigrants, for whom exposure of citizenship status threatens everything from employment and therefore the ability to cover basic living necessities to deportation and family separation.

To make this characterization of enclaves, Squires' taxonomy turns on matters of resources and sanctions—sanctions that often come in the form of violence such as the destruction of private property belonging to, and public property associated with, members of a subordinated group, physical beatings by mobs, and even death (Squires 459). She argues that subordinated people form enclaves to shelter them from public life when the risks of sanctions associated with protesting an injustice are high and resources low. For example, Squires explains that African slaves living in the nineteenth-century American south formed as an enclave that, unable to publically fight against the institution of slavery and all its associated oppressive practices, developed covert ways to communicate practices of resistance among group members, sometimes leading to “escapes” or “revolts” (458-59). Thus, while all subordinated groups in Squires' taxonomy face social and physical risks that threaten the day-to-day lives of their community and culture, an enclave is a public that faces the highest level of oppression in conjunction with having relatively limited “material, political, legal, or media resources” to go public in the hopes of fighting against oppressive practices (458). And yet the organization I study (whose members and key spokespersons are decidedly subordinated within mainstream power differentials) is a decidedly public one. I argue that by attending primarily to broad-brush characterizations of communicative performance (characterized in terms of an entity's discursive space, goals, and sanctions), current scholarship doesn't in itself account for the remarkable rhetorical work of Puente—work that has affected how immigration reform is both characterized and debated, at the regional and national level, from 2007 to the present.

As Squires herself argues, discourse that attends to multiple public spheres and the variegated identities within publics necessitates that scholars devise “more mechanisms to describe how different institutions, strategies, and discourses can emerge from the same social groups without endlessly fragmenting a public along identity lines” (465). In other words, how do the goals and vulnerabilities of a subordinated community impacts the rhetoric?

Disciplinary Questions

Puente is itself comprised of—and advocates for the rights of—subordinated people: in this case, undocumented immigrants. The scholarship further reviewed below would predict that an organization whose membership includes undocumented immigrants would protect its status as an enclave and its position away from the public eye, for public exposure of the undocumented immigrants’ citizenship status could risk the deportation of the organization’s very members. And yet as I elaborate in this study, Puente does not preserve its enclave status, as conventionally understood. Instead, it directly courts broader public engagement to cultivate immigration reform as a public controversy—even at risk of exposing the undocumented status of some of its members. As the introduction to my project below reveals, scholarship would predict that under such circumstances, the organization would need to negotiate its subordinate status and the attendant risks of going public in relation to the biases and possible repercussions of prevailing dominant publics. Such scholarship would also predict that an organization would gauge such risks as necessary when the potential benefits for broader public attention to the controversy outweigh the benefits of staying out of the public eye, the benefits—and/or when the costs of staying out of the public eye carries consequences that

are themselves intolerable. This study is designed to better understand the rhetorical decision making in such a crucible. It asks the following questions:

- How has Puente negotiated the tension between protecting the identification of local residents and protesting publicly the perceived injustices of immigration sanctions? (chapter 3)
- How has Puente negotiated the tensions between their own narratives—the narratives they present to the public—and the images the wider public has presents about them? (chapter 4)
- How has Puente worked with and or against previously constructed narratives and images as it pushes to re-frame an issue? (chapter 4)
- What are the rhetorical choices Puente made to effectively sustain the wider public’s interest in a controversy? How do those choices bridge communication across publics? (chapter 4)

To introduce this dissertation, below I read public-spheres scholarship and select histories of Chicano/a and Latino/a movements to demonstrate the explanatory power of analytical parameters grounded in rhetorical decision-making.¹ These analytical parameters complement Squires’ broad-bush characterization of enclaves’, counterpublics’ and satellites’ communicative performances. In this introduction, I forward a framework with greater explanatory power to account for the day-to-day decision-making behind such broad-brush communicative performances. I explain this framework in more detail later in this chapter. Focused on grounded rhetorical decision-making, this framework focuses on the following parameters: **purpose** (desired long- and short-term benefits for going public and the context in which those purposes emerge),

rhetorical strategies (appeals for securing public attention), **risks** (short- and long-term costs affiliated with specific rhetorical strategies), and the **biases** in dominant publics that those costs expose. Only in light of this fuller set of parameters is it possible to begin to unravel the complex rhetorical decision-making of an organization like Puente and to account for its contributions to public controversy. In this chapter, this framework guides my interpretation of the risks that subordinated rhetors face when going public. In subsequent chapters, it serves as the basis of my analysis. For example, in chapter 3 I provide more detail on the particular tensions that Puente faces, as an enclave public, when determining strategies for going public—tensions between protecting undocumented residents from the sanctions of SB 1070 and going public to fight against those sanctions. In chapter 4, my framework serves as an analysis for how and why Puente chose certain rhetorical strategies, and what the risks and benefits of those strategies are in light of Puente’s short- and long-term purposes.

The Disciplinary Issue

Increasingly, public controversies—as sites of analysis—are garnering disciplinary attention for what they have to teach us about rhetoric. Notably, four rhetorical principles become visible from recent studies of public controversies (Crick and Gabriel; Habermas; Warner). First, *public controversies erupt when lifeworlds are disrupted*. Lifeworlds are the creation of social interactions which go unnoticed until they are contested by outside influence and events (Crick and Gabriel 209-10; cf. Habermas 131). For instance, people will ignore scientific data regarding global warming until a tsunami threatens the security of their habitat (Crick and Gabriel 216-17). Second, *public controversies can be said to travel a discursive trajectory*.

That is, it makes sense to talk about an “arc” of controversy. Somewhat like a comet shooting across the cosmic night sky, controversies rise, arc, and fall. Third, *public controversies take effort—distinctly rhetorical investments* on the part of stakeholders on behalf of their lifeworlds. For instance, Crick and Gabriel document the behind-the-scenes investments, engagements, and interventions that citizens, experts, and policy makers put into the issue of global warming. Finally, what makes all this behind-the-scenes investments worthwhile is the unique capacity of *a controversy to put into contact those who wouldn't otherwise engage with one another*. Crick and Gabriel put it this way: Controversies “provide the situational grounds which make possible—if not always actual—the interaction among citizens, scientists and legislators through rhetorical forums that feature the discursive interplay between epistemological cognition, aesthetic experience, moral valuation, and practical judgment” (212; cf. Warner 114). It's this fourth dynamic—this elusive, yet highly valued interaction—I would argue, that makes the dynamic and diverse rhetorical work of Puente here in Phoenix, Arizona, particularly worthy of scholarly attention.

The Puente Movement: A Brief Description

The rhetoric of public argument has often been critiqued from a distance—as the object of analysis (Barton and Hamilton; Faber; Pezzullo). What is less frequently studied is the active construction and public circulation of argumentative appeals in relation to an activist organization's decision-making—decision-making that attempts to leverage an organization's identity and membership both to serve its constituents and to direct wider public attention to a public controversy.

Such decision making is of special interest when such an organization is itself comprised of—and advocates for the rights of—subordinated people. As a grassroots organization of mixed-documentation-status residents, Puente harnesses a variety of rhetorical strategies to direct public attention toward both SB 1070 and current deportations, making this organization a valuable site for such inquiry. In this project, I develop and refine methods for better understanding how such organizational decision-making may itself constitute a public art where rhetorical strategies are employed, tested, and refined in the crucible of public controversy.

As a grassroots organization, Puente has been fighting against sanctions against the undocumented community since 2007. That is, although the policy of SB 1070 went into effect in 2010, the undocumented and migrant community has been the target of policies prior to this with, for example, the 2007 implementation of Section 287(g) in Arizona—a policy that allows local law enforcement to act as immigration enforcement officials and request citizenship verification during routine traffic violation stops of those who are suspected of being in the country illegally (Shahani).

The activist work of Puente is to “educate” and “empower” at-risk community members and foster “resist[ance]” against the immigration sanctions that threaten their day-to-day living and “violates personal rights” (“History”). Through peaceful protest work and calls for justice, the central task for this group is to engage the public about the effects of such sanctions and to argue for the human rights of those who are labelled as enemies of the state (“History”).

The organization's activist work is carried out across several different campaigns, each aiming at a different aspect involved in the sanctions brought on by current immigration policies and the attendant needs of the community ("About"). For example, one campaign—"ICE out of Pinal County Jail," focuses on ending the partnership between Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) and the Pinal County Jail that serves as a detention center for undocumented people ("ICE out"). Another campaign, "Know Your Rights Workshops," provides undocumented residents knowledge about their legal rights under SB 1070, despite immigration status, and what to do if and when they are in contact with law enforcement ("!Conozca!"). Here, Puente works on short-term strategies to assist the immediate needs of the community (short-term goals) while also using their collective short-term strategies to gain leverage towards their long-term goals of bringing about solutions to the issues faced by the community due to immigration sanctions—sanctions such as workplace raids, abuses in immigrant detention centers, and the separation of families ("History"). The collective short-term goals are meant to both protect residents from sanctions and serve as preparation for mobilizing a community to publicize the voices of undocumented people (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014; Cruz, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). This attention to the lived experiences and perspectives of the undocumented is an innovative commitment of Puente's. Previous immigration-rights groups and protest movements have focused on taking political sides and forwarding specific political agendas at the expense of including the voice of those effected by bills such as SB 1070 (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan, 2014).

Puente characterizes its mission in terms of human rights—listed as following on the organization’s website. Puente works to “1) allow immigrants the freedom to freely migrate as stated in UNDIP, [and to] 2) allow immigrants to be reunited with family members” (“History”). Furthermore, Puente contends that “3) immigrants should have the right to work and possess protections as international workers, 4) immigrants have the right to protest and gain a political voice, [and], 5) all people have a right to education” (“History”). Finally, Puente strives to “6) call an end to racial discrimination of all forms against immigrants” (“History”).

Puente mobilizes community members’ public engagement, organizes political discourse within the state of Arizona, and calls attention to immigration reform at the national level (“History”). For example, one of Puente’s victories includes “having the Department of Justice and the FBI [Federal Bureau of Investigation] investigate the policing practices of MCSO [Maricopa County Sheriff’s Office] with access to the 287(g) Agreements” (“History”).² For instance, after Puente presented cases of “racial profiling and jail abuse,” the organization was able to gain the “removal of 287(g) access for MCSO by the Department of Justice on the justification that federal policy was used to target a specific ethnic group” (“History”).

Situating SB 1070 and Puente within the Discourse on the Latino/a “Illegal Alien”

Immigration laws and sanctions have afflicted immigrant communities for generations—immigrants from Asia, Mexico, and from certain European countries were at various times since the late 1800’s either completely banned from citizenship eligibility or numerically restricted from entering the United States (Ngai 7-8).³

Such laws and sanctions were based on nativism and ideologies about the superiority of certain races and nationalities over others (Ngai. 23; Johnson, *The “Huddled Masses”* 7). It was through these laws and sanctions that the political category of the “illegal alien” was created (Ngai 57). As Mae Ngai states, the creation of the “illegal alien” buttressed fears about mass migrations and the cultural “other,” subsequently leading to discourse on the undocumented as “an invisible enemy in America’s midst.” (63). The construction of the “illegal alien” and subsequent immigration laws and sanctions did not only affect the undocumented. For example, during the Great Depression about 200,000 of the 400,000-500,000 estimated Mexicans deported were documented citizens (Ngai 8; Santa Ana 66). Here, immigration laws and sanctions reveal how race, citizenship status, and U.S. “belonging” are interconnected. For instance, U.S. immigration laws in the 1920’s treated both Asian and Mexican U.S. born citizens as “alien citizens”—foreign outsiders despite citizenship status (Ngai 7-8). As Kevin R. Johnson puts it, “the harsh treatment of noncitizens of color reveals the terrifying realities of society’s view of citizens of color” (*The “Huddled Masses”* 14).

Immigration from Mexico to the U.S. has a unique history, both in terms of nativism and racial ideology as well as in terms of the construction of the “illegal alien.” For instance, although the 1924 Johnson Reed Act would be the first comprehensive restrictive immigration act, it did not include immigrants from Mexico due to agricultural labor needs in the southwest and trade agreements between Mexico and the U.S. (Ngai 23). While Mexicans were never considered racially equal to whites they were considered “white” after the Treaty of Guadalupe in 1848 and the concomitant U.S. annexation of Mexican territory (Ngai-50-51).

As Mae Ngai points out though, the new citizenship status was not a marker of equality under the law, but “Rather, it indicated Mexicans’ new status as a conquered population” (51; cf. García 102-103). By the late 1920’s however, Mexican’s would begin to be understood as synonymous with “illegal aliens” (Ngai 51). During this time, immigration from Mexico rose due to land displacement during the Mexican Revolution and to the growing needs of labor in the southwest, the Midwest, and the North (Ngai 52). The rise in Mexican immigration was attendant with a rise in anti-immigrant rhetoric and the “Mexican problem” (Ngai 52-53). As Ngai indicates, the “Mexican problem” was associated with fears about the degradation of American culture—it was based on ideologies about the racial, social, and class inferiority of Mexicans and the potential of economic issues due in part to a perceived notion about high Mexican birthrates (52-53). Concomitant with anti-immigrant rhetoric about Mexicans was the beginning of a long history of mass deportation agendas aimed at Mexican immigrants and U.S. born Mexicans. As noted earlier, during the Great Depression of the late 1920’s and the 1930’s, both undocumented and U.S. born Mexicans were deported (Ngai 8). Another example of U.S. agendas to deport masses of Mexicans—immigrants and citizens alike—was in 1954 with “Operation Wetback” (Johnson, *The “Huddled Masses”* 16).

As stated earlier, immigration measures reveal ideologies about race which continue today (Johnson, *The “Huddled Masses”* 13-15). This is made clear even in more current public discourse on immigrants, especially discourse on immigrants from Mexico and Central America as the term “illegal alien” (and subsequently the “alien citizen”) continues to often be synonymous with Mexican and Central American people (Ngai 2).

Otto Santa Ana's study of public discourse on and metaphors about Latino/a immigrants in the early- to mid-1990's, at a time when immigration measures such as California's Proposition 187 were initiated, serves as an example of the racial sentiment at the foundation of such discourse and metaphors.⁴ In Santa Ana's analysis of discourse during the time of Proposition 187, some of the common metaphors used to describe Latino/a immigration were "flood" and "invasion" (69). While such metaphors indicate how Latino/a immigration was perceived as a foreign threat, the metaphors describing Latino/a immigrants revealed how the notion of a foreign threat was tethered to ideas about foreign bodies (Santa Ana 69). For instance, other metaphors used in public discourse at the time described immigrants as a "burden," a "disease," and a "criminal" (Santa Ana 69). As Santa Ana states, "The major metaphor for the process of the movement of substantial numbers of human beings to the United States is characterized as IMMIGRATION AS DANGEROUS WATERS' (72). This umbrella metaphor of dangerous waters creates a foreign racialized other as a threat, and subsequently, denies "any aspect of the humanity of the immigrants, except to allude to ethnicity and race" (Santa Ana 73). Santa Ana's study of the metaphors used to describe Latino/a immigrants reveals nativism that extends not only to a foreign "other" as a threat, but also constructs U.S. born and documented Latino/as such (259). As Flores states, "For Latinos generally, and particularly for Chicanos, the protection of the rights of the undocumented is inexorably linked to the rights of all Latinos" (260). To be clear, historically, both native born and immigrant Mexicans have been removed from the U.S. through mass deportation campaigns (Flores 260; *The "Huddled Masses"* 16).

Here, anti-undocumented rhetoric aimed at Latino/as is really also ant-immigrant rhetoric against Latino/a s in general, and subsequently, all nonwhites (*The “Huddled Masses”* 16). This is both in terms of proxy as well as literally, for many Latino families are made of mixed documentation status members (Flores 268).

Senate Bill 1070

Senate Bill 1070 (SB 1070), an Arizona state specific bill addressing illegal immigration, was introduced by Arizona State Senator Russell Pearce at the beginning of 2010 with the design to “discourage and deter the unlawful entry and presence of aliens and economic activity by persons unlawfully present in the United States” (“Senate Bill 1070” sec. 1). As a bill that serves “to make attrition through enforcement the public policy of all state and local government agencies in Arizona,” Arizona Governor Janice Brewer responded to criticism for signing the bill by arguing that its implementation was a necessary response to a “crisis,” especially concerning an increase in “[b]order-related violence and crime due to illegal immigration,” which Federal illegal immigration sanctions did not “fix” (Brewer). Brewer’s statements characterizing the border as a crime-ridden violence zone have been challenged and discounted by both Arizona border-town police officials and FBI crime reports (Wagner para. 1-4), and advocacy groups and the United States Department of Justice have argued against the bill, questioning civil rights violations such as the Fourth and Fifteenth Amendment and “how ‘reasonable suspicion of immigrant status’ will be interpreted; and the narrow list of documents eligible to demonstrate lawful presence” (Wessler para. 20). The advocacy groups that brought arguments against the bill were able to have an injunction placed on the bill by the Ninth Circuit Court on April 2011 (“Arizona”), and a little over a year later

the United States Supreme Court would hear arguments on the bill and make a final decision on if and how the bill would be implemented. While waiting for the Supreme Court's decision, grassroots organizations such as Puente, whose members are mixed documentation status residents of Arizona, were forming and carrying out their own protest tactics and using sympathetic media outlets to bolster support locally and to voice their concerns for the impact of SB 1070 on their community.

Rhetorical Risks in Going Public: The Theory Behind My Four-Part Framework

Rhetoricians have begun assessing the risks subordinated rhetors take when going public (Fraser; Higgins and Brush; Squires; Young). By subordinated rhetor, I mean those who experience intersecting forms of oppression due to, for example, biases against raced, classed, and or and gendered identities (Crenshaw 1242); by “going public” I mean when a person or group takes action against oppressive conditions by voicing their opinions about such conditions to the wider public. The tension among purposes, risks and resources is so tenacious that public-spheres scholarship uses it as the premise for a prevailing taxonomy. In Squires' taxonomy, subordinated rhetors calculate how to engage with oppressive publics based not only on their goals, but also on the level of oppression experienced and the resources that are available to them at the time—resources that mitigate possible sanctions. What distinguishes an enclave from a counterpublic and a satellite public, then, is that an enclave faces a higher risk of sanctions if they go public due to a high level of oppression and limited resources (Squires 448). Thus, an enclave often chooses to shelter its views from the oppressive public (Squires 448).

When an enclave experiences less oppression and gains more resources they might choose to engage with oppressive publics as a counterpublic and express their counterhegemonic opinions (Squires 457-60). On the other hand, some subordinated publics, such as satellite publics, do not seek interaction with other dominant publics unless they feel the desire and or necessity to do so (Squires 463-64). The point of Squires' taxonomy is that subordinated groups such as enclaves do form counterhegemonic opinions against oppression but, given the high degree of oppression they experience and their short supply of material resources, they are not likely to go public since the risk of sanctions could easily outweigh the benefits (448). Here, Squires suggest that enclaves move into the position of a counterpublic and express counterhegemonic opinions based (at least in part) on factors that are external to their own community—factors such as relationships that can secure resources and or dominant publics lessening oppressive practices (457-60).

Subordinated rhetors appraise significant rhetorical risks when calculating why and how to go public. Rhetorical risks are in addition to the physical sanctions, such as assault and even murder, that Squires identifies (458-59). Due to the risks subordinated groups face when going public, they might choose, or even be forced, to rely on political or advocacy groups to speak on their behalf, which can lead to the reification of a subordinated group's status. To be clear, despite even good intentions, groups with more rhetorical capital using that capital to speak for subordinated groups can represent such groups as *unable* to speak for themselves, thus reestablishing power differentials (Higgins and Brush 720; cf. Mohanty 338).

In addition, political and advocacy groups often represent a unified narrative of the subordinated group they are serving to represent which leads to the creation or perpetuation of reductive and essentialist notions of a subordinated group (Higgins and Brush 720; cf. Mohanty 338-44). In this case, subordinated groups can appear to not only lack “agency,” but also “complexity” (Higgins and Brush 720; cf. Mohanty 338-44). A subordinated group representing its members on its own terms also carries risks. On the one hand, subordinated groups often do not have equal access to mainstream public spheres. Here I follow Squires’ definition of a public sphere as “a set of physical or mediated spaces where people can gather and share information, debate opinion, and tease out their political interests and social needs with other participants” (448). The media is, of course, a key avenue for access to public spheres and the circulation of discourses. Since dominant publics often have high levels of representation in the media in comparison to subordinated groups, subordinated groups often rely on independent media sources to circulate their opinions (Fraser, “Rethinking”120; cf. Squires 460; cf. Warner 123). What this can mean for subordinated groups is that their opinions are less circulated among wider public audiences, making it difficult to engage with others beyond their own community or those who are already community allies (Fraser, “Rethinking”120; cf. Squires 460; cf. Warner 123). Even when subordinated groups do gain access to a wider public audience, it is often through using dominant discourses—what scholars such as Squires term the “public transcript” (Squires 458; cf. Higgins and Brush 696). Subordinated groups use of public transcripts can serve to re-establish dominant group commonplaces by forcing subordinated groups to try to use dominant group normative ideas to argue against such ideas (Lorde 112; Squires 458).

Not only can the use of public transcripts serve to underscore a group's subordinated status, but dominant discourses and idioms often fall short of adequately expressing the experiences and opinions of subordinated groups (Young 37; cf. Higgins and Brush 695; cf. Squires 458).

A subordinated rhetor using her or his own idiom or cultural style to go public is not without risks either. The wider public often shares, or at least acknowledges, dominant discourse idioms and styles, whereas the idioms and cultural styles of subordinated rhetors are less shared, acknowledged, and or appreciated (Fraser, "Rethinking" 119-20; cf. Burke 55; cf. Gilyard 23; cf. Squires 450; cf. Warner 165-66; cf. Young 37-39). Here, preferred cultural styles include the dominant preference for an Aristotelian argumentative structure, where rhetors craft arguments from a shared set of premises in order to reach warranted assent. This bias toward critical-rational argument also brackets the display of emotion, values, and storytelling. Yet, subordinated rhetors may not share such premises; these differences in preferred communicative styles can alienate subordinated rhetors, as well as complicate communication across publics (Young 37; cf. Higgins and Brush 695; cf. Mao 16).

Discourses are not the only way in which subordinated rhetors might be marked in the public sphere, for there are also risks in showing up as a marked body. Thus, even if a subordinated group uses the idioms and cultural style of the dominant public, the visible differences of race, class, gender, etc. can complicate the ability for such groups' voices to be equally heard and accepted (cf. Squires 462; cf. Warner 166-68).

Additionally, subordinated individuals who speak as a representative voice for a group might be perceived as an anomaly and therefore “not representative of the skills and characters of the masses” (Squires 462; cf. Logan 7).

Yet another risk for a subordinated group going public is that the meanings of the subordinated group’s needs and interests will be misappropriated by more powerful others. Here, the risk is associated with interest groups appropriating meaning for their own socio-political agendas (Fraser “What’s Critical” 53; cf. Powell 73-74; cf. Mohanty 333-34). Thus, although a group may enter into a mainstream public spheres with competing social agendas, subordinated others must not only voice their concerns, but also fight for the establishment of how such concerns are interpreted. These risks, then, reveal biases of dominant mainstream publics: 1) biases favoring critical-rational argument over subordinated group-specific idioms or cultural styles; 2) biases favoring disembodied subjects that are “unmarked” where unmarked is that which is white, male, and middle-class (Warner 167); and, 3) biases veiling power over socio-political representations and agendas. The challenge for subordinated rhetors, then, is to avoid the reification of their subordinated status by gaining access to media outlets that reach wider publics, to represent themselves to control their group representation, and to cultivate idioms and styles that cross cultural borders (such as race, class, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity) (Anzaldúa 100).

This project gathers data from Puente to test what I understand to be a major underlying suggestion made by Squires and other theorists attending to public spheres and marginalized groups: that enclaves need to garner outer-community institutional support in order to go public as a politically viable community. I ask: Is this necessarily

so? I address this question at length in chapter 3. Larger questions, then, arise, for activists and scholars alike, including: How might subordinated rhetors pry open discursive space capable of generating the kinds of discoveries that Crick and Gabriel extol—discoveries resulting from “the interaction among citizens, scientists and legislators through rhetorical forums that feature the discursive interplay between epistemological cognition, aesthetic experience, moral valuation, and practical judgment”? And on what grounds can subordinated groups “enter into the public their tacit and frequently discounted knowledge” (Higgins and Brush 697)?

A Timely Discursive Challenge: Latino/a Rhetors Going Public

Previous social movements have pursued similar kinds of purposes as Puente. Studying how those movements were received sheds light on particular kinds of costs that Puente risks in attempting to galvanize public attention around immigration reform by reframing legislation not as a “done deal” but as a public controversy meriting further discussion. Scholarship documents some of the unique risks with which these previous Latino/a movements have had to contend when going public around similar controversies. As analyzed below, these risks reveal the complications involved in civic engagement for those whose are drawn as outsiders to civic society and face the real and persistent threat of being disembodied, abstract, civic and legal subjects through the objectification of their citizenship status, and when in the public, bodied as race, classed and gendered subjects.

In the section that follows I use my four-part framework to highlight the unique purposes motivating Latino/a movements to go public, the risks faced in these instances of going public, and the dominant biases revealed with regards to this group going public

and the strategies used to do so. The focus on purposes and risks, then, allows me to situate my analysis of Puente in this larger Latino/a protest tradition. I also substantiate my project's starting point: the claim that Puente, as an enclave, faced significant risks going public that include not only the literal risk of deportation, but also significant rhetorical risks.

Purposes and Risks: LULAC and the Nativist Narrative

The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) was formed in 1929 to fight for the civil rights of Mexican Americans who faced jury discrimination, segregation in schools, and other racially motivated exclusions that belied their rights to the privileges afforded by their citizenship status (García 71-72). There were two problems that LULAC and other Mexican reformers faced during the late 1920's through the 1950's. One, although racially discriminated against, for legal purposes Mexican American's were considered "white" (García 103). Here, the ascription of whiteness meant that the legal system recognized only "white" and African American as the two races protected under the law, making it difficult for Mexican Americans to argue about racially motivated exclusions (García 101-104). Two, anti-immigrant rhetoric about Mexican illegal immigration rose in the late 1940's due in part to the Bracero program—a program that sent Mexicans to labor on U.S. agricultural land for scant pay (García 104-105). LULAC and other Mexican reformers noted this program as another indication of Mexican discrimination; guest workers were being exploited and paid severely low wages and forced to live in squalid conditions (García 106). Additionally, Mexican Americans who worked in the agricultural business themselves faced squalid work conditions and low pay, especially when the Bracero program forced them to compete

with guest workers who were paid even less (García 106). The financial strain meant that families would not be able to adequately, if at all, shelter, feed, and educate family members and therefore never be able to break out of poverty (García 107). The ramifications were political beyond discriminatory practices that lead to shelter, food, and education issues (106). As Ignacio M. García makes clear, not only was such treatment indicative of racial discrimination, it was also contributing to Mexican American's inability to practice their civil rights fully since the focus on basic necessities undercuts the ability to engage in "the social and political life of their communities" (García 106).

The central strategy of LULAC and other Mexican reformers during the late 1940's and 1950's was to fight against discrimination by attempting to "codify that discrimination" (García 24). As noted earlier, Mexican Americans, despite their ascription as "white" under the law and thus eligible to all of the benefits of citizenship and constitutional rights, were still struggling for equality (García 24; 71-72). The strategy was to substantiate their rights based on their citizenship status, but what complicated this was a rise in Mexican immigrants coming to the U.S. through the Bracero program. Here, the rise in Mexican immigration was concomitant with a rise in racism towards Mexicans in general. As García states, "The Anglo reaction was to lump all Mexican-origin individuals into the same category of 'meskins' and to increase their hostility towards every class of them (109-110). Mexican reformers sought to distance themselves from Mexican immigrants as a way to 1) "define themselves as Americans instead of foreigners" and 2) in doing so, "demand American government action as citizens under duress because of a foreign population" (García 111).

To be clear, by positioning themselves in distinction from the population of Mexican immigrants, Mexican Americans felt it would be easier for them to show that they were integrated into society—they were American and thus deserved equality (García 110). In short, this can be understood as Mexican American reformers vying for inclusion by incorporating themselves into already present U.S. nativism narratives as the “native” against the foreign “other.”

The risk of codifying discrimination and promoting the image of the ‘good America[n]’ versus the undocumented Mexican immigrant foreigner was that it was at the expense of both the undocumented and the community at large. As García explains, anti-immigrant rhetoric created by both Anglo and Mexican Americans resulted in Operation Wetback—a mass deportation campaign that deported both undocumented Mexicans and Mexican Americans (111). Like past mass deportation efforts, Operation Wetback, which lasted approximately five years and departed about 3,600,000 Mexicans, would separate families (García 162).

The bias revealed in Mexican American reformer’s, such as LULAC, fallout with attempting to prove their rights to American inclusion was that Anglo America still thought of this group as a foreign other (Ngai-50-51; García 102-103). Anglo America ascribed “whiteness” to Mexican Americans for legal purposes as a way to curtail Mexican American claims of exclusion and subsequently to avoid allowing them to argue against segregation and discrimination (García 12; Ngai 51). For instance, Mexican American reformers tried to argue that the absence of Mexican Americans serving on juries when a Mexican American was being tried for a crime was jury discrimination (García 102).

However, it was argued that because Mexican Americans were “white” by law that no discrimination was present (García 103). Here, Anglo Americans used nativism against the inclusion of Mexican Americans by denying that discrimination existed. As García points out, in reality, “For Anglos, having Mexican Americans on jury meant an acceptance that they were ‘qualified’ and ‘intelligent’ enough to sit in judgement of white people” (12). By continuing to claim nativism inclusion and distancing themselves from Mexican immigrants, Mexican Americans contributed to more exclusion since American inclusion was not based on citizenship status and nationality but on racial ideology.

Purposes and Risks: The Chicano Nationalist Narrative

The Chicano Nationalist movement of the mid-1960s to mid-1970s sought to validate a suppressed Latino/a culture and thus concomitantly reclaim the rights to equity and respect (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 25-26; cf. Bebout 36). Before the Chicano movement, Mexican-Americans sought political and socioeconomic change largely through “assimilation, integration, and participation in electoral politics” (Beltrán, *Trouble* 24). Despite attempts to gain social and political inclusion, inequality continued and subsequently lead many, especially a new generation growing up in the 1960’s, to become disillusioned with the aforementioned earlier political strategies (Beltrán *The Trouble* 25). A new strategy was needed, one that would bring cultural pride, respect, and political recognition to the forefront as opposed to assimilation and subordination (Beltrán *The Trouble* 25). As Lee Bebout explains, some of the oppressive practices that fueled the Chicano movement included ongoing segregation, economic inequality, and scant resources that extended to limited educational opportunities (61).

Education was a special source of discontent, not just for what it might have delivered in terms of future economic liberation, but also in terms of social liberation, for Chicano/a history and culture were all but absent from texts read in school and course curriculum, and when present, failed to provide liberating representations (Bebout 61). The Chicano movement, then, was based on a drive to bring pride and validation back to Chicano/a culture and re-claim the right to serve as self-representative political actors and change the social and economic future of the Chicano/s community (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 25-26; cf. Bebout 36).

The central strategy of the Chicano movement was to mobilize people around a shared sense of community pride. Chicano movement leaders such as Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales implemented this strategy by creating “a new identity founded in cultural nationalism” (Bebout 2). To pursue this central strategy—mobilization qua a new cultural-nationalist identity—movement leaders sought to 1) promote a mythohistorical narrative and 2) to circulate countersymbolism, two concomitant strategies that worked to re-write otherwise absent or subordinated narratives of Mexicans in the U.S. and to build cultural pride and relevancy to Chicano/as living within the nation (Bebout 2-4). To be clear, these rhetorical strategies were to both mobilize a community and to serve as the foundational narrative for public protests.

As a rhetorical strategy, a mythohistorical narrative weds myth and history in order to create a new narrative about one’s culture and past—a narrative that “Actively contest[s] a dominant group’s imaginary of the past...,” and in doing so, contests the idea that the oppression of a subordinated group is “pre-ordained” (Bebout 2). The mythohistorical, then, serves as what Bebout terms as a “usable past” (2).

A “usable past” for Chicano/as sought to counter dominant U.S. narratives that position Chicano/as as outsiders—a group that cannot be integrated into the U.S., but rather is always socially positioned as “perpetually foreign” by dominant publics (Bebout 5). In striking contrast, the mythohistorical narrative not only validated Chicano/a culture, but it also wrote Chicanos/as back into the geographic history of the land that is presently the U.S. southwest. By employing this strategy, this group worked to re-establish cultural pride and citizenship rights (Bebout 2). As Bebout puts it, “if oppression has not been the ‘pre-ordained order,’ then liberation is possible” (2). Thus, the logic behind mythohistorical narratives is that such narratives can serve to challenge the subordinated status of a group and concomitantly create discursive spaces for new material possibilities (Bebout 33-34; cf. Mariscal 28).

The dominant way that the Chicano movement created the mythohistorical was through the construction of Aztlán (Bebout 2). As a narrative, Aztlán geographically configured the land of the southwestern United States as the historical homeland of the Aztecs, and defined a cultural lineage between these Aztecs and contemporary Mexicans (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 26; cf. Bebout 2). Through this new history, Chicanos could both claim rights to citizenship by claiming historical citizenship ties to the land, and claim their culture as indigenous as opposed to foreign (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 26; cf. Bebout 2). For example, Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales invoked this mythohistorical narrative during a conference through the collectively written political platform, “El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán.” This political platform not only constructed Chicanos as contemporary Mexican descendants of Aztecs with geographic and cultural ties to the U.S. southwest—land taken by Anglo invasion—but also, through this mythohistorical, argued for a sense of a

shared cultural nationalist identity (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 42; cf. Bebout 2-5). By invoking Aztlán, Gonzalez, like other Chicano movement leaders of the time, asserted that community mobilization was necessary to combat oppressive practices, and that a shared geographical and historical narrative—and, subsequently, a shared cultural identity—was a key means for accomplishing that purpose (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 42; cf. Bebout 2-5).

Subordinated groups have benefitted by mobilizing their community around a shared cause and publically crafting new narratives, and subsequently identities, in opposition to oppressive ones. However, despite the promise of mobilizing a community around a shared cultural and nationalist identity, from the very beginning of the movement during the mid-1960's, this strategy risked inner-community friction as it invoked a singular identity of Chicanos, separated only by gendered roles (Bebout 5-6). Specifically, Bebout explains that the *voice* of the Chicano movement was the male Chicano, and female Chicanos were used in the movement as the silent physical symbol of motherhood and bearers of the culture (Bebout 5-6; 112). Women were active in protest and cultural production roles during the Chicano movement; however, the level and kind of their participation was often de-emphasized (Bebout 105). When women activists were vocal about issues of gender and inclusion within the movement, they were “accused of being divisive and undermining the movement’s unity” (Beltrán 47; cf. Bebout 6; cf. Segura and Pesquera 70-71). The burgeoning of a Chicana feminism meant that some women created their own Chicana identity through organizations outside of those of the male leaders, and in doing so, were further marginalized for their feminist activities—activities racialized as white as they inscribed such activities as traitorous (Bebout 6).

Thus, categories such as “being *vendidas* (sellouts), *Malinchistas* (referring to the historical figure), or lesbians (a queer-baiting that marked the heterosexism of the movement)” were applied to people or groups that did not adhere to image of the Chicana originally constructed by the movement (Bebout 6; cf. Beltrán, *The Trouble* 48; cf. Segura and Pesquera 73). In short, as a rhetorical strategy, the mythohistorical narrative carried the risk of dividing the community by pushing an overall authentic core Chicano identity that ignored inner-community differences, and by pushing gendered roles as part of that core identity.

Such fall-out reveals biases circulating in dominant institutions of the time. For instance, the view of feminism as inherently white was not constructed from Chicano movement activists, but was a discourse that was created by the construction of a pan-feminism—the idea of feminist praxis at the time of women and their experiences as unified despite differences in race or class (Panton 11). Since pan-feminism was constructed by white woman to include the notion of patriarchy, it can be understood to be perceived by non-whites as part of whiteness and subsequently another form of white institutionalism (Panton 10). Since white institutionalism was equated with the oppression of non-whites, it makes sense that Chicanos and even some Chicanas would want to avoid attaching themselves to social movements that were attached to white institutionalism and thus oppression (10). To be clear, in a homogenizing environment, minority groups are more apt to create narratives of their own community in order to survive—narratives that necessitate adherence to a singular group identity in order to set the stage for making socio-political changes (Bebout 2).

So, in this sense, many oppressed groups that emerged as counterpublics during the 1960's, such as the African American civil rights movement, created a central, unified identity as the face of their cause with the belief that such a move was necessary in order to be recognized as a viable counterpublic (Height 86; cf. Fraser, *Unruly*, 167; cf. Higgins and Brush 695-96).

