

Raids, Race, and Lessons of Fear and Resistance:
Narratives and Discourse in the Immigration Movement in Arizona

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ABSTRACT

Arizona has become infamous for its strong nativist and anti-immigrant climate, gaining national and international attention for legislation and policing practices that are in violation of civil and human rights. Despite the grave injustices perpetuated against migrants and communities of color, they exist in an environment of acceptance. Applying Critical Pedagogy, Critical Race Theory/Latina(o) Critical Race Theory, and Chicana Feminist epistemologies, this study interrogates the polarized discourse that has intensified in Arizona, within the immigration movement and across its political spectrum, from 2006 to 2008. I present an auto-ethnographic account, including use of participant action research, narrative, and storytelling methods that explores ways in which resistance is manifested and the implications for creating sustainable social change. I argue that legislation, raids, and local immigration enforcement tactics reinforce the dominant group's fear of the "other," resulting in micro and macro aggressions that legitimize racial profiling and help safeguard and fortify White privilege through the fabrication of racialized identities. Simultaneously, organizing strategies and discourse of immigrant rights advocates reflect an entanglement of perceived identities and a struggle to negotiate, contest, and redefine boundaries of public space. The raids, coupled with protests and counter demonstrations, produced a public spectacle that reinforces anti-immigrant connections between race and crime. Lastly, I apply and introduce Border Crit, a new and emerging theory I propose to better address research in the borderlands.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the spirit and strength of the migrant worker, to the border crossers, the ‘criminals,’ the ‘illegals,’ to those brave enough to not give a damn about artificial claims to land, and to anyone out there committed to revolutionary social justice and resistance,

& to Rudy, an angel who was never born.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES.....	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiv
CHAPTER	
1 STORIES	1
Introduction.....	1
Background & Purpose of the Study	3
Statement of the Problem.....	5
Significance.....	11
Scope of the Study and Research Questions.....	15
Summary.....	15
2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW	17
Intersectionality and Chicana Feminist Research and Epistemologies.....	17
Critical Race Theory / LatCrit and Immigration.....	20
Border Crit	23
Literature Review.....	28
Theoretical Foundations of Social Movement Theory	32
Karl Marx (1818-1883).....	38
Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924).....	43
Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937).....	45

CHAPTER	Page
Paulo Freire (1921-1997) on Internalized Oppression & Critical Pedagogy.	49
Max Weber (1864-1920) on Status, Social Stratification, and Power.....	53
Emile Durkheim (1858-1917).....	60
Immigration, Critical Theory, and Pierre Bourdieu’s Habitus	63
Performance Theory.....	71
Politics, Rituals, and Symbols	78
Whiteness as Property.....	81
Fabricating White Privilege, The law, and The “Other”.....	99
3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	105
Participants.....	108
Data Collection	109
Accessing the Data.....	111
Ethical Implications and Limitations	112
4 NARRATIVES AND ANALYSIS A WORD ON METHOD.....	117
Places Like Naco, A Personal Narrative.....	120
My Academic Journey	129
Fighting for Immigrant Rights in Arizona	146
Profiling La Causa: Somos América and Other Players.....	152
Somos America / We Are America Coalition.....	152

CHAPTER	Page
Organizing Platform.....	153
Somos America Meetings as Symbolic Settings of Performance.....	156
Profiles of Somos America	158
Alan Hanson, UFCW.....	158
Alfredo, Tequida & Gutierrez.....	158
Antonio, Maya Chapin.....	160
Ceci Puede.	161
Carlos Garcia, MechA, SEIU, UFCW.....	162
Cynthia Aragon, SEIU then UFCW.....	164
Danny Ortega.....	167
Héctor Yturralde, AZ Hispanic Forum.	168
Karina Guillen, Phoenix College.....	170
Kyrsten Sinema, AZ House of Representatives..	172
Martin Hernandez, UFCW.....	173
Martin Manteca, SEIU.....	174
Masavi Perea, Roofers Union.	175
Liana Rowe, Humane Borders.....	175
Linda Brown, Arizona Advocacy Network.	176
Lydia Guzman.....	177
Roberto Reveles, Unidos en Arizona.....	177

CHAPTER	Page
Sharon Zapata, AZ Hispanic Community	
Forum.....	178
Chris Fleishman, No More Deaths.....	179
Bryant Murray and AI, Phoenix Police	
Department.....	180
Organizations Outside of Somos America.....	182
Unidos en Arizona.	182
Arizona Coalition for Migrant Rights.....	186
Tonatierra and the Macehualli Day Labor	
Center.....	187
Fundacion Mano a Mano.	190
Phoenix Copwatch.	191
Vboc, Pueblo, and Ray Ybarra.	192
Anarchists.	194
Race, Protest, and Resistance in Arizona.....	194
A Discourse of Fear	196
Arizona: A Test Case for Local Immigration	
Enforcement.....	202
<i>El Cheriff</i> Arpaio and Pruitt's.....	203
Methodology.....	208
My Participation.....	211
Observations and Findings.....	216

CHAPTER	Page
Political Spectacle of Immigration Law	
Enforcement.....	219
Protest Signs, Flags, and Patriotism.....	220
Immigrants and the Construction of Criminality.....	222
A Symbolic and Charismatic Leader.....	225
Arpaio in Ortega Melendres v. Arpaio.....	226
Hunting Immigrants and Playing at Killing.....	250
Mariachis, Banda, and Cultural Rituals	
at Pruitt's.....	253
Pavement and Sidewalks.....	255
Security and Policing the Brown Body.....	256
Messaging in Demonstrations.....	260
Discourse of Non-Violence.....	262
Numbers and Quantifying Oppression.....	263
Immigrant Children and Education.....	265
Implications and Mobilizing Inclusion through	
Critical Pedagogy.....	271
5 SUMMARY AND NARRATIVE THEMES.....	278
What did the Immigration Movement in Arizona Look like?	280
Contested Spaces	280
Crossing Borders.....	281
Fear	281

CHAPTER	Page
What Discourse & Tactics Mediated the Immigration	
Movement?	282
Assimilation	282
Identity Performance	283
Hegemony	283
Micro and Macro Aggressions.....	283
Crisis	284
Internalized Oppression	284
In What Ways did the Protests Facilitate or Discourage	
Resistance?.....	285
What are the Implications or Lessons for Social Movements	
and Creating Sustainable Social Change?.....	287
A Discourse Focused on Human Rights	287
Immigrant Children and Education.....	287
Diversifying Tactics and the Role of Civil	
Disobedience.....	288
6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS	291
REFERENCES	302
APPENDIX	
A ESSAY ON BORDERLAND RESEARCH.....	310
B PHOTOGRAPHS	328
C UNIDOS EN ARIZONA	386

APPENDIX	Page
D SOMOS AMERICA MEETING AGENDA NOTES	471
E VBOC ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES.....	570
F FLYERS.....	573
G LETTERS TO ARPAIO	576
H INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT.....	581
I ARPAIO'S SAMPLE TESTIMONY EXCERPTS FROM ORTEGA MELENDRES V. ARPAIO.....	599
J INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD.....	609

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	Page
1. Types of Social Movements.....	37
2. Weber's Typology of Authority.....	58

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	Page
1. Performance	71
2. Performance, Theater, Script, Drama	73
3. Crisis Link.....	75
4. Ritual.....	77
5. Arpaio’s Discourse of Charismatic Authority	249

Chapter 1

STORIES

Introduction

I like to tell stories, circular ones. Sometimes these stories have many details, and these are often very circular as well. The thing you ought to know about me from the get go, is that I'm not a very rational person. I often tell my husband that I'm a contradiction. I find pride in stating that, because I truly believe that the world itself is always contradicting itself in more ways than I long to understand, so I think it's best to acknowledge this fact and get done with it. I believe too many times we use rationality and logic and even order as a way to dismiss points of view that do not fit into our pre-established labels or theories about how the world works. I think in truth, none of us really truly knows what we are talking about the majority of the time, but we attempt and that's good enough. Similarly, this too is an attempt to depict a story, a narrative, about immigration, education, and my role within it. While there has been much "research" on two of these topics, I know there has been none about the third. My goal is thus to present a narrative that acknowledges the complex nature of all three. There are limited spaces where academia and *la comunidad* can co-exist...I hope to sketch a story that brings light to both.

*¿De que la quieres?
¿De pasta o de limón?
...De las dos.*

Not long ago, I recall sitting in *el jardin* on a Sunday afternoon with my husband, Ray. I was so excited to show him my hometown; the small and yet ever so beautiful *pueblito* of *Salvatierra*.

As my Papa Miguel would say, “*Salvatierra es la primer ciudad de Guanajuato...tiene dos vistas...una pa quien le guste...y otra para quien no le guste.*”

We sat in one of the benches in the *jardin* after buying some *nieve* just watching the people walk by. The *nieve* in *Salvatierra* is one of the most delicious in the entire world. At least that’s what my father convinced me to believe and till now there is no other ice cream that compares in my mind. That’s the funny thing about minds; they seem to select the strangest memories to preserve.

For years, I remember having a series of dreams or rather nightmares in which I went back to Mexico and upon arriving; the *nieve* in the *jardin* was suddenly gone. When it wasn’t, the dream culminated right when I was about to taste it.

So anyway, I remember feeling so incredibly happy as I sat there with the love of my life sharing my childhood memories in the middle of the *jardin*. With each spoonful of ice cream, we continued to see families walking by...Ray looked over at me and said “one day that’s gonna be us...” “What do you mean?” I replied, and he said “like them with our little smoke.” As I glanced over at them,

and saw how happy they looked, I couldn't help but wonder...why do people leave places like these?

Stupid question. I know. I know very well why people leave...the stories vary but all in all people leave because they feel they have to, they feel they need to, they find no other choice.

In retrospect, I suppose my dreams make a lot of sense now, I sat undocumented in a country that felt increasingly foreign to me...I went to sleep and longed night after night for my only notion of childhood happiness disguised in a blue cup of *nieve*. It wasn't so much the ice cream, I guess. It was family, culture, land, identity...symbols of everything we left behind in the summer of 1988.

¿Y el libro?,” my father often questions. “What is a dissertation?”

Background & Purpose of the Study

This dissertation, though resting within the field of education and policy studies, is inevitably about immigration. It is also about learning, my learning, and the way it evolved as a consequence of living in Arizona.

My life has consistently being defined not only by my family's migration, but by the constant challenge to resist invisibility, assimilation, racism, and indifference. I am referring to the American dream, but it is my hope to tell the not so pretty edges that frame this not so fairy a tale.

It would have been almost impossible for me to grow up and not associate education and learning with immigration. Historically, schools have been utilized by the state as sites for assimilating new immigrants. It is in schools where

children are taught what it means to be an American, where immigrant parents first encounter the state, its powers, and all they represent. It is one of the first spaces that clearly delineate us as distinct, which makes one aware of our differences, our language, our race, and, not to forget, our criminality.

Like an air filter, students are sucked up into a system whose aim is to purify you, teach you and distract you from the ugliness of your impoverished past. You have the opportunity to enter afresh and reinvent yourself, become someone new, embrace a new identity as “an American.”

The tempting lure of a capitalistic future has the side effect of making one forget *nuestras raices* in pursuit of one’s individualistic goals, or, as we learn to call it, in pursuit of our “American dream.” But what, exactly, is the American dream?” Is it making it against all the odds? And even so, have we truly made it? This perhaps is a point of contention for many. Depending upon where you have lived and where you come from, your point of view on this will vary significantly. People living in the beautiful state of Arizona, know that for Latinos, this dream is more of an illusion. Arizona is infamous for its nativist and racist roots. As W.E.B. Dubois stated, the problem of the 21st century is the problem of the color line. I think many would argue that this can be modified to say, the problem of today and tomorrow continues to be race.

So what is a dissertation? For me, my dissertation is a story. Another testament to the idea that there is still much work left to be done in the matters of social justice; race, migration, education, and human rights. As Derrick Bell suggested (1989), we are definitely still not saved, the permanence of race and

racism is an inherent reality to everyday life. I argue, via this narrative, that this is the case particularly or at least more overtly in the state of Arizona. It is my hope that my dissertation becomes but a small contribution to the growing field of LatCrit and Critical Race Theory.

My “study” is two-fold; on one hand it presents an auto-ethnographic account, narrative or counter narrative of my life, education, and experiences as a student and community organizer in Arizona. On the other, I conduct a Discourse analysis of the immigrant rights movement in Maricopa County from 2006-2008. Arizona has become almost synonymous with race and racism, therefore an ideal and symbolic setting to interrogate fear and resistance.

Statement of the Problem

*Arizona sunsets; how they rest in open space...almost eternal,
White soft velvety clouds smudged across radiantly orange skies,
Barely kissing the peaks of voluminous mountains,
Pale blues, violets and ultramarines,
Monochromatic grays sit upon brown and yellow ochre pastures,
Shadows of raw umber and burnt sienna decorate the grounds of radiant landscapes,
At the forefront, black silhouettes
Of cactus stand in strength against the glorious beauty,
In quiet peace they witness, death, bravery, and resistance*

A clash of cultures is simply a reality for many that live in Arizona. Home to some of the most beautiful landscapes, Arizona’s vast beauty quietly disguises and masks the rampant injustice that resides in many of its most timid corners.

The unforgiving desert of southern Arizona silently destroys dreams and hopes. Its borders restrict not only the movement of brown bodies, but cut and wound and kill. The state has become fertile ground for growing xenophobia and nativist sentiments. As demographics continue to change, the immigration debate has become increasingly polarized and polarizing. Like the colors in the excerpt above, the color of race struggles for visibility. And so we find that Arizona's present is much like Arizona's history, it mirrors the same dynamics of discrimination against the migrant worker.

The great melting pot can't seem to get hot enough; this is, after all, the valley of the sun, and most rays of heat don't seem to burn us. "Enough. When will it be enough?" is the cry of many migrants. "My life would be heaven if I had papers..." stated a friend to me in a text message.

When government officials such as Sheriff Arpaio, who is listed on Amnesty International's list of human rights abusers, announce that they are going "to do everything in their power to enforce immigration," the ability for brown people to work, go to school, drive, live, and love becomes particularly problematic. Most recently, a Tucson educator, at a Tucson Unified School District (TUSD) school board meeting, denounced that the existence of Mexican Americans has not only been criminalized, but now, he proclaimed "you are criminalizing our history too!" On January 10th, 2012 the TUSD board banned Mexican American Studies (MAS) from being taught in its district, in response to a law, A.R.S. 15-112 (also known as HB 2281), that bans ethnic studies in Arizona. In spite of an overcrowded room of community members speaking on

behalf of maintaining the MAS program, the board ruled against it with a swift 4 to 1 vote despite vast documentation and reports of the educational benefits of the MAS program.

Over six anti-immigrant bills were debated in the Senate's appropriations committee at the State Capitol in February, 2011 alone. Among these, was (senate bill) SB 1611, Senator Russell Pearce's latest effort against migrant communities in Arizona. SB 1611 passed on a 7 to 6 vote on Tuesday, February 22, 2011. The omnibus bill bans undocumented immigrant children from K-12 education (if their parents cannot produce a U.S. birth certificate or naturalization documents) and forbids undocumented students from attending community college and state universities. Currently, undocumented students are "allowed" to attend college as long as they pay out of state tuition. Furthermore, while current law does not issue drivers licenses to undocumented people, this bill makes it a crime (with a 30 day jail sentence) for anyone caught driving undocumented in Arizona and prevents people from buying or owning a vehicle without proof of legal residence. In addition, the bill requires Arizona businesses to use E-Verify (a federal immigration database) or face the revocation of their business licenses. Lastly, it requires undocumented people to show their immigration papers when filing for a marriage license (Beard Rau, 2001; Foley, 2011). While this bill and its new restrictions face challenges on its constitutionality, it nevertheless serves the purpose of further racially demarcating the spaces where undocumented people can exist.

In April of 2010, the passage of the notorious SB1070 was the culmination of a vibrant history of anti-immigrant bills, nativism, and hatred towards the undocumented in Arizona. Long before SB1070, there was proposition 200 in 2004 (denying voter rights to undocumented immigrants), Proposition 100 (denying bail to persons suspected of being undocumented), 102 (denying undocumented people the right to seek punitive damages in a civil lawsuit filed in Arizona), and 300 (denying in-state tuition to undocumented students), all of these passed in 2006 (coincidentally the year of the great immigrant rights marches in April of 2006), the anti-smuggling law and Legal Arizona Workers Act (LAWA), also known as the employers sanctions law, in 2007. Followed by a series of proposals against day laboring and work solicitation, as well as proposals prohibiting birthright citizenship for children born in the United States to undocumented parents (Campbell 2011).

Meanwhile, immigrant rights advocates and anti-immigrant groups stage a public and visible struggle to define themselves as American, law abiding, and patriotic. Both groups symbolically utilize the American flag, messaging, and rhetorical slogans to fabricate this identity.

The assumption and fabrication that immigrants are criminals, or close to violence, seems to be a concern for immigrant rights advocates, who consistently try to fight these myths with their own fabrications rather than recognizing that criminals also deserve human rights and that crime itself is a fabrication in need of interrogation. Messages and campaigns by immigrant rights advocates try in response to portray a profile of immigrants as peaceful, non-violent, and law

abiding hard working people. In addition, any attempt to incorporate issues of race are done so in the context of defending Mexican American citizens, focusing on arguments about civil rights and the discrimination of citizens, etc. seem to barely scratch the surface about what is truly going on. The human rights argument continues to take a back seat to more palpable arguments such as go get the real criminals, take care of the outstanding warrants, its racial profiling, go get the employers, dream act as a stand-alone bill, etc. Meanwhile the militarization of the border and the human rights violations that take place due to this are disregarded as unimportant in the incessant search for immigration reform.

In December of 2006, Nativo Lopez outlined and sort of prophetically predicted that the fight for immigrant rights, is a fight that must take place in Arizona, in the narrative below he describes in detail Arizona's political climate and the context that highlights Arizona as the epicenter of anti-immigrant sentiments and legislation:

However, entering the 21st Century, the epicenter moved to Arizona. This also is a border state, and Operation Gatekeeper forced the flow of undocumented migrants to the most dangerous terrain along the border - the deserts of Arizona, which are known for extreme high and low temperatures. The most current information indicates that more than 4,500 individuals have lost their lives attempting to enter the U.S. through this route. The virulent measures so common in California during the 1990s have become fashion in Arizona. While the so-called racist Minutemen hail their birthplace as Orange County, their first display of vigilantism occurred in Arizona. Anti-immigrant ballot initiative after ballot initiative has been put before the Arizona electorate. Driver's licenses are denied to immigrants. Thousands of vehicles are confiscated and towed away by local authorities daily. The sheriff of Maricopa County has applied an anti-smuggling law to both the smuggler and the passenger - a felony complicity charge. Proposition 200, which denies basic services to immigrants, and imposes a universal identifier for voting purposes, was approved in the previous election. And, the November

election resulted in the approval of four state measures to further prohibit services to immigrants, even though two of the most xenophobic Republican candidates were defeated at the polls....The national immigrant rights movement must join the movement within Arizona(on its own terms) to turn-back the ugliness of the period. A defeat of the anti-immigrant movement in Arizona is a defeat for these forces everywhere (Lopez, 2007).

This narrative can easily be expanded to include even more evidence of hateful legislation attacking and further criminalizing immigrant families. The take away, I believe is that either way you look at it, the problem with immigration in the United States is Arizona.

The state of Arizona has become a platform for national spectators to take part in, envision, visualize, and experience the ways in which anti-immigrant policies, play out symbolic performances of war, hunting, and defeat. These metaphors reassure spectators that the country is being protected, and threats (immigrants) are contained. This reassures the fears of the population, and allows them a glimpse of the political possibilities for integrating similar practices across the states. One of the key arguments, in any discussion about immigration, is the notion of protecting and securing the border. Border Patrol, in fact, at one point defined one of the milestones for success as being rooted in achieving complete "operational control" of the US/Mexico border. The unrealistic nature of this benchmark as a goal, reinforces the idea that what we are seeing and are engaged in, is a symbolic war; a quest to "control" and "secure" and "protect" the future of White Supremacy. Political bodies in fact continue to consist of White males doing everything in their power to preserve the status quo.

Significance

I want to write about immigration. But not from the perspective of changing hearts and minds, not with the intention of appealing to the sensibilities of people or convincing with logic and rational arguments about why immigration is somehow a good thing. Rather, I want to ethnographically describe what occurred in Arizona and to analyze the discourse that took place in advocating for immigrant rights. I want to describe the politics of migration and community organizing in Arizona, the symbolism that took place [and roles performed,] and the ways that identities and public space were in constant negotiation (Maldonado, Field note Reflections).

I felt it was valuable to document and historicize the ways immigration discourse unfolded and is unfolding in Arizona. It is my intention that this research will help inform others in the future interested in social change to see what it took, what worked, and did not work, and specifically how immigrant rights were fought for and by whom in Arizona. Most importantly, I contribute an analysis from my perspective as a community insider. I was a part of many of the organized activities, marches, rallies, actions, etc. that took place prior to Arizona becoming infamous with the “SB1070” law. My goal is to present an analysis of the organizing strategies employed in Arizona at the time of my participation. My theory is that current strategies, tropes, and the discourse utilized in organized collective actions such as protests, marches, and press conferences are not conducive to long lasting social change and in fact legitimize and reinforce hegemonic power structures rather than interrogate and dismantle them. I analyze

the rhetoric, symbolism, and Discourse used by both groups (immigrant rights and anti-immigrant groups) to frame the debate over immigration.

Given the current political climate on immigration, it appears that the anti-immigrant sentiment continues to grow. One of the most critical components or repeated themes in any organizing meeting is the concept of messaging. Organizers are constantly aware and conscious of the importance of having the right “spin” or “message” for the media in order to make “our case” more palpable to the masses. Subsequently, it is important to analyze the hidden curriculum of social movements in order to understand what we were fighting for, whether our messages and discourse truly provide an avenue for sustainable social justice, and what we are losing or gaining from the identities we recognize, construct, or deny in the process.

At the very least, the process of documenting this narrative is a testament to the idea that we can and should tell our stories, from our own voices, and colored perspectives about the world. My perspective as an activist, a *mujer*, a *Mexicana*, and a student is a valuable and unique asset in understanding meaning within data that is not data at all but rather, experiences from which I have learned to become and accept the constantly changing migratory identity of my community.

While this dissertation rests within the field of education, I have doubted many times whether or not it belongs and its contribution to the field. However, perhaps this “doubt” alone tells us much about the nature of higher education for Latinas. Many of us have found our homes within Educational departments and

yet the issues we raise stand in complete contrast to those traditionally analyzed within this realm (Delgado Bernal, 1998). My mind continues to be preoccupied with the oppression and constant violence against my community; a community that continues to be excluded and marginalized from every public space essential to everyday living. So how can we think about education without extending an understanding of the communities in which it is contextualized? How can we think about schools and schooling, when these are situated on colonized land that continues to be possessed, contested, and objectified? How can we talk about learning, when we are learning some very heavy and powerful lessons about who we are, just from existing and living in Arizona?

During the great marches of 2006, thousands of students throughout the nation marched out of their classrooms to protest hateful immigration bills such as HR4437. The walkouts were misunderstood and criticized, because, unlike the main marches where thousands of migrants carried the American flag and white t-shirts symbolizing peace, the students who walked out carried with them Mexican flags, and a rediscovered pride for their Mexican heritage. Many of the students that are currently involved in the immigrant rights movement also became involved because of the raids and deportations of their relatives, others after the passage of exclusionary legislation such as Proposition 300, denying in state tuition to undocumented immigrants. I mention this in an effort to contextualize my claim that for migrant students, particularly those living in states like Arizona, education and community knowledge unfolds in a very direct way outside the classroom. Their families and their whole sense of self are essentially under

attack. While some, like me, decide to continue down the educational pipeline, others become heavily involved in activism, or retreat and dropout or all of the above. It's not that education doesn't matter, it is that it matters but in a very distinct way.

We need to move past a deficit-based understanding of migrant communities and their education and explore the borders that they are constantly trying to overcome. Only by inserting an understanding of land, culture, and the brown body experience, can we even begin to try to decipher issues of education.

In sum, my dissertation and its significance rests in that it challenges the academic and epistemological borders that currently define the parameters of what education entails and where it is to be found or located. My study argues that a grounded understanding of migrant communities and the ways identity is constructed, via racial subordination and social protest, is a necessary and integral first step in research that pertains to these communities. I present a narrative of my experiences as a student organizer and woman of color and it is my concerns and the way I chose to analyze them, that bring about something new and unique to the way immigration and educational issues for migrant communities are understood. People interested in the education of these populations, need to be conscious and aware of the way meaning and identities are created and contested for this heavily oppressed community, and the structural factors that influence their learning.

Scope of the Study and Research Questions

I apply a theoretical framework informed by Critical Race Theory (CRT), Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), and a new theory I propose, which I name Border Crit Theory. As part of this framework, my writing embraces Chicana Feminist epistemologies as one means of resisting traditional research paradigms “that often distort or omit the experiences and knowledge of Chicanas,” (Delgado Bernal, 1998, 555). Specifically, I conducted a qualitative autoethnography of the immigrant rights movement in Maricopa County, Arizona from 2006-2008. This study takes place retrospectively. Through participant observations, autoethnography, and narrative; I address and analyze the following four questions: From 2006-2008, **1)** what did the immigrant rights movement in Arizona look like? (What did protests, demonstrations, and immigration enforcement tactics look like?) **2)** What discourse (from both sides of the debate) took place? (What were participants’ responses to this discourse; subversion, resistance, fear, defiance, etc.?) **3)** In what ways did the protests facilitate or discourage resistance? (What ideologies are embedded or promoted? How do these ideologies construct social identities? How is public space negotiated, defined, and contested?) **4)** What are the implications or lessons for social movements and creating sustainable social change? I answer these questions through a series of auto-ethnographic narratives.

Summary

The Arizona-US Mexico border is a symbolic metaphor and everyday reality, “an open wound” that burns at the core and is inscribed in the pigment of

our brown bodies. The border divides, displaces, and separates families. Simultaneously, the border teaches us, and engages us in lessons of fear, resistance, and the contradictions and intersections of race, class, gender, culture, and sex. In an effort to advocate for sustainable social justice, we need to move past the political spectacles of power and control, we need to understand the rhetoric of hate and conquest, and begin to challenge the entanglement of identities that lie underneath. This dissertation attempts to contextualize the experiences of Chicana(o) and Latina(o) students of color based on these historic moments of time for migrant communities and their movement for civil and human rights in Arizona.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

I begin this chapter by introducing my theoretical framework as nested within Chicana Feminist Research and Epistemologies, as well as LatCrit and Critical Race Theory. I situate my research within this larger theoretical frame and conversation. In thinking and reading about LatCrit and CRT, I developed an emergent theoretical framework, I name Border Crit. I include the applied tenets in this section and explain how they best address the concerns and needs of researchers working in or with border communities.

Intersectionality and Chicana Feminist Research and Epistemologies

As part of my theoretical framework I embrace key components of Kimberly Crenshaw's (1989) and Patricia Hill Collins' (1990) concept and theory of Intersectionality. I acknowledge that the subordination of Chicanas can best be understood by the intersections of their gender, race, sex, class, ethnicity and I add to this list their immigration status and relationship to land.

Simultaneously, Chicana Feminist pedagogies and epistemologies inspire much of my writing. Borderland research challenges *dualistic modes of inquiry* and tries to capture the complexity and multiple intersectional identities and contradictions that govern the everyday experiences of Chicanas (Delgado Bernal et al, 2006, 216). Gloria Anzaldua's (1987) theories of the *mestiza* consciousness point to these inner and outer struggles. My contribution as a Mexicana/ Xicana/ Latina organizer is what creates an alternative version of the story I will tell about Arizona's immigrant rights movement. My story reveals the way my education as

a researcher and activist has transformed my interpretation of resistance and social justice. The lessons I have learned, through activism and protest, have informed my sense of identity and construction of self. They attest to the significance of bridging institutionalized and community knowledge, in an effort to contextualize a grounded understanding of educational issues for migrant communities.

Subsequently, I embrace Delgado Bernal's (1998) epistemological concept of cultural intuition, as it acknowledges the unique viewpoints that Chicana scholars bring to the research process. Similar to Strauss and Corbin's (1990) notion of theoretical sensitivity, as being derived from 1) one's personal experience, 2) existing literature, 3) one's professional experience, and 4) the research process itself, Delgado Bernal's concept extends the importance of personal experience "to include collective experience and community memory and points to the importance of participants engaging in the analysis of data" (563-364). I align myself with her epistemological claim that:

Through the experiences of ancestors and elders, Chicanas and Chicanos carry knowledge of conquest, loss of land, school and social segregation, labor market stratification, assimilation, and resistance. Community knowledge is taught to youth through legends, corridos, storytelling, behavior, and most recently through the scholarship of Chicana and Chicano studies (Delgado Bernal, 1998, p. 564).

To this explanation I propose that in addition to these sources of community knowledge, civic participation activities such as protests, marches, vigils, and demonstrations also contribute to the dissemination of community knowledge. Subsequently, having participated on a personal level in many of the

protests and demonstrations, under analysis, I carry with me a unique insider perspective and community knowledge that will enable me to analyze the data in a different and unique way.

Additionally, Delgado Bernal, Elenes, Godinez, and Villenas (2006) in *Chicana /Latina Education in Everyday Life: Feminista Perspectives on Pedagogy and Epistemology*, describe that borderland educational scholarship “permits us to look at all the different elements that are part of educational settings, whether we are talking about formal (e.g. schools and universities) or informal settings (e.g. home, community, popular culture).” It developed by intersecting concepts from Chicana/o studies, women’s studies, and cultural Studies and by looking at the US-Mexico border in its “literal and symbolic meaning” (215). While the subject of my research reflects the literal meaning of borders that restrict the mobility and rights of brown bodies, border epistemologies also point to the symbolic barriers that separate communities along “race, gender, and sexual orientation lines, academic disciplines, and organizational structures” (215).

According to Karleen Pendleton Jimenez (2006), any understanding of Chicana pedagogy must “start with the land” (In Delgado Bernal, Elenes, Godinez, and Villenas, 2006, 220). Arizona rests on land that has been possessed, exploited, and colonized. Much like brown bodies, its soil has been demarcated and cut; scarred to establish the current border route separating Mexico and the United States (as a consequence of the 1848 *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo*). Pendleton Jimenez describes; “the land has been covered in blood for hundreds of

years, often spilled as a result of racist ideologies. This is where our classrooms rest” (p. 225).

Subsequently, my research begins with the land. It evolves out of analyzing the land in Arizona; the way public space is constantly contested and renegotiated. It attempts to expose the racist nature of laws and actions that are designed to create, maintain, and manipulate physical and symbolic borders that fortify white privilege, while oppressing and controlling the movement of brown bodies. Finally, my research challenges the epistemic borders that define and delineate what education is, where it is practiced, and where it is to be found. Learning in itself refers to the acquisition of knowledge, I argue that in order to understand educational issues of migrant/ Chicana(o)/ Latina(o) communities, one must step outside the institutions of power and socialization, and observe the way learning occurs outside the classroom, the way identities and meaning is constructed in public spaces, spaces where macro and micro aggressions, resistance, and protest are manifested.

Critical Race Theory / LatCrit and Immigration

One of the key components of my dissertation is to expose the internal dynamics of Arizona’s immigrant rights movement. To develop a counter narrative that challenges the many myths and lies surrounding the topic of immigration, from both sides of the debate. Subsequently, Critical Race Theory provides a promising platform to help interrogate the discourse in use and my experiences as an organizer/activist within Arizona’s immigration movement. CRT is driven by the belief that unraveling truth is a necessary and an integral

component in achieving social justice. Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado and Crenshaw (1993), described six unifying attributes that define Critical Race Theory:

1. CRT recognizes that racism is endemic to American life.
2. CRT expresses skepticism toward dominant legal claims of neutrality, objectivity, and meritocracy.
3. CRT challenges *ahistoricism* and insists on a contextual/historical analysis of the law.
4. CRT insists on recognition of the experiential knowledge of people of color and our communities of origin in analyzing law and society.
5. CRT is interdisciplinary.
6. CRT works toward the end of eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression.

I apply CRT to analyze the racist nature of immigration laws and the local enforcement tactics employed in Maricopa County. I employ CRT's first, fourth, and sixth tenets within my dissertation. First, my study acknowledges that race and racism are endemic to American life. Presently Arizona is one of the most infamous states for its cultivation of racist and nativist sentiments. Secondly, CRT recognizes the value brought upon by *the experiential knowledge of people of color*. My research recognizes the power and value of participant research in analyzing law and society. Lastly, the most important aspect of my dissertation is its social justice component. CRT's sixth tenet reminds us that it's not just about identifying social injustice but like Derrick Bell "We [sic] believe that standards

and institutions created by and fortifying white power ought to be resisted” (Bell, 1995, p. 901). I hope that my writing helps to contribute to literature aimed at attaining sustainable social justice for migrant communities.

Furthermore, LatCrit shares an intellectual history that incorporates scholarship from Critical Legal Studies (CLS), American Legal Realism, Feminist Legal Theory, Critical Race Theory (CRT), Critical Race Feminism, Asian American Legal Scholarship, and Queer Theory. Similar to CRT, LatCrit seeks to promote social justice awareness and activism by merging theory and praxis and is committed to anti-subordination through a “bottom-up” approach to analyzing law in society. Born out of a 1995 colloquium on Latina/o communities and Critical Race Theory, LatCrit is focused on two basic goals: 1) to develop a critical, activist and inter-disciplinary discourse on law and policy towards Latinas/os, and 2) to foster both the development of coalitional theory and practice as the accessibility of this knowledge to agents of social and legal transformation.

LatCrit scholars (Montoya, 1994; Arriola, 1997, 1998, Stefanic, 1998; Johnson, 1999) expand CRT scholarship, asserting “that racism, sexism, and classism are experienced amidst other layers of subordination based on immigration status, sexuality, culture, language, phenotype, accent and surname” (Yosso, 2005, p. 4). According to Johnson (1997) in *Some Thoughts on the Future of Latino Legal Scholarship*, “The absence of commentary by legal academics on issues of particular importance to Latinos demonstrates the dire need for analysis of law and policy from a distinctly Latino perspective” (Davis

et. al., 2001 p. 117). To this point, I add the need for a critical intersectional analysis of law and policy from a Mexicana/ Xicana/ Latina perspective.

Research on immigration has traditionally obscured the messy power relations at the heart of law, CRT and LatCrit seek to bring these relations of subordination to the forefront.

Border Crit

Lastly, I apply Border Crit, a new and emerging critical theory I am proposing to better address research in the borderlands. There is a pressing need to begin crafting a space for research that acknowledges the complexities and ethical responsibilities one has and should maintain when writing about or with vulnerable border communities. I do not have the answers for how one should begin to achieve this task or if it is even a possible endeavor. But I hope to start a dialogue that can lead to a better understanding and better practices for those who seek to intellectually profit from the U.S.-Mexico border. As Professor Swadener described in the introduction in *Decolonizing Research in Cross-Cultural Contexts*, “I have confronted the likelihood that decolonizing research is a messy, complex, and perhaps impossible endeavor. Yet I have affirmed that attempting to decolonize one’s work is a project worth pursuing in solidarity with local colleagues and movements”¹. In an effort to continue building upon this attempt to decolonize our own research, I present my concerns as points of departure for

¹ *Decolonizing Research in Cross-Cultural Contexts: Critical Personal Narratives* 7 (Kagendo Mutua and Beth Blue Swadener eds., 2004).

further dialogue and critical self-reflection about our research and political agendas. We need to keep asking the type of questions, that bring us closer to becoming ethical storytellers and allies to the communities we seek to represent.

Critical Race Theory is a useful tool to begin this important self-reflexive and epistemological interrogation. I thus propose an extension of this, via a theoretical framework emerging from within LatCrit and Critical Race Theory. Similar to Professor Brayboy's article "Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education²," in which he outlines the tenets for an emerging field he calls TribalCrit, in this essay I build upon his framework for TribalCrit and begin outlining some possible tenets for what I am naming Border Crit Studies or Border Crit Theory. I do this with the intention of creating a space that better addresses the issues and concerns of border and migrant communities.

The proposed field Border Crit Studies or Border Crit (Border Critical Race Theory) consists of the following, briefly summarized tenets:

1. Borders and Racism are interlinked and endemic to society.
2. U.S. policies toward border communities are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for political gain.
3. Border communities occupy a symbolic mythological and transformative space of indistinctness that accounts for both the political and racialized nature of identities.

² Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, *Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education*, *The Urban Review*, Vol. 37, Number 5, 2005.

4. Migrant communities believe in (and act upon) their fundamental right to cross

borders, or what Ray Ybarra has named “the right to Human Mobility.”³

5. The concepts of land, property, migration, citizenship, identity, culture, community, knowledge, education, and power take on new meaning when examined through a borderless lens.

6. Governmental policies and educational policies toward border communities are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation and white supremacy.

7. Redefining migration as a natural fundamental right, exposing the symbolic parade of enforcement and racial fears, as well as foregrounding the stories of local and indigenous communities, is central to understanding the lived realities of border and migrant communities.

8. Coming to the border to film, write, or document often does more harm than good (by inadvertently re-affirming the racism and fear of a few white residents while ignoring, or giving disproportionate time, to people of color who have lived in the border area for generations and make-up the majority of the population).

³ Ray Ybarra, *Crossing the Border: Human Mobility as a Human Right, Movement Vision Lab* (2007-11-25) & *Born on the Border: Minuteman Vigilantes, Origins of the Anti-Immigrant Movement in Arizona, and a Call for Increased Civil Disobedience* (Hispanics in Social Issues, forthcoming September 2012).

9. Counter-stories and narratives are essential to theory, and are therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.

10. Doing research towards a Borderless Critical Place demands a direct action, activist, and ally component to research. It requires a systematic commitment to social justice, and human rights for people residing on both sides of the border.

Border Crit Research requires a re-imagining of a world without borders, geographic, and epistemological. It requires a call for context and a history of the beginning. Researchers have a responsibility to admit their privilege, and engage with the world they are “studying,” to become close to the people and places they are narrating versus distancing themselves through insincere objectivity. We cannot allow the continuance of opportunistic narratives to exist without at the very minimum exposing them for what they are or using them as tools to demand more from those that claim to represent or narrate the stories and lives *de nuestra gente*. People come in and out of border communities, concluding their studies, picking up and leaving. Working in the border region with insincere objectives (or to fulfill a “third-world” experience) is not only unacceptable, but it is violence resulting in irreparable harm.

Subsequently, I propose Border Crit Theory as an epistemological tool to help further explore and navigate the ethical dilemmas discussed herein. While this is a very rough sketch of an emerging and important theoretical framework, it is a start for others facing similar dilemmas, or sharing similar concerns, to critique and or build from. There are a number of writings, from decolonizing

research to Chicana Feminist epistemologies, that have paved the way for this important discussion (such as Anzaldua⁴, Delgado Bernal⁵, Elenes⁶, Dicochea⁷, Mignolo⁸, Pendleton Jimenez⁹, Saldivar¹⁰, Rosaldo¹¹, Sandoval¹², Villenas¹³

⁴ Gloria Anzaldua, *Borderlands—La Frontera, The New Mestiza* (Aunt Lute Books, 1999.)

⁵ Dolores Delgado Bernal, Using a Chicana Feminist Epistemology in Educational Research, *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 68, Issue 4, 555-582 (1998).

⁶ C Alejandra Elenes, Reclaiming the Borderlands: Chicana/o Identity, Difference, and Critical Pedagogy *Educational Theory*, Vol. 47, Issue 3, 359-375 (1997).

⁷ Perlita Dicochea, *Environmental Justice on the Mexico-U.S. Border: Toward a Borderlands Methodology*, in *Chicana/Latina Education in Everyday Life, Feminista Perspectives on Pedagogy and Epistemology* (Dolores Delgado Bernal, et. al. eds., 2006).

⁸ Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges and Borderthinking*. (Princeton University Press 2000.)

⁹ Pendleton Jiménez, K. 'Start with the land': *Groundwork for Chicana pedagogy*, in *Chicana/Latina feminist pedagogies and epistemologies for everyday life: Educación en la familia, comunidad y escuela* 219-230 (D. D. Bernal, C. A. Elenes, F. E. Godinez & S. Villenas eds., SUNY Press 2006).

¹⁰ Jose David Saldivar, *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies* (University of California Press, 1997.)

¹¹ Renato Rosaldo, *Culture & Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Routledge, 1993.)

¹² Chela Sandoval, *Mestizaje as Method, Feminist-of-color challenge the canon*, in *Living Chicana Theory* 352-370 (C. Trujillo, ed., Third Woman Press 1998), and Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed* (University of Minnesota Press, 2000.)

(2006)). It is my hope that this framework contributes to this growing field of ethical borderland scholarship.

Literature Review

The purpose of this auto-ethnographic study or counter narrative was to document and explore the way the immigration movement in Arizona unfolded from 2006 to 2008. Specifically, I sought to provide a portrait of what protest and resistance within the movement looked like, what discourse took place particularly from immigrant rights advocates, and to narrate some of the implications for creating sustainable social change. To carry out this study, it was necessary to complete a critical review of the literature. This review was ongoing throughout the dissertation process, including data analysis, and synthesis phases of my study. This critical review explores the interconnectedness of ideology, symbols, discourse, identity, and social movements.

I present key theorists that established the roots and foundations of social movement theory and the ways in which they are relevant in understanding the immigrant rights struggle. The foundations of social movement theory are deeply rooted with the founders of sociology. Subsequently some of these foundational theorists include Karl Marx (1818-1883), Max Weber (1864-1920), and Emile Durkheim (1858-1917). My primary concern in reviewing this literature was to

¹³ Sofia A. Villenas, *Latina Feminist Postcolonialities: Perspectives on Un/tracking Educational Actors' Interventions*, *The International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, Vol. 19, 659 (2006).

help define and or understand the ways in which the exchange of collective activity centered on immigration could be classified as a movement to begin with. At the same time, I wanted to understand in what ways this collection of actions did not have the characteristics of movements, and what that means in terms of organizing for sustainable social justice.

Marx's (1844-1848) theoretical contributions on collective action and his theory of revolutionary socialist movements are paramount to social movement studies. Marxist thought builds upon the work of his predecessors German philosophers Fichte and Hegel (Kamenka, 1983, p. 559) and from his work emerged thinkers such as Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) and Paulo Freire (1921-1997). Gramsci's (1925-1935) Prison Notebooks describe his theory of Cultural Hegemony along with Freire's (1968, 1970) famous "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" continue to influence critical pedagogy and community struggles throughout the world. Freire's (1968, 1970) writings in particular help contextualize the role of banking education and schooling in attempting to assimilate immigrant students. Similarly, Max Weber (1864-1920), also influenced by Marx, was one of the first to define sociology and the role of authority and the state. His ideas on modernity and rationalization significantly influenced cultural and political analysis and critical theory. In respect to the immigrant rights movement, his conceptualization of charismatic leaders, status, and social stratification are particularly applicable.

Within the field of Critical Theory, Pierre Bourdieu's (1967, 1990) concept of *habitus* proves particularly useful to understanding the entanglement of

identities in the immigration debate. Lastly, another foundational theorist alongside Marx and Weber was Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) and his fascinating analysis of social integration in movements and on religious ritual are at the heart of many issues, emotional and political, within social movements. These broad concepts do not represent a unified theory of social movements, but they do illustrate the dynamics of collective action and social actions.

Durkheim's (1965) work on ritual presents an excellent point of departure to the more modern work on Performance Theory. I believe this theoretical field of study greatly advances our understanding of the discourse and particular events that take place in society and social interactions. Collective actions such as marches, demonstrations, protests, counter protests, organizing meetings, and displays of enforcement and power can also be analyzed and understood through an understanding of performance and theater. Particular emphasis and focus is placed on the role of rituals and play within performance.

Murray Adelman (1964, 1988) advances this discussion on symbols, with her theories on symbolic politics and political spectacles. I review this literature and apply his concepts about Political leadership, symbols, settings, discourse, and spectacles to analyze different dimensions of the organizing activities and actions that took place in Arizona under the ideology of patriotism and assimilation. This literature contextualizes the significance of identity performance as manifested through various metaphors. Adelman (1988) examines the way social problems, leaders, and enemies are constructed politically, and result in a spectacle or set of symbols and signifiers that perpetuate "already

dominant political ideologies." His work was greatly influenced by contemporary language theory, and thus views language and discourse as having great influence in the social construction of the spectacle.

Finally, I explored research on the immigrant rights movement itself. Finding literature on Sheriff Arpaio's raids, the protests, and/or the organizing that took place in Arizona from 2006 to 2008 proved difficult. There is limited literature that explores the discourse of the immigration movement, and even more limited are studies that focus specifically on Arizona. Nonetheless, I chose to examine literature written about Arizona, and about the time period in which I conducted this dissertation. I had to rely upon newspaper articles or legal documents from law suits about Arpaio's immigration raids, as well as email correspondence that may have contained organizational reports, strategic plans, and/or analysis of actions.

While there were a myriad of academic sources and disciplines that could inform and help understand various aspects of the immigration movement, the scope and real time constraints in completing this dissertation did not allow me this more extensive opportunity. I therefore limited and carefully selected my sources to the literature that helped address specifically my research questions. Future studies could integrate literature about particular movement theories and present the history and background of the community under analysis. I do believe that history of Mexican people in Arizona, histories on migration, and the history of nativism and nationalism in Arizona can further illustrate a more accurate picture of the many dynamics that are at play. This discussion is by no means

complete, but to serve as a point of departure from which to continue interrogating the theoretical foundations and historical roots of this movement, with the goal of arriving at critical tools that can help us unpack the often simplified and yet so complex nature of immigration politics, particularly as it has played out in Arizona. Further, I believe that arriving at an understanding of the immigrant rights struggle as a movement, defining it as a type, scope, its target, methods, and its range can provide a glimpse of its limitations and possibilities for sustaining change.

Finally, I conclude that a combination of these bodies of literature can help analyze and shed light on understanding immigrant rights organizing and resistance in Arizona.

Theoretical Foundations of Social Movement Theory

The study of social movements is a relatively modern phenomenon. Its roots parallel the origins of sociology itself, first appearing in the 18th century and evolving at the era of the enlightenment (as cited in Buechler, 2011). The discipline of sociology and in turn social movement studies, therefore share a common theoretical history. The work of key founders of sociology influenced a variety of arenas that with time became their own specialized field or science; including economics, public administration, and political science. Hence, social movement studies were influenced more by "the broader intellectual climate" of its time rather than by particular disciplines (Buechler, 2011).

In 1848, the German sociologist and economist Lorenz Von Stein first introduced "social movement" as a concept in his book *Socialist and Communist*

Movements since the Third French Revolution, and again in 1850 when Stein published *History of the French Social Movements from 1789 to the Present*. Stein (1850) defined a social movement as emerging from inequalities towards the lower social class in the economy. As such, he described that in this context of inequality, social classes organized from society to the state, to pursue rights, which at that time were understood as "welfare rights."

Von Stein's work focused on analyzing the class state or welfare state of his time and explored the role of the lower social class and of class struggle through an economic interpretation of history. Despite a similarity of his ideas with those of Karl Marx (1818-1883), the extent of Stein's influence on Marxism is not clear. Nonetheless, the fact that Stein's (1842) influential book on communism in France is mentioned in *The German Ideology* (Marx, 1845-46) hints that Marx's awareness could have influenced some of these ideas. The interrelatedness of Marx's work with Stein's earlier work affirms the influence of class struggle analysis and studies of society and the state, as some of the foundations for the development of social movement studies as a discipline.

The first movements to be documented are political movements of the late 18th century (such as the French Revolution and the Polish Constitution of 1791). At the same time, it has been argued that the British abolitionist movement¹⁴ was the first social movement (Tilly, 2009). Interestingly, as illustrated in many of the

¹⁴ British abolitionist movement became one with the sugar boycott of 1791 and the second great petition drive of 1806.

recent social movements, there is a strong connection between labor and social movements. The labor and socialist movements of the late 19th century, for instance, are regarded as being "prototypical" of movements.

By the 19th and 20th centuries, a variety of factors, such as urbanization, industrialization, and immigration, created demographic pressures and a context that heightened the concerns over population size, crowds, and crowd behavior. Urbanization gave way for people of similar goals to settle and find each other, gather, and organize (Buechler, 2011, p. 3). Industrialization, provided settings in which large groups of workers could gather and eventually address common issues. Similarly, educational institutions also became sites that influenced the emergence of social movements influenced by mass education. Lastly, communication technologies spread awareness and facilitated the circulation of grievances and demands while democratic processes in place also served the role of maintaining the function of social movements. In looking at this historical background, I think it's important to highlight that social movements have a history of emerging from symbolic political settings. The role of education and organizing and communication vehicles to spread awareness of issues of concern is also another important observation.

Moreover, midcentury global structures over communism and fascism also shaped how movements were studied. Globalization restored a link between politics and social movements. The 1960s gave birth to a wave of movements which further reinstated an intensity to study them. The civil rights era grouped

with international struggles abroad, legitimized and justified challenges to political regimes in need of major transformation.

In turn, as social movements emerged, they began to shape the ways in which thinkers began to conceptualize, theorize, and interrogate them. Questions about how they arise, develop, mobilize, strategize, succeed, and/or fail emerged from observing and analyzing prevalent social movements of the times. These served the role of establishing an agenda for movement theory research. A continuation of this background, is illustrated in that many current movement scholars are former activists, "who draw upon activist biography to define the agenda for social movement scholarship" (Buechler, 2011, p.3). Today, the study of social movements exists in a climate that is incredibly receptive to grievances and goals.

So what are social movements? David A. Snow and Sarah A. Soule (2010) in "A Primer on Social Movements" define social movements as "collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity, partly outside institutional or organizational channels, for the purpose of challenging extant systems of authority, or resisting change in such systems, in the organization, society, culture, or world system in which they are embedded" (Snow & Soule, 2010). This conceptualization is based upon definitions as described by McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly (2001), Tarrow (1998), and Turner and Killian (1987) (as cited in Snow and Soule, 2010, p. 231).

Snow and Soule (2010) deconstruct this conceptualization into five elements or characteristics of social movements:

1. Challengers to or defenders of existing structures or systems of authority
2. Collective rather than individual enterprises
3. Act outside existing institutional or organizational arrangements
4. Have some degree of continuity

The relevance of systems of authority is that these systems are usually the targets of social movements. These can include a number of institutions as well as texts, such as the constitution for example (Snow and Soule, 2010, p.11). Another important feature detailed above is that movements include groups of people or organizations grouped together to coordinate collective action and activities (Snow and Soule, 2010, p. 12). On top of being organized collectively, groups vary depending on their tactics and methods in seeking social change. Snow and Soule (2010) describe in comparing interest groups to social movements, "social movements, in contrast, are positioned outside the authority structure in question either because of the absence of recognized standing or access to it, or because they choose to bypass conventionalized channels of appeal and redress due to distrust of or alienation from the process" (p. 16). This element of acting outside institutional arrangements is a characteristic that is lacking in some of the organizing strategies within the immigrant rights movement. Its effort to consistently work within the political system can be self-defeating.

Another way to understand and study social movements is by categorizing them into types. Social movement theorists interrogate movements in terms of their scope, the type of change they are trying to create, the targets, the methods,

whether they are old or new, and the range of the struggle; that is how far is the reach of the movement. The chart below describes these distinguishing characteristics:

Table 1

Social Movement Categories & Types

Scope	Type of change	Targets	Methods	Old & New	Range
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reform • Radical 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Innovation • Conservative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • group focus • individual focused 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peaceful • Violent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Old • New 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global • Local

The first of these types is scope. A movement can focus on reform or be more radical in their demands, the scope of their grievances and its respective solutions is one way to differentiate and analyze a movement. A second element is the type of change that organizers within the movement are advocating for, are the demands more conservative or innovative? The targets of the movement can vary from having a group focus to focusing on individuals. Moreover, other relevant questions are in the methods of the movement; the way the movement chooses to define their struggle and utilize peaceful or violent tactics. For example, the civil rights movement’s choice to utilize non-violence as major feature of their protests and sit-ins despite police brutality and the Weather Underground movement’s use of violence as a last straw effort when "peaceful protesting" wasn’t working. Movements are also categorized as either new or old, the movements of 19th century are usually considered "old," and the more recent movements of the 21st century are categorized as new. Lastly, is the movement’s struggle a local one or does it have global implications or a global focus? Looking at these various

categories, provide a platform with which to begin interrogating the various dynamics of social movements.

Thus, in analyzing the immigrant rights movement I discuss, through the narratives, the scope of the movement as being more reform focused, the type of change as being more conservative in nature since seeking to reform the laws and "change the heart and minds of those in the middle," the targets are also usually individuals or not precisely defined, and the methods and strategies and how they challenge criminal stereotypes through an overcompensation of non-violence, lastly the immigrant rights movement falls into the new social movements category, and its range is more local rather than global.

Karl Marx (1818-1883). The role of theory is fundamental to social science research in that it seeks to provide logical explanations that organize how we understand "and inquire into social life" (Babbie, 1999, p. 50). Historically differences within society were explained through religion and metaphysics, Auguste Comte, a French Philosopher, replaced this theory with the notion that society could be explained through objectivity, and through the reliance on our five empirical senses, rather than on our beliefs (Babbie, 1999). Conflict Paradigm, developed by Karl Marx in contrast focused on people's will to dominate others and avoid being dominated (Babbie, 1999). This framework, views people in a consistent struggle for economic resources. It examines that conflicts within "a tightly knit group tended to be more intense than those among people who did not share feelings of belonging" (Babbie, 1999, p. 29). While Karl Marx (1818-1883) is not usually seen as a theorist of social movements, his model

and critique of capitalism provides the basis for a structural as well as relational theory of social movements (Buechler, 2011, p. 9-11). Marx's work "moved fluidly across the terrain of philosophy, politics, economics, and sociology" (Buechler, 2011, p.9). Central to his analysis of capitalism was "working class mobilization and its revolutionary potential" (Buechler, 2011, p.10). Throughout the 19th centuries, "existing social movements, political parties, working men's associations and revolutionary brigades" arose and influenced Marx's work, as well as many others in Europe (Buechler, 2011, p. 10). Marx recognized the existing mobilization and movement of workers against capitalism, as illustrated in the famous Communist Manifesto of 1848.