Countersymbolism to U.S. white culture was another strategy employed by the Chicano movement (Bebout 36). In line with the appropriation of their cultural nationalist image, Chicano movement activists used their own cultural forms to engage in political protest. These cultural forms included poetry, songs, and guerrilla theatre (Bebout 36). As acts of countersymbolism, these cultural forms enacted political agency and perform expressions of cultural dignity (Bebout 35).

Within the messages of these countersymbolic cultural forms, however, was another unifying narrative (Beltrán *The Trouble*, 36). For example, previous to the Chicano movement, the public image that organizations created emphasized assimilation and the middle-class or middle-class aspirations (Beltrán *The Trouble*, 36). During the Chicano movement, countersymbolism emerged that emphasized the struggles of the working-class—the poor Chicano/a was the symbolic face of the movement (Beltrán *The Trouble*, 36). As Cristina Beltrán explains, the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 70s risked a unifying narrative because the movement relied on images of the working-class struggle which “romanticize[d] disadvantaged and disempowered Latinos, portraying them as the community’s most ‘authentic members’” at the expense of alienating those who either were or desired to move beyond the working-class (*The Trouble*, 36).

Not only did this risk another set of inner-community divisions—divisions of class—but it also unwittingly cast an essentializing public image of the Chicano culture (Beltrán *The Trouble*, 36-37; cf. Delgado 451).

Unwittingly casting essentializing public images of the Chicano culture means that subordinated groups do not seek to create such images, but rather dominant public biases tend to seek instances where such images can be created. That is, dominant cultural biases tend to either seek out or match up instances where a subordinated group might be understood to fall into a set of characteristics that in turn are cast as part of an essentializing image by a dominant public. For instance, national unity and cultural representation reflected the unifying U.S. nationalist narrative that presumed that, although made of different races and ethnicities, the U.S. is/was a unified national culture (Bebout 15). So, it follows that a subordinated group would seek counternarratives and countersymbolization to highlight the oppressive practices of the dominant public, representing those who have been most oppressed. However, the use of a unified image of Chicano oppression opens the door for additional essentializing narratives depicting, for example, the working class Latino/a or Chicano/a (Beltrán, “Going Public,” 600). Here, Latino/as or Chicano/as, “As a racialized population, . . . struggle with being perceived only in terms of the group and never as ‘a person with a unique story and singular opinions’” (Bickford qtd. in Beltrán, “Going Public,” 608).

Purposes and Risks: The Sanctuary Movement’s Refugee Framing

The Sanctuary movement was created in the 1980’s by religious congregations in the U.S. that sought to provide shelter as well as material and legal assistance to refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala who fled their homelands due to severe governmental

oppression (Perla and Coutin 9; “Sanctuary Movement”).⁵ The government in El Salvador had been a militarized dictatorship since 1932; in the late 1960’s, social movements in opposition to the government grew and, as a consequence, the government increased oppressive practices, especially towards oppositional social movements and organizations (Perla and Coutin 9). What would commence would be the Salvadoran Civil War—a war that lasted just under 13 years between the military dictatorship government and a united group of oppositional political and social movements and organizations (“Salvadoran Civil War”). The increase in “political repression, social upheaval, and economic distress caused by the Salvadoran Civil War” and the ensuing violence resulted in the undocumented U.S. entry of people from El Salvador and Guatemala who sought refuge (Perla and Coutin 9).

One of the strategies of the Sanctuary movement was to use the public testimonies of refugees to raise public awareness about their “personal experiences of violence and persecution” and to request funding and volunteer assistance (Perla and Coutin 12). Here, public testimonies made use of framing those receiving sanctuary as refugees (Perla and Coutin 13). As Perla and Coutin state, “The “refugee” frame therefore largely presented Central Americans to sanctuary workers and to the broader US public as ‘innocent victims’ in need of support and as representatives of the poor and the oppressed, on whose behalf religious communities were compelled to advocate” (13). Framing this group as refugees of oppression was important since the Reagan and Bush Administration considered this group as economic immigrants who fled poverty rather than violence” making it difficult for this group to request political asylum and avoid possible deportation (Perla and Coutin 13-14; cf. Coutin 23-24).

Another strategy of the movement was to bring into contact activists in the movement to include Central American refugees for the purposes of organizing for action (Perla and Coutin 12). Here, undocumented Central Americans alongside movement activists created “joint strategies for social and political change” (Perla and Coutin 12). The social organizational efforts of the sanctuary movement was another reason why members wanted to publically frame sanctuary seekers as refugees because it would help to legally define the work of the Sanctuary movement as a humanitarian cause as opposed to a political one (Perla and Coutin 13). As Perla and Coutin state, the U.S. government often questioned the work of the Sanctuary movement as having a questionable political agenda (13).

The problem with the Sanctuary movement’s refugee framing strategy was twofold. On the one hand, the public framing of El Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees elided the role that Central Americans played in activist strategies whereby treating this group as victims as opposed to people with agency (Perla and Coutin 13). As one unidentified sanctuary member put it, “I left my country due to the violence and due to the fear and danger of disappearing, not in order to become a refugee. To me, the word ‘refugee’ implies inferiority and superiority” (qtd. in Perla and Coutin 12). Here, U.S. assistance invoked nativism about the Third World “other” as the helpless primitive victim in need of the socially advanced First World’s expertise (Perla and Coutin 12). Perla and Coutin add that Central American’s organizing practices also had to be adapted to dominant US norms, values, and perceptions of how North Americans saw themselves and saw Third World ‘others.’” (12). On the other hand, the movements use of refugee framing did not work to shift the U.S. government’s definition of these people as

economic as opposed to political refugees (Perla and Coutin 13). As a result, several sanctuary activists were “indicted on charges of conspiracy and alien-smuggling” (Perla and Coutin 13).

The biases revealed in the movement’s refugee framing and strategies as well as the government’s response to the movement to include the detaining and deportation of refugees is nativism about “Third World” countries and about immigrants. Here, nativism is not only about “A intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign (i.e. “un-American”) connections (Perea 1). As Coutin points out, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) would have informants spy on and become involved in the work of the Sanctuary movement and reporting back the activities of the movement to the INS (383). Here, nativism is clearly about control and “power” (Coutin 385).

Purposes and Risks: Mass Marches and the Narrative of Inclusion

The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act (H.R. 4437) of 2005 prompted immigrants and advocates to engage in mass public protests across U.S. cities, such as Chicago, Phoenix, and Los Angeles, in March and April of 2006 (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 130). First introduced on December 6th, 2005, some of the provisions of the bill included making it a felony to be in the United States illegally, tightening and enhancing border security, and bolstering the role of authority states have “to assist with immigration law enforcement” (“Border Protection”).

The dominant strategy for responding to the possibility of H.R. 4437 passing—a bill that called for new, harsher, immigration sanctions—was for the undocumented to go public as a counterpublic that sought inclusion and citizenship (Beltrán, *The Trouble*

130). For example, protestors carried signs in different languages, signs that read “‘I Am a Worker, Not a Criminal,’ Justice for All,’ and Let Us Be Part of the American Dream’” (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 130). Here the idea was to go public with the voice of the illegal immigrant as one that sought to be part of the nation, not by assimilation, but by practicing democracy in the wider public (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 130). Mass protests and the formation of a visible counterpublic also served as a strategy for arguing, as giving voice and visibility to a subordinated group can do, that this group was *already* part of the nation (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 130).

Despite how this movement brought into the public an emergent and more direct political voice of the Latino/a immigrant population, the signage of protestors underscored the economic side of immigration and immigrants’ contribution to the labor force, thus underscoring the notion of *Latinidad*. *Latinidad* is a dominant public construction that viewed Latinoa/s as a unified group, both culturally and politically (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 7). While previous dominant public notions of *Latinidad* often revolved around the belief that this group would collectively vote the same as they experienced the same struggles, during the 2006 marches, the notion of *Latinidad* came in the form of reifying a dominant public’s image that constructed Latino/a citizenship in relation to the laboring Latino/a body (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 5; “Going Public” 597-600; cf. *The Trouble* 131). To be clear, both pro- and anti-immigration responses located the protests within U.S. narratives that collapse Latino citizenship and national belonging with laboring bodies and economic value; Latino/as were viewed as either supporting the economy through cheap labor or undermining it by taking jobs away from American citizens (Beltrán, “Going Public” 614; cf. Beltrán, *The Trouble* 152).

As Beltrán puts it, “Both pro-and anti-immigrant voices characterize Latino immigrants as not only willing but desirous of dirtiest, most difficult forms of labor, eager to do the work that no one else will do” (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 153; cf. Summers Sandoval 593). Here, the dichotomy of the labored body either meant that this group was perceived as a welcome addition to the U.S. as willing bodies of cheap labor, or a threat for the same reasons (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 153; cf. Summers Sandoval, Jr. 593). Invoking the labored body tied this group’s status to what Americans had to economically gain from their inclusion into the nation (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 154).

The rhetorical risks of these 2006 mass public protests, then, were twofold. On the one hand, these protests perpetuated the collapse of Latino/a citizenship with labor, where citizenship for this group was not about human rights but economic viability (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 154). On the other hand, these protests invoked what Leo Chavez terms the “Latino Threat Narrative,” a narrative that feared this group would change the cultural standards and values of America concomitant with an increase in this group’s immigration (Chavez 26). To be clear, the image of the laboring body was not just men, but included women, for they symbolized a threat of labor as they symbolized procreation, and thus, an increase in the population of laboring bodies (Chavez 72). The “Latino Threat Narrative,” then, was a narrative that situated the Latino/a not just as a laboring body, but situated that narrative of a laboring body as a threat.

The “Latino Threat Narrative” reveals the biases of a dominant public that tend to collapse “foreign” bodies with what they do as opposed to who they are. To avoid the costs of misrepresentation, Iris Marion Young advised that when subordinated rhetors go public, they should avoid narratives of struggle that would give the impression that

members of their group necessarily experience oppression the same way or share a singular identity (82-88). Instead, subordinated rhetors that stand to speak as a representative of a group should do so by focusing their public rhetoric on how their group is more generally socially situated against a dominant public (Young 82-88). However, Young also acknowledged that at any given time there will be a limited number of subordinated rhetors that speak for the status of the group (126). Thus, representation often sways towards singularity. Young offers: “the way out of this paradox, [is to] conceptualiz[e] representation outside a logic of identity (126). The problem with Young’s point here, though, is that dominant public discourses often preclude more inclusive and dynamic rhetorical appeals. In fact, as scholars such as Beltrán and Chavez reveal, subordinate groups are often essentialized in terms of identity. And, as Bebout makes clear, such essentializing is sometimes experienced as a necessity: to go public as a subordinated group is to capitalize on a shared sense of struggle.

Purposes and Risks: Carrying Mexican and United States Flags

Another strategy employed during the 2006 immigration marches in response to the Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act (H.R. 4437) of 2005 was participants carrying both Mexican and U.S. flags as signage. The rationale for carrying two flags was that it symbolized both cultural and national pride—pride for this group’s Mexican cultural heritage, and pride for the U.S. nation (Chavez 158). As Chavez explains, students often carried the Mexican flag as a symbol of pride in their cultural roots, whereas others would carry the American flag as a symbol of their devotion to America (158).

Here, the images of both flags provided a concomitant symbol of the desire for the recognition of cultural difference and the desire for political inclusion within the U.S. nation.

The risk of using cultural and national symbols was that the dominant public did not read these gestures in the way intended. Rather than viewing protestors as presenting cultural and national pride, waving the Mexican flag, for example, was read as a symbol of “disloyalty to the United States” (Chavez 158; cf. Beltrán, *The Trouble* 131). While protestors were using such symbols as markers of inclusion, these symbols often had the opposite effect, for dominant publics not only perceived such gestures as insults to the nation, but also read the symbols in tandem as indicative of a group that neither would nor could assimilate into the national culture (Chavez 2). In addition, such symbols were viewed as markers of a group that was defiant against the nation and requesting unearned civil rights (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 131; cf. Chavez 153).

The fallout of protestor’s use of cultural and national symbols during the mass marches of 2006 reveal dominant public biases against the visibility of raced bodies and subsequent cultural symbols in the wider public sphere (Warner 165-67). To be clear, dominant U.S. narratives of national identification and identity tend towards notions of a singular, unified, culture, what is often referred to as a Melting Pot narrative (Bebout 4). Although multiculturalism is acknowledged in this narrative, it expected to blend seamlessly into society. Concomitant with the Melting Pot narrative is the dominant public bias against the public presence of “foreign” cultures and bodies (Warner 165-67). This dominant public bias against the presence of “foreignness” becomes more clear when subordinate groups go public, vying for inclusion within the nation, thus going

against dominant cultural assumption of whose bodies are or are not included within the nation itself. One can be multicultural in one's one home or community, but when going public, difference is viewed as a handicap to inclusion.

Purposes and Risks: Testimonio

Testimonio—individual experience narratives—was another strategy used during the 2006 immigrant marches against the Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act (H.R. 4437) of 2005. Here, undocumented immigrants spoke to the press about their desire for inclusion into the nation. For example, protestor Edgar Dueñas told the press that he was marching because he wanted “equality” and “benefits” and improvements for his son’s future (Summers Sandoval Jr. 581). Other protestors, such as Tino Lopez, also called for “human “rights,” by stating ““We Latinos are workers. We, too, are paying taxes...”” (qtd. in Summers Sandoval Jr. 581). Such narratives of experience can provide counternarratives to the oppressive images that dominant groups create about subordinated people—these narratives bring a human face and human experience to oppressive practices (Summers Sandoval Jr. 582). In this sense, *testimonio* provides undocumented people a space to challenge inscribing bodies as legal or illegal by representing voices that can serve to contrast dominant public notions of this group as “criminals” or merely laboring bodies, and instead represent this group as human beings (593-94).

Despite the benefits of claiming a public voice and calling forth human representations to combat objectified images of a subordinated group, the risk of *testimonio* here is that it served as another instance in which protestors unwittingly invoked the image of the Latino/a laboring body, whereby collapsing their desire and

right to citizenship status with their economic contributions to the U.S. (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 141). To be clear, the narratives used in *testimonio* during the 2006 marches often brought to the forefront the idea that citizenship status for this group was dependent on how members provided an economic contribution to the U.S., de-emphasizing the human rights element to their call for inclusion (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 141).

The reading of Latino/a *testimonios* of inclusion based on contributions to the U.S. reveals yet another dominant public bias, one that underscores the lack of ethos dominant publics afford marked bodies in public spheres (Higgins and Brush 698; cf. Warner 167). In the case of the 2006 marches, marked bodies included not only race, class, and gender, but also citizenship status, and therefore civic standing. Here, undocumented residents were viewed as requesting citizenship rights that were not theirs to have as willing undocumented residents; thus, this group was not perceived as having the ethos to enact civic rights in public due to their citizenships status (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 131; cf. Chavez 153; cf. Gonzalez).

Juxtaposing broader theories of the risks subordinated rhetors have faced when going public with the more specific risks Latino/a communities have faced, allowed me to more acutely situate my analysis of the purposes, risks, and biases Puente faced when going public. Specifically, such analysis afforded me to consider the similar and more unique risks that Puente faced when going public in comparison to other subordinated rhetors, and in doing so, further bolstered the research results that attend to my question of whether enclave publics, according the Squires taxonomy, necessarily need to acquire external community sources to go public in light of the risks faced.

In chapter 2 I discuss the specific aspects of my research design. For example, I discuss the criteria that I used to narrow the focus of my study, the primary documents that were part of my study, how I coded those documents to reveal patterns in the data; and, the analytical framework that I used to apply to this data. I also discuss the technique I used to craft questions that served to guide my interviews with Puente members, and how responses to those questions were validated by, for instance, triangulating my interview transcripts with interviewees and shared chapters with interviewees to check my analysis of their interview responses. In chapter 3 I discuss how Puente negotiated the tensions between protecting the identification of local residents while also using the voices of the undocumented as a point of publicity. In this chapter I devise a framework for better understanding that tension as well as how Puente's public responses challenges current discourse on the public responses available to enclaves. For instance, I consider how Puente is situated within the wider public discourse on SB 1070 during late April of 2010. Then, I consider how Puente's rhetorical strategies and attendant rhetorical and material goals relate to that moment in the controversy to include how those strategies and goals serve to both keep SB 1070 in the public eye and reframe the issue from a public crisis to a public controversy. In chapter 4 I continue to develop the framework devised in chapter 3, but apply it to the different rhetorical strategies Puente undertook in 2012 as a response to the Supreme Court ruling to uphold Section 2(B) of SB 1070. In chapter 4 I ask how Puente worked with the tension between the narratives they wanted to present to the public about undocumented people and the images that dominant publics have presented about them. Similarly, I ask how such rhetorical strategies and their attendant goals were informed by previous narratives about undocumented people to

include undocumented and Latino/a movements and how such strategies worked to continue to sustain leverage in the public controversy of SB 1070. In chapter 5 I conclude by considering how the work of Puente informs public spheres scholarship and how my methodological approach to the study of Puente can serve to inform other scholars researching subordinated groups.

CHAPTER 2

DESCRIBING THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes my methods for identifying and soliciting participants, selecting and preparing research materials and data collection tools, and formulating analytical procedures. As detailed in chapter 1, this project studies the active construction and public circulation of argumentative appeals in relation to an activist organization's decision-making—decision making that attempts to leverage an organization's identity and membership both to serve its constituents and to direct wider public attention to a public controversy. Toward that end, this project pursues the following research questions introduced in the previous chapter:

1. How has Puente negotiated the tension between protecting the identification of local residents and publically protesting the perceived injustices of immigration sanctions?
2. How has Puente worked with the tensions between the narratives they want to present to the public about undocumented people and the images the wider public has presents about them?
3. How has Puente worked with or against previously constructed narratives and images about the undocumented as it pushes to re-frame an issue?
4. What are the rhetorical choices Puente made to effectively sustain the wider public's interest in a controversy, and bridge communication across publics that they would otherwise not have contact with?

To develop methods to pursue these questions, I created an interpretive methodology that takes its cues from post-modern grounded theory on the one hand and contemporary rhetorical theory on the other hand.⁶

In the spirit of post-modern grounded theory, this study has sought theoretical saturation—gathering data from several different sources until no new relevant data are discovered regarding a category and until the process that the research seeks to understand through these categories are well developed and validated. In this context, “validated” means that several data and data factors are analyzed for a robust, multilayered, *interpretive understanding* of phenomenon. As Clarke puts it, “An analysis or reading [...] does not claim adequacy or validity in the modern methodological usages of those terms. Rather, an analysis is what it is understood to be, in all its partialities” (xxxvii). As a unit of analysis, grounded theory allowed me to 1), study Puente’s process of decision-making, and 2), identify categories operating in that process to include “purposes,” “rhetorical strategies,” “benefits,” and “risks.”

In terms of taking a “rhetorically informed” approach to post-modern grounded theory, I deliberately drew on rhetorical theories to shape my use of grounded theory. As I elaborate below, the rhetorics that inform my approach to grounded theory include contemporary studies of public controversy (primarily Crick and Gabriel) and the tensions between internal and external organizational narratives (primarily Faber). Likewise, my interview technique is also rhetorically informed, adapting a critical-incident interview technique for eliciting, retrospectively, the logic that guided problem-solvers’ decision making in a specific situation (Flanagan; Flower).

This is no simple feat. Unless effectively prompted to otherwise, people tend to rely on generalities, pet theories, or abstractions to explain their behavior. But these vague accounts typically don't capture the richer, more nuanced down-on-the-ground experiential logics that actually directed the actions they took. And for my purposes, it was precisely these logics that I needed to hear Puente leaders articulate if I were to get at the organization's nuanced decision-making during specific moments of the SB1070 controversy. To elicit such situated knowledge—or experiential logics—the critical-incident interview technique embeds the questions it asks within realistically complex problem scenarios, or critical incidents. Methodologically speaking, the complexity of these incidents can prompt respondents to account for the contextual details that they might otherwise ignore or skip over. I adapted Flower's use of the critical incident technique for the purposes of creating talking points that would elicit Puente members' grounded accounts of why Puente did what it did at certain moments in the controversy; these grounded accounts articulated the organization's purposes and, subsequently, rhetorical choices; they also indicated members' understanding of how others read those rhetorical choices in relation to Puente's purposes.

Purists employ grounded theory to better understand complex processes—particularly those processes that emerge from the interpretive process of grounded theorizing. In modifying grounded theory according to my rhetorical intentions, I attempted to navigate the tension between analyzing emergent, complex processes (as understood through grounded theory) and recognizing—even anticipating—the potential of everyday people to carry out deeply purposeful rhetorical action that may serve either to create or to shift social situations (my central rhetorical assumption).

Navigating this tension allowed me to develop a hybrid methodology capable of I) situating the work of Puente within the discourse/s of a public controversy, II) eliciting and analyzing Puente’s organizational decision-making around specific events within the arc of this controversy, and III) analyzing that decision-making process to consider the rhetorical agency of Puente in relation to SB 1070.

I. Situating the Work of Puente within the Controversy At Hand.

My study began by situating the work of Puente within the larger context of the SB1070 public controversy. This process entailed selecting key events in the public controversy of SB 1070 to narrow the focus of my study. With these events selected, I could then collect primary documents from the media covering these events and Puente’s protest responses that followed. Below I describe this process, as well as the methods I used to code and analyze data from these primary documents covering both the controversy and Puente’s protest activities.

In the context of my study, the features of an event that allowed me to identify it (and not others) for further study were the following:

- A direct relationship between the event and immigration policy
- The timing of the event within the SB 1070 controversy—falling, that is, between Spring, 2010 and Spring, 2013.
- Visible and available local and national media coverage of the event
- Evidence that Puente issued organizational response to the event

Based on these criteria, I identified the following three events to investigate in further detail:

1. Arizona Governor Janice Brewer signs SB 1070 into law on April 23rd, 2010
2. The U.S. Supreme Court upholds certain provisions of Senate Bill 1070 in *Arizona et al. v. the United States* (11-182) on June 25th, 2012
3. Congress proposes an immigration reform bill, The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act on April 17th, 2013.

Primary Documents about SB 1070. To some extent, media coverage both constitutes and cultivates public controversy and, thus, is relevant to my study. To gain the necessary background to inform my subsequent analysis of SB1070 legislation and response, I collected some primary documents about this legislation that included court case documents and media coverage surrounding the first week that the three events took place. Primary documents included:

Event #1: SB 1070 signed into law

1. Arizona Governor Janice Brewer's public statement when she signed SB 1070 into law on April 23rd, 2010
2. The bill of SB 1070 (also known as *The Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act*)
3. Media coverage the first week that SB 1070 was signed into law found in the *Proquest News and Newspapers* database provided by Arizona State University

Event #2: The Supreme Court upholds section 2(B) on June 25th, 2012. The provision upheld the ability for law enforcement to check the citizenship status of those who are suspected of being undocumented.

1. The court case document for *Arizona et al. v. the United States (11-182)* (The U.S. Supreme Court case and resulting ruling against SB 1070 as decided on June 25th, 2012)
2. Media coverage the first week of the Supreme Court decision on SB 1070 found in the *Proquest News and Newspapers* database provided by Arizona State University

Event #3: *The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act* is proposed in Congress on April 17th, 2013. This act was to serve as a new reform bill for immigration

1. The bill of *The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013*
2. Media coverage the first week that *The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013* was proposed in Congress found in the *Proquest News and Newspapers* database provided by Arizona State University

Primary Documents about Puente's Protest Activities. Most of the primary documents I collected referenced Puente's protest activities directly—around the events identified above. These documents informed how I represented the three events as critical incidents during interviews with Puente members. These are also the documents I analyzed using the theoretical framework detailed at the end of this chapter—the results of which are

presented, alongside the analyses of my interviews, in the following three chapters.

Primary documents included:

Event #1: SB 1070 signed into law

1. Media coverage of Puente's organizational activities the first week that SB 1070 was signed into law found in the *Proquest News and Newspapers* database provided by Arizona State University
2. "¡Conozca Sus Derechos!" / "Know Your Rights" webpage and video offered on Puente's home website, *puenteaz.org*

Event #2: The Supreme Court upholds section 2(B) on June 25th, 2012. The provision upheld the ability for law enforcement to check the citizenship status of those who are suspected of being undocumented.

1. Media coverage of Puente's organizational activities the first week that the Supreme Court upheld section 2(B) of SB 1070 found in the *Proquest News and Newspapers* database provided by Arizona State University
2. Media coverage and website information on Puente's No Papers / No Fear campaign as found on the website *nopapersnofear.org*, a website created by Puente to cover the event

Event #3: *The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act* proposed in Congress on April 17th, 2013. This act was to serve as a new immigration reform bill.

1. Media coverage of Puente's organizational activities the first week that *The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act*

of 2013 was proposed in Congress found in the *Proquest News and Newspapers* database provided by Arizona State University

2. Media coverage concerning Puente's individual court case protests as found on Puente's website, *puenteaz.org*, and on Youtube

To code and analyze this data I first relied on NVivo—a data analysis software program that allows researchers to enter data and search within that data for trends such as the most commonly used terms. My purpose for using NVivo as an initial research tool was to start my analysis off with a top-down approach that provided a broad-brush sketch of the rhetorical context of the controversy in which Puente was working at the time of each of these events. Using the found key terms from NVivo, I was then able to use those key terms as a basis for a bottom-up approach, reading each of the primary sources with an emphasis on rhetorically analyzing how those key terms found in NVivo functioned within the texts. In short, this overall approach afforded me the ability to bring together a constellation of media coverage within an interpretation attentive to key terms in the debate over immigration.

Some of the primary sources were written in Spanish, as identified through my *Proquest News and Newspapers* search. To include these sources in my NVivo search, I first translated the sources from Spanish to English by separating the sources from the English language sources and running the Spanish language sources in Google Translate. Once the Spanish language sources were translated into English, I added those sources to the English language sources before running all of the sources together through NVivo.

II. Eliciting and Analyzing Puente’s Organizational Decision-Making around these Events:

This part of my interpretive project involved collecting data at Puente and Puente-sponsored events and designing and conducting critical-incident interviews. I explain these activities below.

Selection criteria. After identifying the three events to investigate in further detail, I checked these events for their ability to be represented as critical incidents. Here, the purpose was not only to identify key events for the purposes of narrowing the focus of my study, but also for guiding interview questions with Puente members to elicit their particular understandings of these events in relation to their purposes as an organization and the rhetorical strategies they subsequently considered and employed. I used the following features to identify events that would appropriately serve to represent as critical incidents:

1. Media evidence that Puente issued organizational response to the event
2. Evidence that Puente issued organizational response to the event based on my participation at regular Puente meetings meeting

Based on these criteria, I identified that the three events I chose as key events would be appropriate for representing as critical incidents. Once I established that the three chosen events would be appropriate to represent as critical incidents, I collected the materials for each of these events. I organized materials in electronic folders on my computer that were marked according to the event and the subsequent critical incident (SB 1070 signed into law; Supreme Court ruling on SB 1070; New Immigration reform proposal). These folders were used to place all corresponding data—data from media coverage the first

week of each event as found on the *Proquest News and Newspapers* database found on Arizona State University's online library databases. From the content in these folders I composed a descriptive representation of each event. These representations constituted the "critical incident" to which I asked Puente members to respond during critical-incident interviews.

To learn about Puente's organizational responses to the above events, I relied on both direct observation and critical-incident interviews.

Observations. To understand Puente as an organization, I gathered data from the following:

1. Attending regular group meetings
2. Volunteering with grant proposals
3. Assisting with childcare
4. Participating in recent Puente protest events

Following Clarke's methods of grounded theorizing, after each of these events, I drafted notes of my observations during these events and coded these notes according to the event itself (group meetings, childcare, etc.), and the people involved in the social setting (how many people, who were the leaders / speakers of the event when applicable, and any other information that would provide detail to the social setting). Clark refers to coded notes such as these as "situational maps" that help explore dynamic relations in social settings (86). The method that Clarke proposes for moving from notes to maps is to work notes into maps right away—as soon as the coded data reveals patterns (xxxi). For me, this method meant that I would take my notes and develop the coded data as a set of patterned categories that I situated into a visual map.

For example, when I observed a Puente protest event I looked for patterns in the data (or a lack of patterns) and transferred notes directly after the event into map(s). Subsequent chapters provide these situational map visuals as part of the analysis.

Critical Incident Interviews, October, 2013-January, 2014

In addition to direction observation at Puente and events it sponsored, I conducted critical-incident interviews. The purpose of interviewing participants was to gather individual member's situated knowledge regarding the rationale for Puente's key protest strategies as they respond to the sanctions and issues surrounding immigration and subsequent effects on the Latino/ a community. Following David Barton and Mary Hamilton's general heuristic for creating interview questions, I based questions on emergent themes revealed through media coverage of protest events and my attendance at some of these events (59). These protest movements include "¡Conozca Sus Derechos! / "Know Your Rights," "No Papers, No Fear," and the public protest work in which Puente highlights individual court cases of those whose family members are facing deportation proceedings. Questions were guided by how Puente interprets and frames issues of immigration in terms of critical incidents and members' subsequent rationale for protest responses. After securing IRB approval, I then introduced myself to members of Puente who were potential interviewees based on Puente Director, Carlos Garcia's recommendation, using the following script:

My name is Veronica Oliver and I am a graduate student at Arizona State University studying how marginalized groups—those affected by intersecting forms of oppression —vie for wider public accountability in public policy decisions. I first came across Puente as a local organization

responding to Senate Bill 1070 when I attended a meeting on the issue of Immigration Detention Centers in Arizona, which I believe was co-presented by Puente and Opal Tometi from the Black Alliance for Just Immigration. More recently I have attended Monday night meetings at Puente, and have assisted with grant writing and childcare.

My interest in Puente as an organization stems from the fact that the rhetoric of public argument has often been critiqued from a distance—as the object of analysis—but what has been less frequently studied is the active construction and public circulation of argumentative appeals in relation to an organization’s decision making—decision making that attempts to leverage an organization’s identity and membership both to serve its constituents and to direct wider public attention to a public controversy. As a grassroots organization responding to Senate Bill 1070, Puente Arizona’s various public protest work makes this organization a valuable site for such inquiry.

I have contacted Carlos Garcia, Director of Puente Arizona, to explain my interest in the public protest work of Puente Arizona, and part of that contact was to find out what Puente members I might speak to that knowledge about the organization's role in decision-making strategies in relation to the public protest work this organization carries out.

So, this is what I would like to do—to team up with Puente leaders to discuss some of the unique issues they have faced as a marginalized group, and the subsequent public presence choices this

organization has made as they attempt to reframe public discourse on immigration reform. Your experience as a member of Puente and an organization leader can help us get a close-up, operational description of the specific challenges this organization has faced, and the subsequent choices this group has made when going public.

It is important to understand the experience that Puente leaders have had in relation to the unique issues they have faced as an organization when going public. In order to get at your experience, I am using a special technique called the “critical incident interview” that asks you to dig deep in your experience and tell me about specific instances in which Puente had to make judgment calls regarding how you have publicly responded to issues along the Senate Bill 1070 debate.

For interviews, I first contacted Carlos Garcia, director of Puente, to explore opportunities for interviews with willing participants. I explained both to Garcia and to those Garcia recommended the nature of my research—the fact that my study seeks to bring attention to the rhetorical work of subordinated groups which is often overlooked. At this time, I also discussed the potential partnership this project may forge between Puente and Arizona State University’s archive of Chicano history, where Puente might include the documented minutes of their meetings to preserve the history of this groups’ work. Below is the script I used to introduce myself to interviewees.

Interview Script

My name is Veronica Oliver and I am a graduate student at Arizona State University studying how marginalized groups—those affected by

intersecting forms of oppression —vie for wider public accountability in public policy decisions. I first came across the Puente Movement / Puente Arizona as a local organization responding to Senate Bill 1070 when I attended a meeting on the issue of Immigration Detention Centers in Arizona, which I believe was co-presented by the Puente Movement / Puente Arizona and Opal Tometi from the Black Alliance for Just Immigration. More recently I have attended Monday night meetings at Puente, and have assisted with grant writing and childcare.

My interest in Puente as an organization stems from the fact that the rhetoric of public argument has often been critiqued from a distance—as the object of analysis—but what has been less frequently studied is the active construction and public circulation of argumentative appeals in relation to an organization’s decision making—decision making that attempts to leverage an organization’s identity and membership both to serve its constituents and to direct wider public attention to a public controversy. As a grassroots organization responding to Senate Bill 1070, Puente Arizona’s various public protest work that makes this organization a valuable site for such inquiry.

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So, this is what I would like to do—to team up with Puente leaders to discuss some of the unique issues they have faced as a marginalized group, and the subsequent public presence choices this organization has made as they attempt to reframe public discourse on immigration reform.

Your experience as a member of Puente and an organization leader can help us get a close-up, operational description of the specific challenges this organization has faced, and the subsequent choices this group has made when going public.

It important to understand the experience that Puente leaders have had in relation to the unique issues they have faced as an organization when going public. In order to get at your experience, I am using a special technique call the “critical incident interview” that asks you to dig deep in your experience and tell me about specific instances in which Puente had to make judgment calls regarding how you have publically respond to issues along the Senate Bill 1070 debate.

In the section that follows I provide the interview questions I asked willing members of Puente along with a brief introduction to those questions.

Interview Questions

Interview Questions for Event #1: Senate Bill 1070 Signed into Law

My interview questions for Event #1—Arizona Governor Janice Brewer signs SB 1070 into law—involved questions about Puente’s response to this event in terms of how they negotiated the tension between protecting residents from the sanctions brought about by the bill and going public about the injustice of such sanctions. I also wanted to find out

how Puente imaged or understood the response outsiders might have to Puente's strategy to provide legal awareness to residents affected by SB 1070, especially since Puente publicizes this strategy on their website, *puenteaz.org*, as the “!Conozca Sus Derechos! / Know Your Rights” campaign. Together, these questions represent this event as a critical incident marked by several defining features, including how members of Puente are directly affected and Puente's response to the event as found on *puenteaz.org*. Below are the questions that I asked willing Puente member interviewees in relation to event #1.

One of the responses that I understand Puente taking after Senate Bill 1070 was signed into law on April 23rd, 2010, was the creation of the Puente Movement website. Among other information on this site, Puente has posted the “!Conozca Sus Derechos!” / “Know Your Rights” video which provides tips on what to do in the event that an undocumented Latino/a community member is pulled over by the police while driving, or contacted at their home by an ICE agent. In addition to this, you have a community defense course that teaches community members about their rights under Senate Bill 1070. In comparison to your public protest work, this work appears to function as a way to protect community members' identities.

1. As an organization whose members include those whose citizenship status is at-risk, how would you explain how Puente negotiates the tension between protecting the identification of local residents and going public about immigration sanctions and injustice?

2. I want to understand Puente’s responses to particular incidents along the Senate Bill 1070 debate from a number of points-of-view. How might you imagine someone outside the community interpreting these moves to protect the community through legal awareness—through framing inner-community discourse in terms of human rights associated with legal rights?

These questions helped me begin to piece together not only the rhetorical strategies of Puente, but how those strategies figure into both short- and long-term purposes for Puente as an organization.

Interview Questions for Event #2: United States Supreme Court Upholds Section 2(B) in SB 1070 Law

My interview questions for Event #2—the Supreme Court upholds section 2(B) in SB 1070—involved questions about Puente’s response to this event in terms of how Puente’s No Papers / No Fear public protest campaign served to counter negative images about the undocumented with new narratives. Part of these questions also sought to ding out what past images or narratives about the undocumented or created by the undocumented did Puente choose to use and what ones did they choose to discard. In addition, I also sought how Puente imagined or understood outsiders to the community reading the public narratives presented about the undocumented through Puente’s No Papers / No Fear campaign. Below are the questions that I asked willing Puente member interviewees in relation to event #2.

The Senate Bill 1070 debate has experienced some shifts since 2010. For example, on June 25th, 2012, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld certain

provisions of Senate Bill 1070 in *Arizona et al. v. the United States* (11-182), such as the “show me your papers” provision. From my understanding, one response that Puente made after this Supreme Court ruling was the creation of the “No Papers / No Fear” campaign and the Undocubus tour.

1. How would you describe the images that the wider public creates about the undocumented Latino/a community?

The Director of Puente, Carlos Garcia, has stated in interviews with several media outlets that Senate Bill 1070 is an extension of a long history of sanction on the Latino /a community, especially those who are undocumented Arizona residents. What I understand as an undercurrent of Puente’s media interviews is the idea that the Latino/a community continues to deal with these sanctions in relation to the images that the public has created regarding the Latino/a community and undocumented residents.

2. How do you understand Puente’s protest response with No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour working with the tensions between the narratives that Puente seeks to create about the undocumented Latino/a community and present to the public, and the images that the wider public presents about this community?

Part of the work that I understand is being constructed through public protest work such as with No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour is

the attempt to re-frame the issue of undocumented residents and therefore to re-frame the issue of immigration reform.