Karl Marx was not only a theorist but an activist. Marx asserted that while philosophers tried to understand the world, the point of sociology in his view was to transform it. Marx was closely involved with the First International and was deeply concerned about the alienation of labor as a necessary component of capitalism and specifically about the factory system of industrialized production (Buechler, 2011, p. 10).

Marx adopted Hegel's dialectical analysis of society but focused on the way people related to the material conditions of their society versus those resting in the ideal realm. Marx argued that capitalism alienated workers by separating them from the fruits of their labor. In a capitalist system, workers do not own the means of production or the things they produce; and these products themselves become foreign to the person producing it. "The labor process under capitalism denies creative needs and potentials and often reduces work to simplistic,

repetitive, deadening activity” (Buechler, 2011, p. 11). Workers become sellers of their labor power, this alienates them from the productive activity itself, and their labor becomes a commodity “violating the humanity of the seller” (Buechler, 2011, p.12). At the same time, workers become alienated from other human beings forced into the same system, they are unable to relate to each other than through their position within the social structure of capitalist vs. worker. Capitalists themselves become alienated because the “game dictates that they treat others inhumanely if they are to retain their privileges” (Buechler, 2011, p.12). In summary, Buechler (2011) contended that if social movements are driven by the mobilization of grievances, Marx’s conflict paradigm offered the notion of alienation as one theory that could explain the grievances of workers in a capitalist system (p.12). The social structure "creates an inevitable conflict of interests between social classes and motivates working-class protest” (Buechler, 2011, p.11). The result is “an emergent polarization between classes and solidarity within them is vital to the development of such protest” (Buechler, 2011, p.11). Marx’s theory of alienation and the exploitative nature of capitalism are useful tools to express "deeply rooted grievances" and motivate workers to organize around these shared sentiments and generate collective action (Buechler, 2011, p. 15).

While Marx recognized the power of capitalism for production, he was highly critical of the cost and consequences of capitalism and its role in altering human relations and alienating people from their humanity and instincts. Marx wanted to understand the role of human labor as a common feature of all

commodities. Through his “labor theory of value,” he described that all commodities have two economic values; use value and exchange value.

According to Marx, there is a relationship between the amount of labor that goes into the production of a commodity and its value (Buechler, 2011, p.13). Marx argued that labor power was the only commodity that can create value greater than itself. The more productively labor is organized, the greater the surplus that will result.

Marx, therefore, influenced social movement theory in a variety of ways. First, he situated economically driven class struggle as central to revolutionary social movements. Secondly, he described the contradictory dynamics of capitalism. "As capitalists seek the cheapest labor, and workers seek the highest wages, conflicting class interests become evident" (Buechler, 2011, p. 17). He emphasized the significance of class and class formation to understanding social relationships and conflict. "What benefits one class typically comes at the expense of the other class" (Buechler, 2011, p. 17). Upon reflection of their class situation, workers and capitalists develop class consciousness. For Marx, developing class consciousness entailed recognizing that capitalism generated a class divided society, situating oneself within the class structure, identifying shared interests, and most importantly seeking to take action on behalf of these interests. "The ultimate expression of class consciousness is revolution" (Buechler, 2011, p. 18).

In other words, Marx argued that class formation (first emerging based upon each person’s relationship to production and consumption) generated class

conflict, which in turn generated class consciousness and solidarity amongst groups with shared interests. Steven M. Buechler (2011) explains why this "prediction" of class formation and consciousness applies to the capitalist class but not the working class. According to Buechler (2011), the working class is a much larger group, with varying interests and differences in terms of their relation to the system, in contrast, capitalists are a much smaller group, much more organized, since they have more to lose in terms of preserving a structure that benefits them.

Despite this predictive failure in Marx's theory of class formation, it is nonetheless a useful analytical tool for dissecting the dynamics of class struggle and also illustrates the power of class consciousness in generating collective action. As it applies to the immigrant rights movement, I would argue that Marx's theory of class formation and the significance of class consciousness can explain the fallbacks of generating sustainable collective action as "the movement" consists of people with varying differences and stakes in the system, and it has been difficult to generate the kind of unified class consciousness for sustainable struggle. In addition, the immigrant rights movement is not organized based solely on shared class interests, but rather it's organized on behalf of another class with a shared class status, that is their immigration status for example. The movement contains both allies and people sharing a status of being "undocumented." The idea of a class organizing on behalf of another class raises in itself many questions central to social movement studies. Further, in order to develop class consciousness people need to be aware of other people's shared

intergroup situation. For undocumented immigrants however, this is difficult to achieve, since communicating about their status invokes risks and therefore fear of being discovered and deported regulates people's desire to fight for their shared interests, since in doing so, they would be simultaneously exposing themselves.

Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924). In addition to Marx, Buechler (2011) describes the influence of Vladimir Lenin in social movement theories. In particular, Lenin's contribution materialized in his substitution thesis and in distinguishing between trade union consciousness and socialist consciousness. Lenin identified a hole in Marx's argument about class consciousness among the working class. In studying the revolutionary movement in Czarist Russia, Lenin observed that Marx's theory of class formation was not developing in the way that he predicted. Subsequently, he introduced a the substitution thesis to explain why the working classes were not developing the kind of socialist consciousness necessary for collective action, this theory situated a vanguard party as the revolutionary agent of history. Lenin proposed "This small, tightly knit group would do for workers what they were unable to do for themselves: igniting a more basic structural transformation from capitalist to socialism." (p. 20). Another feature of this thesis is the notion of democratic centralism. This theory explained that the vanguard party organized democratically internally and privately (in that they invited discussions and debate) but operated externally in a uniform way (in that they did not allow deviation from the pre-established agenda, plan, or decision). This is relevant to some of the same ways in which the immigrant rights movement operates. Organizers hold private meetings that are supposed to

be open to the public for dialogue and discussion, but once they arrive at a decision, debate and dialogue are closed.

In addition, as briefly alluded to in the discussion of Marx, this substitution thesis raises questions about the ethics of acting on behalf of constituencies who can act on their own behalf. "In animal rights or child welfare movements, one group acts on behalf of another" some argue "out of necessity," but in situations where groups can act on their own, on what grounds is it okay for other groups, who often have privilege, to act for them? The issues and dilemmas raised by Lenin's contribution to Marx's social class conflict paradigm are central to analyzing and thinking about organizing and social movements and the dynamics within them. Lenin helped raise some of these dilemmas in organizing for social change. The debate over what true class consciousness entails versus false consciousness (trade union versus socialist concerns), is a fundamental issue in theories about ideology and hegemony in describing why people don't always act in their self-interest. Still, Lenin's theories raise questions about how interests are defined, by who, and why and how the analysis of intellectuals should or should not be privileged over the analysis of ordinary people. In other words, if ordinary working class people define their interest in terms of wages, versus structural problems of capitalism, or immigrants simply want immigration reform versus a no borders ideological shift, whose views should the movement adopt? Buechler (2011) asks "is it possible to identify objective group interests and correct forms of consciousness?" These sorts of questions are integral to social movement studies.

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937). Antonio Gramsci is an example of Marx's political legacy. Gramsci was the founding member of the Italian Communist party in the early twentieth century and was imprisoned for his politics and writings by fascist police under the "emergency laws" that emerged from orders of Benito Mussolini in 1928.¹⁵ A key and significant concept in social movement studies as well as in many other disciplines is Gramsci's concept of *cultural hegemony*. In *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Q. Hoare and G. Nowell Smith, the editors outline the historical context and background that led to Gramsci's intellectual development and the over 2,848 pages of hand written notes (in the form of thirty three *quaderni* or notebooks) that he created while imprisoned. According to Editors Hoare and Smith (2005), the prosecutor at his trial demanded "We must stop this brain working for twenty years!" (Gramsci, p. xviii). This reflects not only the power of his ideas, but also contextualizes some of his concepts and concerns and the situation in which his ideas emerged.

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) was born in 1891 in a small town in Sardinia, Italy. Gramsci was raised in conditions of extreme poverty and hardship; raised temporarily and single handedly by his mother, who earned a living as a seamstress. His father was arrested for about six years most likely for

¹⁵ "on the pretext of an alleged attempt at his life," Mussolini ordered the Fascist Government to enact a wave of laws designed to wipe out any opposition to the regime and ban their publications.

his opposition to the local political party in power. These facts along with the influence of his older brother Gennaro, "a socialist militant," and several teachers and mentors at Turin University influenced Gramsci's intellectual development and affinity towards politics. Gramsci found that "politics figures, philosophically, as the central human activity, the means by which the single consciousness is brought into contact with the social and natural world in all its forms" (Gramsci, 2005, p. xxii). It was at Turin, where Gramsci was first introduced to the term "philosophy of praxis" (Gramsci, 2005, p. xxi). Amongst these and other influences were Umberto Cosmo, Annibale Pastore, and Antonio Labriola; "the only Italian Theoretical Marxist of any consequence before the first world war" (Gramsci, 2005, p. xxi). Other influential figures included Rodolfo Mondolo who became a leading philosopher of Italian Socialism and Giovanni Gentile through his translations of *Marx's Theses on Feurbach* (Gramsci, 2005).

Additionally, Benedetto Croce had an even greater philosophical and cultural influence in the development of Gramsci's ideas and critiques of the political scene of his time, particularly due to his opposition to "the previously dominant ideology of positivism" (p. xxii). Croce along with other figures in Italian culture of the time, helped reaffirm Gramsci's intellectual position and redefine his own Marxism. Gramsci while highly influenced by Croce was simultaneously very critical of his resemblance to Hegel (in focusing on the ideal and abstract rather than the material and concrete). These figures, along with the context of Italy's socialist political scene in Turin including the tensions between the P.S.I. (Socialist Party of Italy), the Italian Communist Party, the Third

International and the first Fascist regime that came into power, helped shape Gramsci's ideas and concerns. "[T]he question of Italian Intellectuals, their provincialism, their cosmopolitanism, their role in the power structure of Church and State, particularly in the South, was to become a major subject of Gramsci's reflection in prison" (Gramsci, 2005, p. xxiv).

To this point, on the role of intellectuals; Gramsci differed from Marx and Lenin, in that he believed that every person is an intellectual, the only difference is in that some are recognized in society as possessing that role or serve the function of an intellectual while others do not. He differentiated between traditional intellectuals and organic intellectuals. According to Gramsci, 2005, organic intellectuals were those that emerged naturally from each class, while traditional intellectuals were those that were intellectuals by profession. He discusses the difference below:

Traditional professional intellectuals, literary, scientific, and so on, whose position in the interstices of society has a certain inter-class aura about it but derives ultimately from past and present class relations and conceals an attachment to various historical class formations. Secondly, there are organic intellectuals, the thinking and organizing element of a particular fundamental social class. These organic intellectuals are distinguished less by their profession, which may be any job characteristic of their class, than by their function in directing the ideas and aspirations of the class to which they organically belong. (Gramsci, 2005, p. 3)

Gramsci discussed that every social group in a world of economic production creates a *strata* of its own organic intellectuals. However, these groups will also always find an already existing group of intellectuals in that society. In sum, Gramsci contended that non-intellectuals did not exist, that every man/woman was an intellectual. This discussion is relevant to social

movement studies in helping define the various claims at who would drive the movement into generating social change. Marx's prediction of the working class became critically questioned, Lenin's substitution theses seemed to make sense, but they were also controversial in whether a vanguard party could be the agent of revolution for another group. Similarly, Gramsci's discussion on intellectuals further expands this critical conversation about intellectuals in providing theory and ideology and many times hegemony to the rest of the group.

Gramsci's famous concept of cultural hegemony and his notion of common/good sense helped explain why socialist revolution had been delayed. In his view, the focus of analyzing class struggle should be on the cultural superstructure versus the material base of economic production. "The concept of hegemony referred to the power of ideological beliefs that reflected dominant capitalist interests, but became widely embraced by all social classes" (Buechler, 2011, p. 21). The relevance of hegemony rests on the social construction of grievances, and "effective forms of diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing" (Buechler, 2011, p.21). Common sense is "unquestioned, fluid, and often contradictory knowledge" that is contextual to the society under focus, while societies can contain various notions of common sense, some versions are privileged over others, simultaneously "coercion and consent interact to form hegemony" (Nagasawa, Peters, and Swadener, 2012, p. 2).

Gramsci's analysis of common/good sense allows us to interrogate the ways in which immigration laws and the immigration movement reflects persistent hegemonies. For example, the rule of law is often utilized as a way to

rationalize the criminalization of immigrant families. The narrative on how immigrants break the law in coming to the United States (versus how the laws are irrational and do not reflect the complexity and nature of immigration) privileges one group/class/status and depicts the role and power of hegemony in spreading ideologies and beliefs of the ruling class (p. 21).

Paulo Freire (1921-1997) on Internalized Oppression & Critical Pedagogy. Paulo Freire is regarded as one of the most significant educators of our time. Through his work in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, he challenged the educational system and its way of marginalizing minorities and the poor. His diverse writings provide great insight not only on how education can be transformed to become a site for liberation and resistance, but also many lessons and implications on understanding the immigrant struggle and oppression, particularly as it relates to children and students in Arizona.

“Liberation is praxis: the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it” (Freire, 1993, p. 79). Freire believed that only through reflection of ourselves as subjects and historical beings, do we begin to become conscious of our oppression and how one can struggle against it. He writes: “To surmount the situation of oppression, people must first critically recognize its causes, so that through transforming action they can create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity” (Freire, 1993, p. 47).

Thus, although oppression and dehumanization of certain groups and communities is a historical reality, he provided a more optimistic perspective (see

also Marxist humanism) and warned against falling into fatalism. Freire advocated that history is not destiny but the “the result of an unjust order that engenders violence in the oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed” (Freire, 1993, p. 44). He believed that this order could be transformed and should be changed through praxis. His theories on internalized oppression are useful tools to understanding the psyche of immigrants in Arizona as well as the views of anti-immigrant groups. Freire (1993) described that many times, people have internalized so much oppression that they no longer see other alternatives, such as freedom (p. 47). We observe this phenomenon in immigrant children, when they choose to drop out of school perceiving their futures as “fates” rather than possibilities. According to Freire (1993),

The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being. They discover that without freedom they cannot exist authentically. Yet, although they desire authentic existence, they fear it. They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized. The conflict lies in the choice between being wholly themselves or being divided; between human solidarity or alienation; between following prescriptions or having choices; between being spectators or actors; between acting or having the illusion of acting through the action of the oppressors; between speaking out or being silent, castrated in their power to create and re-create, in their power to transform the world. This is the tragic dilemma of the oppressed, which their education must take into account (p. 48).

This dilemma is further exacerbated by the contradictions they experience. On the one hand immigrants are part of their society, but yet they are not recognized as having a legitimate existence. After sufficient exposure to the “illegal alien” and “immigrant criminal” rhetoric, it’s easy for many children to observe their situation with resistance, seeking a more acceptable identity. It does

not take long before some begin to “feel an irresistible attraction toward the oppressors and their way of life. Sharing this way of life becomes an overpowering obsession (Freire, 1993). They then can become “hosts” of the oppressor.

Oppression, like power and knowledge are always relationships. Both the oppressed and the oppressor must be liberated in order to restore the humanity of both. As Freire describes, so long as there exists “Any situation in which ‘A’ objectively exploits ‘B’ or hinders his and her pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of oppression” (Freire, 1993, p. 55).

Consciousness is a process (Freire, 1993, p.69) not easily achieved without ongoing reflection. The oppressed are not marginals living “outside” society. They have always been “inside”—inside the structure which made them “beings for others.” The solution is not to “integrate” them into the structure of oppression, but to integrate them so that they can become “beings for themselves.” Such transformation threatens the oppressors’ purposes; hence the banking concept of education is applied to avoid the threat of student *conscientizacao* (conscientization)” (Freire, 1993, p. 74).

Banking education regards students as empty minds in which one deposits information. The Banking model attempts, by mythicizing reality, to conceal certain facts which explain the way human beings exist in the world (Freire, 1993). This is observed in the access to knowledge that is available or not available in schools. Only certain histories are provided, thereby masking some of the root causes for present conditions of people who are oppressed.

Knowledge is therefore always part of a struggle. We have to recognize that every new learning event goes against something else, and they are seldom neutral. Problem-posing education, however, sets itself the task of demythologizing what's commonly accepted to be normal or legitimate (Freire, 1993).

Power should always be understood as a relationship. It is part of conflictive relationship always involving position struggles over who gets what. Even the very things schools choose to teach are symbols of power and control over what is deemed legitimate. Certain things are accepted as knowledge, while others are dismissed. An example is the way that Structure English Immersion programs are perceived as more legitimate and efficient over Bilingual Education models. Bilingual education is dismissed as being inadequate, because the push for English only policies has been so strong that this is what is considered logical (though no research supports its superiority). The problem is that when something is so wrong for so long, it appears to be right (Tom Payne). Dr. Gustavo Fischman describes that the push for what is rational excludes every other dynamic of what is possible. Institutions of authority fear our ability to read those power relationships.

Schools are sites of power, reducing knowledge to rules and substance. They seldom recognize that there is no such a thing as better or bad knowledge, but rather it is your position and its context which matters. One's position in the social class structure tends to determine one's life chances.

In *Letters to Cristina*, Freire (1996) describes one of the first times he encountered the realization of his economic class. In great detail, he reflected on the significance of his father's neckties and having a grand piano in the family, as it was a symbol of their economic status. Today, these symbols continue to transcribe a variety of meanings about a person's status and class, suggesting their location within the power structure of society. Sociologist Max Weber described the significance of status in society.

Max Weber (1864-1920) on Status, Social Stratification, and Power.

Born in and influenced by the historical context of Germany, Max Weber emerged as one of the "monumental figures of social science" (Miller, 1963, p.1). He was described by many as one that was extremely unsatisfied with the rulers in Germany. Long before the war, it seemed that Weber was concerned, perhaps from his political exposure through his father and the humanitarian influence of his mother, with the social conditions of people and the role of dominion and legitimacy. Subsequently, fundamental to Weber's theories was the role of power. In his essay *Class, Status, Party*, Weber describes that the "structure of every legal order directly influences the distribution of power, economic or otherwise, within its respective community" (Weber, 1946, p. 180). Weber argued that a distinction should be made in regards to economic, social, and political power. He argued that simply because one is wealthy that does not entail that one will have power. Instead he found the roots of power to be grounded elsewhere.

For instance, it could be possible that certain characteristics or conditions that resulted in power, gave way to economic power as well. Having honor or prestige for example, Weber regarded as being directly linked with power. Thus, whereby one studies the distribution of goods and services within a society, one studies the economic order, and whereby one studies the distribution of social honor “in a community between typical groups,” we are studying social order (Weber, 1946, p. 181). In understanding social order, the typical concepts that Weber referred to were classes and status groups.

The dominant group develops a pedagogy that their conventions and modes of living are ideal and should be preserved. Once this group is stabilized within society, their honor and influence eventually result in legal advantages or economic power. In addition, status groups do not just have privileges but they ensure their domination through the *exclusivity* of certain activities that represent their style of life. Examples are when the high status group monopolizes certain products or activities, i.e. engages in wearing particular types of clothes, attending certain schools, playing only certain instruments, listening to a type of music, eating special foods, living in a particular area, or elevating the status of certain trades versus others. Status groups, therefore, can develop into “closed” caste systems. This ensures that status distinctions get defined not only by laws and conventions, but also by rituals of the groups (Weber, 1946, p. 188).

In Jewish communities, for instance, Weber describes that despite their economic power they did not have social power because they belonged to a group that was considered lower in status because their ideologies, rituals, and

conventions were different. Weber argued that “pariah” or outcast groups are segregated from mainstream culture (except for inevitable and necessary interactions) and that their situation is legally unstable. The groups, however, “by the nature of their economic indispensability...are tolerated” (Weber, 1946, p. 189). Additionally, “occupational” groups are also status groups. An example, of the role of occupation and legal exclusion is reflected in the struggle of Mexican immigrants in Arizona. They do not legally belong to the circle, and though some may have economic power, many hold service industry occupations which tend to be considered lower in status. Weber refers to this idea, in the following excerpt:

Quite generally, among privileged status groups there is a status disqualification that operates against the performance of common physical labor. This disqualification is now ‘setting in’ in America against the old tradition of esteemed labor. Very frequently every rational economic pursuit, and especially ‘entrepreneurial activity,’ is looked upon as a disqualification of status (Weber, 1946, p. 191.)

These concepts of class and status are important, because it allows us to engage in a discussion of social stratification. Previous discussion on class struggles had simply focused on economics to define stratification and explain why some people had “power” and others did not. Weber believed this relationship of power to be grounded on the concept of status, i.e. honor and prestige. Thus, he argued that were classes were stratified on the basis of the “production and acquisition of goods,” status groups are stratified according to “the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special ‘styles of life’” (Weber, 1946, p. 193).

Another example, for instance, is “the catholic religion” or “the institute of marriage;” they are symbolic groups that gain privilege, legitimacy, and status via

their stabilization within the social sphere. They share a style of life whose preservation is promoted by their marginalization and exclusivity of those deemed to be different. In other words, one's position of status within the social structure tends to determine the kind of lifestyle one gets to experience. Our "life chances" (Weber, 1946, p. 181) are in essence calculated by the associations we have developed or were born into. Thus, the "life chances" of immigrants appear to be rather limited because they belong to a group perceived to have lower status and legitimacy.

In respect to social movement studies, Weber has influenced and inspired a myriad of social movement scholars and theories and the questions that they ask; particularly with regards to his analysis of social action and authority and the role and significance of beliefs and the *protestant ethic*. Weber saw a connection between beliefs and social change. As Tilly (1978) explains in defining social movements "a group of people somehow orient themselves to the same belief system and act together to promote change on the basis of the common orientation" (qtd. in Buechler, 2011, p. 28). Subsequently, when analyzing capitalism, Weber recognized a link between the religious Protestant and Calvinist beliefs and the unintended consequence of capitalism. Buechler (2011) explains that the Protestant ethic came to equate wealth and productive labor with worth and "cast suspicion on those who were without wealth as also being without worth" (p. 29). The relevance of these observations is Weber's contribution on the role of beliefs as an impetus for impacting change.

Moreover, Weber's (1978) definition of sociology, sociology is a science "concerning itself with the interpretive understanding of social action and thereby

with a causal explanation of its course and consequences" (qtd. in Buechler, 2011, p. 29). His emphasis on the subjective meaning of action as serving an explanatory role in understanding collective action, leadership, power, and domination. Weber categorized social action into five pure "ideal types," in other words these were conceptualizations that could vary or merge in real life but by defining them as pure ideal types would serve as tools for understanding the dynamics of action. Weber described these five types as follows: 1) *rational action*, 2) *value rational action*, 3) *affectual action*, and finally 4) *traditional action* (Buechler, 2011, p. 30).

Accordingly, *rational action* involves a rational calculus driven by a cost benefit analysis. The second type, *value rational action*, is driven by a set of beliefs. Thirdly, *affectual action* is driven by passions, sentiments or feelings, and lastly the fourth action; *traditional action* is driven by habit, customs, or traditions.

In addition to his conceptualization and interrogation of action and what drives it, Weber discussed the dynamics of power and domination and its relation to authority and leadership. Weber (1978) observed that power "is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (qtd. in Buechler, 2011, p. 31). In opposition to power, domination is defined as "the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons" (qtd. in Buechler, 2011, p. 31). These definitions pointed to the connection between power and coercion or force. Subsequently, Weber searched to understand the ways and conditions in which power became legitimate, in this analysis he described that authority was the result power and domination viewed as

legitimate by a society. Thus, Weber argued that there were three emergent types of authority; traditional leaders, rational legal leaders, and charismatic leaders (Buechler, 2011, p. 32). The table below depicts some of its differences.

Table 2

Weber's Typology of Authority

Traditional Authority	Rational Legal Authority	Charismatic Authority
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal Loyalty to a Leader • Leader by traditional status within the group • Gains legitimation through conformity to age-old rules 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • subordination to an office or position rather than to a person • "no one is above the law" • Gains legitimation through a belief in legality of a set of rules 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loyalty tied to an individual Leader • based on emotional communal bonds • Gains legitimation through recognition of charisma by its followers

(Weber, 1978 in Buechler, 2011, pp. 31-32)

As illustrated in the table, traditional authority emerges from respect to an old way of being or to a person due to their traditional status in a group or society. In contrast, rational legal authority obtains its legitimacy to the extent that people obey or respect a set of rules or legal code they view as rational, they subsequently pay obedience to a position and or system. Lastly, Weber's concept of charismatic authority is amongst the most well-known and analyzed. According to Weber, charisma "is tied to an individual personality who is considered extraordinary and seen as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or highly exceptional powers and qualities" (Buechler, 2011, p. 32). Weber emphasized that this charismatic authority is only possible through the recognition of its followers. Buechler (2011) describes the implications of Weber's authority

typology. According to Buechler (2011) movements are less likely in structures or societies with a strongly legitimate authority, and in contrast, movements are more likely where social orders "experience legitimation difficulties" (p. 33).

Weber's typology is also transferred to the way movements themselves are organized. For example, some movement scholars (Piven & Cloward, 1979) have argued that effective action can only emerge in movements that tend to have a less formalized structure or organization and a charismatic leader. Piven & Cloward (1979) found that Weber's typology can serve as cautionary tale of the dangers of bureaucratizing social change movements and organizations. At the same time, others (such as Gamson, 1990) found that "bureaucratically organized movements tended to be more successful than their counterparts" (Buechler, 2011, p. 39). Buechler (2011) reiterates that for the most part Weber's discussion on the dangers of bureaucracy rang true and this prediction was further elaborated in the work of Robert Michels (1876-1939), one of Weber's former students.

Michels extended Weber's ideas through his contribution of the *iron law of oligarchy*. According to Michels (1958), "democracy is inconceivable without organization" and leadership becomes a technical and administrative necessity since decision making without it is challenging when left "to the masses" (Buechler, 2011, p. 36). Michels observed through critical case studies methodologies that because of a natural distancing from the movement's cause and also because the goals and interests of the working class members become diluted and compromised by the interests and goals for middle-or upper class leaders, a movement led by highly organized bureaucracy would not be

permanent or sustainable (Buechler, 2011, p. 37). Thus, similar to Weber, Michels expressed a pessimistic view about the nature of bureaucracy. Together, Weber's analysis of the routinization of charisma coupled with Michels' case for the iron law of oligarchy, emerged to produce the Weber-Michels model of social movement transformation (Buechler, 2011, p. 38). In summary, Weber leaves a legacy and imprint for the study of a range of social movement questions and dilemmas. His conceptualization of power and domination, his typology of authority and social action, and the Michels-Weber model, all raise and point to some of the most fundamental questions about the trajectory and lifespan of movements, as well as the ways in which they emerge and can disintegrate. Buechler (2011) discusses some of the current scholars who have developed work on social movements with inspiration from Weber's ideas (Zald and Ash, 1966; Tolbert and Hiatt, 2009; Schwartz, 1976, Piven & Cloward, 1979; Gamson, 1990; Andreas, 2007).

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917). Durkheim's influence in social movements is also not direct, but yet his ideas brought about long lasting implications in analyzing when movements emerge and when they disintegrate. Like Marx, Durkheim also problematized capitalism but like Weber was skeptical of socialism as a solution (p. 42). "For Durkheim, a better solution required reform of industrial society so as to strengthen its social cohesion, meritocratic operation, and moral integrity" (Buechler, 2011, p. 42). Durkheim discussed the role of the division of labor in societies. He argued that the division of labor created interdependency among people, taking away their self-sufficiency and

making them "elements in a system where the survival of each is tied to the survival of all" (p. 44). From these assertions, Durkheim found the existence of a *conscience collective* existing in the center of such societies. This collective conscience unifies people to privilege the group over the individual; thereby also defining their identity and purpose in relation to the group. At the same time, he was concerned with the loss and decline of this collective conscience.

An interesting study by Durkheim, was his analysis of *suicide*. I discuss this example, because I believe it highlights Durkheim's theory that when an act is taken, even such an act as personal and controversial as suicide, it is still a social act that reflects information about the conditions of the social order in which it occurs. "It illustrated how society was essentially a moral order whose breakdown could create social problems" (Buechler, 2011, p. 45). Applying this to the "problem" of immigration, it could be argued that the breakdown of this social order is what has caused the "problem" of immigration to occur. In other words, the crimes of immigrants in crossing the border and in existing "illegally" in a society, do not just say something unique about the individuals who cross but also reflect the problems with the societies in which these acts occur, the fact that the United States has no process for welcoming immigrants from Mexico and no process for them to exist legally. At the same time the conditions in Mexico have driven people north, and interrogating these conditions as a consequence of other social acts, help begin to unpack some of the real roots of the "problem."

For example, Durkheim discovered that "suicide rates vary inversely with the degree of integration in modern societies," this exploration of integration is

also applicable to the implications of being an undocumented immigrant in the United States, since it almost always entails being disintegrated from the society they migrate to.

Furthermore, while his work was not that obvious in its links to social movements compared to Marx, Gramsci, and Weber, his ideas presented wide reaching lessons about movements and collective action. Durkheim saw collective behavior as "another symptom of underlying tensions and problems of social integration" (p. 49). His work on religion has influential implications. His hypothesis is that religion provides "the social integration required by all healthy societies" (p. 47). In summary, his observations on societies and the types of social integration they require can be transferred to the study of social groups and the mechanisms or dynamics of integration they require. Additionally, the role of ritual in his studies is another example that has far reaching implications.

Buechler (2011) explains Durkheim's emphasis on the significance of rituals below:

Rituals are thus vital social processes that create symbolic meanings through redundancy. Although they are a pathway to the sacred in their religious form, their more mundane function is to establish the routines, social conventions, and moral order that make for social integration. Without ritual, there would be no society" (p. 51).

Buechler (2011) analyzes that rituals are instrumental in maintaining movements. Though people complain when movements become "ritualistic" a Durkheim view would argue that it is these rituals that maintain the collective identity of the group. At the same time, many movements utilize or expend a lot of energy on ritualistic or symbolic actions, that attempt to reproduce the conditions of which

the efforts emerged, but while having the potential to reproduce these emotions of collective solidarity they can also "lack a clear focus and its impact and consequences become more difficult to predict" (p. 52).

At any rate, his discussion on the role of ritual, religion, the division of labor, social integration, and the collective conscience presents a useful ground to begin unpacking the dynamics of social movements. In regards to the immigrant rights movement, I believe that ritual did play a significant role in sustaining or maintaining the collective identity of the movement. Whether this identity is one that will generate sustainable social change is unclear, but at any rate a collective group does exist, a group that is without a doubt disintegrated from the American legal fabric. Towards the end of this review, I discuss more specifically the role of ritual and performance theory in analyzing social action.

Immigration, Critical Theory, and Pierre Bourdieu's Habitus

In Arizona, the rhetoric on both sides of the immigration debate has substantially limited the possibilities for critical inquiry. This has been achieved by an ongoing discourse on economics, i.e. the benefits or detriments brought about by immigration, on crime; e.g. the legal and illegal status of people, on safety; i.e. the perceived danger of *the other*, and on culture; i.e. the physical and visual changes in neighborhoods, grocery stores, and streets.

While these are important areas of discussion, the function of this type of dialogue is limited. Its primary purpose is to describe the effects of immigration rather than explain the source of the conflicts around the topic of immigration. Debate explains behavior rather than motivation. As a consequence

understanding remains at the surface, and never explores context and the way meaning unfolds for subjects in border communities.

Adorno et al. (1976) explain that theory has the task of bringing to light the difference between “appearance and essence” with the purpose of exposing “what the object, left to itself, seeks to be, and confront it with what it is” thus making the process “indisputably critical” (Adorno et al. qtd. in Giroux, 1997, p. 42). Critical theory, therefore, provides a theoretical lens with which to critically analyze the immigration movement in Arizona. In particular, I’m interested in applying Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of *hegemony* and *habitus*.

Bourdieu’s (1977) theory of the role of *habitus* in society can be useful in explaining the source of conflict that has surfaced in the immigration debate. Bourdieu (1930-2002), a French anthropologist and sociologist, developed a *theory of practice* to help understand the way human actions should be understood. In *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu (1977) describes the elements of the *habitus* as:

Systems of durable transposable dispositions; structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively “regulated” and “regular” without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72).

In this definition, Bourdieu (1977) conveys that a person develops a *way of being* toward its environment, and this particular way of being consists of a set of thoughts, acquired perceptions, tendencies, orientations, mental representations,

and actions that constitute one's *habitus*. *Habitus* is formed in response to one's particular environment. The environment's material conditions, "characteristic of a class condition" produce *habitus*, and it is this *habitus* that explains "the series of moves, which are objectively organized as strategies without being the product of a genuine strategic intention (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 73).

A key element of this definition is that while these dispositions are "structured structures," they are not the deterministic outcome of "obedience to rules." According to Dr. Blumenfeld-Jones (2008), the concept of *habitus* can be understood through the metaphor of a chess game, or a football game (DCI 691 Lecture, Oct. 07, 2008). While each piece or player has a defined role, in the human example would be *a way of being* or a *habitus* that seems natural, the way the game plays out depends on the structures in place as much as it depends on the interactions that play out over the course of the game. In this example, the order and location of each piece and move is key to the outcome of the game; If you move the order, you change the game. The basic principles of the game remain but the shape of the game can alter, thus the game evolves and yet remains. It is this paradox which is at the heart of the *habitus/field* interaction, interrelationship.

Applying this concept to the discourse of immigration can be useful in understanding the conflicts and tensions in terms of a conflict of identity and *habitus*. People in the immigrant community can be understood as each holding a *habitus*, a way of being that has been formulated collectively, in response to the set of material conditions in their environment. Their practices are thus guided by this *habitus*, and the things that they observe as possible and as necessary are

filtered and experienced through their way of being, through their *habitus*. Certain actions they take can be seen as regulated and regular but not the product of obedience to any rules. Their position, legal as well as socioeconomic and cultural locations, in the structures of society influences the structures that structure their dispositions (i.e. their sense of invisibility through their undocumented and un-welcomed status) and also their dispositions structure their practices in the conditions they exist in.

Just as in chess, the game goes on, and practices can be “regulated” or “regular” in the sense that there is a sense of predictability to the next move based on what occurred prior, one cannot anticipate the way the game will end, where pieces will end up. Similarly, we cannot anticipate the outcome of the immigration struggle, what practices will arise. The game is thus understood as “collectively orchestrated” while simultaneously is not the “product of the orchestrating action of a conductor” (Bourdieu, 1977, p.72). The structures serve as *structuring structures* in that each chess piece as it is moved structure the game as much as it structures the game for other pieces, there is a certain level of improvisation and “living happens” (DCI 691 Lecture, Oct. 07, 2008). In the case of immigration, living also happens, people navigate this space, create and cross boundaries, interpret their reality and experience the world through their *habitus*, in doing this they formulate a social identity and others begin to fear that which they do not understand, to fear actions that are not accepted in the terrain in which they occur.

Bourdieu (1977) discusses the *hysteresis effect* to explain generational conflicts in society. We can also apply this to explain the cultural conflict arising between a community that has the legal sanctions to be in the United States (the documented or “the American”) and the community that lacks them (the undocumented or “the immigrant”). Bourdieu (1977) explained that when a groups’ practices occur in an environment that is too distant from the environment in which they would be appropriate, those practices can be perceived as threatening and be exposed to “negative sanctions” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78). This is observed in the criminalization of immigrant communities. Specifically, Bourdieu describes that when we observe conflicts in generations we are observing a conflict in *habitus*:

habitus which have been produced by different modes of generation, that is, by conditions of existence which, in imposing different definitions of the impossible, the possible, and the probable, cause one group to experience as natural or reasonable practices or aspirations which another group finds unthinkable or scandalous, and vice versa (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78).

For instance, the material conditions and environment in Arizona have produced for people different ways of being, each maintaining their own *habitus*, their particular set of dispositions toward their environment, and their practices (living in the United States without documents) can be viewed and regarded by other groups, whose *habitus* differs, as unthinkable and in the case of immigration, as criminal and threatening.

Taking the concept of *habitus* and applying it to the situation in Arizona can help interrogate the many points of view of different actors as they operate in

their distinct realities. “Immanent critique is the assertion of difference, the refusal to collapse appearance and essence, i.e. the willingness to analyze the reality of the social object against its possibilities” (Giroux, 1997, p. 42). People from both sides of the immigration debate differ in their particularities and fears that are legitimate and at times, based on extremely false logic. Thus, this study seeks to apply concepts of critical theory to analyze how meaning plays out for each participant under a perceived and delineated identity. Utilizing fieldnotes, and video footage I analyze the discourse through a critical lens. I examine the way that immigrant and American identities are perceived and described, how groups perceive themselves and describe themselves, and how both perceive and describe each other. The results of this process can reveal the difference between essence and appearance.

Similarly, Bourdieu’s concept of *Habitus*, is described as "a way of being" toward a particular environment. The environment’s material conditions characteristic of a “class condition” produces *habitus*. *Habitus* is a social agreement about how to live in this specific geography/social geography. It is arbitrary to the degree that you could have a number of responses to it. It becomes natural to the extent that we cannot even see that we are living in a certain way; we are just living it. Nevertheless, it is not a product of conditions so much as a response to conditions and the conditions can direct attention in certain ways because we are already disposed to be directed in that way.

Applying this concept to the discourse of immigration can be useful in understanding the conflicts and tensions in terms of a conflict of *habitus*. People

in the immigrant community can be understood as each holding a *habitus*, a socially agreed upon way of being that has been formulated collectively, in response to the set of material conditions in their environment. Their practices are thus guided by this *habitus*, and the things that they observe as possible and as necessary are filtered and experienced through their way of being, through their *habitus*.

Simultaneously, immigrant rights advocates also have a habitus towards the world. Bourdieu (1977) conveys that a person develops *a way of being* toward its environment, and this particular way of being consists of a set of thoughts, acquired perceptions, tendencies, orientations, mental representations, and actions that constitute one's *habitus*. *Habitus* is formed in response to one's particular environment. The environment's material conditions, "characteristic of a class condition" produce *habitus*, and it is this *habitus* that explains "the series of moves, which are objectively organized as strategies without being the product of a genuine strategic intention (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 73).

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and location of each piece and move is key to the outcome of the game; you move the order and you change the game. Let me be clear here. You don't change the game *as a whole*. It's still a chess game or a football game; we still know it as such and call it as such. The basic principles of the game remain but the shape of the game can alter, thus the game evolves and yet remains. It is this paradox which is at the heart of the *habitus/field* interaction, interrelationship.

I also want to be clear here. *Habitus* is not formed in response to the material conditions if what you mean by this is that the material conditions determine the *habitus*. It is conceptually possible to have a number of different *habitus* in response to the same material conditions. Good. Certain actions they take can be seen as regulated and regular but not the product of obedience to any rules. Their position, legal as well as socioeconomic and cultural locations, in the structures of society influences the structures that structure their dispositions (i.e. their sense of invisibility through their undocumented and un-welcomed status) and also their dispositions structure their practices in the conditions they exist in. Right, now you have the idea: it's both at once and this makes it always in flux, uneasy, and yet fixed by the dispositions. Makes a person feel sea-sick but there it is.

Just as in chess, the game goes on, and practices can be "regulated" or "regular" in the sense that there is a sense of predictability to the next move based on what occurred prior, one cannot anticipate the way the game will end, where pieces will end up. Similarly, we cannot anticipate the outcome of the immigration struggle, what practices will arise. The game is thus understood as "collectively orchestrated" while simultaneously is not the "product of the orchestrating action of a conductor" (Bourdieu,

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Performance Theory

Implementing theories of Theater and Performance in analyzing the immigration movement proves useful in illustrating the role of symbols and rituals in organized collective behavior. Richard Schechner (1977/1988) describes four elements embedded and related in a web like fashion to Performance; these include Drama, Theater, and Script (p. 72). Performance is a complicated concept to define because of its interconnectedness to the other elements and the inability for theorists to know the point of separation from the side of theater and the side of real life. Schechner (1977/1988) describes performance as "ritualistic behavior conditioned and permeated by play" (See Figure 1: Performance)

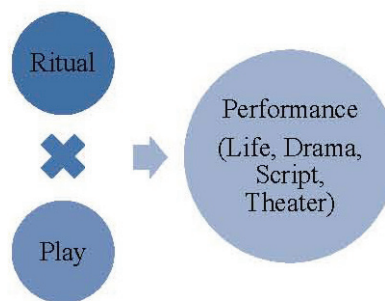


Figure 1. Performance.

The next diagram, Figure 2, illustrates the interrelationship of Drama, Script, Theater and Performance. Drama in Figure 2, can be understood as the heated center of performance. Drama can be conceptualized as plan or an instruction, carried from place to place or time to time independent of the person or people carrying it. It is dependent upon carefully scripted actions. The people involved in the drama, can be just messengers, "unable to read the drama, no less comprehend or enact it" (p. 72). In other words, this drama can be hegemonic in its nature. Theater in contrast, refers to the events enacted by a group of performers, "usually the manifestation or representation of the drama and/or script" (Schechner, 1988, p. 72). Finally, the script is "the basic code of events," "patterns of doing" (Schechner, 1988, p.72), "something that preexists any given enactment" (p. 70). Scripts are transmitted from person to person, from time to time, and place to place. In contrast to drama, the persons are not just messengers but must know the scripts well enough to teach them, whether consciously or otherwise (p. 72). Drama as defined by Schechner (1988) consists of the smallest most intense nucleus of performance. It can be "a written text, score, scenario, instruction, plan, or map" taken from place to place independent of the people who carry it on (as messengers) or whether or not they even understand it (p. 72). *Figure 2* is illustrated below describes each as existing within the other, with performance being the most broadly defined.

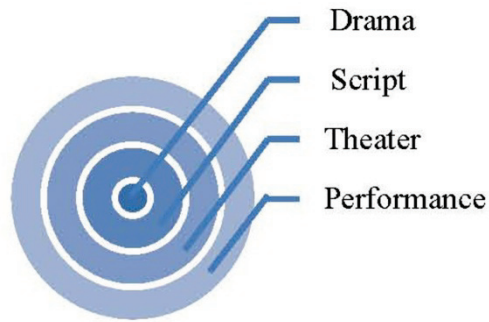


Figure 2. Drama, Script, Theater, and Performance

Returning to Schechner's (1988) definition of Performance as ritualized behavior permeated by play, play in this regard is described as something that is derived from life situations; a ritualization and elaboration of "patterns of fight, flight, sexual, and eating behavior" (qtd. in Schechner, p. 97, Loizos 1969, p. 252). Other primate studies, Carpenter (1964) conclude that social play is a way in which some animals find their place or ranking within an established dominance structure. This practice prepares young animals for their hierarchical order in adulthood. According to Laizos (1969), whereas play in adulthood for monkeys is nonexistent, for humans, this is completely the reverse. Play is an integral part of the human condition.

Schechner (1977/1988) describes the possibility of an inverse relationship between rigid social systems and play, the more rigid a society the more inclined to theater and performance on "spectacular confirmations of the existing social order within which brackets of play are allowed" in contrast, more flexible societies and systems can be more inclined towards drama and play that expresses individual opinions and tastes, on a smaller scale. Put another way, "play" is a type of behavior that "borrows or adopts patterns," actions that appear in other life

contexts, it takes them and separates them from their original contextual ends and motivations (Schechner, 1988). In addition, play is a way of making order out of disorder, its improvisational, and it imposes order. Ritualized performances are continuously testing the boundaries of play and for real (see Figure 2). Loizos (1969) describes that "playful patterns owe their origin to behavior that appeared phylogenetically and for purposes other than play" (qtd. in Schechner, p. 100). Schechner (1977/1988) describes the functions of play as behaviors that are recombined in new ways, they are exaggerated, repeated, fragmented, and and short circuited. Moreover, play can be very serious just as serious work can also be playful. "Playful activity constantly generates rules, and although these may change swiftly, there is no play without them" (Schechner, 1988, p. 101). In other words another key function of play is that it is always scripted (p. 101). Drama depends on carefully scripted actions. Schechner points out that "circumpolar hunting cultures" translate future oriented hunting behavior into strategic storytelling (Schechner, 1988, p. 103). Translating this into community organizing, it appears that organizing activities and behavior can also be a form of play and with regards to the anti-immigrant movement a form of hunting; or playing at killing.

Schechner (1977/1988) summarizes his thesis in stating that the majority of play behavior stems from hunting. "This kind of playing is strategic, future and crisis oriented, violent and/or combative; it has winners and losers, leaders and followers; it employs costumes and/or disguises (often as animals); it has a beginning, middle, and end; and its underlying themes are fertility, prowess, and

animism/totemism" (Schechner, 1988, p. 102). Crisis, as illustrated in Figure 3, becomes the link between performance, play, hunting, and ritual. When a crisis or stressful situation arises, its energy initiates and triggers the activation of one or all of these elements: play, ritual, hunting, and performance, and each gives rise to the other (Schechner, pl. 99).



Figure 3. Crisis Link

Furthermore, Schechner (1977/1988) explores the dynamics of hunting as an act involved in "playing at killing" (p. 102). This dynamic of playing and hunting is described in Schechner's (1977/1988) excerpt below:

Real hunting-going for the kill-can be fun. Watch a cat "playing with" a mouse or other small animal. The cat lets the prey go, chases after it, catches it, lets it go again, and so on. Finally, the kill is made and the prey is either eaten or carried around triumphantly. Humans have even more fun hunting, including hunting other humans. It's not nice to think of war as a kind of hunt-and destroy sport but tha's how war colleges teach it and one way recruiters sell it. On the other hand, hunting for food is no longer a major human occupation. And in human play- other than war and hunting-the actual kill is avoided.

As time progresses, playing/hunting generates the symbolic activities of ritual and drama which result in what Lorenz (1969) calls *displacement activity*. According

to Lorenz (1969) displacement activity occurs through ritual or drama in which humans play at killing other humans; but because this activity occurs only at play, this generates a temporary status of hunter and prey (Schechner, 1988, p. 102-103).

Displacement occurs, when the real intention of hunting and the nature of playing come into conflict, they each thus, prevent each other from being activated. In addition, Schechner points out that with modernization, the world is becoming more global and in an effort to replicate the intimacy and security of small group interaction that occurred in the past with smaller cultures; industrialized societies have generated the *workshop*. Schechner (1977/1988) highlights the importance of the workshop in playing with reality and fragmenting it and restructuring it, etc. The "workshop" becomes a protected space with a specific time where participants can explore and experiment. I apply Schechner's concept of the workshop as a mechanism to understand the nature of organizing meetings such as the Somos America meetings in the immigrant rights movement. The meetings provided a space, where members could practice identity performance, play, and practice ordering and scripting behavior (see Chapter 4, Section Titled: Somos America Meetings as Symbolic Settings of Performance).

The concept of "ritual" was first introduced by Julian Huxley (Lorenz, 1998, p. 95). According to Lorenz (1969) Huxley first introduced the concept of ritual and ritualized behavior and elaborated that "certain movement pattern" lose their original function and become strictly symbolic. To the extent that behavior is

symbolic and plays or attempts to represent the real, it can be considered a ritual.

Figure 4. Ritual below describes some of the key functions of ritual.

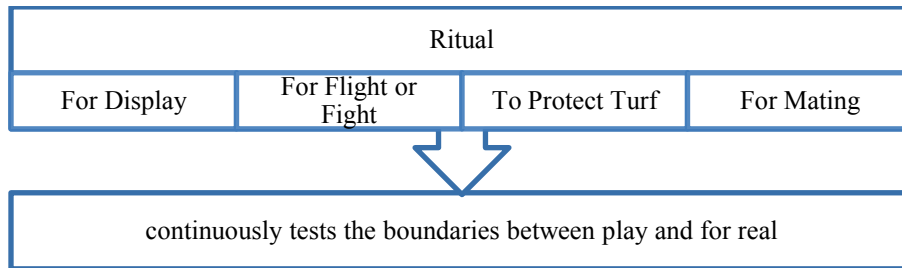


Figure 4. Ritual.

Schechner (1977, 1998) discusses that ritual occurs for several primate like or instinctive reasons; for display or demonstrate status, for flight or fight, to protect the turf or claim or defend territory, and for mating or preparing for mating.

Historically, various cultures as well as animals have engaged in ritual as a means to symbolically illustrate these patterns of behavior (p. 94). These "shows" or "displays" can be aggressive, playful, or artful.

Durkheim, as discussed briefly, offered one of, "the most influential early social scientific views of ritual" as he linked it to the ritual behavior (Kertzer, 1988, p. 9). Kertzer (1948, 1988) discusses that ritual action is formalized behavior. "It follows highly structured, standardized sequences and is often enacted at certain places and times that are themselves endowed with special symbolic meaning" (p. 9). Ritual enables societies, groups, and individuals to formulate beliefs about the world and reinforce them. The symbolization itself "gives the action much more important meaning" (p. 9). Some of its features is in its ability to link past, present, and future, evoking and erasing history and time, and through symbols (the content of ritual). Kertzer (1948, 1988) and Edelman

(1967, 1985) also discuss the role of condensation, which refers to the way in which "symbols represent and unify [and evoke] a rich diversity of meanings" (Kertzer, 1988). Additionally, a characteristic of ritual symbols is their *multivocality*, which refers to "the variety of different meanings" connected to each symbol.

Politics, Rituals, and Symbols

Murray Edelman (1967, 1985) in "The Symbolic Uses of Politics" discusses the significance of symbols within politics. Laswell & Harold D. (1930) define politics as;

A passing parade of abstract symbols, yet a parade which our experience teaches us to be a benevolent or malevolent force that can be close to omnipotent. Because politics does visibly confer wealth, take life, imprison and free people, and represent a history with strong emotional and ideological associations, its processes become easy objects upon which to displace private emotions, especially strong anxieties and hopes (qtd. in Edelman, 1985, p. 5).

She explains two different types of symbols, referential and condensation symbols. All symbols stand for something other than itself, referential symbols stand for an objective representation of something; however, condensation symbols serve the purpose of condensing into one symbolic event or sign or act a series of emotions, attitudes, impressions, events, anxieties, fears, and memories of glories or humiliations. They evoke a set of ideas into one concept or symbol. These symbols can take the form of people, systems, settings, language, or be a part of rituals. These symbols almost always represent either a threat or reassurance for mass observers.

Humanity and politics are in essence a reflection of each other. Humanity develops political symbols, and these sustain or warp people. The state provides benefits or threatens people. The abstraction of us versus them is one in which people displace their emotions and anxieties. Our obsession with politics is an obsession with ourselves. Political forms serve two purposes, the first is that they serve as a powerful means of expression for mass publics, they come to symbolize what large masses of people need to believe about the state to reassure themselves. Simultaneously, it is these needs and hopes and anxieties of people that determine the meanings of institutions and its forms. Secondly, political forms can convey goods and services to specific groups. For example, Edelman (1967/1985) explains that participation in election campaigns is more about engaging in a ritual act that gives people a chance to express their discontents or enthusiasms, they obtain a sense of involvement while not necessarily engaged in policy formation. The symbolic function of an election campaign is ritualistic and provides people with an outlet and reassurance about justice and a system that will ensure it.

Similarly, Kertzer (1948/1988) highlights the significance of ritual to politics. Kertzer (1948/1988) explains that while contemporary scholars of politics might dismiss ritual and religion in its study of politics and behavior, ritual actually plays an incredible role in reinforcing and producing political myths and symbols (p. 13). People's behavior is not a rational calculus, but rather evolves from their reaction to symbols and rituals. Kertzer (1948/1988) describes that people are born into and are exposed from the onset to a series of symbols

and rituals that tell a collective story about a web of terms such as "the nation" or "the people" or "the melting pot" or "the immigrants" or "the united states" which together reinforce other myths about the values of a specific society and culture. Kertzer (1948/1988) describes, for example, that the texts we receive in school, the histories, and narratives about political figures or historically regarded people, such as Martin Luther King or George Washington are all forms or examples of political symbols, which are propagated via ritual.

Kertzer (1948/ 1988) describes that rituals unlike commands, are visual, and therefore cannot be resisted or contradicted. Therefore, rituals are promising tools for revolutionary groups "who must elicit powerful emotions to mobilize the people for revolt" (p. 14). Trotsky, according to Kertzer (1948/1988) recognized the importance of political rituals and the understood that rationalistic approaches to organizing the masses were ineffective; he described as follows: "We must recognize 'man's desire for the theatrical and his strong and legitimate need for an outer manifestation of emotions'" (p. 14).

Edelman (1967/1985) also explored the way political opinions help externalize inner problems. Opinions that relieve social anxieties will most always be believed as true even if not accurate. The public wants and seeks symbols rather than news. With regards to the immigrant rights movement, some of the symbolic and political rituals employed include press conferences, marches, organizing meetings, citizenship fairs, vigils, forums, press releases, and protests. For the anti-immigrant counter movement; ritualistic events include the raids or Arpaio's crime suppression sweeps, the court hearing, the press conference, the

arrest, visual display of enforcement of the laws (operation streamline), the news show, the press release, and the protest. They are ritualistic events which evoke reassurance or symbolize action towards something that is regarded as important by the community. The specific details and incidents become irrelevant so long as threat perceptions and reassurance impressions are produced. Edelman (1967/1985) described that rituals are a "motor activity that involves its participants symbolically in a common enterprise calling their attention to their relatedness and joint interests in a compelling way" (p. 16-17).