3. How would you explain how Puente's No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour works with and or against previously constructed narratives that have been created in past protest movements by the Latino/a community in relation to immigration reform—those that have been viewed as more successful, or perhaps less successful past public protest moves?
4. How would you explain how Puente's No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour works with and or against previously constructed images of undocumented Latino/a residents and immigration reform created by the wider public as Puente seeks to re-frame the issue of undocumented residents and immigration reform?
5. How might you imagine someone outside the community interpreting the No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour in relation to public images of undocumented Latino/a residents?

These questions helped me understand why Puente choose specific rhetorical strategies when going public—strategies that served to both keep the controversy in the public eye as well as shift the image of the undocumented community from citizenship status to dignity and human rights.

Interview questions for Event #3: The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013

My interview questions for Event #3— The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013 proposed in Congress— involved questions about Puente’s response to this event in terms of how the strategies used in response to this event serve to keep the controversy in the public eye, assist in stopping deportations, and also, how the public protest choices made in response to this event serve to bridge communication across publics that would otherwise not have contact. In addition, I wanted to know how Puente imagined or understood community outsiders identifying the public protest work in relation to bridging communication across publics. Below are the questions that I asked willing Puente member interviewees in relation to event #3.

The more recent shift in the Senate Bill 1070 debate has been the proposal of the immigration reform bill, *The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013*, , proposed in congress on April 17th, 2013. As the debate on immigration reform continues, Puente continues to create public protest work, such as protesting workplace raids. With so many public issues in the media, organizations often need to keep working on their public presence.

1. From your understanding, how would you explain the public protest choices that Puente has made to effectively sustain the wider public’s interest in immigration reform?

2. Given the public protest work that Puente has carried out, such as No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour, as well as the public protest work in relation to ICE and workplace raids, how would you explain how these public protest choices have served to bridge communication across publics that would otherwise not have contact?
3. How might you imagine someone outside the community interpreting these public protest moves in relation to how such moves bridge communication across publics?

These questions helped me understand how Puente continued to develop strategies to keep the controversy of SB 1070 in the public eye and how those strategies worked to build communication across publics to open a space for deliberative democracy across these publics—a space for the undocumented as stakeholders to have a seat at the table.

Participants. Conducting interviews entailed identifying participants who had first-hand experience with the organizational decision-making explored in this project. Interviews were designed to ground, test, and extend my analysis of primary documents. I was able to secure consent to interview two people:

1. Carlos Garcia, Puente Director
2. Natally Cruz, Puente member

Although the number of participants in this study is small, the extended interviews allowed me to saturate the concepts explored in this study—the categories of enclave publics and internal narrative formation, rhetorical strategies of enclave publics, and how enclave publics engage with the dominant public across a controversial arc—and to comprehensively explore it and its relationship to other categories so that I could venture

accounts of key processes in Puente’s organizational decision making and, thus, interpret findings and theorize grounded responses to my research questions.

Methods Used to Record Interviews. Interviews were recorded on my computer; I recorded interviews in order to keep the accuracy of information intact and therefore to place reliance on the high fidelity and structure of verbatim responses provided by interviewees. Recorded interviews were transcribed immediately. All data transcribed in interviews has been cross-checked with the respective Puente group leaders. Transcribed data has been kept in digital files and backed up on my computer as well as a USB drive. Participants were provided the option to use pseudonyms or their real name. Once the interviews were transcribed, I sent copies of the interviews to the Principle Investigator for the study, Professor Elenore Long, and then took the real names of the interviewees off of the digital transcripts stored on my computer and backup USB drive.

III) Analyzing Puente’s Decision-Making Process: Documenting Puente’s Rhetorical Agency in Relation to SB 1070.

My analytical framework synthesizes Crick and Gabriel’s concept of an “arc of controversy” with Faber’s concept of external and internal organizational narratives—to the extent that Faber’s focus on narrative allows me to explore how Puente works with and against the dominant public past images of the undocumented and Latino/a community as they craft narratives that presented to the public through their protest work. To analyze Puente’s rhetorical agency in relation to SB 1070, then, I drew on rhetorical theories of enclave publics alongside 1), analyzing the images created by dominant public discourse for each of the three critical incidences which helped define the risks and biases Puente faced when going public 2), the subsequent narratives created by Puente in

response to the three critical incidents, and 3), analyzing the interview responses provided by Puente which helped me define the rhetorical choices made by Puente in relation to this organization's purposes.

Below I enumerate the methods I used to narrow the focus of my rhetorical analysis. First, I discuss the methods that I used to identify the key stakeholders whose public discourse would be part of my study. Then I discuss both the methods I used to identify the key definitions that matter to those stakeholders and the values that these stakeholders seek to protect. Next, I discuss the methods I used for identifying, between the key stakeholders, the competing points of stasis within the competing versions of a critical incident.

Methods for Analyzing the Narrative Structure of a Controversy as Represented in a Critical Incident.

Methods for Identifying Who I Counted as a Key Stakeholder. The following questions served as a guide to narrow the focus of who would be counted as a key stakeholder, and subsequently, whose discourse would be included in my analysis of SB 1070 as a public controversy.

1. Who were the people that were identified as stakeholders in Arizona Governor Brewer's public statement on SB 1070?
2. Who were the people that were identified as stakeholders in the bill of SB 1070?
3. Who were the people who publically identified themselves as stakeholders whose lifeworlds would be directly affected by the bill?

Methods for Identifying Key Definitions that Matter to Key Stakeholders. The following questions served as a guide to hone in on the key terms that key stakeholders used.

Through locating the key terms used by key stakeholders, I was able to focus my reading of the primary sources with an eye for how those key terms, when read in context, revealed the key definitions that matter the most to key stakeholders. Understanding the key definitions that matter to key stakeholders allowed me to focus my analysis of Puente's decision-making concerning the rhetorical strategies employed by this group and the benefits of those strategies in relation to Puente's short- and long-term purposes/goals.

1. What were the key terms used by key stakeholders as found through NVivo?
2. How did discourse in the media surrounding key terms found through NVivo point to (or outright state) important definitions for stakeholders regarding SB 1070 as a public issue (what are the phrases used by stakeholders that suggest categories in which things do or should belong)?
3. How did Puente's public protest work (such as signage and chant phrases) point to (or outright state) key definitions that matter to them?
4. How did Puente interview responses point to (or outright state) key definitions that matter to them?

Methods for Identifying Values Key Stakeholders Seek Protect. The following questions served as a guide to hone in on the key terms that key stakeholders used. Through locating the key terms used by stakeholders, I was able to focus my reading of the primary sources with an eye for how those key terms, when read in context, revealed the key values that stakeholders seek to protect. Understanding the key values that key

stakeholders seek to protect allowed me to focus my analysis of Puente's decision-making concerning the rhetorical strategies employed by this group and the benefits of those strategies in relation to Puente's short- and long-term purposes/ goals.

1. What were the key terms used by key stakeholders as found through NVivo?
2. How did discourse in the media surrounding those key terms found through NVivo point to (or outright state) values that key stakeholders seek to protect?
3. How did Puente's public protest work (such as signage and chant phrases) point to (or outright state) values that they seek to protect?
4. How did Puente interview responses point to (or outright state) values that this organization seeks to protect?

Methods for Identifying the Competing Points of Stasis within Competing Versions of a Critical Incident.

The following questions served as a guide for identifying the competing points of stasis within competing versions of a critical incident. The purpose of identifying competing points of stasis this was to allow me to understand how Puente's decision-making sought to push the arc of the SB 1070 controversy from documentation status to human rights through the organization's understanding of the point of stasis in relation to each critical incidents.

1. How did the definitions and values found through key term searches reveal what the point of stasis is?
2. How did Puente's responses to critical incidents reveal a push for shifting the point of stasis?

By focusing on the narrative structure of a controversy through analyzing the key definitions that matter the most to key stakeholders and the values that key stakeholders seek to protect, I was able to consider the rhetorical agency of Puente in relation to their decision-making process. For example, I was able to analyze 1) the rationale for Puente's decision to mobilize community members and educate them on their rights in anticipation for members to go public with their documentation status (chapter 3), 2) Puente's decision to exploit member's documentation status as a site of resistance and to bring attention to otherwise silenced voices in the debate on immigration reform (chapter 4), and 3) Puente's ongoing work to highlight individual deportation cases to bring situated meaning to deportations and also to shift the narrative of the undocumented from victims to stories of empowerment and success (chapter 4). In line with understanding Puente's particular decision-making was how such decision-making complimented the organization's long-term purpose of both keeping SB 1070 in the public eye as a public controversy and shifting the point of stasis of the controversy from documentation status to human rights.

Through my analysis, which takes in account both short- and long-term organizational purposes and concomitant rhetorical strategies and the benefits and risks of such strategies, I was able to cast those goals into a framework that offers a nuanced understanding of the complexity of this organizations decision-making.

Below is an example of this framework:

Short-term	Long-term	Rhetorical Strategy	Benefits	Risks
What were the short-term purposes of Puente as an organization?	How did those short-term purposes function as steps toward their long-term purposes?	How did Puente’s rhetorical strategies work with both their short- and long-term goals?	What were the benefits of certain rhetorical strategies?	What were the risks involved in certain rhetorical strategies?

Validating the Soundness of My Study

My study is valid to the extent that it is “sound.” From the perspective of post-modern grounded theory, such “soundness” is largely a matter of the capacity of the data I collected to saturate the research questions until no new relevant data is found. Additionally, “soundness” maintains the highest ethical concerns for participants. Below, I detail criteria I used to provide data for my research questions that would both prove ample as well as focused. In addition, I discuss how I kept track of the data during the initial coding stage, and how I checked data from interview responses by triangulating the interview transcripts with members of Puente and through sharing chapters.

Criteria of Adequacy and Appropriateness of Data

1. In order to focus my data collection, I choose three critical incidents along the trajectory of SB 1070—incidents that I understood to be part of this trajectory from Puente responses in the media and or during Monday night Puente member meetings

2. In order to ensure that my data was saturated, I focused on the first week of a critical incident which allowed me to both control the data gathered and have sufficient data to analyze.
3. In order to gather more detailed responses to provide thick description of Puente's response to critical incidents, I interviewed willing members

The Audit Trail.

In order to keep record of the data analyzed, I kept the data as well as the analysis provided by NVivo in separate folders on my computer labeled according to the chapters of my dissertation that coincided with the three critical incidents. To keep track of how the data was analyzed, I used the text highlighting color feature in Word to track the different key terms and phrases used according to the analytical lens I was using (i.e., identifying key terms and phrases for narrative structure).

Triangulation and Member Check

To triangulate data and ensure that multiple sources supported evidence for my overall analysis, I analyzed primary resources such as news reports, websites, Youtube videos, event observations and interviews. In addition to triangulating my analysis across several different sources, I conducted member checks where I shared interview transcriptions and written chapters with interviewees to check my interview transcription and analysis of interview material with members of Puente to ensure the accuracy of my representation.

Limitations of Study

All studies have limitations, of course. The limitations of my research include the fact that I sought to understand the decision making of a group that I am not culturally a part of; I am an outsider to the community that I studied. As an outsider, there may be limitations regarding the openness of the responses I receive in interviews and or the information provided to me if the group does not feel comfortable sharing due to my status as an outsider. This limitation also relates to cultural differences. When a researcher is not part of the culture researched, she or he may miss not only subtle but important meanings in linguistic expressions but the cultural history behind them. Finally, another limitation is that I conducted cued-recall interviews for the critical-incident discussions from which I extrapolated the decision making of Puente leaders the rationale behind their responses to events along the Senate Bill 1070 policy trajectory. Thus, responses are at least once-removed from the actual decision making theorized in the subsequent chapters.

Situating Myself as the Researcher

I situate myself as a researcher similar to that of Ellen Cushman, where the work that I do is a hopeful way to expose some of the injustices of policy making and to explore how a marginalized community, despite such oppressive policy practices, develops and refines rhetorical strategies to go public with the injustices against their community (Cushman 21-22). As Cushman points out, it is not enough to expose injustice, but to triangulate during the research process—to view research as a collaboration where the researcher shares her/his work in the making with the community and the community provides feedback to keep the researcher's interpretation grounded in

an ethical representation of the community that the community would agree on (Cushman 22). Thus, as I have written drafts of chapters, I have shared those drafts with Puente members that I interviewed so that my representation of their feedback was true to participants' meaning and that they were aware of what I was saying about the work of Puente. The activist type methodology employed by scholars who work with communities, such as Cushman, also need to provide a reciprocal relationship with the community worked with to include a mutually beneficial relationship with both parties gaining something (23). In an effort to create a reciprocal relationship, I began by attending Puente's Monday evening meetings to become more immersed in the weekly work that Puente carries out as a community—these meetings entailed discussing upcoming plans for protests and the current state of Senate Bill 1070. I have served as a volunteer for a short time working with members on grant proposals, but given the need for more assistance with childcare, I began helping with childcare on Monday evenings. During times when I was unable to help with childcare, I spread the work of Puente through Facebook where those who were interested could sign petitions to alert political officials to stop the deportation proceedings of a family member or bring a deported family member back. In addition, I contacted Nancy Godoy at the Arizona State University-Tempe Chicano/a Studies Archives and spoke her and Puente Director Carlos Garcia about the possibility of archiving the work of Puente. However, Puente members were concerned about the representation of their work in the archives and are in the process of checking it out, as well as other places that they might archive their work.

CHAPTER 3

SHELTER OR FIGHT: PUENTE'S DILEMMA/DECISION MAKING

The worst fear about it is that we do have a lot of people, particularly here in Arizona, who don't like undocumented folks, and one fear is what if one day I'm walking down the street and someone does something to me—that always comes to mind.

[...]

It [deportations] is going to happen, but if you want to keep quiet it will still be the same.
— Natally Cruz, Puente member

In late April of 2010, Puente faced a genuine dilemma. For undocumented Latinos living in Arizona at the time, the new legislation—SB 1070—threatened imprisonment and fines, deportation, and family separations. The legislation made traffic stops, taking children to school, and going to work all potential risks for being deported. One obvious response to such a threat is to go into hiding—both individually and collectively. Yet doing so does nothing to protest, let alone change, the situation. This predicament is one that subordinated groups often face: hiding in the shadows at the expense of continued oppression or going public in the face of severe physical and rhetorical risks. That double bind, in fact, is a social injustice in its own right. Given such vulnerabilities, how may the goals of a subordinated group impact public rhetoric about policies affecting that group? A fine-grained rhetorical analysis of a Puente's organizational decision-making offers insight into this question. To pursue this project, in this chapter I ask:

How has Puente negotiated the tension between protecting the identification of local residents, on the one hand, and publically protesting the perceived injustices of immigration sanctions, on the other? ⁷

To address this question, I first situate the work of Puente within the public crisis erupting in April of 2010 used to justify SB 1070.

Then I identify the rhetorical significance of efforts to reframe the situation not as a crisis but as a public controversy. Within this controversy, my analysis turns to Puente's contributions towards reframing the crux of the controversy from national immigration reform more generally to the immediate problem of SB 1070 in Arizona. My analysis of this rhetorical work reveals why this contribution not only required the most vulnerable within Puente to go public against SB 1070, but also demanded very careful decision-making on the part of Puente on behalf of this population.

Situating Puente within the Crisis—then Controversy—of SB 1070

When SB 1070 was first instated as law, proponents of SB 1070 framed a public crisis to justify the bill, and they guarded access to public discourse about that crisis. In response, opponents of SB 1070 reframed the issue not as a crisis but a controversy—a shift that provided rhetorical space to call for strategies to defeat the bill. Opponents also sought to leverage SB 1070 as evidence of the need for larger, national reform of immigration policy. Previous to SB 1070, Puente had presence in Washington D.C., lobbying on behalf of such changes—in particular, national policies not predicated on discriminatory practices.⁸ But with the advent of SB 1070, Puente shifted course and problematized national immigration reform as the crux of the controversy.⁹ These rhetorical actions among various proponents and opponents of SB 1070 are interrelated, according to my research. Together, they heightened the tension Puente faced, needing to protect the identity of undocumented residents living in Arizona, on the one hand, and facing the necessity for members—including undocumented members—to eventually go public, on the other. What adds to the dilemma for Puente is that public controversies can be said to travel a discursive trajectory.

That is, it makes sense to talk about an “arc” of controversy. Controversies such as SB 1070 can rise into public discourse, then arc down and fall into idle talk, eventually being replaced by a new controversy. Pushing to keep SB 1070 as a public controversy, then, was not the only issue for Puente, for they also needed to push the arc—the discursive trajectory of the bill—from immigration reform to human rights and stopping deportations. After situating Puente within this dilemma, the chapter turns to a fine-grained analysis of the organization’s decision making within this complex rhetorical problem space.

Proponents of SB 1070 Frame A Public Crisis

SB 1070 was signed into law on April 23rd, 2010. During the week that followed, Arizona Governor Janice Brewer’s public statement on SB 1070 framed immigration as a public *crisis* as opposed to a public *controversy*. This frame limited public engagement and silenced the voices of those most affected by the bill. Public controversies are important, for they arise when people’s everyday lives (what Jurgen Habermas refers to as “lifeworlds”) are negatively affected by external events (Crick and Gabriel 209-210). Public controversies allow publics to deliberate lifeworld disruptions. As such, controversies can provide a means for the general public to interact and debate with disparate interest groups such as politicians, institutions, and field experts (Crick and Gabriel 204). The primary feature that differentiates a public *crisis* from a public *controversy* is that, unlike a controversy, a crisis cuts short if not outright prevents cross-public communication and the inclusion of those most affected by discourse and decision-making (Coombs 219).

In public political discourse, “crisis rhetoric” heightens the sense of urgency regarding an issue that calls for immediate action without public debate (Coombs 219). This distinction is important, for “crisis rhetoric” seeks to shape wider public discourse and thus the public spheres that surround the issue, subsequently limiting avenues available to enclave publics, such as Puente, to engage the issue as a shared public concern.

Figure 1 below illustrates arguments concerning SB 1070 that affected the undocumented community in Arizona the first week that the bill was signed into law. As Figure 1 indicates, SB 1070 was a decision, one that was not previously marked by public discourse, but one presented as a response to a crisis. The larger issue was the perceived failure of federal immigration measure, 287(g), and this perceived failure was supported by an incident that took place about one month prior to the signing of SB 1070 into law—the death of a U.S. / Mexico border rancher, Robert Krentz, at the alleged hands of an illegal immigrant. While SB 1070 was followed by public discourse, as Figure 1 indicates, the voice of opposition to the bill was led by dominant publics such as politicians and advocacy groups; the voice of the undocumented was the least covered voice in public discussions that circulated the first week that the bill was signed into law.¹⁰ In the section that follows, I analyze the discourse that circulated during the first week of the bill: April 23-30, 2010.

Support for SB 1070

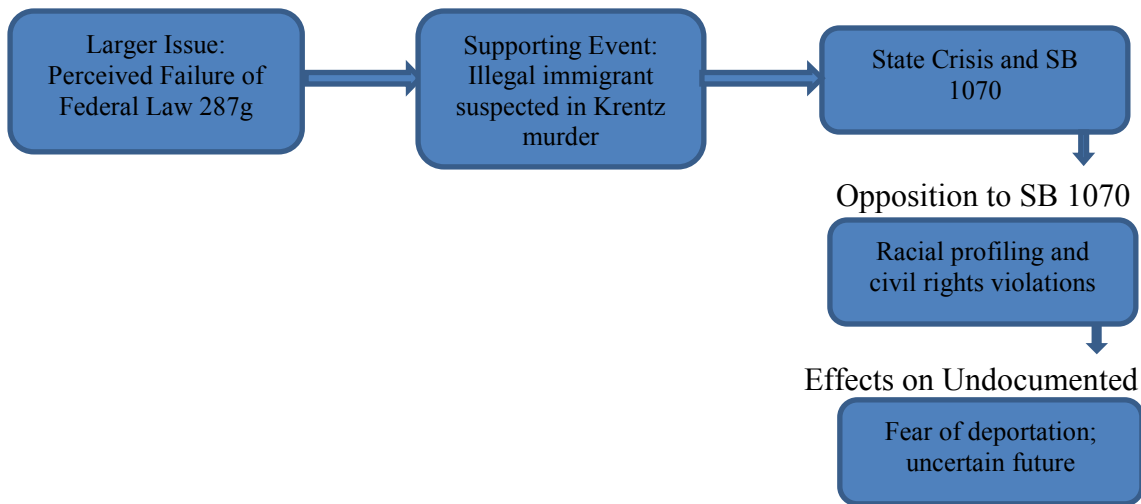


Figure 1: Public Discourse in AZ: SB 1070, Week 1

Readers will recall from chapter 1 that SB 1070 was introduced by Arizona Senator Russell Pearce at the beginning of 2010 and signed into law on April 23rd of that year. This bill was specific to Arizona and designed to deter illegal immigration across the Arizona / Mexico border. It actively pushed for the removal of current undocumented people residing in the state (“Senate Bill 1070”). As the state’s leader in support of SB 1070, Arizona Governor Janice Brewer portrayed the law as a response to what she named as a “crisis” of “violence and crime” connected to drug cartels and illegal immigration taking place at the U.S. / Mexico border. This “crisis,” Brewer publically announced, was an issue that current federal immigration laws failed to “fix” (Brewer).

As indicated in Figure 1, Brewer and others drew upon what was deemed a failure with federal law 287(g) and current immigration law. Federal 287(g) allowed law enforcement to carry out the role of federal immigration agents to include arresting and jailing people suspected of being in the country illegally and running immigration status checks on those already in jail (“The 287(g) Program”).

To be clear, this widely controversial program where law enforcement act as immigration agents has been adopted in the state-specific SB 1070 law.

Figure 1 also indicates that media coverage on the murder of a U.S.-Mexico-border-rancher, Robert Krentz, on March 27th, 2010, also served as a catalyst for rationalizing the necessity of border control action (“Robert Krentz;” “Specifics,” Wagner). This event helped push SB 1070 into fruition because the unknown suspect in Krentz’s murder was purported to be an illegal immigrant crossing the border (“Robert Krentz;” “Specifics,” Wagner).¹¹ For proponents of SB 1070, Krentz’s murder provided a narrative arc about violence on the border. By narrative arc, I mean that discourse on Krentz and his murder lionized him as a “martyr” whose story symbolized the need for acting on tighter border control (“Specifics,” Wagner; cf. “Robert Krentz;” cf. Wood). As former Republican Senate candidate J.D. Hayworth stated at the time, Krentz is “‘a martyr for this cause,’ a symbol of efforts to combat illegal immigration and border violence” (Hayworth qtd. in “Specifics,” Wagner). The discourse on Krentz not only fueled action on tighter boarder control, but it also conflated the Mexican drug cartel with illegal entrants in general and supported nativist ideologies about the dangerous foreign “other” (Perea 1). To be clear, speculations about Krentz’s murder pointed to the Mexican drug cartel, but nonetheless, discourse on Krentz always tied his life in some way to illegal immigrants. For example, it was stated that he had suffered theft from illegal immigrants in his past, but despite such instances, it was noted that he always helped them if he saw someone in need (La Jeunesse; Wood). Here, the narrative of Krentz is crafted to juxtapose Krentz as a hard working American who supported his family, went to church, and aided those in need, with the lawlessness of illegal

immigrants (La Jeunesse; “Robert Krentz;” Wood). It should be noted that the Krentz murder has never been solved and that there are doubts that the incident had anything to do with illegal immigration (“Robert Krentz;” “Slaying,” Wagner). Additionally, border-town police, FBI crime reports, and border-town residents have countered arguments about the rise in border-related violence (“Slaying,” Wagner). Despite opposing information regarding border violence, Brewer’s public statement argued that the bill was a necessity, for without it, border crime and violence would continue to spill into the state and threaten the safety and livelihood of residents (Brewer). I call this the “border-crisis argument” that persisted despite backlash against the bill (Brewer).

Proponents of SB 1070 Guard Access to Public Discourse on SB 1070

Brewer’s “border-crisis argument” can be understood to illustrate what Timothy W. Coombs would call “crisis rhetoric.” “Crisis rhetoric,” as Coombs explains, is used by Presidents as a tool for casting a sense of urgency and fear surrounding a situation, whereby legitimizing the need for establishing policies (219). There are three ways that “crisis rhetoric” might be framed—denial, threat, or opportunity (Coombs 220). A crisis can be framed as a denial where the rhetor argues against the idea that a crisis is indeed taking place; a crisis can be framed as a threat when it is argued that a crisis exists and is a threat to a way of life; and lastly, a crisis can be framed as an opportunity for action and change (Coombs 220). What aids “crisis rhetorics” ability to establish a sense of emergency when it is framed as a current or imminent threat is the construction of hero and villain archetypes; here, the rhetor frames the need for policy change as a protective measure and “moral act” to protect the hero (i.e., the United States) from the villain (Coombs 219).

Brewer's "border-crisis argument" reflects the latter two crisis frames in Coombs' analysis—her "crisis rhetoric" circulated as both a threat and an opportunity. Brewer framed the crime on the Mexican / Arizona border as a threat to state security by arguing that the border is crime-ridden and that the crime will eventually work its way farther into Arizona, affecting the safety and livelihood of residents (Brewer). In this instance, Brewer's "border-crisis argument" plays upon hero / villain archetypes by casting law-abiding Arizona citizens against the "murderous greed of drug cartels [...that comprise the...] drop houses, kidnappings, and violence" effecting Arizona citizens' "quality of life" (Brewer). This threat narrative set the stage for Brewer's "border-crisis argument"; the narrative also framed Brewer's argument as an opportunity to "fix" the "border crisis" by implementing this state-specific law—a law that was necessary, she argued, because federal immigration laws such as 287(g) had failed (Brewer). SB 1070 provided an opportunity for real change on the border and in Arizona.

While "crisis rhetoric" calls for action, it does so to avoid debate. The expectation is that the public will be persuaded to "support[t] as opposed to 'debate'" an issue that is presented as a pressing crisis; as Coombs' suggests, debate is neither desired nor welcome (219). While Brewer acknowledged that SB 1070 had received criticism before she even signed the bill, her "border-crisis argument" attempted to close off debate. In her public statement on April 23rd, 2010, Brewer acknowledged that the bill had and would continue to be scrutinized and criticized for any indication of civil rights violations. For instance, she anticipated that those against the bill "will work day and night to create headlines and get the face time they so desperately covet" (Brewer).

In moves like this, Brewer called for “support” as opposed to “debate,” as the elements of Coombs’ “crisis rhetoric” would predict. I would argue also that her rhetoric goes beyond wanting support instead of debate by instilling a sense of warning against those who would argue against the bill. To be clear, by positioning opponents of SB 1070 as antagonists who “will work day and night to create headlines and get the face time they so desperately covet,” she suggested that public debate was not welcome but rather wasted the precious time of civil servants such as herself (Brewer). In addition, her rhetoric cast those against the bill as villains wanting to steal a public voice that is not rightfully theirs. Moves like these guarded access to public discourse on SB 1070.

While Brewer and proponents of SB 1070 argued that immigration was a crisis, it was not only a discursive crisis for immigrants but an existential one. SB 1070 was a discursive crisis for immigrants because Brewer’s “border-crisis argument” served to attempt to erase dissent by implicating illegal immigration as the root of Arizona’s problems (Brewer; cf. La Jeunesse; cf. “Robert Krentz;” cf. Wood). Defining illegal immigrants as such attempted to thwart any discourse this group might have to argue for their rights and argue against the conflation of the Mexican cartel and other border-related crimes with illegal immigrants in general. The discursive crisis immigrants faced by Brewer’s “border-crisis argument” also aided in SB 1070 as an existential crisis for immigrants because it not only attempted to erase dissent but also erase the possibility of listening to the crisis experience of immigrants due to immigration laws and sanctions such as SB 1070. As Young argues, in order for deliberative democracy to be *just* it must be inclusive (17). However, crisis rhetoric cuts short the ability for inclusive deliberations because it deliberately cuts off access to wider public discourse (Coombs 219).

While crisis rhetoric serves to promote action without access to dissenting deliberations, controversies are not without issue, are not without issue. According to Crick and Gabriel, controversies “provide the situational grounds which make possible—if not always actual—the interaction among citizens, scientists and legislators through rhetorical forums that feature the discursive interplay between epistemological cognition, aesthetic experience, moral valuation, and practical judgment” (212; cf. Warner 114). Here Crick and Gabriel make clear that controversies only provide the *opportunity* for inclusive discourse. Even in ideal situations where controversies make public discourse possible and actual, the question of inclusion remains—who is allowed to participate in debate? This question of inclusion is especially problematic when tethered to illegal immigrants who neither have the right to vote nor the rhetorical capital to assert their political voice in a controversy.

Enfranchised Opponents Object to SB 1070

As indicated in Figure 1, despite Brewer’s efforts to thwart public debate, enfranchised opponents refused to accept this characterization of the problem space, arguing against the bill as early as the first week it was made law. By “enfranchised opponents” I mean politicians, advocacy groups, and civil rights activists. I call them “enfranchised” because they are sanctioned to speak among dominant publics as they are often part of such publics. Such opponents argued that SB 1070 violated civil rights and supported racial profiling (Johnson; Lemons; Nowicki; Sáinz). While Brewer publically announced that law enforcement would be trained to ensure the protection of civil rights and avoid racial profiling (Brewer), those against the bill argued that this was not a realistic possibility (Sáinz). For example, a press conference in San Diego circulated that

“[t]hough the law's proponents claim that race and ethnicity alone cannot be cause for questions about immigration status, public officials are already asserting that illegal immigrants can be identified by the clothes they wear and the way they speak [...]” (Sáinz). Here, those who opposed the law because it promoted racial profiling argued that law enforcement’s ability to question citizenship is inextricably linked to raced and classed bodies. Some politicians joined forces to argue publicly against the bill. For instance, the Arizona Senate Democratic Caucus stated that ““This legislation will criminalize all immigrants, infringe on free speech, encourage racial profiling and lead to enormous costs, into the millions, at a time Arizona cannot afford unfunded mandates”” (qtd. in Johnson). In addition to other politicians and advocacy groups, President Barak Obama also questioned the bill’s potential to overstep the boundaries of civil rights (Lemons).

The majority of news coverage that voiced opposition to the bill represented political, advocacy group, and civil rights activists. Several editorials did offer citizens’ voices regarding the bill—primarily through the voice of the editorial writer or through interviews with residents who echoed prevailing concerns about civil rights, racial profiling, and how the bill would be implemented (“Law a Disservice,” Ryman; Williams). Although everyday citizens (those not affiliated with a political, religious, or advocacy group) did have some representative voice against the bill, the voice of the undocumented had little representation at this point. My research revealed the direct voice of an undocumented person circulated in a single news source. Figure 1 represents such concerns of the undocumented community. Here, an undocumented resident, Felipe, who qualifies as a DREAMer, states: "Our dream is to have the opportunity to participate

fully and to give back to the only country they [sic] know as home, and not live in constant fear that we will be deported” (qtd. in Acosta). Along with Felipe, Carlos Roa, also a DREAMer, is hopeful that politicians will stop deportations, and not only for DREAMers, but for everyone until a more just immigration reform is realized (Acosta). While Felipe and Roa provided a public voice of the undocumented—those most affected by the bill—it was one that provided a singular representation of the undocumented community. To be clear, it was two representative voices of DREAMers—college-aged undocumented people whose parents brought them to Arizona when they were younger, and who are now at an impasse: desiring to go to college but unable to gain entry based on their citizenship status. As Garcia states, dominant publics have often considered DREAMers as the more sympathetic group of undocumented people, whereas day laborers, for example, have been considered ““an eye sore””—““they were the bottom of who people wanted to see,”” and thus dominant publics considered them towards the top of the list to remove (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

At this point, public discourse about SB 1070 remained constrained by the rhetoric of crisis—for public discourse was unable to include those most affected by the bill, an important measure of a public controversy. Above I’ve argued that “crisis rhetoric” crafts a public sphere around a crisis by forcing agreement as opposed to dissent; in contrast, a public controversy can provide a public discursive space for inclusive debate (Coombs 219; Crick and Gabriel 215). However, a public controversy is not merely a discursive achievement. Here, I adapt Crick and Gabriel’s account of scientific public controversies for my own purpose of contrasting the publics of crisis

rhetoric to the publics created by controversies. According to Crick and Gabriel, the features that mark public discourse surrounding an issue a controversy are as follows:

1. Controversies publicize disputes among “experts” such as politician and scientists (203)
2. But controversies are *born* when such publicized theoretical disputes over *issues match and or challenge the experienced disruption of citizens’ lifeworlds* (209-210)
3. Controversies play out in the public when the disruption of citizen’s lifeworlds are dramatized and publicized (212)
4. Controversies call forth action in the form of public arguments and among disparate groups to include everyday citizen participation in discourse and public protest (215)
5. Controversies provide a public arena for citizens to keep in check interested parties such as politicians and lobbyists that might exploit the situation for their own benefit (218)
6. Controversies seek the common good as opposed to the good of a person or interest group (220).

What does mapping Crick and Gabriel’s features of a public controversy onto the public discourse on SB 1070 the first week it was signed into law, reveal? Such analysis reveals several conditions that initially made SB 1070 a crisis but not necessarily a public controversy in terms that Crick and Gabriel would recognize. One, although SB 1070 began as a publicized dispute among politicians, advocacy groups, and activists who recognized how the bill would disrupt the lifeworlds of those who would be its target, at

this point, public discourse did not adequately publicize and dramatize the voices of those who would be most affected by the bill.¹² Two, although during the first week that the bill was signed into law, media circulated some voices of people directly affected by the bill, the overall discourse was among politicians, advocacy groups and activists, and therefore confined to only a particular set of disparate groups that largely did not include everyday citizens and those at risk of the bill's threat of deportation (Crick and Gabriel 215). This distinction is important. According to Crick and Gabriel, when controversies include the positions of everyday citizens, they provide a means for keeping interest groups in check so that such groups do not exploit the situation for political gain (218). Three, while politicians, advocacy groups, and civil rights activists called for protest measures opposing SB 1070, situating the discourse and issue of SB 1070 among such groups would not—Crick and Gabriel would predict—have the capacity to sustain a viable public controversy. Specifically, the interest-group representation that politicians and advocacy groups can provide is often not sufficient for keeping an issue in the public eye when such groups have their own agendas and are not directly affected by the issue (Crick and Gabriel 218).¹³ Finally, controversies seek the common good as opposed to the good of a person or interest group (220). When an issue is not presented or understood to affect the vast majority of people—and in the case of SB 1070, to affect other *citizens*—then it is more difficult to present the issue as a *shared* concern; in this case, as a matter of concern to the citizenry. Thus, while politicians, advocacy groups, and civil rights activists argued that the bill affected the civil rights of those targeted, public discourse about SB 1070 did not yet portray immigration reform as a matter affecting the citizenry.

Ultimately, the publicized protest work of politicians and activist organizations did launch a controversy concerning SB 1070—as explained next. However, despite the promise of shifting the discourse on SB 1070 from a public crisis to a public controversy, the protestor’s call for reform would not be sufficient for moving the issue forward.¹⁴

Opponents of SB 1070 Launch a Public Controversy

Politicians, activist organizations, and others who publicly opposed SB 1070 in April of 2010 began to shift public discourse around SB 1070 from a crisis to a controversy by arguing against Brewer’s statement that the legislation included provisions to protect individuals’ civil rights (Johnson; Lemon; Sáinz). Controversies are *born* when such publicized theoretical disputes over issues match and or challenge the experienced disruption of citizens’ lifeworlds (Crick and Gabriel 209-210). What transformed Brewer’s “border-crisis argument” into a public controversy was the call for public protest action. For controversies call forth action in the form of public arguments *and* public protest (Crick and Gabriel 215).

The controversy of SB 1070 prompted public protests. Some protests were leveraged against the bill at the state level (“Bases;” Rodriguez; “To Boycott Arizona”). Other protests called for immigration reform at the level of national policy (Bourbon; “Congressional Hispanic;” Vargas). In this context reform meant a comprehensive immigration law that would support human rights and not separate families or exploit foreign-born workers (Bourbon; “Congressional Hispanic;” Vargas). The call for national immigration reform is not new; it has been a topic on the congressional table for fourteen years to varying degrees (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

As Garcia states:

Since immigration reform has been talked about for fourteen years and nothing has happened, and in the course of that, in Arizona, we have had all of these negative laws, so [it has become] how do we hold or stop those negative laws. So, [previously] we kept concentrating on DC and getting immigration reform and maybe not push back here, maybe the birthright citizenship bill would pass, but it would have kept getting worse. (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

In 2006 and 2007 political discussions by both Democrats and Republicans suggested a real drive for reform, but right now, Garcia states that “with President Obama it has become more of a blame game—it’s become more of a tool of both parties” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Since it has become more of a political game of wins and losses for Democrats or Republicans, Garcia explains that “immigration reform is not a viable reality or something that is going to include the people we work with [the undocumented] or stop deportations—we have had to look for where we can make changes” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). As I discuss below, the protest strategies enacted from April 23 to April 30, 2010 make sense—that is, they called into being a counterpublic against SB 1070 and current immigration law, thus creating a controversy around SB 1070 that attempted to put pressure on politicians to put an end to SB 1070 and on Congress to draw upon the past failures of immigration laws to create a just immigration reform. Politicians, advocacy groups, and the general public agreed that reform was needed; however, the exactly shape that reform should differed. For example, my research indicated that while many spoke about the need for immigration reform, many provided

only a general point about the need for reform (Gelbart; Jaramillo, “Repudiation”; “New Arizona”). Others provided a more specific argument about what foundational values reform should be shaped from. In these instances, the argument was that reform should secure the border, but also uphold civil and human rights, avoid the separation of families, and cease the labor exploitation of immigrants (Bourbon; “Congressional Hispanic;” Vargas). Discourse that framed SB 1070 in relation to immigration reform would only carry the public controversy so far, though, for in order to sustain a controversy and move it towards political action, a controversy has to continue to have momentum in order to move discourse towards that end (Crick and Gabriel 218). Thus far, the public controversy of immigration reform was at an impasse, with little movement toward actual policy change the past fourteen years (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). In order to move towards political action, at the very least, public controversies need to stay in the public eye.¹⁵ In other words, public controversies require constant cultivation, especially since any public controversy can wane in the face of new public controversies that compete for and grab the public’s attention (Crick and Gabriel 219).

Opponents of SB 1070 Call for Strategies to Defeat the Bill

Figure 2 illustrates the publicized actors and their attendant strategies who mobilized argued against SB 1070 between April 23 and April 30, 2010.¹⁶ In addition, it illustrates how protestors assigned certain people or institutions an agentive role capable to instituting reform.

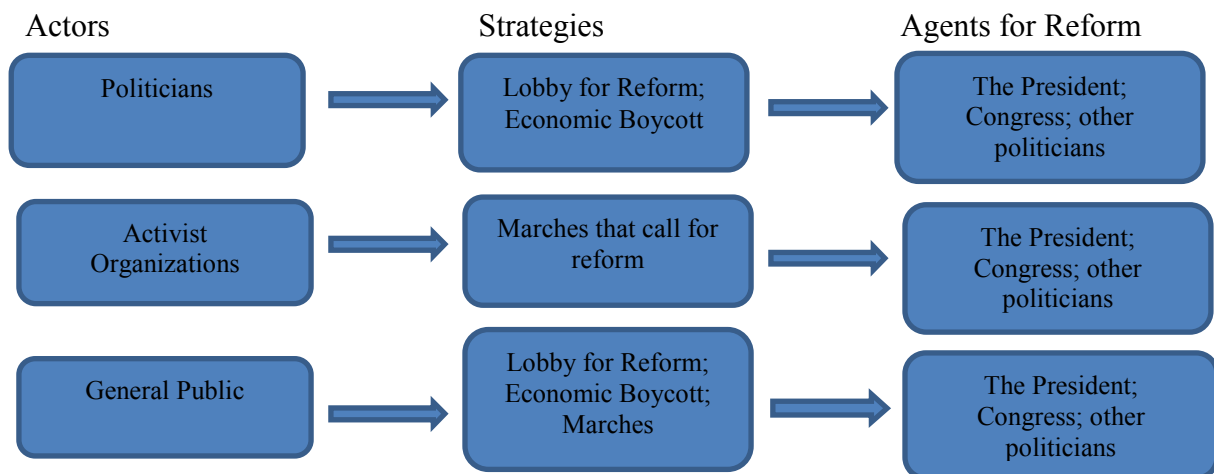


Figure 2: Publicized Protest Strategies and Attendant Actors

As indicated in Figure 2, one prominent strategy that politicians, activist organizations, and public figures called for from states such as Arizona, New York, and California was an economic boycott of Arizona (“Bases;” Kelly; Jaramillo, “NY Prepares”). For example, Arizona U.S. Representative Raul Grijalva made public that he wanted “conventions, businesses, and tourists” to “punish” the state via economic boycotting (“Immigration Bill Holds”). New York City Comptroller John Liu called for boycotting Arizona-based U.S. Airways by avoiding flights with the airline company (Jaramillo, “NY Prepares”). Darrell Steinberg, California Senate President, sought to compile a list of business ties between California and Arizona that could be severed (Kelly). In addition, many called for a boycott of the Arizona baseball team, the Diamondbacks, by not attending the 2011 Major League game to be held in Arizona (“Bases;” Kelly; Jaramillo, “NY Prepares”). The purpose for boycotts was not just to end SB 1070; calls for these boycotts also raised the specter of immigration reform (Jaramillo, “NY Prepares”; Johnson; Kelly). For some, the rationale behind economic boycotts stemmed from past success with this protest strategy. For example, in 1987,

former Arizona Governor Evan Mecham put a halt to the celebration of Martin Luther King, Jr. as a holiday in Arizona (“Martin Luther King, Jr. Day”). Subsequently, economic boycotts of Arizona occurred until 1992, when the pressure from boycotts was met with Arizona instating Martin Luther King Jr. Day as a holiday (Avendaño; “Bases”; “Grijalva”).

The strategy of economic boycotting makes sense in relation to immigration reform. Not only has economic boycotting worked in the past, but such a strategy serves to bolster a public controversy since public controversies are launched when the lifeworld of the public is affected by an issue (Crick and Gabriel 209-210). To be clear, Brewer’s “border-crisis argument” couched SB 1070 as a necessity to protect the lifeworlds of Arizona citizens (Brewer). For those who had initially supported SB 1070, it is possible that only a different threat to their lifeworld, such as an economic threat, might cause them to rethink their initial position. In addition, for those politically apathetic to the bill, the challenge to their economic lifeworld might prove to push them to actively partake in the public controversy.

While many activist organizations called for economic boycotts alongside politicians, they also organized marches and other publicly-staged protests, as indicated in Figure 2. For example, one civil-rights group, the Nahuacalli Embassy of Indigenous Peoples, led a march through the downtown Phoenix area alongside about 300 other Arizona residents who participated (Leavitt and Gonzalez). Additionally, nine college students chained themselves to the doors of the old Capitol building in Phoenix in protest of the bill (Nowicki).

In Chicago, Leone Jose Bicchieri, Executive Director of the Chicago Workers' Collaborative, alongside other protestors, staged themselves outside of staged Wrigley Field where the Arizona Diamondbacks were playing at the time, chanting, "Boycott Arizona," "Reform not racism," and "Shame on Arizona" (Piecoro).

Public protests make sense as a strategy to bring visibility and circulation to anti-SB 1070 arguments since media attention is important for public controversies. Media can draw acute attention to how a situation affects the lifeworlds of individuals (Crick and Gabriel 215). Specifically, public protest adds an additional layer to what Crick and Gabriel term "dramatic rhetorical discourse"—discourse that dramatizes an issue in ways that help bridge the gap between political discourse and lived experience (215-217; cf. Pezzullo 350-351). Such discourse can be transformational, as Gerard Hauser explains: "rhetoric opens inventional spaces: places where ideas, relationships, emotional bonds, and course of action can be experienced in novel, sometimes transformative, ways" (qtd. in Pezzullo 349). Specifically, public protest performances can "disrupt the normative discursive logics of publics" by offering a real-time, visual dramatization of the public controversy that cannot be accomplished by political discourse alone (Deem qtd. in Pezzullo 351; cf. Crick and Gabriel 215). Public protest performances can be persuasive, then, because they can influence observers' understandings of an issue (Pezzullo 349-351). Thus, while a call for economic boycotts is certainly a form of protest designed to grab the attention of the public, publically staged protests help further dramatize the public controversy in ways that disrupt the everyday spaces of the public (such as a baseball field) and give the public controversy real-time meaning, dramatizing how policies affect the lifeworlds of actual people.

Opponents Identify SB 1070 as Evidence that National Immigration Policy Needs to be Reformed

Opponents leveraged SB 1070 as evidence of ethnically biased immigration policies in need of reform. As a public issue engaging national attention, the topic of undocumented people living in the United States has ebbed and flowed since the nineteenth-century (Ngai 3). As Mae M. Ngai points out, the U.S. has had laws restricting who could immigrate since the 19th century, but it was the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 that set the stage for controlling immigration based on the number of people allowed to emigrate from each country to the U.S. (3). Here, the numeric system made clear that some foreign born people were more desirable than others as it placed different quotas of eligible people according to country of origin (Ngai 3). While immigration restrictions and changes to those restrictions would continue for decades, it was the Immigration Act of 1965 that would serve as the first significant policy to reform immigration practices. It replaced a quota system based on desirableness and country of origin with a cross-the-board quota system. Under this system, all countries would have an equal numeric cap on eligibility (Ngai 227). In his interview with me, Garcia underscored the prominence of immigration reform in the platforms of both pro- and anti-immigration constituents (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). As indicated in Figure 2, in April 2010, politicians, activist organizations, and the general public used the media and the strategy of public protest to call for immigration reform, making particular actions to institute such reform the crux of the argument (or point of stasis) during the first week that SB 1070 was signed into law.

*Puente Shifts the Point of the Controversy: Not General Reform but Stopping
Deportations*

The perceived crux of the argument can either motivate the controversy to mobilize political change, or it can render the issue static, in which case public interest eventually wanes and a new controversy takes its place (218-219). In late April, 2010, there were two problems with how the crux of SB 1070 had been portrayed.^{17 18} First, pushing for immigration reform as the foundation for public protest strategies did not attend to the very real and immediate sanctions attendant with SB 1070 (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014); second placing the agency for immigration reform largely in the hands of politicians and activist organizations undermined the need for the general public to serve as the agents keeping SB 1070 in the public eye as a controversy, thus keeping pressure on politicians to continue to push for a more just immigration reform (Crick and Gabriel 216-217).¹⁹ Even with differences in political position and power, the general public—including the undocumented—have potential rhetorical agency that can lead to the type of cross-public inquiry that makes public controversies ripe spaces of deliberative engagement (Flower 53; Crick and Gabriel 204). The question for Puente at this time was how to access that rhetorical agency in face of the real threat of detention or deportation.

As Crick and Gabriel explain, the combination of “backstage” discourse among politicians alongside mass media publicity is not enough to push a public controversy into “actually implementing...policies” (216). Federal immigration policy did not change, and in Arizona, the situation only became worse with SB 1070. For Puente, continuing with the larger conversation of immigration reform that was taking place in

2010 when SB 1070 was first signed into law would not protect the community from the immediate threat of deportations (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). According to Garcia: the problem was that the “larger conversation [of immigration reform] comes with a lot of interests, whether it’s business, political, all these different interests on both sides,” making immigration reform a game of political wins and losses for interested parties at the expense of those who are affected by the bill (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Here, interest-led initiatives to bring immigration reform into the public eye as a controversy is only effective in so far as that public controversy serves a political moment in time (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). So, while the public crisis of SB 1070 certainly provided a catalyst for the public controversy of immigration reform, it did not change the very real sanctions faced by community members with the implementation of SB 1070. As Garcia explains, Puente understood that it was more important to focus on “targeting locally, and stopping things locally, and also making a different demand nationally...trying to alleviate peoples pain” (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). For Puente in this situation, “targeting locally” meant working on strategies to put an end to deportations as they were taking place, and it also meant that the demand it made nationally aimed at stopping deportations as opposed to waiting for politicians to overhaul immigration reform (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

Additionally, framing this controversy around immigration reform cast the burden of keeping the public controversy alive in the hands of politicians and advocacy groups—those who are not directly affected by SB 1070. While politicians and advocates can provide important “backstage maneuvering” that can be used as a tool for leveraging a public controversy, political and institutional discourse as such is not enough to sustain

an issue as a public controversy (Crick and Gabriel 217). Public controversies require those whose lifeworlds are directly affected by an issue to circulate the dramatization of those effects (Crick and Gabriel 217). Media coverage that circulates the protest activities of those affected by the bill, then, is a key component for sustaining SB 1070 as a public controversy (Crick and Gabriel 217). Here, media coverage of protests can provide those affected by the bill with the ability to dramatize how their lifeworlds have been disrupted, providing the type of co-presence that policy discourse among politicians and advocacy groups alone cannot adequately do (Crick and Gabriel 217; cf. Flower 53). By co-presence I mean the way by which a public develops a voice and public presence by garnering attention through staging public protests and dramatizing their lifeworlds (Pezzullo 349). It can be argued that co-presence is not necessary for developing a counterpublic (Warner 71). Michael Warner argues that belonging to a public does not require “Space and physical presence [...]; a public is understood to be different from a crowd, an audience, or any other group that requires co-presence” (71). Yet, if as Warner states, a public “exists *by virtue of being addressed*,” then a staged public protest serves to both address publics through circulation and sustain itself as a public (67). Thus, co-presence serves to both address wider publics and to circulate counterhegemonic ideas. I would argue as well that, while media circulation plays a key role in sustaining the circulation of publics, local, place-based dramatizing of lifeworlds should not be underestimated. That is, while public discourse in the media and media coverage of protests can draw attention to an issue, the real-time, public presence of protestors has the potential to create what can otherwise be a passive, readerly, observance of public life. As Pezzullo argues, co-presence might not be required, but as a rhetorical act, co-presence

provides a grittier essence of lived experience—the unfolding of a drama in real-time—that is often at least once removed from the perspective of a camera lens (Pezzullo 349). Although Pezzullo’s use of co-presence is anchored in rhetorical acts that are more akin to a street theatre event as opposed to more general staged protests, her point is that co-presence provides what Warner calls “poetic world making” (114). The poetic world making function of a public is to draw others into the conversation and persuade them and to circulate the discourse created (Warner 114). Poetic world making—the dramatization of lifeworlds—is necessary to continue to attract interest in a public controversy and to sustain it. This is Crick and Gabriel’s point when they emphasize the need for a public to both continually draw attention to an issue as well as dramatize how the issue affects their lifeworld (217).

The question, then, becomes who are the citizens who will continually push for change? In Arizona in April of 2010, the rhetorical reality made it necessary not only for members of Puente to go public as those most affected by the bill, but also to demonstrate to the greater public that SB 1070 was a shared problem. The life of a public controversy largely depends on rhetors dramatizing how an issue affects their lifeworlds (216-217). Yet, Garcia told me that in April 2010, the opposite was the case for SB 1070: “A lot of those folks asking for immigration reform come with a lack of connection to actual people getting deported” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). To be clear, unlike an issue such as global warming, SB 1070 directly affects a portion of the population. The challenge, therefore, was how to reframe SB 1070 legislation as a shared concern. As readers will recall from chapter 1, controversies seek the common good as opposed to the good of a person or interest group (220).

This feature of a controversy further explains why Puente would need to go public: not only to sustain public attention to SB 1070 through dramatizing the effects of the bill on the lifeworlds of their community, but also to demonstrate to the public that SB 1070 is something that affects everyone on some level—an argument not readily evident to much of the general public at the time. As the analysis below makes clear, casting SB 1070 as a shared issue of concern (rather than a policy affecting primarily the undocumented) would require recasting the terms of SB 1070 yet again: away from immigration reform and toward the matter of human rights.

In the next section, I analyze Puente’s decision-making process in light of the public discourse surrounding SB 1070 the first week it was signed into law. My analysis accounts for both short- and long-term organizational purposes, concomitant rhetorical strategies, as well as the benefits and risks of such strategies. My analytical framework pursues a nuanced understanding of the complexity of this organizations decision-making.

Puente’s Organizational Decision-Making in Response to SB 1070 Legislation

The complexity of Puente’s organizational decision making come to life around the following rhetorical activities: recounting recent strategies, evaluating dominant public spheres, employing specific strategies; and, mobilizing an enclave community. I interpret these topics as interrelated in light of my research.²⁰ Specifically, these topics were a result of soliciting and analyzing Puente’s organizational response to SB 1070 in light of recent past efforts made by Puente to follow dominant public strategies in relation to the dominant public point of stasis and the tensions faced by Puente as analyzed through interview responses and scholarship on subordinated rhetors.

Eliciting and analyzing Puente’s decision-making in response to SB 1070 allowed me to construct a chart of the various aspects involved in this organization’s decision-making to arrive at a more nuanced understanding of the risks and benefits an enclave public faces when developing strategies for going public.

Recounting Recent Strategies

Despite discourse on immigration reform the past fourteen years, there has been little done to move the point of stasis needle beyond political talk (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). In the past, Puente has been involved in pushing for reform, which Garcia recalls as a move grounded in “thinking that that’s the path that we could reach alleviation for our community” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). For instance, in 2006 members of Puente marched alongside others in response to H.R. 4437, the Border Protection, Anti-Terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005. This act increased the sanctions against the undocumented. For instance, this act increased and broadcasted penalties against those caught employing illegal immigrants. And this act made it a felony-level crime to be an undocumented resident in the U.S. (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). In March of 2006, mass protests against the bill began and subsequently the bill was not passed by the Senate (“ACLU”). At the time, immigrants—both documented and undocumented—participated in mass marches in several states to argue against this new immigration law (Beltrán, “Going Public,” 595-596). For Puente, actively participating in these marches and pushing for immigration reform at the time made sense because the public sphere created around immigration reform in the mid-2000’s pointed towards real political change (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

As Garcia puts it, “in 2006...[and] even before that with President Bush—there seemed to be an authentic search—[even] with McCain and Kennedy at the time in 2007—...an authentic want to pass something on both sides [Republican and Democrat]” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Time seemed ripe for moving this public controversy from what previously had been mostly idle political discourse towards actual policy change. Not only was public political discourse apparently pushing for change, but time seemed ripe for reform. The 2006 marches provided the first immigrant counterpublic capable of shifting this group from a political *topic* of conversation to a group that actively engaged in the wider dominant public sphere (Beltrán, “Going Public” 598). Consequently, Puente did not “push back” in Arizona during the time, even though Arizona was carrying out its own attacks on the undocumented community prior to SB 1070 (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). The hope was that if Puente’s target was federal immigration reform, once implemented, such reform would change the local Arizona practices taking place at the time (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

Evaluating Dominant Public Spheres

Although SB 1070 was meant to enforce the attrition of the undocumented community in Arizona, it didn’t. People stayed (Gonzales, “Arizona”). Garcia explained: ““Because there are so many ties to the community, most people didn’t leave [the state]. But they kind of prepared themselves”” (qtd. in Gonzales, “Arizona”). For many residents, preparing themselves at first meant hiding in the shadows. Not wanting to leave the community, but fearing the sanctions attendant with SB 1070, people did ““not leaving their houses...[except] to take their kids to school...[or] go to work. They are afraid to go out, and they are afraid to have any contact with police or any sort of

authority” (Garcia qtd. in Gonzales, “Arizona”). This highly oppressed community—the undocumented—were “forced into [an] enclav[e]” to protect their identity and avoid sanctions (Squires 457-458). To avoid risking members’ deportation, one justifiable option available to Puente would have been to focus on maintaining this enclave position, hiding its members’ undocumented status and their counterhegemonic ideas from the dominant public (458). In contrast, my analysis shows that while Puente did create enclave spaces that served to both protect community members from the sanctions of SB 1070 as well as to formulate strategies for resisting oppression, the enclave spaces were created to “educate, empower, and resist.” Furthermore, Puente eventually used the enclave status of the community to go public and fight against deportations (“About”; Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014; Cruz, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

As an organization made of mixed-documentation status residents, Puente found itself negotiating the following tensions: continuing to hide in the shadows while continuing to have political and advocacy groups represent the undocumented, or going public as an enclave despite severe risks. Since oppression was high and resources to go public as undocumented were low, as an enclave, Puente could have waited to go public—to wait for a time when oppression is lessened and external legal and political resources are more readily available (cf. Squires 460). However, if the undocumented community continued to try to hide their citizenship status identity, doing so would not ensure that they would not eventually face sanctions. If the undocumented community continued to have politicians and advocacy groups represent them, this group risked falling into the shadows when the public moves its focus to a new public controversy.

As Garcia states, though, waiting for immigration reform was not an option since “the political games right now won’t allow immigration reform” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). And of more immediate importance, pushing for immigration reform alongside politicians and activist organizations was not going to stop the current threat of deportations (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014; Cruz, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Thus, while Puente members would protest alongside other civil rights organizations as *part* of a larger public that protested against the bill, another strategy was needed since reform efforts were slow and undocumented community members would face the immediate, local consequences of SB 1070. Of course, publicly exposing their identity as undocumented could have served as a protest strategy. It would have required that they face their fears, which of course required facing the real threat of severe sanctions. Yet, this strategy of going public would have represented the face of real undocumented people to the public controversy.

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With SB 1070 instated as law, Puente began to shift its strategy from following the public controversy discourse and protest strategies set forth by the dominant public—calling for immigration reform and marching alongside others—to pushing to stop deportations and placing protest agency in the hands of those most affected by the bill (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).²¹ Garcia emphasizes that “focusing on stopping deportations and the literal cases and ending people’s suffering is what’s better for us and for everyone else.” This shift in focus also “put undocumented people in the forefront—being the subject of what’s been going on” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

In fact, a major strategy for Puente was to go public with the documentation status of members so that they *could* become the subjects representing the undocumented community as opposed to being represented *by* advocacy groups and others (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014; Cruz, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

This decision was critical. The shift cultivated ties among members of the undocumented community within Puente. These community ties would serve as the foundation for Puente's work. And this foundation was vital. It buoyed members as Puente shifted its former focus from immigration reform to stopping deportations and bringing the documentation status of members out into the open. The goal was so that members would not have to live in fear of being discovered and so that the public would no longer represent this group (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).²² The act of mobilizing a community provides power-in-numbers. Providing power-in-numbers means that a subordinated community has a better chance to weaken the control of institutional oppression by strengthening the amount of people who are willing to serve as a counterhegemonic public (DeNardo 35-36). As James DeNardo states, "Despite their great diversity in form and purpose, oppositional movements appear to share at least one thing in common. Regardless of the political context, there always seems to be in numbers" (35). Additionally, power-in-numbers works exponentially. The more people that are willing to stand up against institutional oppression, the more others are inclined to join in the fight (DeNardo 36). However, before any of this could take place, first Puente would need to mobilize an undocumented community. That is, before Puente members could go public as an enclave capable of publically protesting through self-representation, the organization would have to educate undocumented members about

their rights despite not have citizenship status; that is, Puente would have to convince them to go public regarding their collective undocumented status—and cast this strategy as an emancipatory one (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014; Cruz, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

Analyzing Goals and Strategies: Benefits and Risks

In order to go public as an organization with undocumented residents, Puente needed to devise strategies that would both protect the identity of residents and go public with resident voices. The overarching goal of Puente is to shape immigration reform by casting this group as active voices in the dominant public; this goal aims to create a space for valued interaction between this group and the dominant public. Yet, to attend to this overarching goal, Puente needed to attend to the immediate issue of deportations; Puente needed to devise rhetorical and material goals that would both protect the identification of residents and stop deportations— goals developed in response to the slow change associated with policy reform and the immediate need to take action at the local level. Figure 3 below illustrates how Puente determined their rhetorical and material goals and appraised the benefits and risks associated with the rhetorical strategies aimed at these goals.²³

Rhetorical goal	Material goal	Rhetorical Strategy	Benefits	Risks
Protect Identity of Residents	Shelter members from deportation	Shelter identity	Protect residents from SB 1070 sanctions; lower risk for residents	Puts Puente at the mercy of political whim; controversy loses traction; representation in hands of others
Protest against current and future deportations	Stop Deportations	Going public with documentation	Gain self-defined representation	Deportations
		status Follow dominant public strategies (such as boycotts and mass marches)	Lower-risk for residents; Some political gains through ties with other activist groups	Reify subordinated status; vulnerable to mercy of political whim; controversy loses traction

Figure 3: Negotiating Benefits and Risks

As indicated in Figure 3, Puente needed to consider five areas for concern in order to negotiate the tension between protecting the identity of residents and going public on their own terms, with their own voices, regarding the injustice of immigration sanctions experienced by the community. Those areas of concern are as follows:

- 1) Rhetorical Goals: What is the immediate goal / pressing issue that needs to be attended to?
- 2) Material Goals: What is the tangible rationale / aimed result for the rhetorical goals?
- 3) Rhetorical Strategies: What are the available rhetorical strategies that attend to a rhetorical goal and its attendant material rationale / aimed result?

- 4) Benefits: What are the perceived benefits involved in the available rhetorical strategies?
- 5) Risks: What are the risks involved in the available rhetorical strategies?
- 6) Timing: How do the available rhetorical strategies work in terms of keeping the controversy of SB 1070 in the public eye and by reframing the overall controversy from documentation status to human rights?

Barrio Defense Committees provided Puente with the means for navigating this problem space. In order to work with the tensions among the problem spaces—tensions dealing with rhetorical and material goals and their attendant rhetorical strategies along with the benefits and risks of such strategies, Puente mobilized the undocumented community through Barrio Defense Committees—enclave spaces that sought to educate undocumented residents on their rights under SB 1070, and to use that education to empower residents to go public with their enclave position as an act of resistance to immigration sanctions and put representation in the hands of the undocumented (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014; Cruz, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Thus, shortly after SB 1070 was signed into law, Garcia was interviewed in the news;²⁴ here he maintained that the community would continue to protest against the bill. He also asserted that “fight[ing] back” would entail “concentrating on organizing [the] community, building... ‘barrio defense committees’... that will... help us strategize” (Garcia qtd in Goodman and González).

Barrio defense committees functioned as spaces for “educat[ing]” the community about their rights despite SB 1070, and using that education to “empower” community members with new narratives about the undocumented community—narratives that

would eventually be used to go public and “resist” the dominant publics’ image of the undocumented (“About,” Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). To be clear, barrio defense committees served as spaces to protect community members from sanctions and eventually to move this enclave community from hiding in the shadows to using their enclave status as a point of publicity when going public in protest against SB 1070 (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014; Cruz, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

Barrio Defense Committees’ Three Organizing Principles

In the subsections that follow, I discuss the three principles in which barrio defense committees are structured: to educate, empower and resist (“About”). Here, Puente used barrio defense committees as a rhetorical strategy to meet rhetorical and material goals. For each of the three principles of barrio defense committees, I analyze how they reveal the complex design of Puente’s decision-making in relation to tensions among goals and rhetorical strategies and the benefits and risks of those rhetorical strategies.

Protecting the Community: Educate

Puente was to protect community members from the deportations they faced daily—taking children to school, going to work, and even going to the grocery store all served as potential movements that could become life changing. As Garcia explains, the shift away from immigration reform as the focus to “stopping deportations and the literal cases [in order to] en[d] peoples suffering” was the result of both past failure with waiting on politicians to enact reform and the current political climate that continues to make reform a political game at the expense of those who are affected by immigration sanctions (personal interview 31 Jan 2014). To serve the material goal of sheltering

members from deportations, Puente created barrio defense committees that “[e]mulat[e] the structure of groups founded by popular movements in El Salvador, [where] the community-based structure works to both serve basic needs and also build consciousness and help bring people together” (Flaherty). Here, barrio defense committees merged the material goal of sheltering residents from deportations with the rhetorical goal of protecting the identity of residents. Like enclaves that serve as “safe spaces” to “preserve culture, foster resistance [and] create strategies for [the] future” (Squires 458), the material and rhetorical goals for these barrio defense committees is for “neighbors [to] link with neighbors to learn their rights and make collective plans to defend themselves” (Garcia qtd. in Biggers). Linking can prove to be an effective rhetorical strategy for pulling together resources outside one’s community. For instance, a working-class resident of Lancaster, England named Shirley helped her community by serving as “a link” between local residents and the institutions relevant to their social concerns (Barton and Hamilton101). As a liaison, Shirley provided community access to the courtroom, the school board, and neighborhood housing authority. Certainly Puente did create links to institutions and others outside of the immediate community. However, it did so to dispel Puente’s reliance on top-down institutional knowledge and institutional uses of time (“About;” Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Thus, linking provided way to both protect a community from sanctions and foster plans for more public acts of resistance.

Here links served the purpose of passing on legal knowledge so that residents understand what their rights are under SB 1070. As Garcia stated:

Once we started working in the jails we realized 86% of the people defend themselves without attorneys in immigration detention, so with that we

started looking at what would be the most impactful—educating people, and also because after 1070 we aren't able to be everywhere, educating people was a way to duplicate ourselves. (personal interview, 31 Jan 2014)

Given the limited resources of legal help from institutions such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and the organizations own limited ability to “be everywhere,” Puente utilized their own legal knowledge gained from working with the ACLU to provide residents with legal help and paperwork when faced with deportation trials, and educational classes—community defense courses—so residents would understand their rights. Linking in this sense is important, then, for as Elenore Long points out, “Unlike a bridge that exists whether or not a car is on it, links between private lives and public institutions are more tenuous, more like a neurological synapse that must continue to be fired in order to exist” (86). Due to the tenuous nature of institutional linking with private lives, Puente could provide residents with institutional knowledge without having to continually rely on institutional resources, and in doing so, they can also pass down this knowledge to a wider set of people through educating the community than they could if they only relied on helping those who had the immediate needs of facing deportations. While barrio defense committees include ongoing community defense courses that teach residents about their rights under SB 1070, on Puente’s website, puenteaz.org, undocumented community members who do not attend Puente’s community defense courses can also learn about their rights (“¡Conozca”). For example, Puente’s website provides a video, “¡Conozca sus Derechos!” or “Know your Rights,” which alerts undocumented community members on what to do if, for example, they are pulled over by law enforcement or if immigration officials stop at their home (“¡Conozca”).

Providing sources on their website, Puente already enacts a public presence for this enclave community that serves to counter the notion that enclaves are necessarily non-public actors, or that if they are public, they perform a “public transcript” that can reinforce the subordinated status of a group (Squires 458).

Avoiding Reifying Subordinated Status: Empower

Despite the benefits of institutional affiliation, Squires and other scholars have noted that such relationships are not always beneficial for marginalized groups. This is Lorraine Higgins and Lisa Brush’s point when they state that institutional representation can reify the subordinated status of a group by lack of *self*-representation, whereby underscoring their subordinated status in relation to the wider public (696). While Puente does rely on “interdependence” and “working collaboratively with various organizations and individuals” (“About”), Garcia notes that the process of educating and empowering community members has its roots in the knowledge that action has to come from the ground up as “the majority of immigrant rights groups have their own agenda, with either voting agendas behind them, some unions, longer visions, or are tied to the democratic party, or just some other agendas” (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2013). In this sense, institutional links can be an unequal relationship with a different set of interests that, even if driving at the same goal, can subordinate the group that is marginalized in favor of the interests of the institution. Thus, Higgins and Brush argue for the necessity of marginalized groups to “constitute themselves as characters in political drama capable of bridging the chasms of expertise and privilege that separate them from the sites of deliberation and power” (697).

Fostering Self-representative Agency: Resist

Instead of continuing to rely on external forces, Puente needed to take stock of strategies that would serve to protect community members while also making “the subjects of the controversy, or people that 1070’s attacking, the forefront” (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Here, placing the undocumented in the forefront not only pertains to making them the focus of the controversy as opposed to politicians and interest groups focusing on political wins or losses, but also placing their voices at the center of the discourse. This is Garcia’s point when he states that the shift from immigration reform and the larger conversation to the community that is actually affected by immigration sanctions “puts the pressure back on the undocumented people themselves to stand up for themselves” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). While Squires taxonomy of enclave publics would estimate that the undocumented—as a targeted oppressed group—would shelter their identity to protect themselves, Puente sought to eventually use the enclave status of residents as a source of going public (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Puente member Natally Cruz explains that most community members do not know that they have rights, “but once you start going to the community defense class and know your rights then [you] start learning little by little that even if you don’t have documents you have rights” (personal interview 31 Jan. 2014). Understanding that undocumented community members do have rights helps lessen the fear that community members have—they are able to protect themselves on a certain level knowing, for example, that they don’t have to answer all of the questions that might be asked when pulled over by law enforcement (Cruz, personal interview; “¡Conozca”). While this type of community linking provides Puente the ability to offer assistance to

more community members than individual assistance from advocacy institutions such as the ACLU, it also provides community members with self-representative agency. This is Garcia's point when he states that, while allies are certainly important, the work of allies should be supportive as opposed to representative, which "means letting undocumented people and migrants lead their own movement and taking cues from the ground-up as opposed to trying to manage the movement through intermediaries" (qtd. in Biggers). Squires explains that institutions can provide enclave publics with important resources and access to the wider public (457). Yet, as the work of Puente reveals, enclaves do not need to rely on institutions to "construct effective vehicles of publicity," for part of the rationale for Puente is not only to "educate" and "empower," but to "resist" (457; "About"). Here the Barrio defense committees serve to not only educate the community on the legal means of protecting themselves and their rights under SB 1070, but also serves to empower the community to take a self-representative stand—what Puente member Natally Cruz calls a stance of "confidence" (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Confidence takes the shape of dispelling the myth that would conflate citizenship status as a precursor to the right to a certain level of legal protection and the right to civic engagement—it is "learn[ing] the opposite of what you've always been told" (Cruz, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). What is clear with Cruz's point here is that the work of Puente is use barrio defense committees as a foundation for crafting new narratives that the undocumented have about themselves and their rights—narratives that serve to shift the image of the undocumented created by the dominant public.

To be clear, according to Steven Camarota, research director at the Center for Immigration Studies:

It's not clear to most Americans that this is analogous to the civil-rights movement. In the civil-rights movement, you had American citizens demanding equality. In this case, you have people who aren't supposed to be in the country demanding the rights of citizens, and to most Americans, or at least a large fraction, that is not roughly the same thing. (qtd. in Gonzalez, "Undocumented").

Here Camarota imagines rights as something inherent only to those with documentation, something that Puente tries to change as a narrative for community members—from citizenship status rights to human rights (Garcia, personal interview 31 Jan. 2014). In addition, Puente wants to shift the larger conversation away from immigration reform to stopping deportations (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). What is important here is not just educating and empower community members, but using enclave spaces as sites of resistance to dominant images of subordinated groups (Squires 458). Part of the function of enclaves in this sense then is not only to formulate strategies for future action, but also to shape a new narrative to present when going public.

Concluding Observations

Puente strived to influence public discourse on SB 1070; however, doing so required a framework that would work with the tension between protecting the identity of community members from immigration sanctions while also proving self-representative agency for this group. Scholarship would assume that, given the risks of life-changing sanctions faced by this community that they would hide in the shadows until either the

level of oppression they faced lessened or they gained enough external material and legal resources to act as a counterpublic (cf. Squires 460). Yet, my analysis of Puente challenges the idea that enclaves are necessarily spaces that solely focus on providing safety from oppressive practices and spaces for cultivating future actions when dominant publics provide gaps for resistance or external sources are strong. In fact, my analysis indicates that while it is certainly true that Puente served to protect the identity of residents, it also sought to eventually use the enclave status of residents as a strategy for going public through self-representation as opposed to representation through advocacy groups. Part of the rationale for self-representation is that Puente wanted to move away from the larger political and interest-led discourse of immigration reform since it would not bring the immediate relief and protection needed for residents who faced possible deportation on a daily basis (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). I would argue, as well, that cultivating barrio defense committees that not only educate but empower the undocumented community to resist fear—to come out as opposed to hide in the shadows—challenges the role and resources of an enclave. To be clear, discourse that places subordinated rhetors as victims—as those with little rhetorical capital and resources, serves to reestablish their subordinated status even as it seeks to expose oppressive practices as it emphasizes the social position they are in in opposition to the dominant public as opposed to the resources and agency they do have (Higgins and Brush 699-700). Here, Puente’s decision-making not only sought to bring the voices of the undocumented to the forefront, but also to shift the point of stasis from idle talk of immigration reform to stopping current deportations (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). To do so, Puente needed to devise rhetorical strategies that would push the arc of

controversy to both sustain public engagement in SB 1070 and immigration sanctions and to move the discourse from documentation status to civil and human rights (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). By an arc of controversy, I refer to Crick and Gabriel's theorizing that the life of a public controversy is dependent on a continually pushing for public attention around an issue and using that attention to advance an issue from talk into action (219). Going public for Puente would be no small task. As I discuss in the next chapter, the risks of going public are more than physical and material ones, such as fines and imprisonment, deportation and the separation of families. The risks are also rhetorical, for subordinate groups always stand in the shadow of the misreading of their past protest attempts and or the reification of their subordinated status (cf. Fraser, "What's Critical"; Higgins and Brush 695-696).

CHAPTER 4

PERSONAL NARRATIVES OF STRUGGLE VS. PUBLIC IMAGES OF ILLEGALITY: PUENTE’S ORGANIZATIONAL DECISION-MAKING FOLLOWING THE SUPREME COURT’S RULING TO UPHOLD SECTION 2(B) OF SB 1070

We’re not only battling a public narrative against us, but I think also a narrative that’s attempted to be created for us by other interests that are supposedly on our side, so we’re often having to fight both.