"Myth also serves the same purpose as rite, each reinforcing the other" (Edelman, 1985, p. 18). Myths account for elements such as privileges, inequalities, income, and influence. The study of politics is therefore a study of people's wants, myths, rituals, and a reflection of people's wants, fears, identities, and what they regard as possible (p. 20). To this point, Herbert Fensterheim observed that people will generally distort or ignore reality, and instead "read their own meanings" into situations that are controversial or emotional or confusing. Secondly, they found that people will understand things in terms of "stereotypes, personalization, and oversimplifications" (Edelman, 1985, p. 31). The political scene involves both reassurances for some while a threat for another.

Whiteness as Property

A fundamental element of this dissertation is the notion of Whiteness as property. In Chapter 5, I describe the type of tactics employed in Maricopa County to enforce immigration at the local level. Enforcement tactics include employer raids, "crime suppression sweeps," and laws that target the way of life

of immigrants in Arizona (such as SB1070, Secure Communities, and Employer Sanctions amongst others). I argue that these types of immigration enforcement practices are a direct attempt to protect and safeguard White Supremacy. I further argue that the Raids and local immigration enforcement tactics make a direct and public connection that immigrants are a threat. Simultaneously, the parade of power and enforcement sends a message to white observers that the state remains in full control of colored folks. The raids take place in Mexican populated neighborhoods, and the visual display of brown bodies handcuffed and taken away by Sheriff Deputies, link crime with bodies of color. *Mexicanness* becomes equated with danger and crime and Whiteness a shield from racial profiling; a symbol of power, authority, benevolence and privilege. The group identity of Mexican migrants becomes reduced to brown bodies that serve the sole purpose of labor. They are categorized and labeled as aliens, made to feel as if they do not belong, all the while blurring the history that made them foreigners to their own lands.

In *Who's Afraid of Critical Race Theory?* Derrick Bell describes that “in this country (which views property ownership as a measure of worth), many whites with relatively little property of the traditional kind—money, securities, and land—see their whiteness as a property right” (Bell, 2001, p. 904). Not only is whiteness recognized as a valuable racial identity and a property interest, but it is something that has historically been protected and reified by law. The laws and customs of the United States have played a role in increasing the valorization of whiteness as treasured property in ways so embedded that they are rarely apparent

(Harris, 1993, p. 1713). In a society “structured on racial caste” Whiteness became a valuable asset that Whites sought to protect, and those who passed sought to attain “by fraud if necessary” (Harris, 1993, p. 1713). Similarly, undocumented immigrants today are forced into utilizing false documents to pass as legal (a term now equated with whiteness just as Black became equated with slave and white with free) in order to work and provide for their families. The outcome of these efforts is the prosecution of people for identity theft and fraud charges.¹⁶

Whites’ relationship to people of color, has historically been connected to an attempt to colonize, conquer, settle or protect land. In this section, I describe in more detail literature on the dynamic of Whiteness as property and how it can illuminate our understanding of current immigration laws. I review Cheryl Harris’ (1993) piece on Whiteness as property. I introduce the work of Vine Deloria, Jr. (1970, 1988) in “Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto” to problematize the dangers of categorizing the oppressions of people of color under one umbrella. I draw from Deloria Jr. (1970, 1988) and Bryan Brayboy (2006) “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education” to illustrate the way Native people were historically forced into Whiteness and how this differed from the

¹⁶ Maricopa County Attorney Bill Montgomery is notoriously prosecuting undocumented immigrants caught in Arpaio’s crime suppression sweeps for identity theft and fraud charges. While *Ortega Melendres v. Arpaio*, found Arpaio and the MCSO guilty of racial profiling during crime suppression sweeps, Arpaio continues to conduct employment raids, under the justification that they are not immigration enforcement operations, but rather crack down on identity theft and fraud crimes.

Black history of exclusion from Whiteness. I engage in a discussion of how Mexicans have shifted in and out of the White category and/or label and the historical implications of being defined as White. In tandem, I discuss elements of Andrea Smith's (2006) piece "Heteropatriarchy and the Three pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing." Throughout this discussion, I weave in my observations on how Mexican and Immigrant communities have been oppressed through the ideology and logic of White Supremacy.

Finally, I advocate for the application of a theory I am naming Border Crit Theory, a pedagogical framework that best addresses research in the borderlands and identifies migrant communities' subordination as resting upon the intersections of land and labor. Just as African American communities were treated as property through the institution of slavery, and Native American communities were vanished and subordinated through a forceful taking of land, I describe ways in which undocumented immigrants share these dual oppressions and, like Native Americans, are also situated in a liminal space, their contentious political/legal status along with their racialized identity, make it difficult to secure rights and/or proclaim racial profiling or discrimination since they are legally "White." Southwestern states such as Arizona at one point were part of Mexican land, and yet these very states make it virtually impossible for Mexican immigrant to live and work. They share a history with indigenous and Black communities of color, in that they too were exploited for their lands and simultaneously for their labor.

Cheryl Harris (1993), in “Whiteness as Property,” begins her essay with a vivid and compelling narrative about her grandmother and her difficult decision to present herself as a white woman in order to “pass” in the world of the White dominant culture in order to work and provide for her family. Harris described with such profound clarity the very inner and outer struggle of making herself invisible and holding a “false passport” into a world with expanded opportunities and rights. “It was an act of both great daring and self-denial, for in doing so she was presenting herself as a white woman. In the parlance of racist America, she was ‘passing’” (Harris, 1993, p. 1710). Harris writes:

Each evening, my grandmother, tired and worn, retraced her steps home, laid aside her mask, and reentered herself. Day in and day out, she made herself invisible, then visible again, for a price too inconsequential to do more than barely sustain her family and at a cost too precious to conceive. . . . The fact that self-denial had been a logical choice and had made her complicit in her own oppression at times fed the fire in her eyes when she confronted some daily outrage inflicted on Black people (Harris, 1993, p. 1711).

The story of Harris’s (1993) grandmother describes in such similarity the type of passing many immigrants have to struggle with every day in Arizona. In navigating through public space, immigrants try to make themselves as invisible as possible, haunted by the fear of being deported or targeted because of their brown skin. Working in the kitchens of Scottsdale restaurants, constructing the beautiful houses of the wealthy, landscaping the green grounds of countless business buildings, or in simply trying to be recognized as American (less Mexican-like) in order to pass, work, and live.

Harris (1993) describes the process by which whiteness evolved from racial identity to property and how it has been historically protected by American law. She elaborates upon the ways in which whiteness persists in court decisions and legal reasoning in the arena of affirmative action.

At a glance it would seem that if Mexicans were considered legally to be White, that with it would come a certain degree of “privilege and protection”; however, their legal status prevented them from organizing and contesting the discrimination they faced socially. This point is particularly important, because it emphasizes the reality that regardless of your legal status, or label, whiteness is inscribed and recognized through the body, which contextualizes the reality of racial profiling today. In implementing immigration laws, and enforcing them, comes the social understanding that those who belong, in the United States, tend to have little or no color. Those who look “too foreign” or not assimilated enough, lacking social capital necessary to *pass* in public spaces, become an easy target and prey to daily micro aggressions. In *The Social Construction of Race*, Martinez (1997) described the discriminatory way Mexicans were treated despite their legal status. What this indicates is that even when Mexicans receive the coveted immigration reform laws (the focus of most immigrant advocacy efforts), the fight will remain waiting to be fought, in the sense that the racism and discrimination will not simply be erased, but rather resurface in new ways.

We are trapped in W.E.B. Dubois’ (1990) double consciousness. Always understanding ourselves as racialized subjects, and seeing our identity not simply

in terms of how we perceive ourselves, but always conscious of how we are perceived by Whites:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,--an American, a Negro; two warring souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (p. 3).

Despite our most coordinated efforts, concealing our racialized identities is a task too difficult to achieve. "The characteristics of our hair, complexion, and facial features still influence whether we are figuratively free or enslaved. Race dominates our personal lives" (Haney Lopez, 2001, p. 22). Each and every day Mexican immigrants particularly in places like Arizona verify the predominance of race, as reflected in the way society sees and treats us. The race and color of our skins becomes an indicator and a signal of our "enslaveability" (Harris, 1997).

Cheryl Harris (1993) describes how Whiteness became property and the transition that led to the term "Black" being equated with "Slave" and the term of "White" being equated with "Free"¹⁷ (p. 1718). She states:

Only Blacks were subjugated as slaves and treated as property. Similarly, the conquest, removal, and extermination of Native American life and culture were ratified by conferring and acknowledging the property rights of whites in Native American land. Only white possession and occupation of land was validated and therefore privileged as a basis for property rights. (1718)

These different dimensions of abuse and domination constructed whiteness as property. In 1607-1800's racial lines remained blurred between white indentured

¹⁷ See also Mangum, C.S. (1940) "The Legal Status of the Negro"

servants, “unfree white labor,” and African slaves (p. 1716). Still it became assumed and expected that the only appropriate status and label for Blacks would be “slaves” (p. 1717). The demand for labor, developed a reliance on African slaves and an increase in Africans imported into the colonies. The system of chattel slavery contributed to the ideology of racial hierarchy. It became the case, that being born into the category of “Negro” became a rational reason for a person’s “enslavement” or ability to be deemed a slave, and the prerequisite for this category was raced on skin pigmentation (p. 1717). In other words, being Black was enough to assume you were a slave, despite the fact that not all Blacks were slaves and yet “all slaves were not white” (p. 1717). Harris (1993) describes that by the 1660s, the law itself recognized Blacks as inferior. The implementation of slave codes appeared between 1680-1682, which reified through legal codes the denial of rights and liberties to Blacks that were already a norm in society. Laws and codes were created that prevented Blacks from traveling without permits, from owning property, from assembling publicly, owning weapons, and from receiving an education (p. 1718). Similarly, undocumented immigrants in Arizona, are unable to travel, to work legally, and educational programs such as Mexican American Studies are seen as a threat and therefore dismantled and/or forbidden.

Slavery situated Blacks in a difficult position as both human and property. Their status became contingent on the interest convergence (Bell, 1980, p. 523)¹⁸ with White interests. In other words, when it benefited Whites to include Blacks as citizens, for the purposes of political representation, they were included as 3/5ths of a person (as seen in the Representation Clause of the Constitution), but for purposes of having rights or being allowed to vote and have citizenship they were considered property of slave owners. Another dimension of this manipulation of bodies as property, is the use of black women's bodies to breed slaves. According to Harris (1993) common law established that status of a child was based upon the status of the father. Despite this, laws were reversed "[c]hildren got by an Englishman upon a Negro woman shall be bond or free according to the condition of [the] mother ..." (Higginbotham quoted in Harris, 1993, p. 1719). These attempts to link the status of a child to the parent or mother, is a reoccurring theme in anti-immigration discourse as well. Mexican women are characterized as fertile breeders, who are always having babies, and costing the economy money. For example, nativist groups in Arizona refer to children of undocumented immigrants as "anchor babies" and have attempted to pass legislation that would take away birthright citizenship of children born to

¹⁸ Derrick Bell Jr. (1980) in "Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma" defines interest convergence as "the interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites" (p. 523).

immigrant parents.¹⁹ Harris (1993) explains that the use of female bodies to breed slaves, circumscribed the identity of Black bodies as commodities to be possessed, reproduced, sold, traded, and transferred. Having a white body, thus became a shield, and therefore a property of the most significant value (p. 1720).

In contrast, Native Americans were also treated as property, but their exploitation occurred in a distinct way. Deloria, Jr. (1969) compares the ways Native Americans were oppressed to Blacks. While African Americans were exploited for their labor and subordinated through a series of exclusions from Whiteness:

The Indian suffered the reverse treatment. Law after law was passed requiring him to conform to white institutions. Indian children were kidnapped and forced into boarding schools thousands of miles from their homes to learn the white man's ways. Reservations were forced into American life. The wild animal was made into a household pet, whether or not he wanted to be one. (p. 8)

This passage alone powerfully describes the captivity of red bodies in white hands. The notion that one's child could be ripped out of our home, out of our community for the purposes of being "civilized" and rendered less of an animal; to be kidnapped so as to "help" Native American communities; is an utterly disturbing reality of our past; a silent mirror of an image too grotesque to acknowledge. This is the history of the United States and their colonization of native lands. Never mind the reality that Indians were the first occupants of the Americas, colonizers argued that Native Americans did not truly possess the lands

¹⁹ See Traywick (2011) "Arizona Lawmakers to Introduce "Anchor Baby" Bill" The Media Consortium. January 27, 2011.

because they occupied them in their natural state and were not “utilizing” the land to its full potential (Harris, 1993, p. 1721). Brayboy (2006) explains that the distinction between concepts such as habitation and ownership illustrate “the divergence in the ways that White settlers and Indigenous people viewed the relationship between people and land” (p. 431). While Whites have a history of viewing land as something to be possessed, owned, settled, sold, and colonized indigenous people share a different relationship to land, a relationship rooted in spirituality, knowledge of their ancestors, and as an extension of one’s culture. “For many indigenous people, culture is rooted to lands on which they live as well as their ancestors who lived on those lands before them” (Brayboy, 2006, p. 434).

According to Deloria, Jr. (1969), early settlers viewed land as a function of man (p. 176). Deloria Jr. explains that colonists violated the most basic principle of history “certain lands, are given to certain peoples. It is these peoples only who can flourish, thrive and survive on the land” (p. 177). Perhaps it is this point that poses native Americans and Mexicans as threats, the reality that they were the original possessors of the land, and that lands can be taken back scare and frighten white nativists. According to Deloria, Jr. (1969) nearly all transactions between Whites and Indians have been land transactions (p. 178). Also the notion that only whites could take property, and find justification for stealing the land of Native Americans, further exemplifies the privilege and property rights embedded in Whiteness. Harris (1993) explains “this interpretation of the rule of first possession effectively rendered the rights of first possessors contingent on the race of the possessor. Only particular forms of

possession –those that were characteristic of white settlement—would be recognized and legitimated” (p. 1722). The government therefore, by claiming that indigenous people were underutilizing the land, and by claiming that removing them from tribal land was a benefit found a way to utilize the ideology of Manifest Destiny to remove Native Americans off their lands. Brayboy (2006) defines White Supremacy as “an idea that the established, European or western way of doing things has both moral and intellectual superiority over those things non-western” (p. 432). This colonization of Native American bodies and lands were codified into law. The laws enabled white settlers to rationalize the mistreatment of Native Americans through a self-interested reading of legal concepts” (Brayboy, 2006, p. 431). Indigenous people, therefore exist in this strange liminal space, that renders them legal rights and yet racializes them. The racialized status of American Indians appears in current and frequent debates about funded programs, treaty disputes, and self-identification discourse on “what it means to be Indian” (p. 434). In respects to education, early treaties depicted that Native Americans were to receive “appropriate” education, a term that simply refers to concepts of assimilation (Brayboy, 2006). Assimilation was a persistent goal through boarding schools, and other educational efforts and program aimed at civilizing Native Americans.

The United States’ relationship with indigenous people remains to be one of exploitation. Deloria Jr. (1969) posits the metaphor of a man helping another who is helpless and without a home, and imagines this person terrifying the entire household, after being clothed, and taken care of, and causing the destruction in

the name of helping. “When Indian people remember how weak and helpless the United States once was . . . they burn with resentment at the treatment they have since received from the United States government” (p. 35). Similarly, it was the United States who brought in Mexican labor to strengthen the nation when it was most needed. The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 has been completely disregarded, and despite the fact that Mexican immigrants work tirelessly and have strengthened the economy through their labor, Mexican immigrants continue to be exploited, excluded, and deemed as expendable.

Deloria Jr. (1969) explains that through “trusteeship” the United States managed to steal over two billion acres of land and continues to take what it can (p. 31). The United States signed numerous treaties with various tribes, promising them rights, and to guarantee “rights on the frontier” (p. 31). Many Native Americans are uncertain of their rights, because they consistently observe the ways in which treaties are disregarded and rest in a “legalistic limbo” (p. 32). Laws serve the purpose of helping Whites take whatever land remains. The notion of interest convergence also applies to Native Americans. When a tribe has tried to assert their rights in the courts, they have been told that they are not wards but “dependent domestic nations” and at the same time when they have tried to assert their rights as dependent domestic nations, they are told they are “wards of the government” (p. 50). In other words, there is “no way for Indian people to get the federal government to admit they have rights” (p. 51). This narrative of interest convergence, that continues to define the identities of minorities in ways that best suit their interests and through the use of so called

neutral laws, is a reoccurring theme in American history. Deloria (1969)

proclaims that looking at the history of the past, illustrates the United States as an imperialistic power:

The Indian wars of the past should rightly be regarded as the first foreign wars of American history. As the United States marched across the continent, it was creating an empire by wards of foreign conquest just as England and France were doing in India and Africa. Certainly the war with Mexico was imperialistic, no more or less than the wars against the Sioux, Apache, Utes, and Yakimas. In every case the goal was identical: land (p. 51).

According to Andrea Smith (2006), efforts from communities of color to unite together under one umbrella of shared oppression, and adopt a multicultural framework to fight against white supremacy is not useful. She describes that an alternative framework to frame “people of color” politics is necessary in order to more accurately depict the way distinct ways in which White supremacy impacts communities of color. Smith (2006) envisions three distinct pillars “Slavery/Capitalism,” “Genocide/Capitalism,” and “Orientalism/War” to attempt to better describe the ways in which White supremacy is enacted upon different communities of Color.

Smith’s (2006) framework of “Orientalism/War” proves useful to understanding the special location of Mexican immigrants in the United States. “Orientalism was defined by Edward Said as the process of the West defining itself as a superior civilization by constructing itself in opposition to an ‘exotic’ but inferior ‘Orient’” (Smith, 2006, p. 68). This definition depicts the idea that all other nations are inferior to the West and that therefore pose a threat to the United States Empire. Smith (2006) describes that this dynamic is seen in the anti-

immigrant movements of today. “It does not matter how long immigrants of color reside in the United States, they generally become targeted as foreign threats, particularly during war time” (Smith, 2006, p. 68). This framework explains the constant framing of anti-immigration laws and policies in terms of homeland security. Thus, while Mexicans are considered “white by law,” a position within the racial hierarchy that privileges them over Blacks, “they are still cast as inferior yet threatening civilizations in the United States” (Smith, 2006, p. 69). For White supremacy as a system to continue its functions, the US must remain in a constant state of war (Smith, 2006, p. 69).

Smith’s (2006) three pillars of White Supremacy are juxtaposed as unique and freestanding, the first one, “Slavery/Capitalism” is used to frame the position of African Americans; the second pillar “Genocide/Colonialism” describes the oppression of Native Americans, and the third “Orientalism/War” describes the position of people from countries such as Mexico or the Middle East. While I find this article to be so incredibly powerful, in that it generates a more complex and accurate picture of the multifaceted aspects and differences of experienced oppression by communities of color, my analysis of anti-immigration movements is slightly different. I would argue that some communities share an intersection of these pillars. In the case of Mexican immigrants, we continue to exist in the borderlands. It can without a doubt be argued that Mexican immigrants have a history of being exploited for their labor and simultaneously for their land. While their skins remain “less black” Mexicans still pose a threat, and their immigration status has become a symbol for cheap labor, as close as you can get to being

considered “slaveable” in current times where slavery is against the law (Harris, 1997, cited in Smith, 2006, p. 67). Curiously, White supremacy’s ability to define and identify Mexican immigrants as “against the law” has allowed the legal enslavement of undocumented immigrants who work for insignificant wages, endure human and civil rights abuses, cannot travel, own weapons, or receive an education for the same price as those who are citizens.

Simultaneously, Mexican immigrants in the United States occupy a liminal space of invisibility. Under Smith’s (2006) second pillar of Genocide/Colonialism, she describes that this logic ensures that Native American people are disappeared. She asserts, “In fact, they must always be disappearing, in order to allow non-indigenous peoples rightful claim over this land. Through this logic of genocide, non-Native peoples then become the rightful inheritors of all that was indigenous—land, resources, indigenous spirituality, or culture” (p. 68). This description also presents interesting observations about Mexican immigrants “undocumented” status. Immigration discourse, particularly legal discourse refers to immigrants as “aliens”²⁰ and forces immigrants into a state of invisibility. The legal status of immigrants persuades families to remain hidden and in the shadows of society, often in a state of fear of being discovered and deported. While not as horrible as real genocide, I do believe that the function of deportation, is a form of making people disappear. People are kidnapped in a way out of their home and

²⁰ See Johnson, K. (1996). "'Aliens' and the U.S. Immigration laws: the social and legal construction of nonpersons." Miami, FL: Miami Inter America Law Review.

community, taken from their homes, workplaces, or from their vehicles and eradicated/vanished from society. Families of those deported are left in a psychological state of trauma, as their family members are taken away. Undocumented immigrants thus lack a “homeland” in that they are seen as foreigners in lands that once were theirs, and upon deportation find themselves aliens to legally recognized Mexican land.

I present this added exploration not to contradict Smith’s (2006) observations about the logics and pillars of white supremacy, but rather to add to this analysis the idea that these pillars can and often intersect. Subsequently, I offer an extension of LatCrit and Tribal Crit theory, a theory I call Border Crit to better address the interests of border communities of color. I argue that Mexican immigrants in the United States, are prey to intersecting points of exploitation through a forceful taking of land and through a forceful taking of labor. The logic of slavery, capitalism, colonialism, and genocide collaboratively outline the margins and borders that Mexican immigrants straddle in the United States. In respects to land, I am not here solely referring to the physical taking of southwest from 1848, but also to the idea that White Supremacy has taken away the metaphysical homeland of Mexican immigrants. Just like African Americans felt alien to the lands they worked in and lived in, Mexican immigrants remain without a homeland, they work and live out of necessity (like Harris’ grandmother) in a country that does not recognize them as persons.

An examination of the current immigration laws provides further evidence of the United States’ war against foreign citizens of color. The laws

predominantly exclude non-white citizens. Johnson (2002) describes that historically, immigration laws have been applied “to keep out non-white foreigners who share or personify the ancestry of disfavored domestic minorities” (p. 195). Giving positive preference to immigration from countries that are white in the form of quotas, immigration flows from Mexico have been resisted (Johnson, 2002, “Race...” p. 195). Government entities have tried to provide a sense that the issue of unwanted immigration is being addressed, employing aggressive tactics that provide an illusion of enforcement and control.

Additionally, through the criminalization of immigration, raids, and the visibly growing militarization of the border, government entities present a spectacle of war, they attempt to illustrate that boundaries are in place, to give the sense that society is under control and surveillance. These practices along with the stunts of Sheriff Arpaio in Maricopa County can be understood as nothing more than power displays and an attempt to safeguard white supremacy. The strategies have further polarized the immigration debate and instilled a sense of fear of others who reside on the opposite side of the fence. Johnson (1996) utilizes psychological constructs such as transference to make a case of how minority citizens would be treated in the absence of the law. He argues that racist sentiments against communities of color are simply being transferred towards immigrants. Johnson (1996) explains that through the utilization of labels such as “the alien,” attacks and mistreatment against immigrants become rational (p. 268).

Ian Haney Lopez (2001) depicts that “despite the pervasive influence of race in our lives and in U.S. law, a review of opinions and articles by judges and

legal academics reveals a startling fact: few seem to know what race is and is not” (Davis, Johnson, & Martinez, 2001, p. 23). Accordingly, while many argue for race consciousness, many do so without explicitly indicating what race is understood to be. Subsequently, I now turn to discuss in more detail the *racialization* of the Mexican identity via exclusionary immigration laws which have solidified social prejudice and white superiority (Davis, Johnson, & Martinez, 2001, p. 22). I engage in this discussion in an effort to contextualize my claim that the raids and immigration policies such as the 287g agreements are a concerted effort to continue safeguarding white privilege. My argument is that Arpaio’s immigration raids further *racialize* immigrants; symbolically linking their *Mexicanness* with a notion of *otherness*. The racial profiling of Mexicans under the guise of immigration enforcement, sends the clear message that belonging entails whiteness. By providing a small historical account of how the Mexican identity shifted from as a nationality to a race, I hope to illustrate that it is no coincidence that when it favors the United States to allow Mexicans in, they have done so, and when it is to their advantage to exclude them, there has been no hesitation.

Fabricating White Privilege, The law, and The “Other”

“The law serves not only to reflect but to solidify social prejudice, making law a prime instrument in the construction and reinforcement of racial subordination” (Haney Lopez, 2001, p. 27).

According to Ian Haney Lopez’s (1994) piece *The Social Construction of Race: Some Observations on Illusion, Fabrication, and Choice*, race should be understood as a fabrication, he explains that “Fabrication implies the workings of

human hands, and suggests the possible intention to deceive” (p. 27). Fabrication is able to capture several features about how race is produced:

First, humans rather than abstract social forces produce races. Second, as human constructs, races constitute an integral part of a whole social fabric that includes gender and class relations. Third, the meaning-systems surrounding race change quickly rather than slowly. Finally, the races are constructed relationally, against one another, rather than in isolation. (Haney Lopez, 2001, p. 27)

The process of racial fabrication developed relationally; that is people were racially defined through inter comparisons of each other, with whiteness containing the ultimate legal and social advantages. Ian Haney Lopez (1994) explains that the very category of whiteness existed and or was defined legally, through case law, in terms of who was not white, i.e., through exclusion, rather than an understanding of who was white, i.e., through inclusion or a concrete definition of whiteness. An example of this is illustrated in a case in 1909, regarding 50,000 Armenians who were categorized under the term “Asiatic,” and therefore denied the rights to citizenship. When four Armenians decided to sue in order to establish their eligibility for naturalization, the court concluded that whiteness had not been defined and so the category of who was to be considered White would be determined on the basis of how the word had “generally been used” which at the time “the word white has generally been used ... to include all persons not otherwise classified” (quoted in Haney Lopez, 1994; Davis et al., 2001, p. 31). Because Armenians had not been classified, or excluded from the category of White, they were determined by the court to be White. The reason for this discussion is to exemplify that the property of whiteness, has been one of

power. Harris (1993) captures this in the following excerpt: “The law’s construction of whiteness defined and affirmed critical aspects of identity (who is white); of privilege (what benefits accrue to that status); and, of property (what legal entitlements arise from that status)” (p. 7). For Mexicans, whiteness has meant not only social power, but status. The right to white identity has signified tangible legal rights.

Thus, the legal rights of Mexicans in the United States have been determined by their contentious and shifting identity within the parameters of *whiteness*. Mexicans have shifted in and out of the White category depending upon whatever was going on politically, and traditionally, as explained by George Martinez (1997) “The law has recognized racial group identity when such identity was a basis for exclusion and subordination” (Davis, et al., 2001, p. 57). The shift of:

Mexican from a nationality to a race came about through the dynamic interplay of [a] myriad [of] social forces ... the racialization of Mexicans did not occur in a vacuum, but in the context of a dominant ideology, perceived economic interests, and psychological necessity. (Davis, et al., 2001, p. 28)

The plasticity of race is illustrated in the many racialized stereotypes of Mexicans and immigrants throughout United States history. Ian Haney Lopez (1994) explains that in 1821, when Mexico gained its independence, “its residents were not generally considered a race”:

In 1821, when Mexico gained its independence, its residents were not generally considered a race. Yet about twenty years later, as our examples illustrate, Mexicans were denigrated in explicitly racial terms as indolent cowards, and twenty years after that, lauded as being naturally industrious and faithful. The rapid emergence of Mexicans as a race and the equally

quick transformations of their perceived racial character exemplify the plasticity of race. . . . Instead, the processes of racial fabrication continuously melt down, mold, twist, and recast races: races are not rocks they are plastics. (Davis, et al., 2001, p. 30)

The rhetoric and stereotypes used to describe Mexican people, allows us to view the social fabrication of identities and more importantly, the way “racial systems of meaning” can change to reframe and reify white privilege. Specifically, numerous examples exist that illustrate that Mexicans were classified as White, only when it benefited Whites to classify them that way, more often than not to exploit them for their labor. Derrick Bell (1984, 2004) depicts this idea through the term interest convergence. According to Bell (1980), motivations for the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling were based on an *interest convergence*, that “the interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites” (p. 523).