— Carlos Garcia, Puente Director

On June 25th, 2012, the United States Supreme Court upheld Section 2(B) of SB 1070 which allowed law enforcement to act as immigration enforcers and check the citizenship status of those suspected of being undocumented (“U.S. Supreme Court Upholds”). It had been argued that Section 2(B) could lead to the unnecessary and prolonged detention of suspects during the process of identity verification (“Arizona et al.” 22). It had also been argued that Section 2(B) would lead to racial profiling, although “The federal government did not challenge the law on racial profiling grounds, which immigrant rights advocates [pushed as] their central concerns” (Wessler para. 1). The focus of the Supreme Court decision was largely on whether states should be able to enact their own immigration legislature and if and how doing so interrupts federal government law (Wessler para. 3-4). The Supreme Court upheld Section 2(B), arguing that it only required an officer to check the immigration status of an individual if already suspected or arrested for another crime that this Section could be upheld (“Arizona et al.” 22-23):

However the law is interpreted, if §2(B) only requires state officers to conduct a status check during the course of an authorized, lawful

detention or after a detainee has been released, the provision likely would survive pre-emption—at least absent some showing that it has other consequences that are adverse to federal law and its objectives. There is no need in this case to address whether reasonable suspicion of illegal entry or another immigration crime would be a legitimate basis for prolonging a detention, or whether this too would be preempted by federal law (“Arizona et al.” 23).

What the Supreme Court decision did, then, was increase the already present reality of deportations as it gave the green light for the fundamental task of SB 1070—the eventual complete removal of undocumented people from Arizona (“SB 1070” 1). And, undocumented people were not the only targets for attrition; as Kevin R. Johnson argues, immigration laws and sanctions serve to reflect how nonwhites with citizenship status are positioned in U.S. society as undesirable foreign others (*The “Huddled Masses”* 13-15). For instance, in 2007, Arizona became one of many states to partner with the federal government’s 287(g) program which gave law enforcement the right to check the documentation status of people already stopped for other law enforcement purposes (Fernández, “Arizona’s Joe”). Since the agreement in 2007, Sheriff Joe Arpaio and the Maricopa County Sheriff’s Office (MCSO) had targeted the Latino/a population in Arizona to include constant immigration sweeps in areas largely populated with Latino/as, traffic stops for minor violations for the purpose of checking the documentation status of those perceived to look Latino/a, and workplace raids (“Arpaio;” Fernández, “Arizona’s Joe”). Here, anyone who was suspected of being undocumented can be understood to be anyone who looked Latino/a or “foreign” (Costantini and Ross).

Although the federal government rescinded the 287(g) agreement between Arizona and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) shortly after the Supreme Court decision, doing so did little to relieve the sanctions faced by the Latino/a community (Fernández, “SB 1070”). Arpaio, as the head of the MSCO, did face charges of racial profiling beginning on July 19, 2012, brought on by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (Nahn). However, it would not be until May 24th, 2013 that he would be found guilty of the “racial profiling of Latinos, violating their constitutional rights” (Fernández, “Arizona’s Joe”).

This court decision intensified the predicament that Puente faced at the time: if the organization were to go public with the narratives of undocumented people to fight against unjust immigration sanctions, these members risked exposing themselves for arrest and deportation. Additionally, such public foment could potentially exacerbate the negative images that dominant publics create and circulate about the undocumented, especially those in relation to the past efforts of the undocumented to go public in protest against immigration laws and sanctions. However, if members didn’t go public but instead continued to oppose SB 1070 from the shadows, their underground activity might do little to improve the conditions of those who face the threat of deportations and subsequent separation of family members on a daily basis. Additionally, staying the shadows would not curb anti-Latino/a sentiment that would be faced regardless of documentation status. It’s Puente’s response to this daunting situation that I take up in this chapter. This chapter asks:

- 1) In response to the Supreme Court ruling in support of 2(B) of SB 1070, how did Puente negotiate the tensions between the narratives the

organization wanted to present to the public about undocumented people and the images dominant publics circulated about them?

- 2) In response to the Supreme Court ruling, how did Puente create new options for those apparently damned either to hide in the shadows (and risk being possibly exposed as undocumented during a traffic stop or work raid, for instance) or to go public as undocumented and risk almost certain arrest and deportation?

To address these questions, in this chapter I first situate the work of Puente within the public discourse that erupted once the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Section 2(B) of SB 1070. Next, I identify and analyze the rhetorical significance of Puente's No Papers / No Fear campaign as a decision-making response to the U.S. Supreme Court decision. Finally, my analysis turns to how Puente has navigated its narratives about the undocumented through their No Papers / No Fear campaign and the images that dominant publics have presented about the undocumented. My analysis reveals a central finding: to negotiate this tension, Puente worked to reframe public discourse around Section 2(B) less around documentation status and more around human rights and stopping deportations. I consider how this negotiation attempts to create more options for those with apparently limited or no options for going public against 2(B) of SB 1070.

Situating the Work of Puente Within the Public Discourse After Section 2(B) Was Upheld

In June of 2012 when the Supreme Court ruled to uphold Section 2(B) of SB 1070, public discourse around immigration reform had stalled. As I argued in chapter 3, Arizona Governor Janice Brewer framed SB 1070 as a public crisis aimed at shutting

down any controversy over the bill and, subsequently, any public discourse and action against the bill (Brewer; cf. Coombs 219). Despite Brewer's crisis rhetoric, the public efforts of politicians, advocacy groups, and the undocumented community launched SB 1070 into a controversy through media discourse and protest work (Johnson; Lemons; Nowicki; Sáinz; Acosta). That said, to keep an issue in the public eye as a controversy requires continual media attention which is often not something that the interest-led work of political or advocacy groups are up to the task to foster. The Supreme Court decision to uphold Section 2(B) created a dilemma for Puente members and other undocumented people in Arizona: if the undocumented community continued to wait for immigration reform and the representation of outsiders doing so would not stop SB 1070's design to remove all undocumented people in Arizona. Yet, upholding Section 2(B) made it more dangerous for the undocumented to go public themselves and fight against deportations given the heightened risk attendant with the Supreme Court decision.

Continuing to wait on immigration reform was not a viable option. In the two years between the initiation of SB 1070 and the Supreme Court decision not much had changed for the undocumented on the federal political front in terms of stopping deportations, and the Supreme Court decision only intensified the predicament faced by the undocumented community. As Garcia explained in our interview, immigration reform has often been used by politicians to push the interests of their political party; the voice and the interests of the undocumented have become, at best, secondary (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). As Garcia put it, "I think that there's a difference between immigration reform and a pathway for people to become documented" (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

As Garcia explained it further in our interview:

[I]mmigration reform has been convoluted into where there are all these different interest groups [...]; in that context, immigration reform is not a viable reality or something that is going to include the people we work with or stop deportations—we have had to look for where we can make changes. (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014)

As Garcia continued to note, earlier public discourse on the undocumented and immigration reform, such as the pro-immigrant arguments in 2006 against The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005, “was by professional lobbyists and policy people.” The problem with this, as Garcia pointed out, is that “Those lobbyists were paid by people with money that benefited from that, so the Democratic Party, the unions, those sorts of folks that saw benefit in people becoming legalized” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). What this means is that the representative support provided by politicians and advocacy groups has been dependent upon if and when it provides benefits to politicians and advocacy groups at the expense of those actually affected.

Continuing to rely on external representations was not a viable option for Puente either. This was clear when neither pro-immigrant arguments in 2010 in response to SB 1070 nor pro-immigrant discourse in 2012 after the Supreme Court ruling provided any relief from the threat of deportations for the undocumented community. External representations, Garcia argued, have not pushed the debate on immigration reform past public discourse and towards action, which has brought neither just reform nor immediate relief from the immigration sanctions that affect the daily lives of the undocumented

(personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Garcia emphasized in our interview that the voices of the undocumented need to be at the forefront of discourse in order to avoid their political exploitation by those whose advocacy is interest-based (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014; cf. Crick and Gabriel 218). It was time for the undocumented to have self-representative agency as “relevant interlocutors across constituencies,” as opposed to being positioned as passive subjects of an issue at the whim of external representation (Higgins and Brush 695-696).

I would suggest that this problem of public discourse producing neither just reform nor immediate relief can be understood in terms of stasis theory. To explain, let me invoke the image of a barometer, complete with a needle that gauges the pressure placed on a controversy to move it from talk to action. On one side of the gauge there are levels of talk, such as policy meetings and wider publics discourse which serve to inch closer to the other side of the barometer, which is the side that pushes talk into action. Deliberative democracy does rely on talk of course, and such talk *is* a form of action (Tracey 5-6; cf. Flower 52-54). However, in order for deliberative, democratic discourse to move towards *just* action, it must respond to the interests of all stakeholders (Young 52). The life of a controversy necessitates not only talk, according Crick and Gabriel, but talk that has the potential to move towards action through the public dramatization of how a controversy affects stakeholders (212). The public dramatization of the effects of an issue provides the necessary shift from political discourse and abstract talk towards making human connections among wider publics about the effects of an issue via sharing real, lived experiences. In late July 2012, the needle on the metaphorical barometer of public opinion was stuck. Public talk about immigration reform was stalled. Such talk

proved insufficient for generating effective action. Puente's members grew increasingly impatient with this problem of public talk producing neither just reform nor immediate relief.

The 2012 Supreme Court Decision on SB 1070

On July 6th, 2010—a little over two months after SB 1070 was signed into law—the United States Department of Justice filed a lawsuit against the state of Arizona over SB 1070 in *Arizona et al. v. the United States (11-182)* (“Arizona’s SB 1070”). The federal government argued that the bill would undermine the federal government’s focus on “dangerous aliens” by making any undocumented entrant a focused target, potentially targeting those who are in the states legally, such as authorized visitors (“Arizona SB 1070”). Other concerns included the possibility of SB 1070 disrupting the safety of the undocumented community who would likely not seek legal protection or aid when faced with violence and crime or a natural disaster; and, the possibility of invoking hostile foreign relations by “disrupting the United States’ relationship with Mexico and other countries” (“Arizona SB 1070”). On June 25th, 2012, the U.S. Supreme Court made its final ruling on *Arizona et al. v. the United States (11-182)*, a ruling that struck down three of the four sections of the bill, leaving Section 2(B) to pass, a section that allows police to check the immigration status of individuals if they are stopped by an officer for other law enforcement reasons (“US Supreme”).

In the section that follows, I analyze the public discourse that circulated during the first week that the Supreme Court decision upholding 2(B) of SB 1070 was released—June 25th-July 1st, 2012. This analysis of local and national news coverage from such news sources as the *Arizona Republic*, *La Prensa San Diego* and *New York*

Amsterdam News indicates that wider public discourse responses to the Supreme Court ruling reflected the same themes—the need for immigration reform and the probability of racial profiling.²⁵ For instance, while discourse from politicians continued to comment about the need for immigration reform, such discourse also argued about the probability that upholding Section 2(B) would likely lead to racial profiling. Racial profiling was also what advocacy groups and the general public (those who did not identify as undocumented) argued was most problematic about the ruling. Since public discourse by politicians and advocates had not pushed the issues faced by the undocumented community beyond talk and towards action and stopping deportations, Puente’s response to the Supreme Court ruling was action. Through Puente’s Undocubus tour undocumented riders went public with their documentation status to shift the discourse from immigration reform to human rights and stopping deportations. Going public with the voices of undocumented people also served to create dynamic representation narratives to confront otherwise facile representations of undocumented people.

Stakeholders Debate what Consequences of the Supreme Court’s Ruling are Most Problematic

Figure 4 below illustrates what different stakeholders found to be most problematic about the Supreme Court ruling to uphold Section 2(B) of SB 1070 during the week following the ruling.²⁶ While a call for immigration reform was still part of the wider public discourse, my analysis suggests that the majority of arguments during the week following the Supreme Court’s ruling predicted that Section 2(B) would lead to racial profiling.

The voice of politicians, and even more so, advocacy groups, continued to be prominent in public discourse the first week that the Supreme Court decision was made; however, news sources provided more interviews with undocumented people and included excerpts from those interviews in their news articles than in 2010 when SB 1070 was first signed into law.

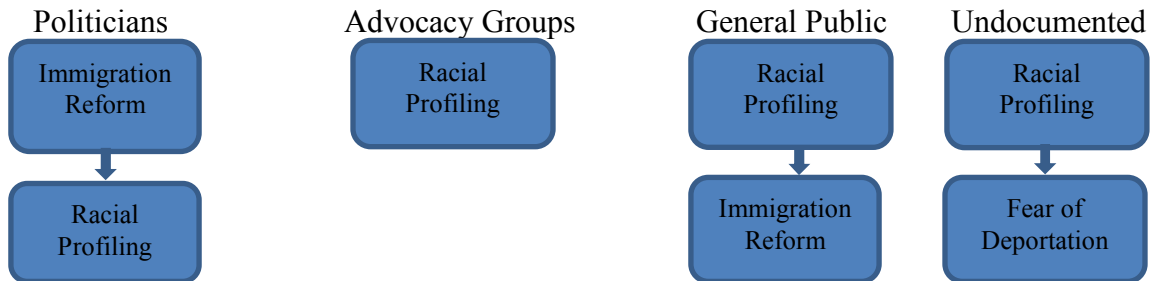


Figure 4: Stakeholders and the Consequences they Identified as Most Problematic

As Figure 4 indicates, public discourse against the Supreme Court ruling raised concerns similar to those raised the first week that Governor Brewer signed SB 1070 into law: the need for immigration reform and the problem of racial profiling. Politicians and members of the general public who did not identify themselves as undocumented tended to note the need for more just immigration reform (Fastman; “From the U.S. Supreme Court;” Prince; “SB 1070 Turmoil”). President Obama stated that he was “pleased that the Supreme Court has struck down key provisions of Arizona's immigration law;” however, he also noted that the Supreme Court’s “decision makes unmistakably clear [...] that Congress must act on comprehensive immigration reform. A patchwork of state laws is not a solution to our broken immigration system - it's part of the problem” (Obama qtd. in Prince). Additionally, political figures also continued to argue that upholding Section 2(B) would likely lead to racial profiling (Coe; Sohrabji; “U.S.

Supreme Court Upholds”). President Obama, for example, stated that ““No American should ever live under a cloud of suspicion just because of what they look like”” (Obama qtd. in Ayotte). He continued to note: ““Going forward, we must ensure that Arizona law enforcement officials do not enforce this law in a manner that undermines the civil rights of Americans, as the court's decision recognizes”” (Obama qtd. in Ayotte).

While politicians who did not support SB 1070 and state-initiated immigration laws, such as President Obama, tended to forefront the need for immigration reform, advocacy-group discourse tended to forefront the issue of racial profiling. When SB 1070 was first signed into law, the major trend in discourse from advocacy groups was that the bill would lead to issues of racial profiling. After the Supreme Court decision, racial profiling continued to be the major trend found in the discourse of advocacy groups, as indicated in Figure 4 (“Jewish Advocacy;” Sullivan; Sulton; “U.S. Supreme Court Upholds”). For example, advocacy groups, such as the Latin American Coalition, argued that Section 2(B) supports racial profiling. Jess George, Executive Director of the Latin American Coalition, stated that racial profiling would be directed at ““U.S. citizens and immigrants, alike”” (George qtd. in Shamberger). Through editorials and letters to the editor, the general public—those who did not identify as undocumented—also brought racial profiling to the forefront as the key topic of discourse (Acuña; Persaud; Rivera; Seguritan).

In terms of proponents of SB 1070, many politicians who had supported SB 1070, such as Brewer, opined that upholding Section 2(B) of SB 1070 was a “victory”:

Today's decision by the U.S. Supreme Court is a victory for the rule of law [...]. It is also a victory for the 10th Amendment and all Americans who

believe in the inherent right and responsibility of states to defend their citizens. (Brewer qtd. in Montini, “SB 1070 was Catalyst”)

Here, Brewer and advocates of SB 1070 believed that upholding Section 2(B) was a “victory” since it upheld “the heart of SB 1070,” meaning that this section provided the seed necessary to carry out the overarching goal of SB 1070—the attrition of the undocumented community (Brewer qtd. in Montini, “Brewer’s SB 1070”).

Shortly after the Supreme Court decision to uphold Section 2(B), the Obama Administration announced that the 287(g) agreement between Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Arizona would be rescinded—a partnership that supported local law enforcement’s ability to call on ICE to verify and deport undocumented immigrants (Fernández, “SB 1070”). What this meant was that, despite upholding Section 2(B) of SB 1070, ICE’S focus was now on their Secure Communities program where “federal authorities would only pick up illegal immigrants in Arizona who have committed other crimes, were deported previously and re-entered the country, or have recently crossed our borders” (Montini, “SB 1070 was Catalyst,” cf. “Secure Communities: Overview”). Thus, while political proponents of SB 1070 were supportive of the Supreme Court decision, Brewer and other politicians also made public statements against the Obama Administration for rescinding the 287(g) agreement between ICE and Arizona (Fernández, “SB 1070”).

News coverage indicated that some Arizona residents who supported SB 1070 were not supportive of the Supreme Court decision to uphold only one section of SB 1070. For example, in an article covering a collection of letters to the editor of the

Arizona Republic, Arizona resident Jim Stevens stated the following response to the Supreme Court decision:

Don't coddle illegal immigrants

I see signs on the streets that say illegal immigrants are human. The question isn't whether they are human; it's are they legal.

Why doesn't anyone care about them being illegal? There are laws on the books. No one should be in this country illegally, but they expect us to bow down to them.

If we all get stopped by the police for doing something wrong while driving, what is the first thing they ask: Can I see your driver's license, proof of insurance and registration? Why shouldn't the Hispanic population be asked for the same? I get profiled. Why not them?

I have heard of many people who have had accidents with illegals and they have no insurance but are always allowed to leave the scene of the accident and we have to pay the bill. Does this sound right? What's right for us is right for them. Hold them accountable. (Stevens qtd. in "SB 1070 Ruling Stokes")

Stevens argued that upholding only Section 2(B) would not be "Hold[ing] them accountable." It should be noted here that not all undocumented presence is a misdemeanor, or in certain circumstances, a felony crime (Snider). As Brett Snider, Esq. states, what is considered "Improper entry" would be punishable as a misdemeanor or felony ("Is Illegal").

Here, improper entry is as follows:

Enter or attempt to enter the United States at any time or place other than designated by immigration officers; Elude examination or inspection by immigration officers; or Attempt to enter or obtain entry to the United States by willfully concealing, falsifying, or misrepresenting material facts (Snider).

Many undocumented did not enter the U.S. improperly but rather overstayed their visas, which is not considered as misdemeanor or felony. As Snider states, “mere unlawful presence in the country is *not* a crime. It is a violation of federal immigration law to remain in the country without legal authorization, but this violation is punishable by *civil* penalties, not criminal” (“Illegal Entry”). Stevens, like others in support of SB 1070, seemed to have assumed that all undocumented residents were improper entrants and punishable as criminals under the law. While unlawful presence can be punishable by deportation, it is not in itself a crime. Renato Rosaldo states that “the icon of the Latino illegal alien suggests, . . . obliquely but powerfully, that all Latinos in the United States are immigrants, most of whom came under questionable circumstances” (31). Here, the point is that anti-undocumented rhetoric not only assumes the undocumented body as a mass criminal subject, but that all Latino/as are “criminal” or “questionable” by default (Rosaldo 31-32; Johnson, *The “Huddled Masses”* 14).

Stevens also argued against the idea that Section 2(B) would lead to racial profiling since law enforcement checks the identification of everyone they stop. Other Arizona residents such as Sharon Weston, Eric Bower, and Linda Lindsey also argued both against the Supreme Court decision and the idea that SB 1070 and Section 2(B)

would lead to racial profiling (“SB 1070 Ruling Stokes”). Tied to many of these arguments was also the sentiment that the federal government was protecting the undocumented at the expense of U.S. citizens: the undocumented were breaking laws and the federal government was supporting this by rescinding 287(g). As Arizona resident James P. Giangobbe stated in his letter to the editor of the *Arizona Republic*, “This vendetta fully displays their hatred for Arizona and their continued efforts to promote illegal immigration. The only recourse is to put people in office in November who will enforce our immigration laws” (qtd. in “SB 1070 Ruling Stokes;” Robb).

Despite the public perception that the undocumented community was brazenly breaking laws with the support of the federal government, Garcia argued in the summer of 2012 that the federal government’s decision to rescind the 287(g) agreement was certainly no consolation for the undocumented community and the sanctions they faced. In a public interview, Garcia stated:

We knew 287(g) was on the way to being fazed [sic] out and replaced by Secure Communities [...]. We won't be fooled by this president, we won't play games. We know Secure Communities and other ICE programs will continue to deport members of our community. (Garcia quoted in Fernández, “SB 1070”).

Secure Communities, as Garcia refers to here, is the federal government’s focus on deporting undocumented people who have been “arrested for a criminal violation of local, state, or federal law, separate and apart from any violations of immigration law” (“Secure Communities: Overview”).

Garcia made clear that the undocumented planned no longer to place faith in the federal government to enact change for this community, for reform of any kind, such as the phasing out of 287(g), often only means replacing one set of unjust sanctions with another set, such as Secure Communities in this case.

The Voices of the Undocumented Emerge

According to my analysis, public discourse about SB 1070 during the first week of the Supreme Court decision indicated that the points of stasis by in large remained what they had been since 2010: concerns with immigration reform and with racial profiling. One thing that did change was that when news sources covered perspectives of the undocumented, the attitude depicted shifted from fear to hope (Gonzalez, “New Exodus Unlikely”; “Who’s Worried”). Along with this shift from fear to hope, news coverage featured the undocumented taking an even more publically political role: they were organizing and publically protesting both locally and nationally (Fernández, “SB 1070”; Sullivan). To be clear, the Supreme Court decision affected the undocumented locally; however, undocumented people in other states continued to be affected by deportations as well. In Louisiana, during the time that the Supreme Court ruling was released, 32 undocumented people, known as The Southern 32, were facing deportation. Delmy Palencia, one of The Southern 32, made a public statement that the Supreme Court ruling would lead to racial profiling (Sullivan). Yet, the Southern 32 not only were responding to the ruling, but like many in Arizona, they were also going public in protest against the threat of deportations faced by undocumented people all over the United States: “We’re in the struggle.

We're not going to stop,' Palencia continued, adding 'we're asking President Obama and the Secretary to stop the deportations'" (Palencia qtd. in Sullivan). Undocumented people protesting in public in Arizona and states such as Louisiana, then, were not just protesting against the Supreme Court ruling, but against the Obama Administration which had deported a record number of undocumented immigrants nationally (Sullivan).

This public emergence of undocumented voices is important, for as I discussed in chapter 3, politicians and advocacy groups cannot effectively sustain a public controversy when the point of stasis stays the same and becomes politically stagnant, which happens when the stakes are interest-led as opposed to personally experienced (Crick and Gabriel 218). As Crick and Gabriel put it, the life of a controversy depends on a "continual buildup of sensual-aesthetic disruptions during the deliberative process" (218). Such disruptions occur when those affected by an issue go public and "act upon that interpretation out of their lifeworld experience" (Crick and Gabriel 216-217). The undocumented had to sustain the controversy by going public so that the Supreme Court ruling and the after math of wider publics discourse would not be the final note in the two-year long battle against SB 1070. The undocumented had to go public to shift the narratives about them from wider publics' narratives about a mass political group to undocumented narratives that attempt to connect the consequences of deportations to the real people facing them. Connecting such experiences to wider publics necessitates a visible public presence, one that provides direct engagement with wider publics as opposed to public presence in the form of advocacy representation, for example.

In my interview with Garcia, he pointed this out by stating:

[W]hen it's just black people, or undocumented people—nameless people in the shadow--it's easy to target, but once you see people in the streets and you see people becoming characters in the story, no one is going to stop that person on the street and tell them they should be deported. They could, but then who would win that argument? (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014)

Garcia alludes not only to the importance of having a visible public presence and voice that is direct and not filtered through the representation of politicians or advocacy groups, but also to how the self-representative public presence of the undocumented can provide a space for what I call dynamic recognition.

By dynamic recognition, I refer to visible public presence capable of challenging mob mentality that would attack a socio-political group. Dynamic recognition affords individual stories to express multifaceted human experience as opposed to the demographic generalizations that tend to come with political and advocacy group representation. For instance, dynamic recognition operated in the immigrant protests of 2006 against The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005. Beltrán terms the protesting approach to the 2006 marches as “festive anger” which “involves a complex (and interconnected) set of civic emotions, including indignation, determination, irony, outrage, and joy” (“Going Public,” 607). Here, “festive anger” took the form of protesting for inclusion and protesting against “exploitation, hostility, and state-sanctioned violence against immigrants” (Beltrán, “Going Public,” 607).

The undocumentededs' complex messages complicated both the notion of the undocumented community as passive actors desiring inclusion (as advocates contended) and the notion of a "hostile, anti-American presence that some anti-immigrant advocates claimed" (607). Yet, as Beltrán also points out, both pro- and anti-immigrant groups during the 2006 marches invoked arguments that perpetuated the attribution of a singular role, and subsequently, image of the undocumented community: that of laborer—claiming that "their labor serves to denationalize or renationalize the state" ("Going Public," 616). While what Beltrán terms "festive anger" focuses on the misread messages of mass protests, where protesting occurred more as a collective group than of individual voices within, dynamic recognition focuses on the physically visible presence and individual voice connected to the collective arguments and stories of actors in the controversy. Here I argue that dynamic recognition provides a space for more direct engagement, for as Garcia points out, the individual stories of people allow for them to "becom[e] characters in the story"—characters with names, faces, and individual identities outside of their citizenship status (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014; cf. Pezzullo 349-351).

Dynamic recognition can be understood to be akin to the practice of cultural citizenship. Initially defined by Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural citizenship names a range of social practices which, taken together, claim and establish a distinct social space for Latinos in this country" (Flores and Benmayor 1). As scholars have pointed out, the emergence of the public sphere was always inclusive only in theory; in practice, it was cast as and reserved for white propertied men (Fraser, "Rethinking" 113-114; Rosaldo 27-29; Squires 450).

As Rosaldo reminds us, the U.S. Constitution was initially drawn from the inclusive ideals of the Enlightenment era and the emergence of the public sphere, but like the bourgeois public sphere, the granting of citizenship in the Constitution was not initially founded in actual practices of inclusivity (29). The stipulation of citizenship in the Constitution was that citizenship was granted for “white men of property,” whereby excluding “men without property, women, and people of color” (Rosaldo 29). Citizenship, then, has been linked to the public sphere, and subsequently, the public sphere is a way for citizenship enacted. Yet, as noted, the public sphere has been a space of exclusion for subordinated groups, thus reflecting how subordinated groups are as well excluded from citizenship and or treated as less than first-class citizens (Fraser, “Rethinking” 113-114; Ngai 7-8; Johnson *The “Huddled Masses”* 13-15).

Like other subordinated groups, Latino/as have been treated as “second-class or third-class citizens” regardless of their documentation status (Flores 255; cf. Ngai 7-8; cf. Flores and Benmayor 10; cf. Johnson, *The “Huddled Masses”*; cf. Rosaldo 36). For subordinated groups such as Latino/as, cultural citizenship is reflexively shaped in the everyday (Flores and Benmayor 1). Cultural citizenship is a way for Latino/a groups to assert their agency and their rights (Flores and Benmayor 12-13). As William V. Flores and Rina Benmayor state, cultural citizenship is an act of “empowerment” and “agency” (12-13). For Latino/as, the practice of cultural citizenship empowers individuals and community groups to continue “constructing, establishing and asserting human, social and cultural rights” (Flores and Benmayor 12). By asserting various substantive citizenship rights, Latino/as are affirming their agency to claim such rights (Flores and Benmayor 13). Cultural citizenship, then, goes beyond formal citizenship—citizenship

based on one's documentation status, and instead focuses on substantive citizenship, which includes socio-political rights despite documentation status (Beltrán 603-604). Cultural citizenship as such includes the rights of undocumented people to "be recognized as legitimate political subjects claiming rights for themselves and their children, and in that sense, citizens" (Flores and Benmayor11).

Similar to news coverage from the week that Governor Brewer signed SB 1070 into law, news coverage following the Supreme Court decision included a few voices of the undocumented (Gonzalez, "New Exodus Unlikely"; Sullivan; "Who's Worried"). Some undocumented people did express their continued concern and fear about deportations ("Who's Worried"). For example, documented Arizona resident Augustine Daniel explained that he was worried about his fiancé Ana Chavez who "was brought to Arizona when she was 8 months old and has only a birth certificate from Durango state in Mexico" ("Who's Worried"). As Daniel put it, "I worry every time she drives. If they pull her over, what happens to her and the kids?" (Daniel qtd. in "Who's Worried"). Other undocumented residents, such as Javier Jimenez, argued that Section 2(B) would certainly bring about racial profiling ("Who's Worried").

In addition to interviews that expressed fears about possible deportation and family separation, and arguments that Section 2(B) was a clear instigator for racial profiling, responses also indicated that the undocumented community planned to challenge the bill (Fernández, "SB 1070"; Gonzalez, "New Exodus Unlikely"; Sullivan). In this sense, coverage indicated there were one or two ways for them to do so. According to reports, some residents would challenge the bill by staying in the United States despite Section 2(B), while others who stayed would continue to work with

grassroots organizations that served to mobilize and educate the undocumented about laws and rights in addition to planning public protesting against deportations (Fernández, “SB 1070”; Gonzalez, “New Exodus Unlikely”; Sullivan). Assertions of hope in the form of a wait-and-see attitude, community building, and public protest work was covered more prominently than the fear of deportations (Gonzalez, “New Exodus Unlikely”). For example, when undocumented resident Israel Fernandez was interviewed about his response to the Supreme Court decision, he stated that he was “going to take a risk and see what happens” (qtd. in Gonzalez, “New Exodus Unlikely”). According to Gonzalez, Fernandez’s comment mirrored the change that had taken place over the last two years regarding how the undocumented community responded to SB 1070 (“New Exodus Unlikely”). As opposed to the undocumented leaving the state, as many did in 2010 when Governor Brewer signed SB 1070, in the summer of 2012, many undocumented decided to stay and take their chances despite the U.S. Supreme Court upholding Section 2(B) (Gonzalez, “New Exodus Unlikely”).

While some responses from the undocumented community expressed a hopeful attitude toward staying in the United States and going about their daily life as before, some indicated that this hope was situated in a resolve to take direct action against the continued threat of sanctions by planning and carrying out community building and public protest work (Fernández, “SB 1070”; Sullivan). For instance, reporter Valeria Fernández interviewed undocumented Arizona resident Patricia Rosas who worked with Promesa Arizona, a grassroots organization that, among other activities, provides education to “voters on the issue of immigration” and campaigns against Arizona “Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio—known for his harsh anti-immigrant crackdowns”

(Fernández, “SB 1070”). As Fernández explained, in 2012 Rosas was one of the many undocumented community members who belonged to organizations that served to engage in the “civic process” by educating community members about their rights and by planning protesting strategies (Fernández, “SB 1070”; Sullivan). For Rosas and others, community building and protesting began at least as far back as 2010 with the advent of SB 1070 since “the law has already altered many of their lives—in very tangible ways (Lilley). Rosas, for example, already experienced some of the harsh realities faced by bills such as SB 1070 when her daughter, son-in-law, and grandson moved to another state out of the fear that her son-in-law might be arrested and deported just by going to work (Lilley). In June of 2012, Rosas stated that, since then, she had “only seen them once” (Rosas qtd. in Lilley). Instances such as this led some undocumented people, such as Rosas, to more actively stand against SB 1070 and harsh immigration laws and sanctions (Lilley).

Thus, while advocacy organizations continued to publically protest against racial profiling and deportations, organizations such as Promesa Arizona and Puente began encouraging the undocumented community to go public themselves (Garcia, personal interview 31 Jan. 2014; Fernández, “SB 1070”; Sullivan). Following the Supreme Court ruling—as Garcia explained to me—the focus became “giv[ing] the subjects of the controversy, or people that 1070’s attacking, the forefront” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). By “giving the subjects [...] the forefront,” Garcia identified a “shift” that occurred at this time, one that “puts the pressure back on the undocumented people themselves to stand up for themselves” (personal interview 31 Jan. 2014).

In the next section, I analyze Puente’s decision-making process in light of the public discourse surrounding the Supreme Court’s decision to uphold Section 2(B) of SB1070. My analysis accounts for Puente’s rhetorical and material goals, the concomitant rhetorical strategies attendant with those goals, and the benefits and risks of these strategies. My analytical framework pursues a nuanced understanding of the complexity of Puente’s organizational decision-making—allowing me to address the chapter’s central questions:

- 1) In response to the Supreme Court ruling in support of 2(B) of SB 1070, how did Puente negotiate the tensions between the narratives the organization wanted to present to the public about undocumented people and the images dominant publics presented about them?
- 2) In response to the Supreme Court ruling, how did Puente create new options for those apparently damned either to hide in the shadows (and risk being possibly exposed as undocumented during a traffic stop or work raid, for instance) or to go public as undocumented and risk almost certain arrest and deportation?

Eliciting and Analyzing Puente’s Decision-Making Response to the Supreme Court Decision to Uphold Section 2(B): No Papers / No Fear

In chapter 3 I presented a framework for mapping problems Puente faced when negotiating the tensions between protecting the identity of local residents and going public in protest against the sanctions of SB 1070. In Figure 5 below, I use the same framework, but apply the framework’s elements of rhetorical and material goals, rhetorical strategies, and attendant benefits and risks to Puente’s decision to go public

with the documentation status of members through their No Papers / No Fear campaign. The data analyzed to create this framework included media coverage and website information on Puente's No Papers / No Fear campaign as found on the website *nopapersnofear.org*, a website created by Puente to cover the event.

This campaign emerged in response to the Supreme Court decision to uphold Section 2(B) and the continued threat of deportations that community members faced, not only from Section 2(B) as a law, but also from the federal government's ICE programs such as Secure Communities. The No Papers / No Fear campaign featured a bus ride (the Undocubus) that began in Phoenix, Arizona, on July 29th, 2012 and ended in Charlotte, North Carolina, on September 6th, 2012, during the last day of the Democratic National Convention ("About the 'No Papers'"). Those who rode on the bus tour were undocumented people from several different U.S. cities. The Undocubus had two core material goals: first, to call for the mobilization of an undocumented community, one that would fight publically against immigration laws and attendant sanctions; second, to stop deportations—specifically, to protest the sanctions against “people in deportation proceedings, day laborers, and others who continue to face deportation, harassment, and death while simply looking for a better life” (“About the ‘No Papers’”). But sponsoring the Undocubus meant Puente also had to negotiate its attendant potential benefits and risks.

Rhetorical goal	Material goal	Rhetorical Strategy	Benefits	Risks
Have the undocumented voices come to the forefront	Take charge of the messaging	Going public with documentation status	Gain political voice through exposure and community solidarity	Material sanctions (i.e., imprisonment, fines, deportations and family separations)
	Stand up to the bully			
	Encourage solidarity with other immigrant groups			
Reframe the issue from documentation status to human rights and stopping deportations	Stop Deportations	Mapping onto the 1960's civil rights movement / Calling for civil and human rights	Provide relief to communities and people facing deportations in the immediate or future	Public misreading the message
Provide counter narratives about the undocumented community	Widening the circle of "acceptable" people who are undocumented	Represent the identity spectrum undocumented	Gain self-defined representation	Reification of subordinated status

Figure 5: Negotiating Benefits and Risks

The No Paper / No Fear campaign was not a simple matter of boarding a bus with fellow community members, ready to drive across states and protest in public. As indicated in Figure 5, Puente needed to consider five areas of concern when deciding whether and how to go public with its No Papers / No Fear campaign. Those areas of concern are as follows:

- 7) Rhetorical Goals: What are the rhetorical goals for going public with the documentation status of willing individuals?
- 8) Material Goals: What is the tangible rationale / desired result for the rhetorical goals?

- 9) Rhetorical Strategies: What are the rhetorical strategies that Puente devised to meet the rhetorical and material goals?
- 10) Benefits: How did Puente define the perceived benefits of its chosen rhetorical strategies?
- 11) Risks: What attendant risks did this enclave face by employing these rhetorical strategies?

Analyzing these elements offers insights into this chapter's main concerns: how Puente negotiated the tensions between the narratives the organization wanted to present to the public about undocumented people and the images dominant publics circulated about them; and how it created new options for going public despite one's undocumented status.

As indicated in Figure 5, this campaign had three rhetorical goals: 1) to bring the voices of the undocumented community to the forefront of the controversy on immigration laws and sanctions, 2) to provide counter narratives about the undocumented community; and 3) to reframe the issue from documentation status to human rights and stopping deportations. In the sections that follow, I discuss the rhetorical strategies attendant with the rhetorical and material goals that were part of Puente's No Papers / No Fear campaign—strategies that included 1) going public with the documentation status of willing participants, 2) mapping onto the 1960's civil rights movement and calling for civil and human rights, and 3) representing a spectrum of undocumented identities.

Going Public as Undocumented

In July of 2012, Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio faced charges of racial profiling and discrimination against the Latino/a community in Arizona in a class-action

lawsuit filed against him by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (Nahn). On July 24th, 2012, during Arpaio's trial, Puente members, along with some undocumented people who travelled from other states to join Puente, began their No Papers / No Fear campaign and Undocubus tour by protesting outside the downtown Phoenix courthouse (Kladis). To be clear, the No Papers / No Fear campaign and Undocubus tour began in Phoenix, Arizona, with the first public protest taking place outside the Phoenix courthouse while Sheriff Arpaio was on trial. On this first day, the strategy was for four willing undocumented people—Leticia Ramirez, Isela Meraz, Natally Cruz and Miguel Guerra—to publicize their immigration status as the focus of the protest. This act of going public brought the voices of undocumented people to the forefront of the controversy on SB 1070.