Not long after the U.S. annexation of Mexican territory in 1848, laws began to subordinate and discriminate against Mexicans, and institutionalizing white privilege. In 1855, the California Legislature racially profiled Mexicans with “the so called Greaser Act” which was implemented to eliminate *vagrancy*,²¹ “social prejudices quickly became legal ones, highlighting the close ties between race and law” (Haney Lopez, 1994, quoted in Davis et al., 2001, p. 28). The history of immigration laws tend to illustrate a pattern of exclusion based on *nativism*, yet whenever it benefited the economy and agriculture to include them,

²¹ “The law specifically applied to people ‘who are commonly known as ‘Greasers’ or the issue of Spanish and Indian blood . . . and who go armed and are not peaceable and quiet persons” (Haney Lopez, 2001, p. 28).

programs were developed to proactively recruit and integrate Mexican labor into the United States, such as the case with the Bracero program of 1942.

According to Michael Olivas (1990), labor shortages and WWII had created shortages in agricultural labor. Thus, the United States developed a large scale contract labor program in which over one half million Braceros (i.e., Mexican workers) were hired, allowed into the country, and after their work was done sent back to Mexico. Olivas (1990) states:

This program was cynically employed to create a reserve pool of temporary laborers who had few rights and no vesting of equities. Scholarship on these agreements shows quite clearly that the specific aim of the program was to exploit the workers. (quoted in Davis, et al., 2001, p. 115)

In these examples, where interest convergence took place, Mexican immigrants were provided legal status, and as soon as those interests were no longer there, their rights were dissipated. By 1950, new workers were brought in and 480,000 deported back to Mexico. Similarly, by 1954, over one million Mexican workers were deported under Operation Wetback a special border patrol operation. “The program included massive roundups and deportations, factory and field raids, a relentless media campaign designed to characterize the mop-up operation as a national security necessity, and a tightening up of the border to deter undocumented immigration” (Olivas, 1990, quoted in Davis et al., 2001, p.115). These very strategies are the same ones utilized today, massive roundups, tightening of the border, the use of the media, not much has changed.

Additionally, Mexicans began getting classified as White in cases when it was advantageous politically or to ensure their continued subordination. Through

the annexation of Mexican territory, the United States had signed several treaties specifying certain rights for Mexicans. The right to citizenship was reestablished in *In re Rodriguez*, where a Texas federal court established that Mexicans were White because of the treaties that the United States had signed with Mexico, since Mexicans were supposed to be granted citizenship, “Mexicans were white within the meaning of the naturalization laws” (Martinez, 1997, in Davis, et al., 2001, p. 55). Despite their citizenship status and “White” classification, however, Mexican Americans continued to be subjects of ongoing prejudice and discrimination.

Another example, in which Mexicans were ruled to be White, is the case of *Hernandez v. State* 347 U.S. 475 (1954) where a Mexican American was being tried by an all-white jury after being convicted of murder. When his attorneys attempted to contest and reverse his conviction, arguing that he had been denied due process and equal protection under the fourteenth amendment, since Mexican Americans were not represented and in fact excluded from the grand and petit jury. The Texas court however, decided that there was no problem at all since Mexicans were legally considered White, and so Hernandez had been convicted by members of his own race. Martinez (1994) argues that this was done in order to ensure that Mexicans were not given the opportunity to serve in juries, and reify the status quo (Davis, et al., 2001, p. 57).

Chapter 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Utilizing the assumptions illustrated in Erickson (1986), the focus of this study is to unveil a grounded understanding of meaning and action as it unfolded for protest participants within the immigration movement in Arizona. To achieve this, my study weaves discourse analysis, autoethnography, participant observation, and narrative methods to reveal, explore, and analyze the discourse of a particular environment, ethnographically describe the actions of participants, and to infer the meaning of my data.

My research weaves together a personal autoethnography with discourse analysis. Protests within the immigrant rights movement are the units of study. There are particular actions that I select for my study; specifically they are protests that occurred within the time period of March of 2006 to December of 2008. It is not particular individuals of the protest that are of interest, but rather the protest environment, or case, as a whole. According to Mary Lee Smith (2008) “a case is an instance of something: an environment where the phenomenon I’m interested in takes place; a context of social action, a part of which I am interested in” (Smith, 2008, COE 503: Lecture 7, On Design). As a participant observer/researcher I bring with me an insider understanding about these cases. One positive aspect is that I am able to generate data from personal observations, videotapes, collection of artifacts such as meeting agendas, press releases, and notes.

In addition, my research is autoethnographic because it involves a description of my lived experiences and the environment in which they took place. Anderson-Levitt (2006) describes that for many cultural anthropologists (Wolcott, 1987, p. 43, Bernard, 2002) “ethnography means describing and interpreting cultural behavior” (279). Ethnography is the study of people and the way meaning unfolds for them, with a particular focus on culture. Ethnos (a people or culture) + graphy (writing) are the roots of this research method. Subsequently, in order to study the way people make and (sometimes contest or impose) meaning in protests, I analyze the case of certain protests, and the way meaning unfolds for people within these cases. Specifically, Burdell and Swadener (1999) describe autoethnography as “a form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context” (22). In *Creating Autoethnographies*, Tessa Muncey (2009) elaborate that autoethnography is “an artistically constructed piece of prose, poetry, music, or piece of art work that attempts to portray an individual experience in a way that evokes the imagination of the reader” (p.2).

According to Muncey (2009) many people resort to autoethnography as a way of portraying knowledge and experiences that cannot be told in conventional ways, they are not found in the fabric of official stories and/or are at odds with the master narratives on a particular topic. Individual stories and autoethnographies can thus, have the power to distort core beliefs and shed light on untold or missing perspectives.

Central to ethnography and autoethnography is the insider-outsider paradigm (p. 285). Being an insider to the research, or having spent a lot of time

within a particular environment, enables ethnographers to be familiar with the culture and able to witness and capture where meaning is found or created. However, the outsider perspective is also critical to ethnography in having the advantage of noticing things afresh, seeing things insiders might not notice. My position as a researcher-insider, however, enables me to both be an insider by the nature of my belonging to the activist groups and membership within the immigrant rights community, and an outsider due to my privilege status as an academic and researcher. In addition, I have taken fieldnotes, photographs, and video of the events under analysis. Anderson-Levitt describes that photographs, drawings, sketches, maps, and detailed fieldnotes help ethnographers see what they at first might not have noticed (p. 287).

Furthermore, one way to elicit or discover where culture and meaning is found is to look at human artifacts and tools. Michael Cole (1996) and James Wertsch (1998) describe that one of the most important of human artifacts or tools where meaning can be found, is indeed language. To analyze the meaning making unfolds, I want to apply James Gee's (1995) method of Discourse Analysis. According to James Gee (2005) Discourse analysis is "a reciprocal and cyclical process in which we shuttle back and forth between the structure (form, design) of a piece of language and the situated meanings it is attempting to build about the world, identities, relationships in a specific context" (Gee, 2005, p. 216). Discourse with a little d, i.e. discourse, represents stretches of language or language in use. In addition, there's Discourse with a big D. This involves looking not just at language but according to Dr. Gee, big D discourse analysis is

looking at “language plus other stuff.” The key to discourses is recognition. If you combine “language, action, interaction, beliefs, symbols, objects tools, and places together in such a way that others recognize you as a particular type of who (identity) engaged in a particular type of what (activity), here and now then you have pulled a Discourse” (Gee, p.53).

Discourse Analysis is a useful method to analyze and think about social movements, protests, and community actions. The people involved within these cases are definitely enacting or participating in a particular ‘Discourse, there are certain things that people learn to do in order to be recognized as being a part of or not a part of different actions or activities. Again, it’s a negotiation of identities that unfolds. My research study will try to analyze the Discourse within the protests and the symbolism employed both by immigrant rights advocates and anti-immigrant groups.

Participants

A key subject and participant in this study is myself; as an academic, a researcher and full participant observer of the protests. As an academic I describe the way my education has been shaped by activism and protest. As an organizer, I utilized my insider perspective within the immigrant rights movement to frame the focus of the research questions. As a researcher, I apply theory and epistemology to help shape my analysis of data and research focus. Additionally, I conducted interviews with two other Mexicana/Xicana activists and organizers who were heavily involved and instrumental in the organized activities that took place from 2006-2008. Though you won’t find their names in the papers and

headlines, they were the go to gals for the immigrant rights leaders in Arizona. The hope is to share our stories, of *mujeres*, women organizers; often silenced and used, and seldom recognized for their work and commitment to social justice.

Data Collection

Data for this project will include my own autoethnography (Muncey 2009; Burdell & Swadener 1999). Data collected will include participant observation write-ups or fieldnotes, as well as photographs, video footage, and personal reflections, from my participation in various organized actions such as marches, demonstrations, and protests. Each observation lasted about three hours, the typical duration of the organized actions.

The culmination of my participation and observations made me curious as to what messages were being conveyed to protest participants. I wondered how others who were present understood the purpose of the protests and if they felt as impotent as I did, in the sense that I felt that there were mixed messages based on fear and that tactics of the protests were in fact oppressing and pacifying the resistance they were trying to create. Thus, the participant observations provided me a platform to explore these internal questions. I began to take extensive notes of organizer meetings, making drawings or sketches of where people stood including the media and counter protestors, and I looked for patterns in the messaging and other symbols that were so central to any organized demonstration. In analyzing my data, I selected specific events (insert how you selected them or why), transcribed the videos and converted them into vignettes. I categorized

different themes from the protests and manifestations to analyze the discourse in use, the way public spectacles are produced, and how resistance is manifested.

In addition to primary data, I had access to various sources of secondary data. Sheriff Arpaio's lust for media attention drew national and local news coverage, as well as video coverage on the evening television. Many of these later became you-tube-videos. Both anti-immigrant and immigrant activists contributed to the archive of you-tube-videos. Other cop-watch activities also became you-tube-videos. Arpaio also issued numerous press releases, gave both radio, television and newspaper interviews on Maricopa County Sheriff's Department participation in the 287 (g) agreement. I collected data from these various sources between March of 2006 to spring of 2009, but focused my analysis on the raids and events that occurred from late 2007 to early 2009.

The autoethnography is extremely important in providing a context for interpreting and contextualizing secondary data and videos. For instance, field notes will provide data that identifies the location where videos are shot, provide insider information about the actors and acts observed and the level of emotion during the events.

Data were coded to identify patterns of racialization of citizenship. Coding data by the terms and phrases used to racialize immigrants was one point of departure. Speeches video-taped, press releases and interviews quoted in the newspaper were also reviewed and coded to identify the ways that immigration law enforcement relied on racial profiling. Another key component was to locate racialized metaphors. I want to identify the verbal and visual symbols used to

manifest a racialized image of immigrants as criminals. The task of coding symbols, metaphors, and rituals used by anti-immigrant groups supporting Arpaio helped establish my claim that citizenship in Arizona entails whiteness.

Moreover, I conducted and transcribed two-tape-recorded semi structured interviews, these helped triangulate my observations and discourse analysis and to see how these themes emerged within the interviews. I want to emphasize that the interviews are only important in the sense of bringing in the voices of other Mexicana/ Chicana organizers who experienced the same frustrations that I did. Together our voices can help narrate a counter story about the way the movement unfolded, from within. The three of us learned and were educated by the immigrant rights movement, and I think our reflections bring about important lessons about the nature of community education and transformational resistance. The women are strategically and intentionally selected based on their role within the movement itself.

Accessing the Data

I was fortunate to have easy access to most of my data, because of my role as an insider and community organizer. The community trusted me not as a researcher but as an ally. As an insider of the immigrant rights movement, many of the notes and videos were taken and filmed by me. Others are public access videos posted on YouTube and other sites, many of these videos were created by Dennis Gilman an activist and videographer who also granted me permission and access to his videos. Dennis, also known as New Human League 002, was heavily involved in documenting many of the raids, actions, and demonstrations.

In addition, local newspapers clippings and magazine articles were readily available to be collected since the protests received a vast amount of media coverage. These articles can also be found via the newspaper archives.

Other sources included email correspondence and listserv threads between activists and activist groups. Because of my active participation in many of the organized actions, meetings, press conferences, and court hearings, I had access to a variety of documents. These included meeting agendas, flyers, court documents, reports, notes from the meetings, emails, and any organizing or planning materials created. I kept these sources and analyzed each text for its embedded symbolic content and discourse.

In regards to my interview data, I contacted the activists I had selected and it was fairly simple to obtain their consent and participation in this project because of our established friendships. This was done towards the end of the project, and several years after the protests occurred, which facilitated their willingness to speak freely about the actions, since their participation would not compromise any of their relationships or employment.

Ethical Implications and Limitations

There are several ethical implications and limitations involved in utilizing my experiences for research. I got involved in organizing for its own sake. I never had the intention of utilizing my experiences or of studying the immigrants' rights movement or even conceptualized what I was doing as it ever turning into research for a dissertation. However, this topic is something that has always remained a part of me and subsequently, something I was never able to set aside

or to untwine from my identity. I could never consider myself an academic, in my eyes I was always an activist trying to navigate academia. Yet the privilege of being in a university and studying about concepts of social justice without applying them seemed like a complete contradiction. Ironically, this process also alienated me from activism. Any time spent theorizing, analyzing, conceptualizing, and thinking about power and oppression, was time spent away from direct action and organizing. This balancing act was always a source of depression.

At any rate, the decision to turn my experiences into the topic of my dissertation was one made with similar anguish and uncertainty. Studying this subject and writing about it would have the benefits of creating an academic space to insert a counter narrative about the immigrants' rights movement as well as a space to voice my concerns about organizing in Arizona. Simultaneously, however, studying the movement would place me in the position of power, of studying the "other" or being an "other," being "the outsider looking in." The power to be able to narrate the stories of others, and having a say over the way the narrative is told, is a fragile privilege.

This position has been difficult to reconcile and without a doubt has influenced my writing. In that sense, this story has various limitations. There are instances in which perhaps I held back, in an attempt to stay loyal to people in the struggle. In other instances, I spoke up and unapologetically describe situations about the movement that I am not so proud of, in an attempt to stay loyal to my

own principles and values about social justice and my role not as an academic but as a stakeholder within this movement.

While speaking truth to power can seem like a form of resistance, I cannot deny that it also feels like a form of betrayal. While I have tried to do justice to my conception of what ethical research²² is and should be, particularly as it relates to research with already marginalized and colonized communities, I recognize this as a challenging task. I'm sure I have failed someone or somebody or myself along the way. For one, it feels awful to sit here and write about people without their knowledge. The process of synthesizing the words and discourse of others, as if these words were mere abstractions, is an ethical challenge. I recognize that people have a strong relationship to their language and the ways in which they use it is correlated to the way meaning unfolds in their lives. To be critical of this language, can rightfully make people defensive. To analyze the well-intended actions of others, who at least are doing something to organize for the rights of immigrants is not an easy task. At the same time, it also feels wrong to give in to the structured silence within us that accepts the hegemonic forces about immigration and the myth that reform and peaceful protesting will suffice in our quest for social justice.

When people are unafraid to organize, to be arrested, to be undocumented, to be deported, to cross the border, and to die in the desert this tiny fear of being a voice of dissent or a critic within the movement seems insignificant. If the

²² For more discussion on ethical borderland research see essay in appendix.

movement has taught me anything, it is to be critical and to speak up about it. So in this sense, I have walked a thin line in navigating my role of activist/researcher. And this invariably has ethical implications and limitations.

In an effort to reconcile some of these anxieties, I have tried to utilize my own narrative as much as possible. This is an autoethnography. I try to speak about myself and insert myself within the narrative, so as to make my involvement clear. It's scary to acknowledge that our organizing tactics were not always great, that they in some ways harmed the movement and contributed to some of its failures and shortcomings, but I suppose it is even scarier to not speak and "honor my experiences." I think it's not only healthy but necessary to promote the pedagogical reflection of our actions and encourage us to recognize the fragile vulnerability of the people we are organizing for or with.

Other significant limitations resulted from my proximity and closeness to the research. Being so involved within one circle and group of people can create a sort of tunnel vision, where it became difficult to see outside of the parameters that were familiar to me. I recognize that there were certain groups of activists that were also critical to this struggle and any narrative about migration. Yet their presence was made invisible by the discourse of the most prominent groups and their tactics to monopolize, dominate, and define the ways in which resistance was manifested and by whom.

The Tohono O'odham and Anarchist groups, for example were many times marginalized by leaders of popular immigrant rights organizations. The narratives and stories about the impact of immigration and border policies on the

communities of the Tohono O’Odham are often ignored and virtually non-existent from the discourse on immigration. This dissertation alone is guilty of not foregrounding this significantly marginalized community. This shameful realization only became evident to me in reflecting upon the limitations and ethical considerations of my writing. At the culmination of an event, I attended recently, entitled "Dialogue on Border Security," a brave young man, after witnessing the complete disregard and invisibility of how these border policies affected the communities along the border, screamed with passion across the room "What about my family? Your immigration reform will result in more militarization of my community, my people, and our land..!" The response from the audience was shock, discomfort followed by quick disregard, a hurried attempt to pretend that his words could dissolve into the awkward silence, and things could go back to normal. Normal being a state of acceptance and compliance with a system that oppresses, dehumanizes, and sterilizes even the very articulation of a critique against it.

Nonetheless, this is just one story, and with its many flaws, it is one attempt to conceptualize a reflective critical narrative about organizing in Arizona. My hope is to create an academic space for activist research that challenges, critiques, and re-imagines our understanding of collective action and its possibilities. The writing in these pages has many limitations and a series of ethical implications that are not easily resolved. Most importantly, I hope that I can convey that this is a complex issue, with many sides; any attempt to simplify its complexity is dishonest.

Chapter 4

NARRATIVES AND ANALYSIS

A WORD ON METHOD

This dissertation takes on a non-traditional format and presentation. The complex and sensitive topics discussed here involve context; their meaning rests in the details and peculiarities of the experiences that make this a story worth telling, discussing, reflecting, and analyzing. As stated at the beginning of this document, this is a narrative about immigration, a testimonio of sorts. One of many, a story about fighting for immigrant's rights, about resistance, about power and social control, about racism, about the hidden and unnoticed details of a movement that has been unfolding in Arizona for many years, a movement contesting identity and belonging.

As such, the take away of my story, or what would be called the findings of a dissertation, are presented here, not as a series of points, figures, or numbers, but in the form of narratives. The stories I am conveying are events that occurred to people and by people in Arizona, to family members, and to community. Thus, rather than presenting them in a traditional positivist and scientific layout that would disrespect and simplify, and sterilize the topics, I attempt to present them in a more personal way, through the use of narrative. This is after all a conversation; an unfinished one. Narratives provide a powerful outlet for autoethnography. They serve the purpose of opening up discussion and inviting other testimonios of similar experiences. The way stories work, is in that one when person speaks up and tells a story, another person listening often recalls and

many times responds with yet another story, this circular process involves reciprocity. In that sense, my hope is that in discussing these issues, there will be an open door for others' analysis and stories or findings, to try to add to a narrative that is often neglected or untold, or often assumed to be a closed conversation.

In the following pages I present five narratives, weaved together with analysis of my data and experiences. Through these narratives I detail, explain, and reflect upon the following assertions:

1. Arpaio's raids and counter demonstrations contributed significantly to polarizing the issue of immigration in Arizona.
2. Discourse by anti-immigrant protestors reflected sentiments of fear, xenophobia, and racism.
3. Discourse by immigrant rights activist reflected a strategic desire for inclusion via the manipulation of their perceived identities.
4. The demonstrations as a whole produced public spectacles of surveillance and self-defeating resistance.
5. Fear of confrontation and the goal of non-violence pacified transformational resistance.
6. The American flag, notion of citizenship, and patriotism were symbolic metaphors utilized to contest public space and belonging.

The first narrative presented is entitled "Places Like Naco." It is a personal narrative about my experiences growing up, my academic journey to the dissertation, and my relationship to immigration. It is a personal statement, and

my way of introducing my life and topic to the reader. I feel that only by understanding my personal background, and relating to the reader on a personal level first, can my analysis and narratives be fully and more accurately and contextually understood. In autoethnographic studies the researcher is himself/herself the filter and tool of analysis. Thus, I believe it is fundamental to understand me as a human being in order to understand how and why I am filtering and analyzing my experiences, “data,” and participant observations in the ways that I am.

The second and third narratives, entitled "Fighting for Immigrants Rights in Arizona, and "Profiling La Causa: Somos America & Other Players" present background on how I became an activist in Arizona, and what being an immigrants rights advocate in Arizona involved. I also profile or give small biographies of the people involved in the movement and their role within it. These descriptions help narrate and illustrate the image of the movement through the faces and descriptions of the actors involved.

The fourth narrative, “Race, Protest, and Resistance in Arizona” begins with a vignette illustrating the anti-immigrant discourse that occurred in one of the Pruitt’s protests. I selected this vignette as it is typical in its discourse to many other anti-immigrant protests. The piece continues on to discuss the immigration raids conducted by Sheriff Arpaio, and how the immigrant rights community organized in response. I look at the tactics employed, and the visual semiotics of the demonstrations, as well as the strategies employed to manifest resistance to the MCSO and Arpaio’s local immigration enforcement tactics.

Lastly, the fifth narrative, “Immigrant Children and Education” illustrates some of the issues experienced by immigrant youth who are exposed to the trauma and fear of having their parents and families deported. This is part of an essay I wrote while taking a class on critical pedagogy, and it discusses some of the educational implications of immigration on Mexican/Chicano youth in Arizona.

Places Like Naco, A Personal Narrative

The migrant center in Naco, Sonora is small and often crowded, yet it has already found a special place in my heart. I want to say that it is the people that I meet that make me love to be there, but reality is that it is the place itself. I have always found that places, spaces, are juxtaposed in such ways as to bring about the most interesting lessons about life and living. Your position within the space, teaches you so much about who you are and who you want to be. I suppose it becomes another symbolic reminder that learning is always taking place, both in and out of the classroom.

It is in places like Naco where I have learned over and over that life itself is so very random. Life is a contradiction that we struggle daily to embrace. The situation of so many migrants is no different or is drastically different than the situation I once knew or didn't know. What I mean is that there is not a day that I don't say to myself the following two statements: “I'm glad that isn't me” and “that person I just met is just like me.” There is nothing intrinsically different from the communities that live on either side of the border. But the border is there, and with it are the many unheard stories and reasons for crossing it.

¿Se van a regresar? ¿O van intentar de nuevo? (Are you returning home or trying again?) These are some of the questions that we asked at the migrant center. The answer was irrelevant from our perspective. Our only concern was in how to help. If they were going back, we tried to inform them of their resources for return. If they were trying again, we gave them food, water, and a phone call. It wasn't much. But it was. I think that perhaps the greatest resource was simply welcoming them into the center. As I said, it is a space where learning happens; where, for an hour or two people get to feel human once again. The outside contains not one border, but many. The police, the *polleros*, the financial borders, the wall, the desert, and the border patrol. There are so many barriers to cross and overcome. Identities constantly challenged against the many institutions of power and control. Dominance and submission; and from all of it, resistance continues to be born.

I was born in Salvatierra, Guanajuato, Mexico; a small town about three hours north of Mexico City. I immigrated to the United States at the age of eight, when after several failed attempts at success my parents realized that there was no other choice but to leave. My parents barely finished high school, and yet their dream was to be able to provide their children the opportunity *to pursue an education*. It was the summer of 1988 when my mom and my sisters left the town that had contained so many joyous memories, the sounds of a familiar language, ice cream in *el jardin*, the food, the place where my parents had built their first home, and where we reunited with family upon many *carne asadas*. My father stayed back and followed us a couple of months later. The time apart felt like an

eternity. I dreamt with my sisters that we could time travel and transport ourselves to the other side. With one simple jump in the air I longed for the opportunity to see our dad and our dog *Chiquitillo*. I remember seeing my mom cry at night. Her body slouched across the mattress. A knot built inside my throat as the tears slipped off her cheeks staining them with black mascara. She would cry endlessly until she fell asleep, wishing my dad could be with us. The day we reunited was perhaps one of the happiest of my entire life.

We kept a suitcase. It was there where my mom accumulated various bargains from *la segunda*, *los yard sales*, and occasionally a few new items from Factory-2-U. The suitcase provided us security, that one day we would return home. I remember going to sleep at night and praying for my dog and all my dolls back in Mexico. I wondered if I would ever get to play with them again.

I mention all of this, because the experiences of leaving your hometown and entering a public space that is so unknown to you, inevitably, begins to define you. Migration defined my family. The spaces we learned to navigate shaped our every thought and understanding of who we were and who we were becoming. My parents, like many others today, challenged their situation and poverty, through their migration. They came to the United States in search of changing the limiting conditions they experienced in Mexico, and strived, setting fear aside, to transform their lives in a positive way.

As a child, my biggest challenge was attending elementary school. I was forced to learn to speak and exist in the world of English. It was in the classroom where I was taught what it meant to be American, where I learned that my

parents, whom I once idolized, were criminals, and where I learned that the best way to make friends was to assimilate. I learned to imitate the other children in order to fit in and finally to conform and accept the dominant culture's linguistic and social imposition upon my identity.

With time, I became better and better at pretending; pretending to be the same as some of the other children. I foolishly believed that if I got an A in my spelling test or wore a new outfit to school that somehow that would make me more American or at the very least enable me to *pass*. For a while, my strategies worked. I focused and worked hard on my studies, always trying to please my teachers. I tried to make friends and smile to anyone that walked by. All the while, I remained very shy, quiet, and almost unnoticeable. It was good to be that way, to hide and therefore not be a problem. I remember that even my mom would prohibit me from making friends with anyone that spoke Spanish. My mom was afraid for me I suppose. So I also learned to lie. It was my Mexican friends that most embraced me, but when my mom picked me up from school, they were forewarned not to say hi to me.

It is ridiculous, the games we play. The things we give up to try to fit in. The classroom did not just teach me about algebra or grammar; it taught me about exclusion, and most of all about the culture of schooling in America. Schools have historically functioned as spaces designed to promote Anglo-American cultural values. There were many lessons embedded in my schooling, and looking back I really wish I could have questioned and resisted a little bit more.

Nevertheless, I believe it is the many incidents of silence, the many incidents in which I accepted discrimination and racial attacks, which became my catalysts for change. What I mean is that my experiences in a classroom were so negative growing up that they inevitably reached a boiling point in which I finally screamed “enough!” High school for me was also tough. I clearly recall my current events teacher discussing how people ought to go to the border and just shoot every Mexican that tried to come in, and that this alone would resolve the immigration problem in the United States. What could I do but look around the room in sadness. Students would laugh at the teacher’s witty monologues and I shamefully would look down, counting down the minutes for the class to finally be over.

There was also the time when I did a book report on Selena. Or the time that the class debated immigration and a student got up and said that Mexicans and their beans just needed to leave because America is a land of hamburgers and that we needed to stop taking all the jobs. I suppose today all the remarks ought to be funny. But at the time, they simply weren’t. So I stood by; a bystander amidst the mockery of my Mexican identity. It was, after all, an identity that I could disguise but never deny. The clothes, the English language would only get me so far. At the end of the day my brown skin remained brown, and my relatives would always have beans for dinner. I am not essentializing my Mexican identity, but simply saying that at some point in high school, I realized that I needed to be proud of who I was rather than always be ashamed and afraid of what others thought about me.

And so my pride developed into anger and perhaps a form of benign racism. But with time, I learned to channel my anger and to not just sit around being upset with the world, but to actually do something about these issues that I felt increasingly passionate about. I graduated from ASU in 2002 with a Bachelors of Science in Justice Studies and Philosophy. Therefore immediately after, I searched for organizations that seemed to be aligned with my values and ideas. I was unsure and hesitant about what to do because I had the goal of continuing my education and going on to graduate school or law school but I figured this would be a good opportunity to better define what I wanted to do with my life. I had called a variety of nonprofits trying to offer myself as a volunteer. I figured that if I volunteered somewhere doing meaningful work, I would get a better idea of where I could make a difference; even if a small one.

Finally, I encountered Chicanos Por La Causa (CPLC). The name sounded so perfect, "*Por La Causa*." The name minus the Chicano part appealed to me. At the time I found myself hesitant to define myself or see a resemblance to Chicanos. I was after all in my eyes; Mexican. Now in days I identify as a Mexicana/Xicana, I believe that we have more in common than we have differences--but this of course is a point of contention and disagreement depending on who you are. Anyhow, I called them and I was transferred to Alma Chavez, Resource Development Director for CPLC. She was also the main contact person for CPLC's community events, and I guess when I called they figured I wanted to volunteer on a one time basis or at an event so they transferred me to her. When I mentioned that I had a degree in Justice Studies, she told me

“listen...I think it’s admirable that you want to volunteer but have you considered applying for one of our positions?” She stated that she was currently hiring a Resource Development Specialist and that her background was also in Justice Studies so she felt that I would be perfect for the job. While I had no experience at the time (other than working at Sears) and really no idea what a Resource Development Specialist did, I decided to apply anyway, and before I knew it I had been hired. I must confess that it took a lot of trust on Alma’s part to hire me because frankly I had no idea what a grant was, and I had no idea how she felt that I was qualified. She tells me that she basically just needed someone who was passionate about the programs that CPLC offered and with excellent writing skills. She felt I was qualified, and I couldn’t disagree. She became a wonderful mentor of mine and also an inspiration. Alma was getting ready to get her Master’s in Public Administration, and with her guidance, I followed in her footsteps.

In addition to Alma, there was Jose Cortez. Jose was CPLC’s public relations person. He is an old school Chicano who has been “down with the raza” for almost his entire life. Jose was humble and down to earth, and he spoke to me in a way that made me feel “at home.” He spoke about race and discrimination, and I absorbed his words with an eager desire to understand and learn. He became my mentor and introduced me to a world that had been hidden from me for so long.

He was constantly going to a variety of community meetings, press conferences, protests, and demonstrations and it was not long before I wondered

into his office to ask him what he did. His office walls were covered in vibrant colors illustrating pride for Mexican and Chicano culture. He had a picture of himself as a young man marching with Cesar Chavez displayed on one of his colorful walls. He had so many interesting articles and images, and somehow, in that small office, I felt more at ease than I had felt in a very long time. His tone and demeanor were welcoming, accepting, and humble. He inspired my curiosity to know what it was he did, every day the most interesting people would walk down the hallways towards his office. Young people, old people, indigenous people, people in suits, people from all walks of life. He represented to me a person of diversity. And I wanted in. I told him that I had come to CPLC because I was interested in making a difference, in social change, but I had no idea how to get involved. He asked me why and I just began talking about my childhood, about migration, and about race and my confusion with all of it. He then shared so many stories with me and we became friends. He gave me a book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and told me to read it and that one day when I finished it we could talk about it. He taught me so much, but most importantly he showed me. He mentored and guided me exposing me to so many things that I was never aware of. I learned to care about my culture, about the people in the struggle, and about my own identity.

As my involvement intensified I realized eventually that CPLC was not for me. Jose warned me that CPLC had become too corporate and political and that their hands were tied through their dependence on funding. That I needed to step outside to make true change, but most importantly that I needed to continue

to learn, to go back to school and arm myself with knowledge because in his eyes “people don’t listen to people who don’t have power,” and he believed I could gain more of it through my own education. At the same time Alma had just graduated with her Master’s in Public administration, and I felt inspired to go to graduate school as well. After one year at CPLC, I went back to school, Alma submitted a tuition reimbursement request for me and next thing you know I was in a master’s program while working at CPLC, and getting my tuition paid! Things were going well, I was so very happy but at the same time I became very sad because my involvement was so limited. I began to have problems at work, because I would sometimes leave with Jose to go to different protests or demonstrations, it was clear to everyone that my priorities were in activism and in school rather than in writing another grant proposal asking some corporation for money *to feel bad for us Mexicans*. I couldn’t do it anymore. I left and focused exclusively on school and on activism.

After two years at CPLC, I went back to ASU and got my Masters in Public Administration. The world of activism became my new home and essentially my new form of schooling. Slowly I began to explore a variety of spaces, spaces that taught me to interrogate the many “truths” I had learned in school. I was confident then that I wanted to work in a non-profit, to turn my activism into a career. Simultaneously, I continued to get involved in every action I became aware of. My friend Claudia Lopez and I started a coalition at ASU focusing on immigrant rights. After that I began to work at various nonprofits and some of the local Unions. First it was La Union Del Pueblo

Entero, a branch of the United Farm Workers, then it was the Service Employees International Union, the United Food and Commercial Workers, and finally with Tonatierra. Other instrumental groups in my education were La Coalición Somos América/We Are America Coalition, *¡Ya Es Hora Ciudadanía!*, Civic Participation Campaign/ Mi Familia Vota (My Family Votes), and finally the 35th Street & Thomas Organizing Committee (currently known as Puente). With each organization I became increasingly aware that I was learning not only about civic participation and organizing, but I was learning, just like I did in school about symbolism and what it meant to be an American, a citizen, and a human being. I was learning about my identity and the collective identities we enact in order to pass and be accepted in society. This is what I learned outside the classroom.

My Academic Journey

Inside the classroom my curriculum also evolved. In my undergraduate studies I was increasingly drawn to justice studies and philosophy classes. I enjoyed philosophy because it allowed me an opportunity to question everything, something I was already doing, and also be praised or accepted for this ability to be critical. I learned to question the logic of various arguments, to ponder about important issues, about ethics, and about things as abstract as color, time, the mind, and body. Every theory was up for interrogation and analysis, we were encouraged to dissect arguments and the reasons as to why people wrote what they wrote, to consider the logic involved and how their arguments were valid. We learned about rationality and irrationality, about duty and issues of morality.

I also took a variety of justice studies courses. Here I explored the concept of justice, its relationship to the notion of fairness, theories from distributive to retributive justice, who deserves justice, and how is injustice handled or ought to be handled, how does justice get established, who decides, who does it include or exclude, what does it mean? I became increasingly drawn to this topic, because it seemed to not really be defined in terms of what it was, but rather what it wasn't. In retrospect at the time I was an idealist. I remember my first justice studies assignment was to write a paper about our theory of justice and what a just society would look like. I remember I wrote that a just society would be one where love inspired action. It was perhaps one of the "cheesiest" papers I have ever written, but it was written from the heart. I honestly believed every word I put down. I believed that if people just loved one another, and if people gave love to the world, then justice would exist. In addition to our paper we were supposed to submit an image or set of lyrics that would supplement our paper, and I turned in an image of a mother with her child, also the lyrics to Elton John's "love song." I don't even know how to rationalize what I was trying to convey, but somehow it made sense to me then.

Slowly, my interest in justice studies intensified, I saw the topic everywhere. I enrolled in a variety of courses such as justice and drugs, the death penalty, and women and social control. In sum, I first began to be immersed with existentialist questions about the universe and my identity, and then transitioned into questioning structural topics such as society, its institutions, and its identity. I began to see the consistent interrelationship between "society" and the "person,"

the ways in which one navigates both of these worlds was extremely fascinating to me. At the end of my journey I was in love with the idea of being an “agent for social change.” I wanted to work in an environment where I was able to put into practice my theories and beliefs and ideologies. For one, poverty and race was something that I really wanted to combat. Still I found myself in the situation of many idealists right out of college, you have so much ambition, good will, and desire to do something but defining that something is a little more difficult.

In 2005, I graduated with my masters but still felt like something was missing. The public administration program was helpful in that it taught me about nonprofits, creating public value, and the politics of social change. Still I felt that the program was more practical than theoretical. The focus was on teaching you how you run a nonprofit organization and it was missing the theoretical component I so enjoyed in my undergraduate courses. So after several conversations with some of my closest professors, like Dr. Miguel Montiel and Dr. Thomas Catlaw, I was convinced that I needed to go back and pursue a Ph.D. Dr. Catlaw in particular influenced my thinking in so many ways, he always promoted critical thinking and interrogated everything. He is a quiet and incredibly intelligent man, with an ability to make you think in unprecedented ways. He brought theory back into my world, by always asking difficult questions and making one ponder how things should be versus focusing on how they are. He was also very scattered. He used to tell stories about how he would get lost when driving home or misplace his keys. His ability to be so human and yet so smart inspired me to believe that perhaps I could do it. Perhaps, I could get

a PhD despite my many flaws and shortcomings. He was one of the first ones to believe in me, and eventually so did I.

Similarly, through my graduate classes with Dr. Montiel, I was introduced to a variety of Mexican American students, most of them were pursuing a Masters degree with the exception of one or two students who were allowed in the class because they were students of Dr. Montiel. One was Claudia Lopez. She was a young girl, finishing her Bachelors, with so much passion that she filled the room with her energy. Surprisingly I felt I had more in common with Claudia than most of the other Master students. Many of them had this attitude of I'm too good for the world or I'm different than other Mexicans because "I made it" or just change my skin color attitude and I will be completely assimilated, I can't explain it. It was just the case. Many of them were so incredibly conservative, in fact more conservative than most people I encountered in my other classes. The entire class was a big debate, and Dr. Montiel was always playing devil's advocate. He never sided with anyone but always forced us to reevaluate why we thought or felt the way we did. Since I was always arguing in favor of immigration and feeling attacked like he told me one day, he forced me, literally, to write a paper from the perspective of an anti-immigrant person. But the paper had to be "a good paper, with research, not just rhetoric." I needed to make a strong case for tough immigration enforcement, and I needed to sound convincing. I struggled so much, I hated him for it. I didn't understand what value doing such an assignment would have, because I was clearly not going to be convinced otherwise. But soon I realized his intentions were to make me aware of the

arguments being made. He wanted to make me more critical, but without being stubborn. He said if you are going to play a game you need to understand the moves that each side can and cannot make. You need to be aware, not just on the defensive. He felt it would make me a stronger advocate for immigration and a more knowledgeable one, and it did. I of course turned in a complementary paper rebutting every point I had written, but he refused to read it. The discussions in that classroom changed my life. They showed me that I could be a voice for a position that isn't always favored or accepted, I also met Claudia, and we became inseparable. We established a student organization for immigrant rights and even got an award from the City of Phoenix for our organizing work at ASU.

Thus, both Dr. Montiel and Dr. Catlaw encouraged me to continue studying, and so I did. I wanted to apply to the Justice Studies doctoral program or the Public Administration one, but Dr. Montiel felt otherwise. He told me he would do some research and soon advised me that the College of Education was the place for me. He said that they had some amazing professors and that my interests would change with time and I could always do a dissertation that tied immigration to education. With their letters of recommendation, and after a difficult application process I was accepted in the summer of 2006.

When I entered the program my first interaction was with Dr. Beth Blue Swadener. The first time we met I remember a colorful poster on the door of her office that stood out amidst the bland white walls of the hallway. The poster was of Rosy the Riveter and it read "*Si Se Puede*" in bold letters. Immediately the queasiness in my stomach that had developed on my way to meet her, calmed

down and I felt instantaneously at ease. Upon entering her office I felt even more and more comfortable and just super content to have her as my advisor and soon mentor. Her office had a myriad of symbols of diversity and social justice, and I felt for once; at home. She welcomed me and guided me with a voice so comforting and soothing that I almost wanted to cry. She explained in detail the journey I was about to embark upon but most of all made everything seem casual and achievable. She helped me select my classes and even helped me obtain a graduate assistantship with the department, which led to funding for my tuition. She explained that she wanted me to have an office in the building so that I could have a place to hang my hat on, and just feel like I was a part of the university. Her plan worked. I felt so amazing, I cannot even describe it. I remember calling my parents immediately after meeting with her, and just ranting about how happy I felt and how wonderful she had been. All in all she did what she does with all her students lucky enough to have her in their lives. She supported me in every which way she knew how, and continues to do this till this day. She supports me not just as a student, but as a human being. I have learned a lot of valuable academic and life lessons from Dr. Swadener. I had the incredible opportunity of working with her coordinating a Scholarship for migrant head start teachers. She showed me what it means to be an ally and how one can be both an activist and a scholar. She inspires me in so many ways, but most of all she is a truly good person and friend.

In addition to Dr. Swadener, there were certain classes that absolutely changed not only my academic thinking but my perspective on life. These

included Re-Thinking Paulo Freire with Dr. Gustavo Fischman, Writing Qualitative Research with Dr. Mary Lee Smith, Critical Theory with Dr. Blumenfeld Jones, Critical Race Theory with Dr. Kimberly Scott and Dr. Bryan Brayboy, and Discourse Analysis with Dr. James Gee.

Re-Thinking Paulo Freire was one of the first courses I took and loved. I got to re-read *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (the book Jose had given me) and about five other books from and about Paulo Freire. My favorite book was written by Peter McLaren and entitled *Che Guevara, Paulo Freire, and the Pedagogy of Revolution*. At the end of the semester we had to write a paper applying some of the concepts and literature we had engaged in throughout the semester. I wrote my paper on the marginalization of immigrant students in schools and the need for integrating critical pedagogy to American education. Dr. Fischman was a wonderful professor. His teaching style is firm but engaging. From the first day he explained that we would all be learning from each other, that there was no set syllabus, because our syllabus would depend upon the student environment that would evolve. The pace of learning would be determined by us and we would explore themes that would emerge from our discussions as they became relevant. Needless to say, he was very unconventional. But in the class you felt liberated and yet consistently challenged. Learning was exciting. Here I believe I discovered my love for critical pedagogy. I learned that knowledge itself is connected to power, that educational systems tend to benefit the interests of those in power, and that marginalized groups are frequently kept from contextualizing their oppression. The process of consciousness and liberation inevitably involves

reflection and action. I also had the pleasure of being surrounded by a group of amazing people and students. I suppose that the fact that we were all drawn to the topic and class, made us have something in common, I'm not sure. But by the end of the course, we all seemed to be a cohesive group. We all developed a sort of collective consciousness through the presentations and group activities. We definitely had not one professor but many, in the sense that we all learned from each other and with each other.

In addition to critical pedagogy, two other courses further shaped my way of thinking, challenging me in so many ways. These were Critical Race Studies & Critical Theory. I first took Critical Theory with Dr. Blumenfeld Jones. To be honest, I hated critical theory when I first enrolled in the class. My writing and way of speaking about certain concepts were consistently critiqued and questioned. Dr. Blumenfeld Jones would frequently interrogate my use of certain words and provoke me to explore the foundations of my statements. He would say "what do you mean by that? Please elaborate" and on and on. It became really irritating and annoying. At first I would try to answer his questions until I became stumped with no clear answers. Each question would lead to another, and to another until I got frustrated enough to say exactly what it was I meant. He would explain that sometimes we utilize language without really understanding or being conscious of what we are really trying to convey. Words are symbols, embedded in a series of conversations and ideologies that have been rehashed in multiple ways. Like signposts, they refer to other texts and ideas. I would soon learn more about this in my discourse analysis course.

All in all, the class really pushed me to go out of my comfort zone and learn how to understand various concepts from a different dimension. The people that we read, such as bell hooks, Paulo Freire, and Pierre Bourdieu in particular further helped me grow and explore topics such as immigration and education from a different point of view. I learned to “look at the margins,” to explore where the silences, limits, and borders exist and why. To see what these spaces reveal about society and about power and control. I also really enjoyed exploring concepts such as *hegemony* and *habitus*. I absorbed each lesson like a sponge, trying to make sense of my educational world and the world of activism that I had experienced with my new set of tools. I also fell in love with bell hooks. Reading the writings of a woman, is always a source of pride and happiness for me. Having grown up in a traditionally Mexican family, I’ve always struggled with gender. Therefore reading the powerful words, the voice of a strong woman can be inevitably inspiring. Not to mention a woman of color, a social critic, and an activist.

About color, most of my exposure to issues of race had been rooted in mistrust. I’ve always been annoyed with the rhetoric of colorblindness and assimilation. It is a naïve and beautiful dream to pretend that color and or gender don’t exist so that racism and sexism can fade away, but life is not that easy. Race despite its social construction is a real and recognizable concept that impacts, shapes, and “colors” our everyday lives. It places us in a category that limits and or opens opportunities. The significance about race and its historicity I believe I learned from my Critical Race Theory (CRT) class with Dr. Kimberly

Scott and Dr. Bryan Brayboy. In contrast to my critical theory class, the CRT class was something that “just made sense to me,” it awakened in me a sort of intuitive knowledge that I’ve carried all along as well as introducing me to the genealogy of race scholarship. We were exposed to the many critiques of CRT and the ways it has embedded itself as an analytical tool in understanding education and educational research. The class legitimized my own sources of knowledge, it made me see that yes, knowledge is power, but not all “knowledge” or epistemologies are recognized or seen as legitimate ways of knowing and understanding the world. I learned about the power of narrative and counter stories, and the many forms that racism can take, such as substantive, structural, and procedural. I also learned about intersectionality²³, about micro aggressions²⁴, and the concept of interest convergence²⁵. I felt like the class provided me with the language and ways of naming a reality that many students of color experience.

Despite having the privilege of a higher education, of being a student in a PhD program, I still felt like a minority in the classroom, a feeling of out of place

²³ See Crenshaw, K.W. (1993). Beyond racism and misogyny: Black feminism and 2 Live Crew. In M.J. Matsuda, C.R. Lawrence, R. Delgado, & K.W. Crenshaw (Eds.), *Words that wound: Critical race theory, assaultive speech, and the First Amendment* (pp. 111-132). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

²⁴ See Solorzano, D. G. (1998). Critical Race Theory, race and gender microaggressions, and the experience of Chicanos and Chicano Scholars. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11(1), 121-136.

²⁵ See Bell, D. A. (1980b). *Brown v. Board of Education and the interest-convergence dilemma*. *Harvard Law Review*, 93, 518-533.

or of being the other. I have noticed that academic settings are shaped in ways that perhaps don't exclude but are certainly designed to favor the success of some students over others. Perhaps it would seem that a class like this might be a little depressing, but to the contrary the class made me smile to know that what I was feeling, the feelings of isolation from one's community were not unique to me but rather shared. That like other minority scholars, I too could create my own space and scholarship. I began to make links and connections to the situation of migrant students as being rooted in historical power struggles. It is no coincidence that some students fail, but rather there exists systemic and structural reasons for their failure.

Apart from the lessons in the classroom, it was so refreshing to be reading the writings of other minority scholars. But even more significant was having Dr. Scott and Dr. Brayboy as my professors. Their symbolic and actual presence evoked in me feelings of happiness and motivation. They inspired, challenged, and actually understood me. I've always felt a sort of awkwardness to speak "out loud" in a classroom. At home or in activist circles I've always been very vocal and opinionated, but the intimidation that I felt in so many classrooms seemed to fade away in my CRT class. Of course, it wasn't always the case. The first few days of class, many of us were quiet and feeling out the setting. Yet, Dr. Scott and Dr. Brayboy were very specific in their desire to facilitate learning rather than to just teach to us. It wasn't long before I felt the need to speak, to vocalize my own analysis and emotions to the readings. I looked forward to each and every single class, to reading and thinking about these ideas. They led the class in such

unique ways that enabled everyone to engage in the type of meaningful discussions that can bring one to tears and or laughter because we were all sort of beginning to see and open our eyes to the fallacy of the master narratives that surround us. The class was also very diverse. Through the wonder of technology we were able to share a classroom with students in Alaska. Learning after all is a very social process. I felt like the class empowered (though I hate the word empowerment) to craft our own stories. Most theoretical models explaining educational inequality tend to reassert the stereotypes of minorities or their cultures as inferior or deficient. They silence and distort certain stories while privileging others. CRT and other intersectional theorists in contrast try to bring about visibility to the systemic injustices that permeate educational institutions and social environments.

Another important part of my academic journey was learning about qualitative research. I enrolled in COE 503: Qualitative Research Methods, EPA 691: Qualitative Research Writing, and EPA 691: Methods and Practice of Qualitative Research all with Dr. Mary Lee Smith. She is an amazing writer and person. Each class was very different, but my favorite was “Writing about Qualitative Research.” We were required to keep a journal, and to jot down any (absolutely any) idea that popped into our heads. She said that these ideas were not an accident and that somehow they would have some relevance to us someday. She treated every student as if we were all colleagues and researchers and subsequently, she stressed that we needed to record what we were experiencing, the ways we were filtering the world. A central theme of the class

was to observe nature and the context of every situation. Our first assignment was to find a setting somewhere to experience and then record our observations. We learned about field notes, observations, and the power of vignettes. Students were encouraged to look for patterns, details, textures, and the way objects related to each other in order to describe what was taking place. I learned to “breathe in all empirical things and impressions” that unfolded in front of me. The goal was to be able to pay attention to what was taking place, to the sounds, the smells, the particulars, and characteristics of each environment in an effort to convey to the reader a real sense of what that place, context, environment, or situation was like.

Dr. Smith emphasized that in qualitative research the researcher is the instrument. We learned that every piece of data, be it quantitative or qualitative is partial. She was enraged when people would speak about studies being biased. She would state “There is no such a thing as bias, it’s part of who you are, everybody’s got to be something...there is no ideal study, I’m here, you are there...” It all made sense to me. I learned that with a collection of observations one could begin to discern patterns, to discover and learn about a situation and ask “what’s really going on here?” To capture the way meaning unfolds for participants. Some studies have better warrant than others because they are backed up with more diversified data. Some rely on pure observation, while others combine interviews with observations and other written data such as reports. We explored the flaws and strengths of data collection as well as various methods such as ethnographies, case studies, and narratives. Overall, the class was very practical and helpful in helping me begin to frame my interests and what

I wanted to explore and research. Looking back at my notebook, I see a variety of quick scribbled and jotted notes, where I began to formulate my “research ideas” and look at immigration with a social scientist lens.

I later took Visual Ethnography with Dr. Eric Margolis, and this further reassured me that ethnography or narrative was what I was leaning towards in writing my dissertation. I had the benefit of utilizing video in many of the protests that I participated in during the Arpaio raids and counter demonstrations. Subsequently, the idea of using these videos as well as my reflections as a participant observer began to excite me. In this class we had an opportunity to learn about visual ethnography. Everyone conducted an interview and utilized it along with still photographs to create our own short films that told a story about an issue. It was a sort of visual vignette if you will. The experience was a lot of work, but very rewarding to see our final products. For my video I interviewed a migrant student about her experiences as a student and an activist. She became involved in the immigrant rights movement after the passage of proposition 300, which denied in state tuition to undocumented immigrants. Subsequently, in the film we explore some of the things that she learned along the way. The short film and interview actually depict a rather sad story about immigration and education. The student learned about race but also about disillusion in the process from her participation in activism and from the reality of her situation. Her voice depicts an eagerness to want to go to school and be a part of society, but also an understanding of hopelessness. She states that she no longer wants to be involved in activism because in her eyes “it consumes your world.” Her disillusion is

symbolic of the frustrations experienced by so many immigrant students today. While many go out of their ways “to fight” injustices, many find that there is no battleground or platform to change their situation.

Finally, taking Discourse Analysis with Dr. James Gee greatly enhanced my academic journey. At first I was unsure if this class was a blessing or a curse, because every time I left for the night, I ended up coming home and overanalyzing what people were saying to me. I would drive my husband nuts every time I would overanalyze his words and statements. On one occasion Dr. Gee said, I should warn everybody that one should not apply what you learn in this course at home, that is if you want to save your marriage. Everyone giggled and laughed, but I think that even his joke is indicative of the importance of language and discourse. It’s something that is ongoing and always present in the ways we enact our identities and live our lives. Language is something that humans own. Dr. Gee explained that people identify with their language in a profound way. Subsequently, analyzing language and its structure can reveal a lot about people and the way they construct meaning in their lives.

I remember one of the funniest and wisest things he ever stated was that it was absolutely okay, and in fact a good thing, to not always understand things. I love that idea. Mainly because I think it accurately depicts the nature of our lives. Not everything necessarily makes sense and in fact when it doesn’t it can best capture a photo of the reality we live in--a reality where things are contrasted by competing “truths.”

I also learned that no method of research is independent of a theory about language and that language is only meaningful in context. While in visual ethnography for example, your data can be an image or a video, in discourse analysis your data can be an excerpt, a sentence, or even a grammatical structure. A single comma can indicate so much about what a person is trying to say, where pauses and silences are placed is important to what message or theory or ideology lies behind each statement. In addition to discourse with a little d (i.e. stretches of language or language in use) there's Discourse with a big D. This involves looking not just at language but in the words of Dr. Gee, big D discourse analysis is looking at "language plus other stuff." Accordingly, the key to discourses is recognition. If you combine "language, action, interaction, beliefs, symbols, objects tools, and places together in such a way that others recognize you as a particular type of who (identity) engaged in a particular type of what (activity), here and now then you have pulled a Discourse" (Gee, p.53). For example, being a middle class American or a nativist or a teacher in Scottsdale, all of these identities involve a particular discourse that people enact in various forms, with the use of language and "other stuff." Learning about Discourse was very exciting for me because I think it is really useful when analyzing and thinking about activism, protests, and community actions. The people involved are definitely enacting or participating in a particular discourse, there are certain things that people learn to do in order to be recognized as being a part of or not a part of different actions or activities. Again, it's a negotiation of identities that unfolds

and I'm very interested in analyzing this Discourse and the symbolism employed both by immigrant rights advocates and anti-immigrant groups.