Subsequently, going public also challenged both the Supreme Court decision to uphold Section 2(B), and federal programs such as Secure Communities. Protestors challenged programs that threatened to deport undocumented people—and, as a consequence—to separate family members, in many cases (“About ‘No Papers’”). Starting in Phoenix, Arizona, the state that initiated SB 1070, riders travelled to 11 states, protesting in 16 different cities, with an eye on encouraging the mobilization of undocumented communities across the U.S. and going public “with the stories, voices, and actions of those directly affected by these immigration policies” (“About the ‘No Papers’”).

The rhetorical goal behind the rhetorical strategy of going public as undocumented was to bring the voices of the undocumented community to the forefront of discourse on immigration (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). The material goals of this strategy were to take control of previous political and advocacy messaging

about the undocumented and create new narratives, to stand up to anti-immigrant bullying, and to encourage solidarity with other immigrant groups. The rhetorical goal of bringing the voices of the undocumented community to the forefront was important, for politicians and advocacy groups that have represented the undocumented community have often done so from the perspective of their own agendas, which have sometimes unintentionally created or perpetuated anti-immigrant sentiment (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). For example, in my interview with Garcia, he explained that immigration reform messaging from pro-immigration politicians and advocacy groups, such as that during the 2006 marches against The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005, was not from the undocumented community (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). One of the problems with the messaging that these external representatives were providing at the time was that it actually worked against building a positive image of the undocumented community because it unwittingly set the undocumented community against wider publics. As Garcia explained it:

That messaging [in 2006] was never from us, and my sense is that it's counterproductive, and in a sense, almost picking a fight. Sometimes it seemed that they wanted to lose, you come off 9/11 and 5 years (2006) later you come off with all this patriotisms and you're coming off as trying to be *more* patriot than patriot with all these American flags and your slogan being "We Are America," it's like you're hitting a nerve—a nerve that's already been hit. Similar to now, you see Alliance for Citizenship that starts coming out last year [in 2013], so now Republicans have this fear, or the people that would be against us, that we would become

citizens and take over, overwhelm them, be more. In 2007 I believe was the first year that there were more non-white babies born in Arizona than white babies, and that's when you see this big push to get us out. So then if you put out there we're the Alliance for Citizenship, you're throwing out there that you're trying to take something—you're contesting something [...]. (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014)

As Garcia explains here, pro-immigrant messaging from pro-immigrant groups—those not directly affiliated with the undocumented community—have done more to confirm already present fears that wider publics have about the presence of the undocumented community. These fears, as Garcia points out, have a general theme: the undocumented people have or will be taking something away from the system and or from the American way of life (cf. Beltrán “Going Public,” 598; cf. Chavez, “Immigration Reform,” 67). As Beltrán puts it, the 2006 messaging situated the undocumented community as a group that was “either ‘givers’ [pro-immigrant] or ‘takers’ [anti-immigrant] from the nation-state” (“Going Public” 598).

The rhetorical goal of bringing the voices of the undocumented community to the forefront was also important because politicians and advocacy groups that have represented the undocumented from the perspective of their own agendas have not provided real relief for the undocumented who face deportations daily. Thus, bringing the voice of the undocumented to the forefront and subsequently taking control of the messaging about the undocumented was one way that Puente could work towards providing some actual relief to the undocumented (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). As Garcia put it, taking control of discourse about the undocumented and what

these people were fighting for was a way to move towards actually “stopping deportations and the literal cases and ending peoples suffering” (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). For Puente, the design was to shift from political and advocacy messaging about immigration reform to calling for stopping deportations. Thus, no longer wanting to be at the whim of political agendas calling for immigration reform—agendas that are separated from the real people facing the consequences of immigration laws and sanctions—Puente took a ground-up approach and sought the mobilization of the undocumented community. As Garcia stated in our interview, the focus became “targeting locally, and stopping things locally, and also making a different demand nationally” to “to alleviate peoples pain” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). This shift, then, necessitated controlling the messaging by having undocumented people speak for themselves.

In my interview with Natally Cruz, one of the riders of the Undocubus, she explained why taking control of the messaging meant that the undocumented community needed to publically speak for themselves outside of political and/or advocacy-group representations of this community’s plight. As Cruz stated:

When it comes down to it, this might bring attention to this issue. As long as the issue is under the table nothing’s going to happen. I see it in the cases we have that we do protests for, bringing that attention, especially when someone is being deported and (are charged with) a federal crime, or anything like that. It’s to show that these issues are still happening no matter if in the law you have low priority and high priority of people who should not be here. There are things that are still happening where there

are people who are low priority that shouldn't be in detention. If you don't step up to it... Protesting brings our story out. (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

Here, Cruz provides a two-pronged main point about the necessity for going public as undocumented and taking control of the messaging. One, going public “brings attention to the issue” in ways that political and advocacy group work has thus far not accomplished, for it exposes the real lives affected by immigration sanctions. Wider publics are exposed to *individual people* who are being deported as opposed to abstract discourse on the need for immigration reform and or how the undocumented community adds value to the nation. The image of the undocumented community is often that of a mass politicized subject or population as opposed to “a person with a unique story and singular opinion” (Bickford qtd. in Beltrán, “Going Public,” 608). Controlling the messaging about the undocumented by bringing the voices of the undocumented to the forefront provides an avenue for this community to be seen and heard as individuals *within* a collective political space as opposed to a demographic. As Cruz puts it, protesting as undocumented individuals “brings our story out” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

Another reason for taking control of the messaging and speaking from the perspective of the undocumented is that it provides a way to try to take control of the situation by orienting it away from abstract political *discourse* and towards political *action*—action that would stop deportations. As Cruz states above, “as long as the issue is under the table nothing's going to happen” (Cruz, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

By under the table, Cruz refers to the fact that wider publics often do not connect immigration sanctions with the real people who face them. Controlling the messaging by having members of the undocumented community speak for themselves provides a way for the undocumented community to insist that deportation cease by providing wider publics with undocumented people's own stories of their experiences. For example, even if Section 2(B) of SB 1070 was struck down along with the other three sections, the undocumented community would still face the consequences of federal programs such as Secure Communities. As Cruz states above, community members, no matter the level in which they are prioritized according to Secure Communities, continue to be detained and deported. Immigration reform discourse has thus far not addressed the concerns of the undocumented community, such as concerns with deportation and, of course, immigration laws have not either.

The rhetorical goal of going public as undocumented was also aimed at the material goal of standing up to anti-immigrant bullying. Starting the Undocubus tour in Phoenix, Arizona, was intentional: it was the home base for Puente, the state where SB 1070 was created, and one of the key states where the undocumented community had long experienced high levels of anti-immigrant sentiment. When Ramirez, Meraz, Cruz, and Guerra went public with their documentation status in front of the Phoenix courthouse while Sheriff Arpaio was on trial, their presence was both a direct and symbolic act of standing up to anti-immigrant bullying. It was a direct act of standing up to such bullying since Arpaio had targeted the undocumented community—in fact, he had done so well before SB 1070 was signed into law in 2010 (Kladis). For instance, Sheriff Arpaio had “set up a hot line for the public to report immigration violations,

conduct[ed] crime and immigration sweeps in heavily Latino neighborhoods and [has] frequently raid[ed] workplaces for people in the U.S. illegally” (“Arpaio”). Standing up to anti-immigrant bullying meant staging a protest in proximity to a civic leader on trial for targeting the undocumented community with unjust policies and practices.

Puente’s protest presence outside of the Phoenix courthouse was a symbolic act of standing up to the bully, as well, for SB 1070 and Arpaio’s harsh immigration measures were not only aimed at the undocumented, but at the Latino/a population in general. As Kevin R. Johnson states, “The treatment of “aliens,” particularly those of color, under the U.S. immigration laws parallels domestic race relations in this nation” (*The “Huddled Masses”* 13). As Johnson argues here, the nativist impulse inherent in the treatment of “aliens” serves as a proxy to target U.S. citizens who share similar aspects with the undocumented group (*The “Huddled Masses”* 13-15). In Arizona, SB 1070 served as such a proxy. Although SB 1070 was a state-initiated bill that sought to eliminate the undocumented community, it was clearly also anti-Latino/a. For instance, one month after SB 1070 was signed into law, HB 2281 passed. HB 2281 banned ethnic studies in Arizona K-12 schools to include Chicano studies, a program that the Unified School District in Tucson, Arizona, had long offered to all students interested; it can be understood to have been especially significant to Mexican students who comprise over half (60%) of the school district’s population (Rodriguez). Here, a program that “emphasized critical thinking and focused on Mexican-American literature and perspectives” was deemed to “encourage[e] students to adopt left-wing ideas and resent white people” (Planas). In practice, citizenship status does not equate to social inclusivity or civil rights (Flores 255).

As William V. Flores states:

To be a full citizen one must be welcome and accepted as a full member of society with all of its rights. Unfortunately, full citizenship rights have systematically been denied to Latinos and to other nonwhite racial groups in the United States. In fact, even when Latinos are U.S.-born citizens, they have been treated as second-class or third-class citizens. (255)

SB 1070 and HB 2281 can be understood to reflect how the Latino/a population—documented or otherwise—are perceived and treated as a second- and third-class racialized group. In a 2012 news article written by Garcia, days before the Supreme Court decision to uphold Section 2(B) of SB 1070, he relates some of these holistic anti-immigrant and anti-Latino/a issues faced in Arizona:

From 2007 to 2010, even before SB1070 was introduced, our community faced checkpoints, bore witness to women forced to give birth in shackles, and traveled to work and school on a daily basis already wondering if we would reunite with our families and loved ones at the end of each day. In 2010, Arizona sought to erase us from history with a ban on ethnic studies [HB 2281] and remove us altogether through SB 1070. (“Arizona, Arpaio”)

Puente’s public protest outside of the Phoenix courthouse during Sheriff Arpaio’s trial, then, was not only a protest against the Supreme Court decision to uphold Section 2(B) of SB 1070 and the continued deportations faced through federal programs such as Secure Communities, but also a protest against Arizona political figures such as Sheriff Arpaio who have long targeted the undocumented community and by proxy the Latino/a

community at large. So, while the Undocubus would protest in different cities across the U.S., the tour began in Phoenix where Puente is based and where the undocumented community has had to face not only state and federal initiated programs to remove the undocumented, but anti-immigrant qua anti-Latino/a political figures such as Arpaio.

The material goal of standing up to those that have bullied the undocumented community through severe and repeated anti-immigration measures also served the material goal of encouraging solidarity with other immigrant groups. To encourage solidarity in this sense means to encourage members in the undocumented community to face their fears about immigration sanctions by organizing as a community and going public with their documentation status as part of protesting against immigration sanctions. By encouraging solidarity, Puente promoted the idea that members of the undocumented community have rights despite their citizenship status and that they should “stand up for themselves” (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). For example, when Ramirez, Meraz, Cruz, and Guerra protested outside the Phoenix courthouse, they shouted in unison, “no papers, no fear / dignity is finally here” (Kladis). This rally call protested the fear this community has faced through anti-immigration targeting; it also sought to mobilize the undocumented community in organized protest. As Ramirez, Meraz, Cruz, and Guerra stated in a public announcement made as part of the protest:

We are no longer afraid. Today, we confront publicly what we risk every day, being arrested by the police, and separated from our families, only because we are undocumented. We're confronting fear itself. We are undocumented and unafraid. We hope to inspire others in our own

community to lose their fear, to come out of the shadows, and to organize.

(Ramirez, Meraz, Cruz, and Guerra qtd. in Kladis)

Here, Puente sought to show members of the undocumented community that they can and should face their fears and protest as an organized community, revealing their documentation status and using it as a point of publicity.

The logic here merits further attention, for it shifts the public discourse from matters of citizenship to assertions of fundamental human rights. One's documentation status is, of course, the reason that some members of the undocumented community have been afraid, for such status can mean incarceration, fines, and deportation if exposed. Yet hiding in the shadows does not rectify injustices for a community that faces these fears on a daily basis (Cruz, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). And waiting on immigration reform has not stopped deportations (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). As Cruz stated in our interview, "It (deportations) is going to happen, but if you want to keep quiet, it will still be the same" (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). In the face of this dilemma, Puente's strategy was to let members of the undocumented community see others come out as undocumented in protest of unjust social policy to show that this community can come forward and publically challenge the attrition of their community by providing wider publics with their stories (Knefel). In this vein, the rights that the undocumented have are "fundamental rights" such as "due process rights in criminal proceedings, expressive and associational rights, basic economic liberties such as contract and property rights, and even the right to attend public school" (Bosniak qtd. in Beltrán, "Going Public," 604). The undocumented, according to this logic, have civil rights regardless of citizenship status.

While Puente did educate some of the local Arizona undocumented community about their rights under SB 1070, the organization's leadership wanted to reach a wider audience with this message.

Furthermore, *telling* the undocumented community that they have rights is one thing, but *showing* them they have rights and that they can publically protest from their enclave position is another. As Cruz explained to me in our interview:

The bus was also to grow and get more community members to come out—we've seen it happen with the community before. We're so used to being quiet, but being able to speak about it and come out—when you see people doing this, in one of the worst states, and you don't know why they're still there, it gives you that break. (personal interview 31, Jan. 2014)

Here Cruz's main point is that the strategy of coming out as undocumented was founded on the idea that this community would face deportations regardless if they hid in the shadows or not—they face possible deportations going to work, taking their children to school, and doing any other daily activity that most people take for granted. Yet, as Cruz points out here, having undocumented people come out with other community members in a state such as Arizona can provide the undocumented community a sense of hope. Specifically, when undocumented members disclose their immigration status publically as part of their protest strategy, their bravery can serve to alleviate some of the fear that other community members have about how their own public status as undocumented. For instance, protestors Ramirez, Meraz, Cruz, and Guerra were taken into custody and arrested “for blocking an intersection and had immigration holds placed on them in jail”

(Landeros). Ramirez, Cruz, Meraz were released shortly after their arrest; only Guerra would have to face possible deportation (Hing). Getting arrested was an intentional risk. It challenged the notion that the undocumented community does not have rights; as one Unodcubus rider, Eleazar Castellanos, stated, ““If I know my rights probably I have the chance to fight back and let the people know to come out of the shadows and not be afraid”” (Castellanos qtd. in Miller).

Puente sought to recast fear itself. Puente encouraged solidarity and asked members to use their documentation status as a point of publicity. These strategies “shift[ed] the fear” (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Cruz explained to me what “shifting the fear” created for the undocumented community:

When people are against immigration or anything like that, they have their own opinions. I think that they are so closed-minded that they do not really understand what the real issue is, but at the same time I think it makes them afraid. If people are undocumented and are willing to come out and willing to fight for it, it shows them that these people are going to fight.... You have mothers and fathers coming out, and they’re seeing the power of the community saying enough is enough. You have been doing so many things. They are seeing that people are not going to be afraid anymore, and to them it is giving them less power. It makes them see that they have done so many things like the raids, but they’re still here and fighting. What else could we possibly do? (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014)

Cruz here describes a bold move: coming forward as a targeted community and exposing the very issue that makes them a target—members’ documentation status. This move challenges the power that anti-immigration legislation and actors have, such as Arpaio, by revealing that the undocumented community, when organized, has power too. In this sense, rhetorical acts that expose fear cut both ways: such acts expose immigrants’ fear of deportation, and they expose anti-immigrants’ xenophobia.

To be clear, this strategy sought a material goal: to call forth an undocumented counterpublic. By *counterpublic*, I mean that unique subaltern public formation that both shelters difference that dominant publics would otherwise sanction, control or eliminate, and also discursively reframes how that difference gets represented *in* dominant publics (Cintron 175; Long 137; Warner 114). In this case, Puente aimed to create a counterpublic capable of exposing injustice and “shifting [or “recasting”] the fear” that wider publics have about this community. This goal was grounded in historical precedence—the precedence of Latino counterpublics confronting xenophobia. Xenophobia about the undocumented is often revealed through discourse about this group as a threat to the nation—national threat narratives have served to justify attacks, or bullying, against the undocumented community (Chavez, *The Latino*, 68; cf. Johnson, *The “Huddled Masses”* 13-15). For example, California Proposition 187 in 1994 called for cutting off the undocumented community from any public benefits to include medical care and education (Chavez, *The Latino*, 61; cf. Johnson *The “Huddled Masses”* 15). Proponents of Proposition 187, such as Bette Hammond, argued for the bill, making claims such as, ““We’ve got to take back our country”” (qtd. in Chavez, *The Latino*, 68).

By situating the undocumented community against wider publics, Hammond and others who have called for harsh immigration measures insinuate that their measures are not acts of bullying but rather necessary moves to preserve the country. Going public as undocumented, then, not only reveals the lived experiences of undocumented individual's unfair immigration policies and practices, but it also exposes the xenophobia of anti-immigrant publics by displaying such xenophobia. Going public in this way is the work not of lone individuals but of an organized collective—more precisely, the work of a counterpublic willing to confront dominant publics who would otherwise dismiss their cause and eradicate its members. Puente's work on "shifting the fear" can also shift how undocumented people understand the rhetorical power and rights they have. As individuals they might fear repercussions that would follow from speaking out, but as a mobilized counterpublic, together they have more power. I am claiming that the material reality of this undocumented counterpublic accounts for this shift—not only in perception but also in possible material consequence.

The risks associated with using one's documentation status as a point of publicity is high, of course—risks that include incarceration, fines, and deportations. Scholars such as Squires would calculate that the undocumented would choose to hide in the shadows rather than face such high risks (460-61). Squires would calculate this given the level of oppression faced by the undocumented community in Phoenix in 2012 and the level of resources available, such as funds to cover potential fines and imprisonment (460-61). Hiding in the shadows and learning what rights one has as undocumented if faced with the issue *is* one way to enact resistance against oppression. As Squires explains, hiding in the shadows can provide highly oppressed groups "safe spaces" that simultaneously work

to avoid the high risk of sanctions of going public and to build strategies of resistance—a space “to create discursive strategies and gather oppositional resources” (458). However, doing so does not change the sanctions that the undocumented community faces (Cruz, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2015). Both hiding in the shadows and going public have risks.

The benefit of going public as an undocumented counterpublic is that this community would gain a political voice. A counterpublic, as opposed to an enclave public, has the ability to both shelter difference and circulate claims about that difference (Cintron 175; Long 137). To be clear, counterpublics provide the means by which to expose injustices that would otherwise be silenced due to dominant publics’ oppressive practices. A counterpublic shelters difference by both nurturing it and circulating new and subversive claims about its worth. This broader circulation collapses some of the power that dominant publics hold over those who are subordinated by them. In this way, counterpublics lay some claim to wider public spheres (Cintron 176).

Calling forth an undocumented counterpublic is not new, for in 2006 mass protests for immigrants’ rights took place in cities across the United States in response to The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Control Act of 2005 (Beltrán, “Going Public,” 598). The protests of 2006 included undocumented voices coming forward, thus creating an undocumented counterpublic working alongside other pro-immigration advocates (Beltrán, “Going Public” 604-605).

However, Puente’s public presence differed from that of the 2006 marches, for during the No Papers / No Fear campaign, willing undocumented riders of the Undocubus came forward with their documentation status without the volume of supporters affiliated

with the 2006 marches. And, as I discuss next, the message, or call for action, that Puente created during their No Papers / No Fear campaign also differed from that during the 2006 marches.

Shifting the Discourse: Calling for Civil and Human Rights

The Undocubus ride featured travelers who stopped to protest in 16 different cities across 11 states. As Garcia explains, the Undocubus was a strategy “taken from the freedom rides” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). The original freedom rides took place over several months during 1961 when groups of African- and Caucasian-Americans boarded buses headed for the South in protest against racism and racial segregation (Holmes). The specific incident that prompted freedom rides as a strategy was “to test a 1960 Supreme Court decision that declared segregated facilities for interstate passengers illegal” during an era of backlash against African American’s call for, and other’s support of, African American civil rights (Holmes). Garcia explains that Puente’s use of the freedom rides was founded on the idea that “it’s [not] until you pose the dilemma that you’re asking—undocumented people getting arrested themselves and putting themselves out there—[that] you’re not going to get that change,” for it is not “until you defy the actual law that you’re able to make change” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Like the freedom rides that challenged racism, going public as an undocumented counterpublic via the Undocubus challenged the outsider status of the undocumented community. It aimed to shift public discourse concerning the undocumented community from its previous focus on documentation status to matters of human rights and efforts to stop deportation (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). To be clear, the Undocubus rides were meant to expose the basic fact that, as Garcia pointed out in our interview, the undocumented

community and anti-immigrant groups are “already cohabitating in this country” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). The point Garcia makes here is that both pro-and anti-immigrant rhetoric situates the undocumented community in opposition to wider publics—the undocumented community is “trying to take something” or they are “contesting something” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Yet, as Garcia explains, “there’s no need for that because we’re already cohabitating in this country and what needs to be put out is the story, our dignity, is that we are already part of it [America] without that confrontational aspect” (personal interview, 13 Jan. 2014). The Undocubus, then, served to challenge the previous messaging about the demands that this community was making, messaging that was largely created by politician and advocates, not the undocumented (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). It attempted to open the channels of discourse by re-imagining the role of the undocumented community within the U.S.

Shifting the messaging was important, for past efforts to call for inclusion and citizenship status, which had been made by both pro-immigrant groups and undocumented counterpublics, were often met with stricter anti-immigration measures. As Garcia explained in our interview, historically, calls for the inclusion of the undocumented community were often met with an increase in exclusion (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014; cf. Chavez, “*The Latino*,” 157-158). In 2002, for example, many states adopted an English only law that banned bilingual education in K-12 classrooms (Weber). Garcia explains that this law was supported by Latinos, an act that indicated a community that was trying to “prove” to wider publics that they belonged, despite the law’s thinly veiled anti-immigrant sentiment (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2010).

Three years later, in late 2005, The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act created harsher sanctions against undocumented immigration. It buttressed border security and the rights of local law enforcement to take on some of the role of immigration agents. It also required employers to use an electronic verification system for hiring that would check the immigration status of individuals (“Border Protection”). Garcia explained that, like others around the country, Puente publically protested the harsh additional sanctions that this bill would bring, protests that called for inclusion through a human-rights campaign insisting that “‘We Are America,’ ...saying that we are America too, [arguing that] ‘we belong here too’” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). As Garcia stated, though, despite these past efforts:

[U]nfortunately the whole debate we lost—we lost the most important debate, which was the illegal people debate, and then somehow we got too many people arguing with people, and that defeat was, is still, one of the main reasons why we’re still here—us trying to battle the whole “what part about illegal don’t you understand”? (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014)

Garcia pointed out to me the larger dilemma that the undocumented have faced. On the one hand, it is technically unquestionable that the definition of being undocumented means that a person is not a citizen on paper. On the other hand, documentation status does not attend to the very real past and present discriminatory issues faced by Latino/populations—undocumented or otherwise. Additionally, documentation status says little about human rights. Given this dilemma, Garcia explains that since 2010 and SB 1070:

[I]t's more about dignity—it's more about asserting ourselves and what we've given. It also comes down to, for a lot of us individually, tying it to us being indigenous—so, more of a sense of us asserting ourselves. I think that this has shown our aggressiveness and also that we're not coming in begging for anything. We've worked for here. These are the rights we deserve, and it's also how the community has seen itself. (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014)

Here, Garcia bore witness to the desire to bring dignity to the undocumented by not only including their voices within larger policy discussions, but also doing so in ways that avoid the pitfalls of past protest work that often reified the status of this community as subordinated (personal interview, Jan. 31 2014; cf. Beltrán, *The Trouble* 152-54; cf. Chavez, *The Latino*, 72; cf. Summers Sandoval 593). Claims calling for human rights and for an end to deportation moved away from larger political discourse on immigration reform and citizenship. These calls moved away from using citizenship status as the basis for inclusion or exclusion

What benefit did Puente derive from calling for human rights and for an end to deportation? These calls aimed to stop deportation—a material consequence, and something that immigration reform discourse and calls for inclusion had yet proved to do (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). As Garcia discussed in our interview, “[In 2013] we won seventy-four cases, and in the grand scheme of things that's not a huge deal, but that's seventy-four people—seventy four families—that would have been deported otherwise...” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

Garcia explained that this shift from defining the debate in terms of immigration reform and citizenship status to stopping deportations was a move towards “getting actual victory for our people” which in turn “gets us in a better place and also gives us more leverage” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Leverage in this sense means pushing the larger discourse on undocumented people from citizenship status to stopping deportations and having the undocumented community’s voice as part of that change.

Subordinated groups that go public and use their subordinated status as a point of publicity do not do so without complications. While there are certainly material risks when subordinated groups go public, there are also rhetorical ones (Fraser, “Rethinking” 119-120; cf. Higgins and Brush 697-698; cf. Squires 462; cf. Warner 167). For the undocumented in Arizona in 2012, rhetorical complications stemmed from negative connotations of being “illegal.” For Puente, the art of going public for this community meant negotiating a problematic tension between Puente’s narratives of civil rights and the dominant public’s view that criminalized the undocumented (Gonzalez, “Illegal Migrants”). As Steven Camarota, research director at the Center for Immigration Studies, states, Americans are unlikely to understand the connection between the civil-rights movement and the public protests of undocumented people, for during the civil-rights movement African-Americans were pushing for equality (Gonzalez, “Illegal Migrants”). However, as Camarota argues, “In this case, you have people who aren't supposed to be in the country demanding the rights of citizens, and to most Americans, or at least a large fraction, that is not roughly the same thing” (qtd. in Gonzalez, “Illegal Migrants”).

Here Camarota defines civil rights as something granted only to those with documentation; from this line of argument, a nation can ascribe rights, but being human does not afford such rights.

Despite benefits that have taken place with challenging immigration laws by going public as undocumented and calling forth an undocumented counterpublic, the risk of doing so is that dominant publics will challenge the ethos of this community as they have done in the past (Beltrán, “Going Public”, 597; cf. Chavez, *The Latino*, 158). Going public as an enclave provides the undocumented community with establishing their ethos in terms of entering their presence and voice in the otherwise dominant publics led discourse on immigration (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014; cf. Higgins and Brush 697). However, dominant publics have challenged the ethos, or character, of the undocumented community when members have gone public in the past. Dominant publics have argued that members’ status as undocumented undermines their right to protest publicly; therefore, their presence in public forums are (or should be) grounds for ignoring the undocumented’s arguments and for continuing to implement strict immigration laws (cf. Higgins and Brush 698; cf. Beltrán, *The Trouble* 131; cf. Chavez, *The Latino*, 153). For example, during the 2006 immigrant marches against The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act, protestors used both the American and Mexican flags as symbols; the U.S. flag symbolized the desire for inclusion, and the Mexican flag simultaneously symbolized cultural and national pride and the past and present role of Mexican’s in the development of the nation (Chavez, *The Latino*, 158).

Despite the intended message, dominant publics read the messaging of the protest as a demand for unearned civil rights (Beltrán, *The Trouble* 131; cf. Chavez, *The Latino*, 153). Mark Krikorian, the Executive Director of the Center of Immigration Studies, made a similar response to Puente's Undocubus tour. Krikorian stated: "it seems to me advertising your illegality ought to be reason enough for you to be detained and removed from the country as a priority and the fact that they're not is outrageous" (Krikorian qtd. in Leitsinger). Here, Krikorian argues that the undocumented community does not have ethos (or reputation of character) to speak out against immigration sanctions since its members are not only perceived to be breaking the law but are also showing public contempt for it.

Moving Away from a Unified Image of the Undocumented

The Puente's No Papers / No Fear campaign sought to bring attention to the individual voices of the undocumented community, and in doing so, to represent a spectrum of identities (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Bringing attention to the spectrum of identities within the undocumented community was important. On the one hand, wider public discourse on the undocumented community has often focused on this community as a political entity (Beltrán, "Going Public," 608). Consider, for example, an instance that defied such reductive representation: when Isela Meraz, Natally Cruz and Miguel Guerra went public with their documentation status and were subsequently arrested during Arpaio's trial. Cruz represented a DREAMer with a high school education, unable to go to college because of her documentation status; Ramirez represented a mother without a high school education, and Meraz and Guerra represented a homosexual woman and man (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Here were

four individuals as opposed to a singular entity—“the Undocumented”—pervasive in political discourse. As Garcia states, “We’re not only battling a public narrative against us, but I think also a narrative that’s attempted to be created for us by other interests that are supposedly on our side, so we’re often having to fight both” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). These narratives have fostered wider public images about the undocumented community—images that invoke the subordinated status of this group either through images of desiring inclusion and citizenship or images of a hostile group. Either way, these images positioned the undocumented community in opposition to dominant publics.

The undocumented have often been referred to in opposition to the law. For example, according to Otto Santa Ana’s analysis of *Los Angeles Times* articles (June 1992-December 1994) during the debate over California Proposition 187, one of the metaphors this debate invoked was that of *invasion*: immigrants were a hostile group of people who were taking over the country (70). Immigrants, according to Ana’s analysis, were referred to with ascriptions such as *foreign* and *Third World*. These descriptions sought to justify a war against a community that threatened the U.S. culture and economy (69-70). In 2010, Brewer and other supporters of SB 1070 also couched the undocumented community as a threat to the safety and livelihood of Arizona residents (Brewer). Like other political voices in the past, Brewer and advocates of SB 1070 framed the undocumented as criminals from whom law-abiding citizens need protection (Brewer). As Brewer stated at the time, the border crisis is caused by “illegal immigration and Arizona’s porous border” (Brewer). SB 1070 was a response against undocumented immigration which Brewer equated with “the murderous greed of drug cartels” and attendant “drop houses” and “kidnappings” (Brewer).

In this political climate, Puente's No Paper's No Fear campaign incorporated calls for civil rights alongside the organization's drive to represent the undocumented as individuals as opposed to a mass public. For example, one of the key stops for the Undocubus was the Democratic National Convention that took place at the end of the Undocubus tour in Charlotte, North Carolina. During this time, several undocumented people from the Undocubus protested by coming out about their documentation status and dispelling singular notions of the undocumented by providing the audience with some information about who they were and why they were calling for civil rights (Goodman). As protestor Rosi Carrasco stated, "I'm here with my two daughters and my husband. We have been in this ride for dignity, and we believe that we have the right to fight for our dignity..." (qtd. in Goodman). Carrasco, like other undocumented community members, faces deportations which among other things can mean being separated from family. This threat loomed for undocumented protestors, as Ileri Unzueta Carrasco described in personal terms:

My name is Ileri Unzueta. I am 25. I'm undocumented. I'm queer. And I'm standing here next to my parents, with my sister in the crowd, because we want to send the message to President Obama to ask him which side he is on. It's time for him to choose whether he's going to keep deporting people or he's going to support families like mine and mixed-status families who are here trying to make a better life for themselves and for all of us. This is for every family in the United States, whether they are documented or not, to continue fighting for our rights and organizing. (qtd. in Goodman)

Those revealing their documentation status on the Undocubus tour claimed that they should be able to stay in the United States on the basis of their human rights. They asserted that claim through their individual voices expressing details from their lived experiences under SB 1070.

Details about social positioning offer a potential resource for mobilizing social movements (Young 83). Iris Young observes:

First, we should conceptualize social groups according to a relational rather than a substantialist logic. Secondly, we should affirm that groups do not have identities as such, but rather that individuals construct their own identities on the basis of social groups positioning. (83)

The question the above analysis addresses is, How so? How, that is, would a particular marginalized social group—Puente AZ—mobilize details about its members' social positioning in order to galvanize broader public support? The answer: Very carefully.

Of course, in focusing on social relationships, marginalized groups expose injustices that are based on identities of race, class, gender, etc. (Young 83). Social differences differ from cultural differences here insofar as social groups use (and must use) those sites of difference that have caused conflict in the first place to attempt to galvanize broader public support (Young 83). My study shows, however, that an oppressed social groups such as Puente may have difficulty in gaining access to wider publics, and when they do so, calling on their social poisoning as a point of argument is not often enough. In other words, leveraging social positioning of undocumented is a dicey strategy, given the citizenship status of this group can be used to annihilate members' access to public venues.

Keep in mind, for instance, the previously cited arguments of Camarota, research director at the Center for Immigration Studies and others who support SB 1070 (Gonzalez, “Illegal Migrants”). For Puente, providing narratives about individual undocumented community members was a way to create the potential for moving social positioning beyond documentation status to human rights. To be clear, political discourse on the undocumented often provides political categories that undocumented people belong into. One of the problems of political categories of the undocumented is that it subsequently categorized hierarchies of acceptable versus unacceptable (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Garcia explained the dilemma this way:

I would say it’s shifted into where there are some, like in every marginalized group of people, a spectrum of “these are okay and these are not okay.” And I think at least from all that you start now seeing, well, “students are okay,” or “people that were brought here before on no fault of their own are okay,” when before 2012 it was get them all gone. So, you start seeing certain groups being okay, and even day laborers not being attacked is huge, and before I would consider them right before people charged with crimes—they were the bottom of who people wanted to see. You would hear things like “they’re an eye sore,” and you don’t even hear that anymore. (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

Puente sponsors and circulates individual stories of undocumented people as counternarratives about the undocumented community, and in doing so, its leadership has also had to tackle the issue of hierarchies. For instance, Puente has advocated for people

with criminal charges such as DUI's (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Such advocacy aims to expand the circle of "acceptable people" until it would not be acceptable to deport anyone. Garcia explained:

There's a circle of people, and we are kind of doing this to the circle, pulling it to widen and change it—so we pushed it to where we're defending people with criminal charges, where it's okay for someone who has a DUI, to where it is not okay for anyone to be deported. (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014)

Bringing the voice of the undocumented to the forefront of immigration discourse is important, and not just to provide the undocumented with encouragement to face their fears and publically challenge immigration sanctions, but also to avoid wider publics' reifying the subordinated status of this group.

To render a subordinated group in need of external representation is to simultaneously reify existing power differentials (Higgins and Brush 720; cf. Mohanty 338). The 2006 marches against The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 offer a case in point. Garcia explained: "we were all joined together [in mass protest] because there was no capacity to [go public as undocumented and protest] protest locally" (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Although the 2006 marches moved voices of the undocumented into the open more than previous movements, this momentum was also followed closely with familiar political and advocacy-group strategies that reified the subordinate status of the undocumented (Beltrán, "Going Public" 597-600). To be clear, both pro- and anti-immigration responses

to the 2006 protests equated undocumented citizenship and rights with what this groups offered or took away from the economy via labor (Beltrán, “Going Public”). This is yet another example of larger political messaging failing to liberate the undocumented from a subordinated status (cf. Higgins and Brush 695). As Garcia states:

In the past, even people from human rights would say undocumented people can't be on camera and the whole savior complex—it's also the big race thing—all those D.C. groups are a lot of white, males... that have been there a long time and were hired as lobbyists to [represent the undocumented]. (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014)

The savior complex that Garcia points out here can be understood as the process by which white, often middle- or upper-class, people advocate for those who are nonwhite and less economically advantaged (Hughley 1). To be clear, such advocacy can often function as a way for white people of privilege simultaneously to reify the status of nonwhites as “essentially broken, marginalized, and pathological,” while buttressing the image of the “messianic” white “that [can] easily fix the nonwhite pariah with their superior moral and mental abilities” (Hughley 2). Thus, when politicians and advocacy groups speak for the undocumented, to include times when they feel the necessity to do so to protect the community from sanctions, this gesture often does more to subordinate the status of the undocumented. Even when advocates have the best intentions to protect the undocumented, “undocumented people should be able to choose their own risks” (Carrasco qtd. in Leitsinger).

Concluding Observations

This chapter pursued two questions:

- 1) In response to the Supreme Court ruling in support of 2(B) of SB 1070, how did Puente negotiate the tensions between the narratives the organization wanted to present to the public about undocumented people and the images dominant publics circulated about them?
- 2) In response to the Supreme Court ruling, how did Puente create new options for those apparently damned either to hide in the shadows (and risk being possibly exposed as undocumented during a traffic stop or work raid, for instance) or to go public as undocumented and risk almost certain arrest and deportation?

The above analysis illustrates that, in response to the first question, Puente brought the voices of the undocumented to the forefront, reframed public discourse on the undocumented from documentation status to human rights and stopping deportations, and provided counter narratives about the undocumented community. In response to the second, Puente encouraged solidarity with other immigrant groups by encouraging the undocumented to face their fears and stand up to anti-immigrant bullying by going public as an undocumented counterpublic.

In the summer of 2012, it would have appeared that the risk of facing deportations as undocumented outweighed the benefits of going public with one's documentation status. Puente and its Undocubus flipped this very logic in order to create a series of local counterhegemonic immigrant publics across U.S. cities, connected by a sense of shared oppression despite geographic and various intersecting identity differences (Garcia,

personal interview 31 Jan. 2014). As Cruz explained to me, the work of the Undocubus, traveling across several U.S. cities to protest by coming out with the documentation status of riders and encouraging other community members to do the same, promoted others into direct action (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). For example, in 2013 Puente worked locally on a campaign to Shut Down ICE in Phoenix, and at the same time, sixteen other communities in various cities were carrying out the same protest actions (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). This ripple effect is a rhetoric phenomenon. As Warner states, one of the functions of a public is that it is reflexive in nature—a public is simultaneously created by and calls forth an audience (114). Thus, if there is largely only one image of the undocumented—that ascribed by advocates or by those against the undocumented community—then that image will prevail unless challenged by the circulation of alternative imagery and narratives.

While the analysis of media coverage of Puente’s No Papers / No Fear campaign on *nopapersnofear.org* provided the basis for my analytical framework, my interview responses from Puente members revealed a complexity uniquely faced by the undocumented that research using public artifacts such as news sources or other media could not accomplish alone. Puente provides a unique question about the role of narratives in social justice movements. Young contends that social justice movements should go public and expose injustices attendant with their social positioning (83). However, Puente’s positioning is somewhat unique as a subordinated public—they are cast as non-citizens; they are considered criminals; they are trying to take from the nation (Gonzalez, “Illegal Migrants”; Chavez, *The Latino*, 68). In order for Puente to navigate this quagmire, they had to recast narratives of the undocumented to make such narratives

about real people with complex identities—narratives that are beyond the political category of undocumented. As Cruz put it in our interview, “Yeah we want citizenship, but slowly we’re going to get there; right now this is who we are” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). The interview responses from Puente members Cruz and Garcia emphasize the importance of using a cue-recall interview technique to support the analysis of decision-making. Through interviews, my research was better able to capture some nuances in Puente’s decision making that other sources could not provide. For instance, Garcia pointed out the complexity of recasting narratives of undocumented people, and not just in terms of revealing the undocumented as real people whose identities are more complex than being undocumented. As Garcia explained to me, recasting narratives also meant fighting against wider publics’ casting of desirable versus undesirable hierarchies of undocumented people (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). In our interview, Garcia shared with me the challenge of working on this when some undocumented have arrests and or are re-entry cases. Here, the challenge goes beyond bringing real faces and voices to narratives of struggle, but also about relating human dignity.

CHAPTER 5

SUSTAINING A CONTROVERSY AND BRIDGING CONTACT WITH PUBLICS

In this study I analyzed the active decision-making of Puente, a grassroots organization whose work seeks to leverage the public identity of undocumented people simultaneously to serve the undocumented and to keep the controversy of SB 1070 and immigration sanctions in the public eye. My analysis of Puente's work reveals the different types of public work that helped to sustain this public's efforts to re-frame and sustain a public controversy, work that entailed both behind-the-scenes maneuvering and the co-presence of public protests. Public controversies provide a unique space for bringing into contact those who would otherwise not have contact with each other (Crick and Gabriel 212; cf. Warner 114). Puente's public work created that highly valued interaction. It did so both to sustain victories for the undocumented and to keep the controversy in the public eye.

To interpret the significance of Puente's rhetorical achievements between 2010 and 2012, below I posit a set of implications that follow from my study. The first three implications pertain primarily to my methods. The remaining implications pertain to Puente's decision making in the context of rhetorical theory building. After each implication, I highlight findings from my study that demonstrate the implication's significance.

1. *Analyzing an organization's public work in relation to goals, strategies, risks and benefits reveals the complexity involved in decision-making and the careful moves that subordinated publics need to make to attend to both short-and long-term goals—moves that normative frameworks tend to overlook or downplay.*

In 2010, SB 1070 threatened to place an even greater focus on the forceful removal of undocumented people in Arizona than previous federal and local level acts. Puente was faced with a dilemma. The option was no longer viable to wait on politicians and advocacy groups to push for immigration reform and to protect the undocumented from deportations and other immigration related sanctions. Yet going public with the voices of the undocumented carried the high material risk of deportation. As Garcia explained to me in our interview, despite the risks, Puente's response to SB 1070 was to de-center politicians' and advocacy groups' representative rhetoric on the undocumented and instead to sponsor the undocumented as public actors (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Thus, Puente devised strategies for going public that would yield high benefits while also attending to the material risks involved. As my analysis of Puente's decision-making revealed, there were numerous factors in addition to the material risks that had to be taken into account, such as the images wider publics created about the undocumented, the effects of past protest work involving the undocumented, and the short- and long-term goals attendant with different rhetorical strategies. Within this problem space, Puente had to devise rhetorical strategies to go public that would take into account rhetorical and material goals aimed at both short- and long- term results. Here, short-term goals were designed to attend to the immediate needs of the undocumented to protect their identities while also serving as a step towards more long-term goals, such as fostering local undocumented counterpublics through the Undocubus tour and stopping deportations.

Analyzing the decision-making of an organization can provide important insights for public spheres and community literacy studies since doing so reveals the complexity of public work in ways that normative theories of public life often fall short of. Devising

frameworks or similar interpretive hueristics (or “mechanisms”) provides more explanatory power for understanding the complexity of organizational decision-making and the subsequent communicative performances of a public. This type of grounded analysis attends to Squires’s call for continuing to develop an understanding of multiple public spheres and their responses to political exigencies (465). As Squires puts it:

If we are to take seriously the model of multiple public spheres made up of groups who share some notion of group identity but are not ideologically monolithic, we need more mechanisms to describe how different institutions, strategies, and discourses can emerge from the same social groups without endlessly fragmenting a public along identity lines. (465)

As Squires points out here, such interpretive frameworks direct scholars’ attention to how publics navigate and respond to their conditions. Such frameworks help us account for how such responses are related to the various institutions and publics involved, the discourses that have already been circulated, and the past strategies that have already been employed.

Furthermore, frameworks that attend to political organizations’ daily decision making avoid reifying the subordinated status of a public by focusing on the agency of such publics. Such frameworks complicate normative theories of subordinated publics which often focus on a group’s subordinated status without adequately addressing the work that these publics do.

2. The critical incident technique opens up possibilities for more in-depth analysis than analyzing the textual artifacts of public argument alone.

Public discourse found in news sources along with Puente’s own websites—puenteaz.org and nopapersnofear.org—provided me the ability to gather some data and to analyze wider public responses and Puente’s responses both to SB 1070 in 2010 and to the Supreme Court decision to uphold one of the provisions of the bill in 2012. While this data provided me with foundational material for analyzing the controversy of SB 1070, the critical incident technique opened up the data for more grounded analysis. More specifically, using the critical incident technique and interviewing Puente members provided me with the ability to elicit the situated knowledge of Puente’s leaders in order to reveal the complexity of this organization’s decision-making. The critical incident technique revealed something of the unique complexity involved in Puente’s decision-making. For instance, in my interview with Garcia, I was able to gather more insight into how the Chicano movement and the Civil Rights movement informed Puente’s strategies for going public. In my interview with Cruz, I was able to better understand not only Puente’s decision to go public with the voices of the undocumented, but also the importance of the undocumented members of Puente making that decision for themselves.

Future studies of publics and organizations would benefit from the grounded and situated research angle that the critical incident technique provides. The critical incident technique reveals the grounded complexity of organizational decision-making that primary research from public artifacts such as news sources and websites alone cannot account for, such as the complex tensions among social situations and subsequent responses.

3. *It is only from grounded research that scholars can begin to draw sound parallels with other similarly grounded studies to inform theorizing across publics and their situated responses to complex histories and exigencies.*

One of the methodology approaches that I used to study the organizational decision-making of Puente was a post-modern approach to grounded theory. This methodology allows for a complex analysis of people and situations that modernist approaches—those that seek a singular truth—cannot reach (Clark xxiv). A post-modern grounded methodology attends well to the complex situations of marginalized publics since it acknowledges that knowledge itself is socially and culturally situated (Clark xxiv-xxv). To be clear, this approach to analysis acknowledges that intersecting identities of race, class, and gender are never static, but rather they are particular to the socio-cultural background of an individual and they shift according to a historical or particular moment (Clark xxiv-xxv). As Adele Clark explains, post-modern grounded theory “aim[s] at capturing the complexities of situations,” bringing to the forefront otherwise “illegitimate and/or marginalized perspectives and subjugated knowledges,” and decentering the researcher as the knowledge maker (xxix-xxx). Without the post-modern grounded theory approach I would have missed the nuances in Puente’s decision-making, such as this organization’s uniquely situated place, as a local Arizona grassroots organization, in the critical situation and discourse on undocumented people. Additionally, I would not have been able to garner an in-depth understanding of the various publics—local and national—that Puente created through barrio defense committees, local protest work , and the cross Undocubus tour.

Through a post-modern grounded approach scholars are better able to understand the complexity of public life since post-grounded methodology does not begin with assumptions but rather seeks to challenge and complicate them. It is only through analyzing the complexity of different publics (i.e., their history, their resources, their responses) that scholars can begin to make comparisons across different publics.

4. *Multiple-public spheres means exploring multiple framework's for public sphere networking.*

The framework I developed to analyze Puente's decision-making in chapters 3 and 4 not only calls for more grounded theorizing of the complexity of publics, but also it calls for further studying the networking and relationships that subordinated publics forge. In the case of Puente in 2010, barrio defense committees provided locally situated avenues for networking among institutions and the local community. Squires notes that enclave publics usually have "few material, political, legal, or media resources" of their own, which complicates their ability to go public (458). Yet, as an enclave, Puente's decision-making involved the creation of barrio defense committees that offered undocumented people access to wider public resources such as legal knowledge gained from Puente's contact with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Providing such networking allowed Puente to take the legal knowledge of the ACLU and pass that along to the undocumented. Forging networks like this provided Puente with the ability share institutional knowledge without the drawbacks that can be attendant with institutional-community and top-down relationships. For example, in my interview with Garcia, he noted that both pro-immigrant politicians and advocates often did more to serve their own needs, and even to perpetuate negative images of the undocumented, than to create

change for the undocumented community (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). It was important for Puente to provide a bridge between institutional knowledge and the community in order to protect and foster the interests of the undocumented.

Future studies of subordinated publics would do well to explore the ways that enclave publics create their own institutional networking in an effort to avoid the risks of relying on wider publics and external resources since such institutional relationships often come at the expense of reifying an enclaves' status (Higgins and Brush 696; cf. Fraser "What's Critical" 53; cf. Mohanty 338). Current studies of subordinated publics often do not adequately attend to the networking forged through the efforts of these local publics, thus glossing over the various ways that publics carefully form and navigate such relationships.

Additionally, analyzing the complexity of a subordinated group's public life can also reveal the different publics that this group works with and against. Consider Elenore Long's argument that "To understand a defiant local public is to understand the potential complexity of its relationships to other publics" (142). Here, Long theorizes Ralph Cintron's study of gangs and their public responses. As Long explains, the rival gangs in Cintron's study were not only counterpublics to dominant publics, but also to rival gangs, and therefore, other subordinate publics (142). Puente would not constitute a defiant public, and yet Puente did face counter protesting prior to 2012 as many subordinate groups do when they go public. Here, Puente faced a local public that engaged with Puente in local level discourse often not covered in wider public discourse. The difference here is the difference between local publics interacting with wider public discourse and the local publics that a subordinated public might interact with. Thus, while

not all subordinated publics are defiant publics, Long's argument underscores the need to expand and complicate the analysis of publics, their relationships to other publics, and subsequently, their various tactical and strategic responses. My study contributes to such theory building.

5. *How publics work to re-frame a controversy merits more scholarly attention.*

Further analysis of how enclave and other subordinated publics re-frame the discourse of a public controversy can provide insight into 1) how re-framing a public controversy keeps the controversy in the public eye and 2) how publics use various rhetorical strategies simultaneously to shape a public controversy and to circulate humanizing narratives about subordinated stakeholders.

In chapter 4, I asked how Puente negotiated the tensions between the narratives the organization wanted to present to the public about undocumented people and the images dominant publics circulated about them. One of the ways that Puente negotiated this tension was to reframe the public controversy on immigration reform to human rights and stopping deportations. Re-framing discourse had become a key necessity for Puente since past discourse on immigration reform did little to change the harsh sanctions the undocumented face daily (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Re-framing the discourse was necessary both to stop deportations and to provide some leverage for shifting the images that wider publics have circulated about the undocumented. To argue for human rights as Puente did was to shift the discourse from one's legal rights to one's human rights. This strategy was important for Puente since wider publics have used the citizenship status of undocumented people to justify ignoring or vilifying their public attempts at discourse (cf. Beltrán "Going Public," 598; cf. Chavez, *The Latino*, 68; cf.

Gonzalez). And, advocates that have spoken for the undocumented have often done more to illicit anti-immigrant sentiment than to obtain relief for the undocumented (Garcia, personal interview, 13 Jan. 2014).

Re-framing public discourse as Puente did is a significant rhetorical feat. Further comparison with other subordinated publics would be a generative site for future scholarship. That is, subordinated publics are often situated against discourses that have already been circulated about a controversy and are not of their own making. Other studies have documented the ways that enclave publics have worked to re-frame public discourse as part of their efforts to go public. The personal narratives of welfare recipients in Higgins and Brush's study can be understood to be an act of re-framing the issue of welfare reform, for instance. In Higgins and Brush's study, welfare recipients went public with their experiential knowledge of the welfare system and welfare reform, and in doing so, worked to change the narratives about welfare recipients. Changing the narratives about welfare recipients went hand in hand with changing discourse about welfare. Discourse on public controversies such as immigration reform and welfare reform are often inextricably linked to wider publics' narratives about the stakeholders involved. Here, welfare recipients' narratives were designed to both change the negative stereotypes about people on welfare as well as change how the problem of welfare is defined (Higgins and Brush 697-698; 719). To be clear, then, strategies for going public as an enclave often necessitate creating strategies that would shift the discourse of a controversy. For the welfare recipients in Higgins and Brush's study, this meant using their narratives as a way to redefine the issue away from welfare recipients' personal flaws and toward more significant flaws in the welfare system (697-698).

The comparison here is important. When the Supreme Court decision to uphold Section 2(B) of SB 1070 was made public, wider publics' discourse on the issue remained largely the same. As Garcia pointed out in our interview, wider publics' discourse had not moved the issue beyond politics towards action that would stop deportations let alone provide a discourse space for the undocumented to enter (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). In working to re-frame the discourse from immigration reform to human rights and stopping deportations, Puente sought to keep the controversy in the public eye. As Crick and Gabriel note, to keep a controversy in the public eye requires publics to continually vie for such attention (218). And, as Crick and Gabriel note as well, such attention is in part sustained by stakeholders dramatizing the effects of a controversy (212). Public spheres and community literacy scholars would do well to study how subordinated publics contribute to sustaining public controversies and how doing so re-frames the discourse surrounding the controversy.

My study showed that Puente's efforts to re-frame the controversy over immigration reform also worked to recast the undocumented as public actors. Furthermore, in recasting the undocumented as public actors, Puente also needed to create narratives about the undocumented, ones that would not reproduce the narratives wider publics have created. Likewise, other controversies can provide additional data as to how subordinated rhetors use controversies as tools for recasting narratives about themselves.

6. *Enclaves can enact resistance in different kinds of public ways.*

In chapter 3, I asked how Puente negotiated the tension between protecting the identification of local residents and publically protesting against immigration sanctions

through the self-representation of undocumented people. In 2010, Puente's plan to mobilize an undocumented community was organizational work that sought to protect community members by educating them on their rights and subsequently using that education as a twofold site of resistance. On the one hand, the undocumented could use their knowledge of their rights under SB 1070 to fight against harsh immigration sanctions on a daily basis as they face them without exposing their identity. On the other hand, such education was meant to encourage the undocumented to publically protest as an enclave, using their enclave status as a point of publicity. This publicity served as a catalyst for shaping discourse on the undocumented and stopping deportations. This is not to say that going public as undocumented was any more significant than practicing resistance from the shadows, but rather that it was a different way of enacting resistance as a public.

One important implication from analyzing Puente's work, then, is that enclave publics can enact resistance, as a public, in different ways. Squires's taxonomy of subordinated publics might assume that Puente would wait to have members go public and protest against deportations given the severe sanctions that this group would face by such exposure. As Squires explains, enclave publics, given their level of oppression and available resources, often act as a public by sheltering their identity and using the safety of an enclave space to devise strategies for going public when the level of oppression has lessened and or they have more material resources (458-60). If an enclave does go public, the parameters of discourse are often defined by dominant publics (Squires 458). Yet Puente used their enclave status as the fundamental resource for going public, and subsequently, as a resource for media publicity. Puente's work thus challenges the agency

that even the most enclave publics possess. This point is important since it opens up avenues for exploring the ways that enclaves do engage with wider publics and shape public discourse, often in very savvy ways. The difference between an enclave going public and an enclave becoming a different kind of public, such as a counterpublic, hinges on the perceived agency of the enclave. For Puente, its members used the organization's enclave status as a point of publicity, supported by barrio defense committees that helped to circulate the discourse of this enclave through, for example, creating artwork for protests and engaging the media to follow their protest activities.

7. Rhetorical resources for going public are built from the bottom-up.

As my frameworks in chapters 3 and 4 reveal, Puente members served as the rhetorical resource for this organization's public work. Scholarship often does not adequately attend to the bottom-up work of an organization to include how subordinated publics serve as their own resource for going public. For Puente, not only did members create their own bottom-up and cross public networking through barrio defense committees, but they also evaluated and created their own rhetorical strategies to include going public through self-representation. Here, members served as the key rhetorical resource for this organization's public work.

Current scholarship often cuts short on analyzing how subordinated groups use their own membership as a resource. Future studies of publics would benefit from continual exploration on how publics, especially marginalized ones, serve as their own rhetorical resources since doing so avoids reifying the status of such groups by acknowledging and highlighting their agency (cf. Cushman 4-5; cf. Squires 465).

8. *Subordinated publics enact several different kinds of public work to engage with other publics and enact change.*

Puente's 2012 Undocubus tour worked to circulate the narratives of the undocumented to wider publics and also to call forth local undocumented publics. As Warner points out, publics enact "poetic world making"—they strive to both create and shape discourse and to circulate that discourse to wider publics (114). Through the Undocubus tour, Puente engaged with wider publics and with undocumented people in cities across several U.S. states. Puente circulated new narratives about the undocumented to counter previous negative wider public images and to protest against deportations. Through circulating new narratives, Puente sought to connect with wider publics by presenting the voices and identities of undocumented people beyond their citizenship status. And, the circulation of new narratives—narratives that circulated human rights and stopping deportations—also brought Puente into contact with local undocumented publics across several different states that local public protesting would not as adequately accomplish.

Public protest work is important, but it is not the only public work that Puente carried out. Puente's work continued both through public protests and through more behind the scenes work such as in courtrooms where they protested and supported undocumented people facing deportation proceedings. Although behind the scenes work is a different kind of public work than protest work, it is still significant and merits attention. For instance, the undocumented community faced workplace raids for years under the direction of Arizona Maricopa County Sheriff Arpaio. Puente had been fighting against these raids, not just through public protest, but through the courtroom. For

instance, on January 5th, 2015, Puente, along with Rev. Frederick-Gray and Arizona resident Sara Cervantes Arreola, was granted a court injunction on Arpaio's workplace raids aimed at the undocumented community ("Breaking").

Public spheres theory often emphasizes the public protest work of groups, but behind-the-scenes work can provide rich insights into how publics continue to engage wider publics and enact public change. Had Puente focused all of their efforts on acting as a public through visible co-presence provide by protests, they might not have made such a victory for the undocumented people. Of course, such a victory does not mean that Puente's fight is over, but it does speak to the tenacious ways that publics act as publics and the type of public work they do.

9. By (self-)sponsoring information about their own lives under SB 1070, members of Puente avoided reifying the undocumented while also bearing witness in public to members' humanity.

In 2012 Puente went public with the voices of undocumented people as part of their protest strategy. While Puente's strategy of going public with the voices of the undocumented was in part to shift the discourse from immigration reform to human rights and stopping deportations, it was also to create new wider public narratives about the undocumented. Puente's call for human rights was to counter the wider publics images of the undocumented community as law breakers (Gonzalez; Chavez, *The Latino*, 68). As Cruz explained in our interview, Puente tried to respond to that image—wider publics' image of the undocumented as illegal—by re-orientating the dichotomy of illegal/citizen with "We Are Human" protest campaign discourse (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). To support this discourse, Puente needed to try to create public narratives that would avoid

stereotypes about the undocumented and instead reveal human dignity. In the case of Puente AZ in the summer of 2012, my analysis reveals that such narrative work entailed relating the individual voices and identities of the undocumented. Here, Puente's work sought to provide intersecting forms of identities. Some undocumented were DREAMers, for example, but they also had other identities, some even identifying as part of other subordinated groups: single mothers, migrant workers with university degrees, or part of the LGBTQ community.

Analyzing how subordinated groups navigate the terrain of public narratives and identities can be an important move for public spheres and community literacy scholars. While we have theories and case studies of such work, more context-based exploration can provide an additional understanding of the complexity involved in crafting such narratives. For instance, in Higgins and Brush's study, welfare recipients needed to craft narratives that would take nothing to chance—they needed to fill gaps of their narratives, gaps that would otherwise be filled by wider publics' stereotypes (708). Analyzing the context-based creation of narratives of subordinated publics can continue to inform scholars about how such publics balance the tensions between connecting with an audience while also avoiding reifying the images that wider publics produce.

Through Puente's public efforts they have been able to win victories for the undocumented. Of course, the work of this organization is not over. The success of a public should not be measured solely or even primarily in terms of tangible wins or loses, though, since doing so overlooks the organizational work that makes such victories possible—victories that take place when publics use the potential of controversies to put into contact those who would otherwise not engage with each other (Crick and Gabriel

212; cf. Warner 114). Through Puente's work they were able to connect with other local undocumented people in other states, and they were able to connect with wider publics through both their behind-the-scenes courtroom work and their public protest work. Attempting to leverage the voice of the undocumented people and keep the controversy of immigration sanctions in the public was no easy task. Puente's work speaks to the tenacious ways this organization's work was able to make the most out of the public controversy of SB 1070 to shape future discourses and actions.

Notes

1. In this dissertation I use the term Latino/a, the term Chicano/a, and the term undocumented while also acknowledging that Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano/a, and undocumented are not synonymous or mutually constitutive categories. Additionally, Puente is a group that works within and beyond these categories. When I asked Puente Director Carlos Garcia how he would identify Puente as an organization, he stated that it was a human rights group that worked with those who identify as undocumented. As Garcia stated in our interview, “in Arizona, it looks like very much like Mexican and Chicano place, but in similar groups we have worked with that have now taking this identity (undocumented) it looks totally different” (personal interview, 31, Jan. 2014). While Puente works with undocumented people from different nationalities with intersecting identities (i.e., culture, gender, sexual orientation, etc.), as Garcia indicates here, members of Puente who identify as Hispanic speaking and from the Western hemisphere also have various intersecting identities; i.e., some identify as Chicano/a geographically and politically while others do not (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). In order to try to honor the various identities of Puente members I use the term undocumented. However, in order to acknowledge that current immigration laws and sanctions are often geared towards Mexican and Central American people I focus background immigration history and protesting against immigration sanctions and U.S. exclusionary measures on Chicano/a and Latino/a people (cf. Ngai 2). Of course, immigration measures affect all undocumented people.

In Arizona, however, the main focus of SB 1070 has been Mexican illegal immigration to arguably include those who “look” Hispanic speaking and subsequently from core Spanish speaking countries (cf. Brewer; cf. Johnson; cf. Lemons; cf. Nowicki; cf. “Robert Krentz;” cf. Sáinz; cf. “Specifics,”Wagner; cf. Wood).

2. Some of the highly controversial practices of the MCSO [Maricopa County Sheriff’s Office] include the “harassment and exploitation of day laborers by off duty MCSO deputies,” racial profiling, and the abuse of prisoners (“History”).

3. Citizenship exclusion and deportations also historically included others deemed as “undesirable,” such as those considered be politically anti-American (such as real or ascribed communists or anarchists), the poor, the handicapped, homosexuals, and criminals (Johnson 8-9).

4. Although immigration laws and sanctions at the time already served to punish undocumented immigration to include employers who hired them, “Proposition 187 was designed to supersede and radicalize federal law” (Santa Ana 67). Not only did Proposition 187 target undocumented workers and the employers who hired them, but also demanded that public workers in the fields of education, health care, social service, and law enforcement monitor and report those suspected of being undocumented (Santa Ana 67). To be clear, Proposition 187 was aimed at cutting off all public services and benefits for undocumented immigrants—services such as public education and healthcare (Santa Ana 67).

5. The movement was initially based in Berkley, California and Tucson, Arizona (Coutin 18). As the movement progressed, there were approximately 500 religious congregations in the United States that were part of the movement (“Sanctuary

Movement”). Additionally, advocates in Mexico and Canada also served as movement organizers (Perla and Coutin 8).

6. I took my cues for post-modern grounded theorizing primarily from Adele Clarke’s *Situation Analysis*. As Clark explains, post-modern grounded theory moves away from modernist notions of knowledge that adhere to claims of singular truths towards the pursuit of documenting the complexity of people and situations (xxiv). The specific principles of post-modern grounded theory that informed the methods used for this study are 1) the idea that “all knowledges...[are] situated,” which means that knowledge is “socially and culturally” created; 2) knowledges are complex due to shifting convergences such as history, race, class and gender; and 3) knowledges can be contradictory (Clark xxiv-xxv). Based on these principles, key methods “aim at capturing the complexities of situations,” bringing to the forefront otherwise “illegitimate and/or marginalized perspectives and subjugated knowledges,” and decentering the researcher as the knowledge maker (xxix-xxx). Methods include mapping situations—the “human, non-human, material, and symbolic/discursive elements of a particular situation *as framed by those in it and by the analyst*” (Clark 87). In this sense, post-modern grounded theory emphasizes categories in order to uncover processes that other ethnographic methods cannot adequately promise on their own—processes that reveal, for example, the complex situations in which organizations make decisions.

7. This question arises, in part, from the literature review in chapter 1. That is, the literature would predict that an organization like Puente—sheltering the human rights of undocumented residents as it does—would experience this tension. On the one hand, subordinated publics often benefit from sheltering their identity to avoid physical

sanctions such as beatings, or even death (Squires 458-459). Rhetors within subordinated groups also face rhetorical sanctions. For example, if subordinated members of groups follow a “public transcript” that takes dominant public views for granted as normalized, they risk reifying their subordinated status (Higgins and Brush 696). In addition, dominant groups might misappropriate the meaning of a subordinate group’s message for their own agendas (Fraser “What’s Critical” 53). And, even showing up as a marked body (raced, classed, and or gendered) can complicate the ability to be heard and taken seriously, based on dominant groups’ biases (Warner 166-68). On the other hand, though, if subordinated groups rely on external representation, such as that provided by political or advocacy groups, dominant publics might read external group representation as indicative of a subordinate group that is *unable* to speak for themselves, thus reestablishing power differentials (Higgins and Brush 720; cf. Mohanty 338). Additionally, as I explain in this chapter, my grounded theorizing brought to the fore just how intensely Puente has experienced this tension between protecting the identification of local residents, on the one hand, and publically protesting perceived and experienced injustices of immigration sanctions, on the other. My goal for this chapter was to understand the organization’s decision-making within this problem space.

8. Garcia, Carlos. “Arizona, Arpaio and SB 1070 Spur Crusade for Immigrant Rights.” *organizingupgrade.com*. Organizing Upgrade: Engaging Left Organizers in Strategic Dialogue. 20 June 2012. Web. 1 Nov. 2014.

9. In rhetorical theory, the “crux” of an argument is known as the “point of stasis.” A point of stasis can be understood as the underlying nature of the argument—whether an argument is about if something did or did not occur (conjecture), what the definition of

something is (definition), what is the value of something (value); or, what action should be taken (translative) (Cicero 180-182).

10. The key discourse found in English and Spanish language news sources the first week that SB 1070 was signed into law as found on the Arizona State University online *Proquest News and Newspapers* database. Although I have some working familiarity with the Spanish language, I used Google Translate to cross-check my own translations. In order to pull out the major public discourse the first week that SB 1070 was signed into law, I ran the news articles that I pulled from *Proquest* through NVivo which allowed me to define what the key terms were across the news articles. After my broader search for key terms allowed me to focus in on the major trends in the discourse, I read the news articles to refine my understanding of how these key terms functioned within the discourse and served to define the publics created.

11. The suspect in Krentz's murder was assumed to be an undocumented person from Mexico. This assumption was based on a series of loose tips and investigations, such as a radio call Krentz made to his brother shortly after being shot where Krentz made reference to the immigration status of the individual in which he had an altercation and footprints that ran to the U.S. Mexico border. It has been alleged that the suspect was part of an illegal drug smuggling operation that Krentz might have been involved with. Wagner, Dennis. "Slaying of Arizona Rancher is Still a Mystery." *The Arizona Republic*. *azcentral.com*. 24 Nov. 2013. Web. 28 May 2014.

12. Crick and Gabriel explain that sustaining a public controversy is more than prompting events that create a public dispute. What sustains a public controversy and

potentially moves it from discourse to social action is the dramatization of the effects that a public controversy has on the lifeworlds of people (212).

13. Garcia states that Puente has realized that immigration reform will not stop current deportations. As Garcia puts it, “I think that there’s a difference between immigration reform and a pathway for people to become documented” and this is because “immigration reform has been convoluted into where there are all these different interest groups” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014). Immigration reform has become, as Garcia explains, about “voting blocks and those sorts of things” (personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014).

14. A point of stasis can be understood as the underlying nature of the argument—whether an argument is about if something did or did not occur (conjecture), what the definition of something is (definition), what is the value of something (value); or, what action should be taken (translative) (Cicero 180-182). Part of my argument here stems from the fact that the publicized actors involved in protest movements during the first week that the bill was signed into law were not those who were directly affected by the bill. Here, the move for reform vis á vis politicians and activists places the control of the controversy in the hands of interest groups as opposed to those most affected by the bill (Garcia, personal interview, 31 Jan. 2014; cf. Crick and Gabriel 218; cf. Fraser “What’s Critical” 53; cf. Higgins and Brush 697; cf. Powell 73-74; cf. Young 122). Since public controversies require constant media attention to stay in the public eye, political interest-led support is not sufficient since it can easily wane as new interests develop (Crick and Gabriel 218-219).

15. Crick and Gabriel credit successful controversies with supplying a “continual buildup of sensual–aesthetic disruptions during the deliberative process” (218).

16. This information was gathered from analyzing English and Spanish language news sources the first week that SB 1070 was signed into law as found on the Arizona State University online *Proquest News and Newspapers* database. In order to pull out the protest strategies and actors involved in such strategies major public discourse the first week that SB 1070 was signed into law, I ran the news articles that I pulled from *Proquest* through NVivo which allowed me to define what the key terms were across the news articles. After my broader search for key terms allowed me to focus in on the major trends in the discourse, I read the news articles to refine my understanding of how these key terms functioned within the discourse and served to define what the key strategies called for by the actors.

17. Taking Crick and Gabriel’s account of the public life of a controversy, along with feedback from members of Puente and news source coverage of SB 1070 the first week it was signed into law.

18. This appraisal follows from interpreting interview responses from Puente’s membership and news coverage of SB 1070, April 23-30, 2010, through the lens of Crick and Gabriel’s theory of public controversy.

19. Here I use the term agents to denote those who are *ascribed* rhetorical agency—the ability to carry out political actions. A public might gather to protest against unjust laws such as SB 1070, and they might be supported by politicians and activist organizations, but Crick and Gabriel would argue that backstage political actors are the sole agents of change, but rather are prompted to push for change when the public pressures them to do

so (Crick and Gabriel 216-217). Also, when politicians, advocacy groups, and the general public ascribe ultimate agency to more powerful others (those other than the general public or the undocumented), they are using a limited definition of agency. As Linda Flower explains, there is more than one ideal of what constitutes agency (53). Using Charles Taylor's broader definition of what agency is, with his acknowledgement of power differentials, Flower argues that agency is action despite power relations— "[a]gency is neither power nor control but reflective action—a value-drive choice..." (53).

20. Specifically, I identified these activities by employing the methods described in chapter 2.

21. As explained in chapter 1, placing the agency of representation in the hands of those that are outsiders to a community often has adverse consequences—consequences such as sustaining a wider public's negative image of a subordinated group (Higgins and Brush 695). And, despite even good intentions, outsider representation can take the shape of appropriating an issue for socio-political agendas at the expense of those who are actually affected by an issue (Mohanty 333-334). Put another way, such representation can often collapse distinctions between the political and the real—the agenda and the lived experience (Mohanty 333-334).

22. Here, one fear was replaced by another. If Puente devised strategies for self-representation the undocumented community would surely face their fears about their immigration status, and yet doing so also shifted the fear attendant with hiding with the fear of having to represent this community. To be clear, Puente needed to avoid reifying

the status of the undocumented with notions of “acceptable” versus “unacceptable” undocumented people.

23. I produced the chart by analyzing interview responses from Puente members, information provided on the “¡Conozca sus Derechos!” / “Know Your Rights” webpage and video offered on Puente’s home website, puenteaz.org, and public spheres scholarship attending to the risks that subordinated publics take when going public.

24. Garcia, Carlos. “Arizona, Arpaio and SB 1070 Spur Crusade for Immigrant Rights.” *organizingupgrade.org*. Organizing Upgrade: Engaging Left Organizers in Strategic Dialogue. 20 June 2012. Web. 1 Nov. 2014.

<<http://www.organizingupgrade.com/index.php/modules-menu/war-imperialism/item/463-arizona-arpaio-and-sb100-spur-crusade>>.

Wingett, Yvonne. "Bill Ignites Outcry from Students and Latino Advocates." *Arizona Republic*. 23 April 2010. *ProQuest*. 14 Apr. 2014.

<<http://login.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/239273818?accountid=4485>>.

25. To analyze this discourse, I collected national English and Spanish language news sources found on the Arizona State University online Proquest News and Newspapers database. My search results found that coverage of the Supreme Court Ruling was mostly local coverage found in the Arizona Republic. While there were several other states that covered the ruling, mostly of this coverage amounted to only one news story per state with the exception of the California newspaper, La Presna San Diego, which covered the ruling in six news stories. After separating the English and Spanish language news sources, I ran the Spanish language news sources through Google Translate to cross

check my own translation. After the Spanish language news sources were translated, I added them to the English language new sources and then ran all of the news sources through NVivo which allowed me to define what the key terms were across the collective sources. After this broader search for key terms, I read the news articles individually to refine my understanding of how these key terms functioned within the discourse and served to define the publics created.

26. A few of the news sources I found did cover some responses that indicated upholding only one of the three sections of SB 1070 was not enough to address the perceived problem of undocumented immigration in Arizona. However, the majority of discourse indicated that upholding even one of the sections of SB 1070 was problematic. To be clear, while I do note those who oppose the Supreme Court's decision to pass only one of the sections of SB 1070, my analysis focuses on the major public discourse trends found through my research lens parameters. Additionally, although the parameters of my research included national news sources, the majority of the discourse on the Supreme Court decision found in my search was covered in local Arizona news sources. This news coverage, however local, did provide national responses as well. For example, both local and out-of state politician responses were covered and both national and local advocacy group responses were covered. The majority of coverage from the general public (both documented and undocumented people) was from Arizona.

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APPENDIX A
INTERVIEWS, JANUARY 2014

Interview with Carlos Garcia

Senate Bill 1070 Signed into Law and “Conozca Sus Derechos” / “Know Your Rights”

Veronica: One of the responses that I understand Puente taking after Senate Bill 1070 was signed into law on April 23rd, 2010, was the creation of the Puente Movement website. Among other information on this site, Puente has posted the “Conozca Sus Derechos” / “Know Your Rights” video which provides tips on what to do in the event that an undocumented Latino/a community member is pulled over by the police while driving, or contacted at their home by an ICE agent. In addition to this, you have a community defense course that teaches community members about their rights under Senate Bill 1070. In comparison to your public protest work, this work appears to function as a way to protect community members’ identities.

Veronica: As an organization whose members include those whose citizenship status is at-risk, how would you explain how Puente negotiates the tension between protecting the identification of local residents and going public about immigration sanctions and injustice?

Carlos: I think it’s been a process. It hasn’t been that we have arrived at a place where people are open. It’s been before 1070 and during 1070 that this happened. I think we have gone through the process where we have been able to educate people, and also get certain people out that allows others to be more open and to put it out there, but definitely before, even two three years ago, or more specifically, before 1070, the majority of our members would not say their status and be open about it. So now, after 1070, the organization’s purpose has been more to give the subjects of the controversy, or people

that 1070's attacking, the forefront and the people that are going to be needing whatever work it is that we're doing to stop these laws. With that shift it also puts the pressure back on the undocumented people themselves to stand up for themselves—that coming from the necessity and the learning that the majority of immigrant rights groups have their own agenda, with either voting agendas behind them, some unions, longer visions, or are tied to the democratic party, or just some other agendas. So, learning what's best for undocumented people, for us, has been putting undocumented people in the forefront—being the subject of what's been going on.

Veronica: You mentioned last time we spoke that sometimes people mistake that larger discussion or narrative of immigration reform with what Puentes is specifically doing at a given moment in time. Could you explain that more?

Carlos: I think that the larger conversation comes with a lot of interests whether it's business, political, all these different interests on both sides. For us, it's been narrowed down. We've been involved in a lot of those interests and thinking that that's the path that we could reach alleviation for our community, but we've now, through that whole process, learned that focusing on stopping deportations and the literal cases and ending people suffering is what's better for us and for everyone else. It was finding that that allowed us to grow and be where we are at now—hopefully being the voice of the people who are being most affected.

Veronica: Obviously, immigration reform is a larger goal, but would you say that as an organization, then, you have understood that it is better to target protesting efforts on the symptoms of the problem, such as deportations and other sanctions that have come with Senate Bill 1070, rather than just talk about immigration reform in a broader sense?

Carlos: I think that there's a difference between immigration reform and a pathway for people to become documented. So, immigration reform has been convoluted into where there are all these different interest groups. What has been dominated on our side lately has been this request for citizenship, which has mainly been pushed by folks that are interested in voting blocks and those sorts of things. Some people might think "they are just settling," but it's more about looking at political realities. In 2006 when we had these big marches, before 1070, there was this authentic—even before that with President Bush—there seemed to be an authentic search, with McCain and Kennedy at the time in 2007, there seemed to be an authentic want to pass something on both sides (Republican and Democrat), but now unfortunately with President Obama it has become more of a blame game—it's become more of a tool of both parties. So, in that context, immigration reform is not a viable reality or something that is going to include the people we work with (undocumented) or stop deportations—we have had to look for where we can make changes. Since immigration reform has been talked about for fourteen years and nothing has happened, and in the course of that, in Arizona, we have had all of these negative laws, so (it has become) how do we hold or stop those negative laws. So, we kept concentrating on DC and getting immigration reform and maybe not push back here, maybe the birthright citizenship bill would pass, but it would have kept getting worse.

For us, targeting locally, and stopping things locally, and also making a different demand nationally, has shifted where we are honestly now just trying to alleviate peoples pain.

We're not trying to get anything else, and we're not worried about whether it's

Democrats or Republicans or who the electorates going to be or anything on that part, but literally how do we squash people's fear, and obviously coming from a place where the most fear is at—because of 1070 and Arpaio, the most fear is here so it's kind of pushed us more in that sense.

Veronica: I think I understand what you're saying here as what you mean when in previous interviews you have stated that there is this idea of being a political football—when it makes it about politics and this larger conversation then it moves away from actual reform work that communities can do rather than sit around and sort of wait to see what's going to be the next reform bill, and this is of course what the past has seemed to be with immigration reform—a dizzying array of political voices and not bringing in the community voice.

Carlos: To pick up on that, last year we won seventy-four cases, and in the grand scheme of things that's not a huge deal, but that's seventy-four people—seventy four families—that would have been deported otherwise and also through our work I think that we were able to pretty much stop Arpaio's raids. He's still doing them—we're still looking at ways of making sure he doesn't do them, but we've put a halt to them. So, it's deciding that (course of action) and getting actual victory for our people, and then actually seeing the results I think gets us in a better place and also gives us more leverage. That's another thing people don't understand, that knowing that the political games right now won't allow immigration reform. I think our work advances the whole bill to the place where

more people are going to be included and that's our overall goal, and even attacking the President now to stop deportations is with the thought that he gains more power, more leverage, to be able to win better reform for everyone. Some people might say, "oh, they're giving up" on citizenship or all these different things—it's a lack of thought and also a lot of those folks asking for immigration reform come with a lack of connection to actual people getting deported.

Veronica: Looking at your website, it seems that one of the first things that Puente has done, and likely this is even before 2010 (with SB 1070), is try to mobilize the community in terms of a defense strategy, such as Barrio Defense committees, and the creation of "know your rights" education. How do you think that that has worked in terms of success—taking the fear out of it by recognizing what members can legally do, have a legal right to do, in defense? How do you think that has helped the community come forward?

Carlos: I think it's been to key to the whole thing, even in our process we say "educate, empower, and resist," and we've kind of gone back to that after 2010. Previous to 2010 it was mostly working with people not at risk—mostly activist type work—now it includes more of the people that are effected, and the way we were able to get the people effected to come out and be open and fight and tell their stories is by first educating and empowering them, and then they are able to engage in the same way that someone who has documents to come out and fight.

So, it think it's a process that's needed and it's also a necessity that no one's going to come save the people—all those people saying that they want immigration reform and it's all part of this scheme, so unless people defend themselves there're not going to be anyone there for them. Once we started working in the jails we realized 86% of the people defend themselves without attorneys in immigration detention, so with that we started looking at what would be the most impactful—educating people, and also because after 1070 we aren't able to be everywhere, educating people was a way to duplicate ourselves.

Veronica: In terms of a rhetorical strategy, what I understand you saying is that it's the people who have to protect themselves, and it's the people who have to create that public presence so the conversation on immigration reform is not just between political figures such as Arpaio, or President Obama, or any other political figure.

Veronica: I want to understand Puente's responses to particular incidents along the Senate Bill 1070 debate from a number of points-of-view. How might you imagine someone outside the community interpreting these moves to protect the community through legal awareness—through framing inner-community discourse in terms of human rights associated with legal rights?

Carlos: I don't know—I don't think people see it. I think unfortunately the whole debate we lost—we lost the most important debate, which was the illegal people debate, and then somehow we got too many people arguing with people, and that defeat was, is still, one of the main reasons why we're still here—us trying to battle the whole “what part about illegal don't you understand” is what's hard, so that was the goal in 2006 where we were trying to fight them of that, and at that time we were all joined together because

there was no capacity locally. The messaging and name of coalitions back then were, “We Are America,” so saying that we are America too, it was a battle of “we belong here too” and I think we’ve reached the point where in 2010 it’s more about dignity—it’s more about asserting ourselves and what we’ve given. It also comes down to, for a lot of us individually, tying it to us being indigenous—so, more of a sense of us asserting ourselves. I think that this has shown our aggressiveness and also that we’re not coming in begging for anything—we’ve worked for here—these are the rights we deserve, and it’s also how the community has seen itself. In the early 2000’s—after 9/11—I think we all bowed our heads—everyone took that on in the Super American sense of it out there, but I think that our people just didn’t feel a part of it so it created a division, and in response we were not as aggressive. When we bowed our heads, it gave an opportunity for Russell Pierce and Arpaio to be out. Some of the early anti-immigrant measures, even in 2006, and earlier ones like in 2002 with the English only laws, a majority of Latinos voted for those measures. So, it went from trying to prove ourselves to say we’re a part of this too, to them saying no you’re not, to where we are asserting ourselves and saying we deserve these rights.

Veronica: One thing that I wanted to ask, after I read Cristina Beltrán’s work, thinking about issues of inclusion and exclusion—belonging and being an American—what would you like to me to use, as a term, when I speak of Puente as an organization, such as Latino/a, Chicano/a, or Mexican.

Carlos: It's allowing all of those, allowing people to identify how they are—ideally, individually, I'm Chicano, indigenous, Mexican, and Latino last, but with seeing whose being attacked and the people we are working with... When we would be more idealist, like five years ago, I would say Chicano hand down and I would not hesitate, from studying the Chicano movement in a very idealistic way, but starting to see the people who I'm working with and who is being attacked... the identities... there's an identity crisis, and then you throw in someone who has papers and who does not have papers, and all these different identities, people not wanting to be indigenous, there's different skin tones, there's no way you could bring people together like there was in the 60's (with the Chicano Movement). I think this is also why we went towards a Human Rights movement (as an identity)—a movement for the people—as we started working with different people so our identity is not just Mexican, so it would be more in relation to people who are undocumented or people who are in relation to people who are undocumented, or people being criminalized. Now, in Arizona, it looks like very much like Mexican and Chicano place, but in similar groups we have worked with that have now taking this identity (undocumented) it looks totally different. This is even with the staff, Jovana, Sandra, and I come from MECHa and the Chicano ideology, but have learned to distance that rather than try to convince other people that they're not Latino, so other members are different (in what they identify themselves as).

Veronica: What do you, in terms of Puente as an organization, still identify or keep in terms of some of the ideas behind the Chicano Movement.

Carlos: I think that the fighting, the asserting ourselves, is definitely one of them. We're tired—it's an enough is enough kind of thing—the resistance. The mobilization, being in people's faces, and this isn't just from the Chicano Movement, it comes from the Civil Rights movement—a lot of the Chicano Movement and the Civil Rights Movement are attached—the Black Power Movement and the Chicano Movement are very attached. Two years ago with the Undocubus, that was literally taken from the freedom rides, people at diner counters—it's until you pose the dilemma that you're asking—undocumented people getting arrested themselves and putting themselves out there, without that you're not going to get that change—like with the lunch counter, it wasn't until you defy the actual law that you're able to make change. Even a lot of our signage comes from this idea.

United States Supreme Court Upholds Controversial Provisions in SB 1070 Law

The Senate Bill 1070 debate has experienced some shifts since 2010. For example, on June 25th, 2012, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld certain provisions of Senate Bill 1070 in *Arizona et al. v. the United States* (11-182), such as the “show me your papers” provision. From my understanding, one response that Puente made after this Supreme Court ruling was the creation of the “No Papers / No Fear” campaign and the Undocubus tour.

Veronica: I definitely want to talk more about the No Papers / No Fear and Undocubus campaign. What I would like to ask first is how would you describe the images that the wider public creates about the undocumented Latino/a community? For example, the Chicano Movement created certain narratives about their beliefs—here is what we stand for—and the Puente Movement is doing the same, creating a certain narrative, but in

different ways. So, how would you imagine the image the public creates about the undocumented both here in Arizona and nationally?

Carlos: I think we've worked really hard at bringing attention to it. Before it was okay to say attrition is the public policy of the state—making people's lives miserable is the public policy of the state. I think through getting the movement out there and getting into people's faces, asserting who is being effected, I think we were able to hopefully shift that a little bit (shift former images). The only people I can see is the counter protestors—I try to talk to people all the time and most people don't open up about immigration, even though most people are either one way or the other on the issue, but I can see it in counter protestors—people being passionate enough to come out on the streets and counter protest us or create their own protests against undocumented people. You don't see that (the counter protestors) after 2012, and I think people have been shamed into thinking that it is no longer okay to attack undocumented people in that way, and I think that shame comes from their peers—those who are not so radical—the kind of conversations such as you're going too far, or your weird, or why are you keep messing with these people, how does it matter, kind of conversation. I would say it's shifted into where there are some, like in every marginalized group of people, a spectrum of “these are okay and these are not okay” and I think at least from all that you start now seeing, well, “students are okay,” or “people that were brought here before on no fault of their own are okay,” when before 2012 it was get them all gone. So, you start seeing certain groups being okay, and even day laborers not being attacked is huge, and before I would consider them right before people charged with crimes—they were the bottom of who people wanted to see—you would hear things like “they're an eye sore,” and you don't even hear that

anymore. I think it's a point of acceptance and then there is still a point of annoyance from a lot of people, especially around the boycott stuff and the sense that others think Arizona's racists, and I think it got to people. When you see Lou Dobbs getting taken off the air, Glenn Beck...all these people went too far. I think that opens up a space from something good to happen.

Veronica: Thinking about what you discuss in terms of how some people are "okay" and how you mentioned that it is good to have that space open up, but you also suggest that there is this sense of a hierarchy with undocumented people, like the Dreamers are "okay," "they're going to school, they're fine." How does some of Puente's work try to deal with avoiding a homogenized image of people but also not presenting hierarchies of people who are undocumented?

Carlos: I think the key is, well take Natalie, she's a Dreamer, and her being arrested next to Isela (Chela) whose a young queer woman who came out at a later age, also graduate High School but has no kids, getting arrested next to Letty who's not a Dreamer, but whose dropped out of High School and had a kid, and Miguel getting arrested, whose in his 40's now, with the four of them, people don't think we're intentional in that, but we are—the representation of the four people, the first non-dreamer undocumented people to get arrested anywhere in the country was here—it was intentional representing the variety in our community. We've done the same now with defending people with criminal charges, so this person here has a DUI, but it doesn't make it okay to deport him—that's where we're hopefully continuing to do—there's a circle of people, and we are kind of doing this to the circle, pulling it to widen and change it—so we pushed it to where we're defending people with criminal charges, where it's okay for someone who has a DUI, to

where it is not okay for anyone to be deported.—getting more people accepted, so it's okay for Dreamers, now it's okay for their parents, so now what about these people to the point where it is okay if they made a mistake, especially if it has to do with immigration—that's what we first did, defend people who made a mistake, but they had to because they had to work—their mistake was forced on them because of the recommendation of immigration. Where we're at now we're hitting ourselves against the wall—people with criminal charges, with DUI's, gun charges, multiple DUI's, re-entry cases, that's where we are at now. It's not as fun, but it has been where we have been able to push it.

Veronica: I remember you noted that you used to use “We are not criminals” as a public sign that you had to reconsider because some people do have records.

Carlos: In 2009 that was one of our fliers, and it provoked the conversation within ourselves.

Veronica: You've stated in interviews with several media outlets that Senate Bill 1070 is an extension of a long history of sanction on the Latino /a community, especially those who are undocumented Arizona residents. What I understand as an undercurrent of Puente's media interviews is the idea that the Latino/a community continues to deal with these sanctions in relation to the images that the public has created regarding the Latino/a community and undocumented residents.

Veronica: How do you understand Puente's protest response with No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour working with the tensions between the narratives that Puente seeks to create about the undocumented Latino/a community and present to the public, and the images that the wider public presents about this community?

Carlos: I think you're bringing up what I would call D.C. groups now as to oppose to what we are doing. I think it's relevant to the conversation—in 2006 the conversation was by professional lobbyists and policy people trying to come out with messaging that would convince middle America that's okay to accept or pass a law to let undocumented people in. Those lobbyists were paid by people with money that benefited from that, so the Democratic party, the unions, those sorts of folks that saw benefit in people becoming legalized. That messaging was never from us, and my sense is that it's counterproductive, and in a sense, almost picking a fight. Sometimes it seemed that they wanted to lose, you come off 9/11 and 5 years (2006) later you come off with all this patriotisms and you're coming off as trying to be *more* patriot than patriot with all these American flags and your slogan being "We Are America," it's like you're hitting a nerve—a nerve that's already been hit. Similar to now, you see Alliance for Citizenship that starts coming out last year, so now Republicans have this fear, or the people that would be against us, that we would become citizens and take over, overwhelm them, be more. In 2007 I believe was the first year that there were more non-white babies born in Arizona than white babies and that's when you see this big push to get us out, so then if you put out there we're the Alliance for Citizenship, you're throwing out there that you're trying to take something—you're contesting something—when there's no need for that because we're already cohabitating in this country and what needs to be put out is the story, our dignity, is that we are already part of it without that confrontational aspect. We're not only battling a public narrative against us, but I think also a narrative that's attempted to be created for us by other interests that are supposedly on our side, so we're often having to fight both. It wasn't until we were able to create our own power around 2010 by capacity—being able to staff

people and do this work full time—that we were able to really fight this off and change it. For example networking with NDLOM, helping us coordinate something like the Undocubus, which aimed to not only show people our dignity, our humanity, the we're here—we're not afraid, but also to counter the narrative that has been created for us—to control the messaging and immigration reform as a conversation. Also, building that capacity—building in the work—closer with people and realizing that that's what people actually want to do— people are tired of running. We also reached a point where Secure Communities (287(g)) was said to be National in 2013, which meant every jail in the country was now going to be like Arizona, so there're nowhere in the country except Cook county, Illinois, D.C., the Bay area—these tiny pockets in the country, where you can actually be safe. If we keep running, there just going to keep pushing us further, or we could say we're here, were stopping this and kind of get in their face. So, it was a huge battle for messaging, but it was also just assertiveness. Another group that has been very groundbreaking has been National Immigrant Youth Alliance (NIYA)—they're the first students to start getting arrested, so I feel like the Dreamers have been pushing in different ways and I think made the deferred action possible. I think we're been parallel with that.

Veronica: Part of the work that I understand is being constructed through public protest work such as with No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour is the attempt to re-frame the issue of undocumented residents and therefore to re-frame the issue of immigration reform.

Veronica: How would you explain how Puente's No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour works with and or against previously constructed narratives that have

been created in past protest movements by the Latino/a community in relation to immigration reform—those that have been viewed as more successful, or perhaps less successful past public protest moves?

Carlos: Interesting enough, past strategies of just marching had more resistant than when we came out in such a strong way, so saying “undocumented and unafraid” publically it definitely shifted everything and got more in people’s faces. In the past, even people from human rights would say undocumented people can’t be on camera and the whole savior complex—it’s also the big race thing—all those D.C. groups are a lot of white, male, people that have been there a long time and were hired as lobbyists to figure it out. So, our work countered all that, it pushed people out there, and it also liberated the people on the buses—they came back changed. It wasn’t just Puente people either, there were other people from different parts of the country on the bus. I think it also spread what we were doing to other places to where at the end of last year we were doing Shut Down ICE and we had sixteen other cities doing Shut Down Ice actions. Before, the only way we could do those types of civil disobediences is if we did them in Phoenix or did the bus. What we did was strategic—to show people how to resist in the way we have here. We thought it was going to be more civil disobedience in different places (when we were on the bus), but when we got to places not all people were ready—it takes that education, it takes that empowerment, it takes the whole level of growing for you to be able to take that step. So, we originally planned eight civil disobediences and we ended up doing four or five because places weren’t ready, but those same places a year later were then able to do it without us even helping. A part of the bus was also sharing what we knew from here (our experiences) and sharing that fearlessness.

Veronica: How might you imagine someone outside the community interpreting the No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour in relation to public images of undocumented Latino/a residents?

Carlos: I think we've reached the point where we've stopped caring, which is why we were so bold in that (the Undocubus tour). It's asserting our dignity—it was that shift of not caring, especially not caring about the people that put us in the situation where we're at. Surprisingly you would think that being so bold in your face would cause an even bigger reaction, but not having a reaction, not even by politicians, and having ICE let us alone and cross checkpoints and not stop the bus knowing there's undocumented people...Did we shift the fear? We've been afraid, hidden, for so long and it's easy to be beat up by the bully, so we stand up to the bully and the bully backs down...I would like to think that because we didn't see a response, but at some point it was better that there was no response, but I don't have an idea of how people felt or how they were taking it in because even Brewer had no comment about it. I think the biggest thing and one of our reasons for doing it—when it's just black people, or undocumented people—nameless people in the shadow, it's easy to target, but once you see people in the streets and you see people becoming characters in the story, no one is going to stop that person on the street and tell them they should be deported, they could, but then who would win that argument. So, they pushed us into a corner and we came out to fight.

The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013, Proposed in Congress on April 17th, 2013.

Veronica: The more recent shift in the Senate Bill 1070 debate has been the proposal of the immigration reform bill, *The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and*

Immigration Modernization Act of 2013, , proposed in congress on April 17th, 2013. As the debate on immigration reform continues, Puente continues to create public protest work, such as protesting workplace raids. With so many public issues in the media, organizations often need to keep working on their public presence.

Veronica: From your understanding, how would you explain the public protest choices that Puente has made to effectively sustain the wider public's interest in immigration reform? In 2013 there was this big political discussion about a new reform bill. As you mentioned before, national discourse on immigration reform can easily just turn into or be a political tool, or as you have noted in interviews, a political football. What are some of the public protest choices that Puente has done in response to this bill? What do you see Puente's work doing now?

Carlos: I think that because our eyes were open to the political game that we kind of haven't fallen for it. I think what's happening is that Democrats are content and Republicans have been really smart on having pro-Latino / pro-immigrant people when they need to and even having more leadership like Rubio—prominent Latino leadership, even though it doesn't reflect their base, in places where they needed to be, like here with McCain and in other places. The Democrats, thinking that they're outsmarting them, but Obama deported the most people ever. It's a realization that we have no friends and that we're on our own. So, last year was more about working on the cases and stopping the deportations ourselves—exposing that and putting pressure on the administration on both sides, so last year you start seeing out first public cases, such as Eddie, and other cases that we protest for. It's stopping the deportations ourselves—the Democrats and

Republicans aren't going to stop them so we're stopping them ourselves. We've also done some more aggressive actions such as shutting down Operation Streamline.

Veronica: Previously you mentioned that there're this problem with this American narrative—the We Are All American type of discourse, what kind of images and messages do you use in your current protest work and in what ways do you think that does or does not affect that We Are All American image?

Carlos: I think it's one culture and our history and all of those things come into play. A lot of our work has been more festive, more visual, and it comes with the culture. I think that people are afraid that their country's changing, or their reality or perception of what's going to be for their children is changing, and that's their biggest fear—when I talk to the Minute Men or the counter protestors, that's their biggest fear. Another misconception is that the people who come here want to be just like them. People that come here like their culture and want to preserve that, and you can see that by the way they paint their houses and by how people just kind of stick to their own; as example would be Phoenix, how segregated the city is. For us it's about asserting our culture, asserting our pride and our dignity, and it's not that we want to be you but migration is a reality and there's push / pull factors here with policy. It's been caused by your government, it's been caused by your government influencing the even worse government in Mexico where we come from. So talking about those things and targeting those things more, than wanting to assimilate and us begging to be here. I think that there is a way we try to shift that. Contrary to what people believe, it is now showing to be more effective for them wanting to be the people they want to be—you want to live the life exactly how you want to. Circumstances are here, I play my role here, let's define our

roles and figure out how we live together—that's kind of where we're at. It's also at a point of not caring what they think; caring what they think brings them into the conversation—doing our own thing allows us to do our own thing. It creates a dilemma.

Veronica: In my research on past movements or organizations, such as LULAC and the Chicano Movement, one of the things that I noted was that in the past, there was some marginalization of certain people, or frictions, within the community at large or within the group. For example, LULAC tended to have middle-class members at the expense sometimes of those who were still working class, or the Chicano Movement, which had inner-friction due to differences in the roles of women and even issues of sexual orientation. How would you categorize or discuss your role as the Director—would you categorize yourself as the Director?

Carlos: I have to be a Director because my role is to fundraise, for example, but I don't have a desk—we still meet in a circle with our membership—it's learning from those things and not being patriarchal, and trying to develop people. So, Puente is a thing that spawns a bunch of different things such as Puente Ink—there are different projects that are completely autonomous—people kind of do their own thing—there's not this hierarchy because you're represented in most other places, and that has also helped us have this fluidity that sometimes hurts us, but breaking those hierarchies is something we have intentionally been trying to do. We constantly do workshops, like the feminist workshop two weeks ago, to have those conversations in our community. Last week our intro questions was who did you have a crush on when you were a kid, knowing that it is going to create (maybe some un-comfortableness) with queer folks in the room, but it's

okay and this is especially coming from a community that is very conservative, so we are definitely trying to do that.

Veronica: Thinking about community variety, when communities tie together protest movements, such as Undocuqueer, do you think that has benefits or limitations?

Carlos: I think it involves more people—it's been beneficial for us. We did this cool thing right before the Undocubus where it was the people versus Arpaio, and every two weeks we had a different protest such as Hip Hop versus Arpaio, Black / Brown versus Arpaio, Victims of Domestic Violence versus Arpaio...I think it's created more space involving more people and connected a lot of other folks.

Veronica: Do you think it complicates each organizations very specific tasks?

Carlos: It does, but again, as long as each organization is going to keep their own way—I don't think it's going to be our downfall but I think it is a point we need to work on because other movements have been so national—like the Chicano Movement—that was going to be your identity and you were going to act a certain way—it has works so far for us (continuing to be individualistic). Our whole fight was for inclusion in this country so excluding people from what we're doing, we're not walking that talk. I think it has also changed in a sense because they have seen people throw down for them, for example seeing Chela (undocuqueer)—she got arrested for everyone else. People who are going through detention—going through the system, they've met different people there. Working with an effected community allows you to grow away from those fears—if you think maybe we shouldn't put those people in the room, because they'll fight, or maybe we shouldn't invite some people—you create your own limitations.

Veronica: Given the public protest work that Puente has carried out, such as No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour, as well as the public protest work in relation to ICE and workplace raids, how would you explain how these public protest choices have served to bridge communication across publics that would otherwise not have contact?

Carlos: I think most people realize that you can't get rid of everyone. A lot of our public actions, like when we shut down a street in Tucson, we made sure when we talked to the media to apologize for being in their car two or three hours, but some people have been waiting in detention for two or three years. It's a little bit about shedding light on the pain and people understanding. Like some videos, showing the kids and how they suffer. I think that's part of it—showing the suffering—this is what you're doing and your thoughts and your narrative is what's creating this suffering, is that what you want? It's reposing that dilemma. I don't expect them to say we're sorry, but I do expect to see people back off.

Interview with Natally Cruz

Senate Bill 1070 Signed into Law and “Conozca Sus Derechos” / “Know Your Rights”

Veronica: One of the responses that I understand Puente taking after Senate Bill 1070 was signed into law on April 23rd, 2010, was the creation of the Puente Movement website. Among other information on this site, Puente has posted the “Conozca Sus Derechos” / “Know Your Rights” video which provides tips on what to do in the event that an undocumented Latino/a community member is pulled over by the police while driving, or contacted at their home by an ICE agent. In addition to this, you have a community defense course that teaches community members about their rights under

Senate Bill 1070. In comparison to your public protest work, this work appears to function as a way to protect community members' identities.

Veronica: As an organization whose members include those whose citizenship status is at-risk, how would you explain how Puente negotiates the tension between protecting the identification of local residents and going public about immigration sanctions and injustice?

Natally: I personally think that once you come out as an undocumented person there is no other way. You kind of have that fear the very first time. The first time I came out as an undocumented person, you don't know what's going to happen, you could be walking down the street and someone could recognize you by saying it publically (that you are undocumented). The worst fear about it is that we do have a lot of people, particularly here in Arizona, who don't like undocumented folks, and one fear is what if one day I'm walking down the street and someone does something to me—that always comes to mind. With other folks in the community, you always talk to them, and the first step to getting them to come out and to fight for themselves and everybody else is being able to talk about it and being able to be comfortable to say, yes, I'm undocumented, and I think that's the very first step towards anything—to feel comfortable and that you're going to leave the fear behind to take you to what your goal is.

Veronica: I understand that part of Puente's work is to dispel the fear by educating the community, such as the Community Defense Course and "know your rights" both which teach people about their rights and what to do if you are pulled over by the police or have contact with someone from ICE with the idea that the person does not have to state their

documentation status. How do you think that works with this idea of coming out as undocumented?

Nataly: It works in both ways because once we talk to the community members, at first you don't even know you have rights here—normally you're undocumented and you shouldn't be here, but once you start going to the community defense class and know your rights then they start learning little by little that even if you don't have documents you have rights—you have the same things that everybody else can do, so when you learn more and go through it you feel more comfortable being outside, even driving around knowing that if you get pulled over, just show them a picture id or anything. As long as you have confidence, I think that's important—teaching the community members, teaching their family members, and their neighbors...going through this course and knowing that you're going to be there if they pull you over...you know what to do.. show them your id, I don't have to answer all the questions and they can intimidate me all they want but I know at the end of the day I'm going to be able to stay here and fight. I think it's important to let the community members know that you have rights and after taking the course and learning things you're less afraid of going out; taking these courses you learn the opposite of what you've always been told.

Veronica: I want to understand Puente's responses to particular incidents along the Senate Bill 1070 debate from a number of points-of-view. How might you imagine someone outside the community interpreting these moves to protect the community through legal awareness—through framing inner-community discourse in terms of human rights associated with legal rights?

Natally: Some of our community members are willing to protest, some of them are scared and don't know what's going to happen, and this is why when it comes down to it, this (protests) might bring attention to this issue-as long as the issue is under the table nothing's going to happen. I see it in the cases we have that we do protests for, bringing that attention, especially when someone is being deported and (are charged with) a federal crime, or anything like that, it's to show that these issues are still happening no matter if in the law you have low priority and high priority of people who should not be here, there are things that are still happening where there are people who are low priority that shouldn't be in detention. If you don't step up to it...protesting brings our story out. It (deportations) is going to happen, but if you want to keep quiet it will still be the same.

United States Supreme Court Upholds Controversial Provisions in SB 1070 Law

The Senate Bill 1070 debate has experienced some shifts since 2010. For example, on June 25th, 2012, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld certain provisions of Senate Bill 1070 in *Arizona et al. v. the United States* (11-182), such as the “show me your papers” provision. From my understanding, one response that Puentes made after this Supreme Court ruling was the creation of the “No Papers / No Fear” campaign and the Undocubus tour.

Veronica: How would you describe the images that the wider public creates about the undocumented Latino/a community?

Natally: When people are against immigration or anything like that, they have their own opinions. I think that they are so closed-minded that they do not really understand what the real issue is, but at the same time I think it makes them afraid—if people are undocumented and are willing to come out and willing to fight for it, it shows them that

these people are going to fight...you have mothers and fathers coming out, and they're seeing the power of the community saying enough is enough, you have been doing so many things—they are seeing that people are not going to be afraid anymore and to them it is giving them less power. It makes them see that they have done so many things like the raids, but they're still here and fighting what else could we possibly do. I think their (those against the undocumented) is that they're going to be here no matter what. When this whole issue started I was always told to never say you're undocumented. I knew I wasn't from here, but I didn't really know what the issue was and how it would affect me down the road. By 2005 when I graduated from High School I started to see that I wasn't going to be able to go to college—that I couldn't afford it—I couldn't get a driver's license, and I couldn't work, so it hits you slowly. When Senate Bill 1070 happened I didn't know what to do—I wasn't involved in the community yet (of Puente) and I never thought that I did have rights, so I went down to the Mexican council to apply for dual citizenship—I was going to self-deport. But, I started coming around the Puente in 2010 and that's when my life changed and I thought I'm not going to give up. In the beginning they give you that fear that you're not going to be able to go out of your house and not going to be able to anything. Every time they push and pull with legislature or new laws, we're still going to be here, we're going to fight—people are going to find a way to protect the community members from anything else that could happen.

Veronica: The Director of Puente, Carlos Garcia, has stated in interviews with several media outlets that Senate Bill 1070 is an extension of a long history of sanction on the Latino /a community, especially those who are undocumented Arizona residents. What I understand as an undercurrent of Puente's media interviews is the idea that the Latino/a

community continues to deal with these sanctions in relation to the images that the public has created regarding the Latino/a community and undocumented residents.

Veronica: How do you understand Puente's protest response with No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour working with the tensions between the narratives that Puente seeks to create about the undocumented Latino/a community and present to the public, and the images that the wider public presents about this community?

Nataly: With No Papers / No Fear it was to bring out everything that was happening, and showing people that 30 people are willing to get on a bus and risk everything—everybody knows there is undocumented people here, but to have a whole community come out and go through each city and seeing that no matter what people are still going to come out. They're afraid that our community is going to grow and be bigger. When you see this Undocubus, if you pull it over, and border patrol stops it, there is going to be a big controversy—what are you going to do, are you going to deport them all, or what? I think that is what the issue is right now—what are we going to do with them? The bus was also to grow and get more community members to come out—we've seen in happen with the community before. We're so used to being quiet, but being able to speak about it and come out—when you see people doing this, in one of the worst states, and you don't know why they're still there, it gives you that break. Every state has it's issues (with immigration)—you may not have an Arpaio, but you do have the issue—it's informing them (these people in other states) and also to hear other stories about how other cities are doing—they might not have SB 1070, but they have other things that make it like Arizona. People would ask, how do you do it (with Arpaio), but they have check points, so we might now have checkpoints, but we do have Arpaio—it's the same thing.

Veronica: Part of the work that I understand is being constructed through public protest work such as with No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour is the attempt to re-frame the issue of undocumented residents and therefore to re-frame the issue of immigration reform.

Veronica: How would you explain how Puente's No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour works with and or against previously constructed narratives that have been created in past protest movements by the Latino/a community in relation to immigration reform—those that have been viewed as more successful, or perhaps less successful past public protest moves?

Natally: I think that with No Papers / No Fear it doesn't give them a narrative of "We are Americans" or "We all want citizenship," it's kind of plain and simple where we do have community members who want to come out and say we are undocumented and we don't have any fear and are going to continue to fight. I think it says to everyone that we don't have documents but we want to be able to be here in a way that we are not scared of going out—we can take our children to Disneyland, and drive anywhere we want to.

Veronica: How might you imagine someone outside the community interpreting the No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour in relation to public images of undocumented Latino/a residents?

Natally: I think people were thinking that these people are crazy, saying that they are undocumented; they are going to get deported if they keep saying that, but once they stated seeing how many people were coming out, little by little you start to see more of the community coming out. Why walk down the street with my head down when I could keep walking just like a regular person. I think it was a good idea of just bringing it out—

yeah we want citizenship, but slowly we're going to get there; right now this is who we are. With "We Are Human" we were saying that just because we don't have a nine digit number doesn't mean we're any different than anybody else—having people understand that we are undocumented, but we don't deserve everything they want to give us—so, starting with something basic like "We Are Human" it makes a point—we are human and why are you treating us like that (because it is so unarguable—it doesn't skip a step but starts with the basics).

The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013, Proposed in Congress on April 17th, 2013.

The more recent shift in the Senate Bill 1070 debate has been the proposal of the immigration reform bill, *The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013*, , *proposed in congress on April 17th, 2013*. As the debate on immigration reform continues, Puente continues to create public protest work, such as protesting workplace raids. With so many public issues in the media, organizations often need to keep working on their public presence.

Veronica: From your understanding, how would you explain the public protest choices that Puente has made to effectively sustain the wider public's interest in immigration reform?

Natally: I think it depends on what the community needs are. In 2013, what had happened was we got hit with two workplace raids and seeing community folks crying desperately that they don't know what to do. Our community continues to suffer, so at the beginning of the year it was about stopping the raids—stop the suffering of families and to give them that relief and that comfort that they are not alone in this and so many

families have gone through the same thing. That's where we step in and say we're tired and so many kids are going to bed at night asking why is my parent inside a jail? That is what we go by—the suffering of the community and their needs. We were trying to hit the idea that things are happening—this is the only state where you give someone a felony for being undocumented and working. Immigration reform's the issue, but at the end of the day it's the needs of the community. We're the only community that is willing to do petitions for those who do have a criminal record like a DUI.

Veronica: Given the public protest work that Puente has carried out, such as No Papers / No Fear and the Undocubus tour, as well as the public protest work in relation to ICE and workplace raids, how would you explain how these public protest choices have served to bridge communication across publics that would otherwise not have contact?

Natally: We want them to see that our community—here in Arizona and in the United States—we are not all criminals. Someone might have made a trip somewhere and got caught with a DUI, but these are people, and with the issue of immigration reform, they won't qualify (for citizenship). Slowly it is becoming less that that—slowly they are making sure that they convict us and get us caught in the system (the penal system) and we're not going to qualify. So I think when people see us they think that they are not going to make me feel less (because of a record), and then they have a felony just from working (as undocumented).

Veronica: How might you imagine someone outside the community interpreting these public protest moves in relation to how such moves bridge communication across publics?

Natally: I think they think we're crazy. I don't think they really understand what it is we're doing—I think in their minds they think they're not helping their community members, they're making it worse. People will get caught working with fake social security numbers, so we say (for example), look, this person is a 53 year old woman who has never been in jail her whole life, now is sitting in a county jail with handcuffs and chains—it's an elderly woman—a grandma, it's trying to switch it a little and get them to understand that it might seem to make it worse to put these issues out but in reality, but I hope they go home and make themselves understand.

It's like the movie that just came out (State of Arizona)—hearing what the others say—when you watch them and you hear them they sound so stupid. I wonder if they watch this and kind of reflect on what they're saying because you see kids suffering (in the movie) and crying and then there are the people counter protesting, someone pointing a finger like a gun at kids—if they go home and watch it maybe they'll think.

APPENDIX B
HUMAN SUBJECTS APPROVAL DOCUMENT

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Elenore Long
 English
 480/965-3197 Elenore.Long@asu.edu

Dear Elenore Long:

On 11/27/2013 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Senate Bill 1070, Shifting Dis /Courses, and Bridging Differences: The Work of the Puente Movement
Investigator:	Elenore Long
IRB ID:	STUDY00000318
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	ConsentDocumentShortForm.pdf, Category: Consent Form; VOLUNTARY CONSENT.pdf, Category: Consent Form; SocialBehavioralApplication %281%29 %283%29.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; Interview Questions.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); CITI Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (2).pdf, Category: Other (to reflect anything not captured above); CITI Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative.pdf, Category: Other (to reflect anything not captured above); citiCompletionReport1966476.pdf, Category: Other (to reflect anything not captured above); RECRUITMENT SCRIPT (2).pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials;

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• OliverVeronicaCV.pdf, Category: Vitaes/resumes of study team;• Long_cv_Jan_2012.pdf, Category: Vitaes/resumes of study team;
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The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 11/27/2013.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc Veronica Oliver