Furthermore, Dr. Gee's class reinforced the importance of looking at the function of language as well as its form. Dr. Gee explained that one key way of analyzing discourse is to think about the function of things. When we think about schools failing but never change what would make them succeed, we need to see that perhaps their function is not for students to learn but maybe an alternative function of creating workers or collecting tuition might seem to make more sense. In trying to identify the function of words or institutions, one can ask; how else could this statement have been written or spoken, and or how else could something have been done? It's about always looking at the alternatives and recognizing that there is always a choice of words or actions. In looking at protests, I can pose the question or challenge of is the goal or function of these actions really social change? Or is it something else? What does the discourse in use support or say about what is going on?

In sum, the classes I detailed above, as well as the professors that taught me and guided me along the way, have helped me develop into a more critical thinker and scholar. My learning has not ended. Today I continue to learn. I learn about race, about gender, about culture, about protest and almost always about the constant collision of identities. Subsequently, it is no surprise that when thinking about a dissertation in education, I decided to write about migration. I wanted to explore the lessons learned in spaces of resistance. Arizona has become such a place; a place where nativists' anti-immigrant sentiments continue

to collide with the ever present reality of visible brown bodies living in American neighborhoods.

The game has not changed. When I was in school I tried so hard to fit in. I would set aside my values in an effort to be accepted. Outside the classroom people continue to play this game; a game of pretending to be an identity that will get them “to pass.” There is a hidden curriculum in schools, and there is also a hidden curriculum in social movements. The discourse that takes place informs, teaches, and transforms communities.

Fighting for Immigrant Rights in Arizona

Every organizing meeting starts the same way. Every action entails the same discussion; messaging, security, media, logistics, water. I remember the first time I attended a meeting, how exciting it seemed. I was in a room full of people “who cared.” We were all gathered together to do something about the “injustices,” the “racism” that continued to unfold in Arizona.

I had met Elias Bermudes on the Immigrant Freedom Rides in 2003²⁶. At the time there was a great push across the country to lobby for immigration reform. Organizations from various states, and particularly the labor unions, organized a caravan of buses leaving simultaneously from a myriad of locations on their way to Washington D.C. to lobby for comprehensive immigration reform.

²⁶ The immigrant freedom rides of 2003, were part of a campaign organized by various unions and national organizations to lobby for comprehensive immigration reform, numerous buses from various locations caravanned to Washington, DC, New Jersey, and New York City.

This was my first full introduction to the immigrants' rights movement. I remember learning about a rally at the state capitol to welcome and say goodbye to the people who were going to go on the caravan. The phoenix participants would be going along with the Los Angeles bus that was to make its way through various significant points in Arizona. I learned about the caravan on the day of the rally, and instantaneously realized that one way or another I wanted to be a part of this. I remember how beautiful and wonderful it felt all the energy that was present, people rallying and chanting, I looked at Claudia and we hugged each other with excitement. Claudia and I were convinced that we needed to go, but we had no money to make our way there and it was too late to join the caravan. Claudia was full of energy and enthusiasm and amidst our many ideological conversations she decided that we had two weeks to fundraise our way to go. We had recently purchased our immigrant freedom rides t-shirt and she felt it would be a good idea for us to wear the same t-shirt for two weeks, and approach everyone we knew, as well as the various Latino businesses, to try to collect funds to go. We would have loved to go in the actual caravan but the buses were full, so we settled for attending the main action in Washington, DC and hoping that they would let us hop on the bus to New Jersey and New York.

Surprisingly, her plan worked. Every time that we approached people, they would laugh and say “*¡ay que cochinas! ¿la misma camiseta por dos semanas?*” it would get people comfortable with us and before long they were digging in their wallets for a donation. That was the first time that I saw the rewards of believing in a cause and working as hard as possible to achieve a goal.

Claudia and I made it to Washington, we had no idea where we were going to stay, and till this day I don't know how the hell I convinced my parents to let me go, but we did it. The energy there was amazing, it was an incredible feeling, and people were gathered in the streets laughing, chanting, singing, and dancing. These were historic times and it seemed that immigration reform was within the reach of our fingertips.

Little did I know then, that that was just the beginning of a long journey in “fighting” for immigrants’ rights, that the anti-immigrant sentiment we felt to be so intense was actually mild in comparison for what was to come. At any rate, Elias was on the bus from Los Angeles; the LA bus stopped in phoenix, and continued its way down to Washington. He was a kind man, charismatic, and we instantly felt drawn to him. He spoke in a way that made people listen, and he appeared to genuinely care about immigrants and the movement. We were talking to people about our journey and the fact that we didn't have a place to stay for the night and everyone told us to speak to Elias. We went ahead and approached him and he was immediately set on helping us. He spoke to one of the organizers of the caravan and they told him that due to advice from the attorneys, fear of liabilities, etc. since they had no information on us, we were unable to ride with the group to Washington. He intervened and after much resistance we were allowed to stay on the bus. Everyone made a joke that how could this bus caravanning for immigrants’ rights request “documents” of the riders. His generosity did not stop there, he offered us his room, and he went and stayed with some other riders so that we had a place to stay.

This personal experience led me to trust and believe in Elias as a Leader. Naturally, when he called Claudia and I and invited us to attend an organizing meeting for a march, we did not hesitate to attend. I remember showing up, with my notepad, and nervously awaiting the meeting to begin. I had attended many actions before, events, etc. but this was my first organizing meeting. There was a mixed crowd, people that were well known in the community, and regular folks who I had never seen in my life. Elias had many followers and people that gathered around him trying to help.

Elias introduced an organizer from the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). This was my first time even hearing about the SEIU. I knew that the unions had a strong presence in the immigrant freedom rides, but at the time I had no idea whom each one represented or what SEIU stood for. Anyway, he looked like a crabby and grumpy man, he was in his forties, dark skin, bald, and had a very serious face with a goatee. Amidst the large group he spoke very seriously about what he felt we needed to do. Within the committees, he was actually a lot more laid back, making everyone laugh and feel at ease and comfortable about speaking and sharing. He suggested we divide ourselves into various committees and then we could work on whatever committee we wanted to and report back to the entire group. Before we broke out into groups he asked that we all brainstorm what kinds of things we would need for a march and then created categories that I would see over and over again in organizing meetings to come; these were logistics, security, media, outreach, civic participation, and water (usually included in logistics, but this march would be historic, and hence

water became its own category). I volunteered for the outreach and civic participation committees, but eventually ended up involved in almost everything.

Within the committees our group brainstormed ideas, and action items, we divided tasks and selected a timeline for these to be completed. We then broke off and one of us reported back to the group, at the end of the discussion, we agreed on a day to meet again. Everything seemed to have ran so smoothly that if someone had told me that organizing meetings could be filled would drama, I would not have believed them. The tasks ahead seemed monumental but the way they had been broken up into tangible reachable goals made things feel achievable. I remember leaving re-energized, excited, and pumped up for what would become a historic immigrants' rights march. But then, a few days later, I received a call that there would be a planning meeting and all organizations wanting to be involved should attend. The meeting was to be held at the IBEW union hall. I remember arriving with my friend Claudia to the parking lot and as we proceeded inside I was absolutely shocked at the amount of people that were present. There were representatives from so many organizations; the amount of people present was incredible. I wondered if all these people were from Arizona. Then, the meeting began. There were groups of people that seemed very angry and upset, and the person coordinating/facilitating the meeting seemed a bit frazzled and nervous at first, he was an older gentleman in his sixties who spoke very eloquently and politely, in English and Spanish. There were several people on a stage and rows of people sitting waiting to see what was going to happen. The meeting began, and it was explained that there were several efforts going on

in organizing the April 10th march, that some groups had felt left out and so in order to ensure a more effective community turnout that this meeting was designed to start from scratch and plan an action with all stakeholders to have an opportunity to join in on various committees. I was extremely confused, I didn't understand what was going to happen to all the work we had already began in the previous meeting, and why we were all going to begin planning from scratch, but I soon realized that all of that would be dissolved and this was the new official planning meeting, the birth of a coalition of organizations working together to plan and organize a series of actions for immigration reform. This was the beginning of Somos America²⁷. The facilitator asked that one member from each organization present come up to the front of the room and write their name, the organization they were representing, and their email address. Claudia went up in representation of our student group the Coalition of Students Seeking Change (CSSC) and I went up and signed in representation of La Union Del Pueblo Entero (LUPE), the organization I was working for at the time. Each of these names would eventually become board members of Somos America.

²⁷ The Somos America/We Are America Coalition was the coalition of labor unions, non-profit organizations, students, and community members working together for immigration reform. This was the organization that is credited to organizing the immigrants' rights march on April 10, and several actions soon after from 2006-2008.

Profiling La Causa: Somos América and Other Players

Somos America / We Are America Coalition

Somos America is a coalition of community leaders, students, and organizations, working together to advocate for immigrants' rights. That's, somewhat, the official description. In my memory, however, Somos became my second home. It was where my schooling in organizing officially began. Through my involvement in Somos, I learned about civic participation, belonging, ethics, and the symbolic politics of working in groups, identity, fear, and resistance.

Somos provided me with an opportunity to be behind the scenes of many of the immigrant rights actions that occurred from 2006-2008. While the coalition of organizations was formed to advocate for immigration reform, it simultaneously served the purpose of pushing forward the agendas of two major and local labor unions; the SEIU and the UFCW. I do not know for sure if this was always the intention behind Somos, I'd like to think that its foundation was a lot more organic than this, but either way you look at it, whether its roots were for this purpose or not, in the end, this was one of its key functions.

Somos made me. I grew up in this coalition. I learned to see the world in a different way, I mean this positively and negatively as well. The coalition and its meetings helped me develop a sense of self and of community. In retrospect, the various characters involved could make up for an interesting plot in a reality show. I talk about the members here, not for the purposes of calling them out or critiquing them, but for the mere function of ethnographically describing the

people who were there in the struggle, those who remain, and those who left, members who unconsciously or consciously worked together to affect not just politics, but the ways in which immigrant communities identified themselves.

The Somos meetings were open to anyone who wanted to attend. There were always a myriad of organizations and people that came in and out of Somos. Subsequently, I only present here the members that stood out in my mind as being key to the continuation of the organization, they either 1) attended meetings regularly or were foundational/board members, and/or 2) had key decision making power or influence over what happened in those meetings. At the onset of its formation, people attended the meetings for three major reasons; some came to obtain support for their individual campaigns or causes, others came to have a voice or represent their organization in whatever planned action was occurring, others came for the purposes of criticizing Somos and its tactics.

The Somos America meetings were held at the UFCW conference room--every Tuesday from 6--whenever depending on the number of items in the agenda, usually about 8 pm. At which point some of the core members would gather together afterwards at places like Portland's and Switch for pizza and wine. The main leaders would usually offer to pay. Herein the real meetings would many times take place.

Organizing Platform. As described briefly above, Somos America formed out of a sporadic need to organize a historic immigration march. Immigrants' rights groups across the country began organizing to protest H.R. 4437, a bill passed by the U.S. House of Representatives on December 16th of

2005. The bill became known as the Sensenbrenner bill, named after its sponsor Representative James Sensenbrenner. With the fear of H.R. 4437, a bill that would criminalize the immigrant community, people ran to the streets in resistance. Roberto Reveles, the founding President of Somos describes "Those extremist public policies directly stimulated public demonstrations by supporters of Arizona's undocumented community, resulting in two unprecedented events: A record-setting march by 20,000 in Phoenix on March 24, 2006, planned and implemented by a small coalition of immigrant activists brought together by the Forum's community empowerment project known as Unidos en Arizona..."

Following this record setting march, in which people overflowed into the streets of downtown Phoenix, organizers of various organizations enthusiastically jumped on board to organize what would become an even bigger and historic demonstration, making visible the undeniable presence of immigrants in Arizona.

There are various studies that have begun to analyze these historic marches, and I've read about many attributing the quick organizing power to the role of the media, particularly the radio in pushing people to the streets. Popular radio figures such as *El Piolin de la Mañana* and *El Cucuy de la Mañana*, Renán Almendárez Coello, both of which had morning talk radio shows in LA. *El Cucuy* was one of the most listened to radio figures in LA, with an estimated audience of three million daily listeners. These shows served as popular education tools, making people aware about anti-immigrant politics, and also civically engaging the community. In Arizona, Elias Bermudez also had his own radio show as well as long-time activist and former senator Alfredo Gutierrez

through Campesina. Both of these figures, consistently had immigration topics in their radio talk. Other accounts for the success of the marches are attributed to the fear of HR 4437 itself, while others argue that it was the multicultural collaboration that was distinct in 2006. Simultaneously, some say that the discourse from the marches, with frequent slogans of "We are not criminals" could have played a role in alienating African American communities.

At any rate, the marches provided a hopeful view of the possibilities for organizing for immigration reform. Money began to flow in through the labor unions and other organizations, and before long there was a concerted effort to push for immigration reform under the banner and symbolic slogan of "We Are American, Today We March, Tomorrow We Vote." This slogan further defined the organizing platform of the years to come. Many of the actions that followed the famous April 10th marches in Phoenix were organized with the goal of getting out the vote, coincidentally in line with the SEIU's civic participation campaign entitled *Mi Familia Vota/ My Family Votes*.

The actions that followed, transformed from mass marches, protests, demonstrations and boycotts, into more sterile, structured events such as press conferences, vigils, community forums, and citizenship fairs. Behind each of these actions, remained a concerted attempt to portray assimilationist symbols of immigrants as peaceful, patriotic, American, English speaking, and law abiding. In the next section, I outline some of these symbols and the way in which they were integrated into organizing strategies and tactics.

Somos America Meetings as Symbolic Settings of Performance. The organizing meetings of Somos America became symbolic political settings where participants (performers and spectators) engaged in social play, ritualistic behavior, and performance. In these settings, people practiced their role within the hierarchical order.

The meetings became formalized spaces of debate and discussion similar to Schechner's (1977/1988) theory of the workshop. The discourse with which immigrant rights were to be fought for in the public arena was a mirror image of the hegemonic discourse, discussion, and debate that would take place in the Somos meetings. The dominant ideas of the meetings became rationalized into the realm of common sense and carried with them much of the hegemonic discourse set by the dominant class and ideology in Arizona.

Individuals who attended the meetings were greeted with a sign-in sheet and a pen. Name, organization, phone number, and email were immediately positioned at the entrance where people arrived. They were all handed an agenda, usually written in English, and with the Somos America logo at the very top. Formality was established via the agenda and sign-in sheet, the issues were outlined with little room for deviation via the use of time. As illustrated in the literature review, time can be utilized as a tool in establishing ritualistic practices. Thus, in this regard, the meetings operated via the limitations and constraints of time and setting. In analyzing the meeting agendas, minutes, and observation notes, it seemed that a powerful social and cultural currency within the meeting was the symbolism of acculturation and assimilation. A correlation between the

level of integration into American society and the level of political power and voice within the meetings definitely existed.

Policies and ideologies were filtered through those who enacted the identity of an "American" more successfully. Those individuals had dominant voices and power over the meetings. Also, gender, age, and race played a significant role. Male and older organizers had significant more say and leadership within the organization. Interestingly, this mirrors some of the same dynamics of Mexican culture. Elders are to be respected and perceived as wiser or possessing more knowledge, having put their time in and earned a status of power. In contrast, young organizers were usually labeled "the students" (whether or not they attended school) and were perceived to be difficult to control or predict. Additionally, while there were many powerful women leaders, and women organizers and activists within the meetings, the macho structure still permeated in a way that situated women in an inferior or more submissive status. Women who had influence, and power, within the meetings, were usually "bridge leaders" exercising their power indirectly or in the background.

Race played an incredible role in the organization. The majority of the people in Somos and the people they were representing were people of color. Those Somos members that were White, while taking the role of an ally, helped set the "image" of what the others were working towards. Their power was evident through their display of cultural capital. The order in which people speak is usually a good indicator of social and cultural capital. At the time, the directors of the UFCW and the head of the SEIU, the labor unions that had the most power

and influence over the immigrant rights movement, were both White and Male. While they seldom attended the Somos meetings, whenever they did they usually spoke out of order, and people paid respect for when they spoke.

Profiles of Somos America

Alan Hanson, UFCW. Alan was a young and extremely tall white male in his late thirties. He had brown hair and was a bit intimidating because of his height, but generally kind and quiet. He was the Organizing Director of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), while he didn't attend many of the Somos America meetings per se, he had incredible influence over what went on in those meetings. The UFCW campaigns, particularly the Food City and Soy Uno Mas campaigns were embedded in many of the Somos America agendas. Furthermore, UFCW was a key funder of many of the Somos America actions and community events. They also provided their conference room as a meeting space for Somos meetings. Alan was the only white guy in group and he seldom went to any of the socializing events, but I know that behind the scenes he had frequent closed door conversations with Alfredo and Martin M. I speculate that in these meetings they planned or brainstormed how to integrate UFCW agendas into Somos. In other words, Somos was a vehicle and tool for organizations such as UFCW, they viewed it as an opportunity to reach the migrant community through their visibility in Somos and for Somos (with its credibility in the community) to carry out support of their campaigns, while concealing the unfamiliar union name.

Alfredo, Tequida & Gutierrez. Alfredo was one of the most charismatic leaders of the group, whenever Alfredo spoke, people listened. His sense of

humor and ability to speak passionately about migration touched many of the people in the group. He was able to convince most of us of pretty much anything, particularly when he displayed anger towards issues of injustice. His reputation as a leader in the community earned him respect from pretty much everyone in the group. The only person I ever saw question him, was Salvador Reza and certain members of Mano a Mano. Alfredo is an older activist and former state senator. He was frequently quoted in newspapers and interviewed on television, was recognized as a leader by many in the community. When I first started getting involved, I looked up to Alfredo because he was always “standing up” for the rights of migrants and workers and speaking out against injustices. He had a strong role and power in Somos America, whenever issues were placed on the agenda, he often voiced his opinion thereby steering away support or rallying people up to support it. He usually showed up late, and would invite the group to Portland’s for pizza, often paying for the entire group. He always remembered your name and made a point to greet everyone, even those often viewed as unimportant such as students that would show up. Alfredo had a consulting firm with his former wife Rosa Tequida, entitled *Tequida and Gutierrez*, and was hired by UFCW to rally support against Food City. Another one of his campaigns or efforts was the Beat the Odds initiative; a collaboration with ASU’s former president Lattie Coor under the umbrella of the Center for the Future of Arizona.

Alfredo's role in the campaign was to identify parents and rally their support for implementing the Beat the Odds²⁸ principles in low performing schools.

Antonio, Maya Chapin. Antonio was the representative of Maya Chapin, an organization advocating for the rights of the Guatemalan migrant community in Arizona. He frequently attended the Somos America meetings, but was not a part of the core group of folks who gathered together after to socialize and plan actions and events. His had little influence in Somos America, but frequently attended the meetings and voiced his opinions or dissent with the many actions that were planned, he often argued that his members were disillusioned with the way things were going and the little support that they had from Somos America. However, none of his members ever attended the meetings or any of the actions, to the point that some people speculated that Maya Chapin was an organization of one, mainly Antonio. At any rate, he still provided his support to many of the actions and was what I would call an active activist, but not necessarily an organizer. He was a brown man, short, with a square face, dark hair, and a black mustache, he often wore a plaid shirt and appeared passive and shy in appearance.

²⁸ This initiative emerged from research performed in schools to discover why some schools did well and others didn't. "Their findings, published in 2006, pointed to six keys, or principles, for success: clear bottom line, ongoing assessment, strong and steady principal, collaborative solutions, stick with the program and built to suit. As part of their recommendations, the team called for the implementation of these best practices into every school in Arizona." The idea was that when schools implemented these principles, they were able to 'beat the odds' and perform better. The problem however, is that this simultaneously took out of the equation systemic and structural problems in education, such as poverty and race.

However, when given the opportunity to speak he could become aggressive and even rude with anyone that allowed him the chance. I recall that in one meeting he took out his anger at me because his action item failed to make it to the agenda, he seemed to believe that there was a conspiracy against him, when in reality I never got notification from him to put his action item on there.

Ceci Puede. Ceci was instrumental to Somos America, particularly in 2007 / 2008. Everyone referred to her as Ceci Puede, metaphorically implying the historically recognized phrase in Chicano activism; Si Se Puede; to imply “Yes it can be done.” She was a very short young girl, Chicana with long brown hair, and an incredibly contagious smile. Her high energy and enthusiasm in activism motivated and inspired everyone towards action. She was an incredible organizer, was persuasive and very attentive to detail, had a great memory, and was very outspoken. Ceci became involved in immigrant rights through the SEIU’s *Mi Familia Vota* (My Family Votes) campaign²⁹. I remember first meeting her at ASU; I was her TA in a Chicano Studies 101 class. Though the class had more than a hundred students, she stood out because she hurriedly walked into class late, and yet made an effort to speak up about readings it was clear she may not have read. Nonetheless, this did not intimidate her. Ceci tried and was a fighter in spirit. While at the onset, she was a bit shy in the classroom, it didn’t take long before her voice became stronger and stronger, particularly

²⁹ The *Mi Familia Vota* Civic Participation Campaign, was a campaign in 2007 set up to get out the Latino vote in Arizona.

outside the classroom. She would often speak up and voice her opinion against “injustice,” even when it wasn’t popular to do so. Through Somos, Ceci found a place to exhibit leadership and her incredible ability to organize, she was a very hard worker, and gave it 110 percent to everything she did. Her role within the organization was to work behind the scenes mostly, gathering people to attend a variety of actions, from making phone calls to canvassing door to door, to organizing volunteers to attend events. She was not a recognized face in the media or in interviews, but every core member of Somos or any other organization advocating for immigrant rights in Maricopa County, for the most part recognized her or knew who she was.

Carlos Garcia, MechA, SEIU, UFCW. Carlos was a young brown Chicano male, with long black hair, usually in a ponytail and wearing a t-shirt with some sort of movement message. He has a laid-back demeanor, calm and collected, and kind, not usually very talkative on first encounter. Carlos, the present leader of the well-recognized Puente Movement³⁰, also began his professional organizing career at *Mi Familia Vota*. Unlike Ceci, however, who did not have any prior experience to activism and organizing, Carlos did. Carlos

³⁰ “Puente Arizona is part of the global movement for migrant justice and human rights. As a grassroots community-based group Puente promotes justice, non-violence, interdependence and human dignity. Puente Arizona works to empower the community and build bridges by working collaboratively with various organizations and individuals” (www.puenteaz.org).

was very involved in MEChA³¹, and in fact became a Somos Board member because he was recognized to have influence, a following, and/or leadership with many of the MEChA students at ASU and Phoenix College. During the 2006 marches, there was a lot of dissent over the students' reactions to HR4437. Shortly after the March 24th march of 2006, several students engaged in walkouts exhibiting pride through flying the Mexican flag and/or wearing its colors. The media had a field day criticizing and questioning the students' allegiance to the United States, stating that they were un-American and "how dare they fly the Mexican flag?" In response to these critiques several community leaders were trying to mediate this situation by an oversaturation of American flags and colors displayed in the mega march of April 2010. Through this struggle, Carlos served the role of a mediating voice between the students and community leaders. He successfully organized students from the various high schools that had "walked out" to meet and organize a coordinated but separate student march on April 10th.

³¹ www.nationalmecha.org defines Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA) as "a student organization that promotes higher education, cultura, and historia. MEChA was founded on the principles of self-determination for the liberation of our people. We believe that political involvement and education is the avenue for change in our society. Each word in MEChA symbolizes a great concept in terms of la causa. Movimiento means that the organization is dedicated to the movement to gain self-determination for our people. Estudiantil, identifies the organization as a student group for we are part of our Raza's future. At the heart of the name is the use of the identity: Chicano. At first seen as a negative word, now taken for a badge of honor. In adopting their new identity, the students committed themselves to return to the barrios, colonias, or campos and together, struggle against the forces that oppress our gente. Lastly, the affirmation that we are Indigenous people to this land by placing our movement in Aztlan, the homeland of all peoples from Anahuak."

While the hope from Somos was for the students to simply join Somos leadership, Carlos was able to gather support and respect for sustaining the student “voice” within the movement. Nonetheless, most Somos members expected Carlos to simply tell the students what to do, particularly after he was recruited by the UFCW as a community organizer, but he instead was able to use his organizing job as a way to continue organizing students but allow them to make their demands. From conversations with Carlos, it became evident that he was threading a tricky road, for he almost lost his job in the process. Another interesting thing to note about Carlos, is that though he was a student like Ceci, Karina, and myself, he was nonetheless recognized and respected by most of the older “leaders” treated as an equal in most of the meetings, illustrating to some extent the role of gender in organizing and in the Latino community.

Cynthia Aragon, SEIU then UFCW. Cynthia was my first connection to SEIU. During the 2006 marches, I contacted Cynthia to volunteer. She helped mentor me and involved me in a variety of organizing committees. I recall her calling me often, and saying, “Angeles, how are you...? Listen do you have time to go do x, y, z? I don’t know why I would always agree, most of the time she would ask me to do things I had no Idea of how to even begin doing, but it was her way of believing in me that motivated me to concede. She was very sweet and persuasive and polite. Cynthia would walk into any room and greet everyone with a kiss and a hug, whether she knew them or not, she would introduce herself with the utmost professionalism. She was actually very young, younger than me, but she acted in a way that led one to believe otherwise. She was very mature for

her age and experiences. She is an attractive woman with a nice smile and is always dressed up, with her makeup done, and the whole nine yards. Her role in Somos America intensified upon transferring her employment to UFCW. She became the lead Director of Community Organizing. She was in charge of supervising a team of people to gather community support for the labor organizing activities of the UFCW. This included me, Karina, Ceci, and later Raquel Teran. What this ended up meaning was that we would help organize within Somos America, immigration related events and actions, and begin building a “universe” of people who supported our causes via an excel database. In each event held, we were responsible for collecting the names and phone numbers of everyone who attended, either via registration sheets or the famous replicated intake form that was developed and perfected with each citizenship fair or immigration forum. The idea was to eventually use this list of people to organize, to call them for other events, and for union purposes. Another component of this organizing was to create a universe of organizations who would agree to sign on or support the UFCW’s campaign against Food City. Our team was able to organize # of citizenship fairs, and immigration forums, pretty much any event that occurred in 2007 – 2008, was logistically organized by Cynthia, Karina, Ceci, and myself. Problems began to arise, when the “three musketeers” as Ceci would call us, began to discover that some of the Union’s agendas did not align with our own values and reasons for being involved, in our eyes, we were three idealistic girls, thinking we were making a difference, but our hopes came crashing down when we began to see the Union choose its stand based on political

considerations rather than ethical ones. For example, on one occasion, the three of us worked pretty much all night planning an action where we were going to boycott Valle del Sol for giving an award to Nadine Bashas for “being a role model” in the Latino community. I must explain, that Ceci, Karina, and myself believed in the Food City campaign, call it naiveté but we talked to the workers of Food City, we heard stories of discrimination and abuse. Perhaps we should have recognized that these were findings that were possible in any other grocery store or business, but we were hired and biased towards UFCW. We, like any other loyal worker, believed in our union’s mission and in the campaign. You almost have to in order to be an effective organizer within it. So when we heard that the wife of the owner and CEO of Bashas and Food City were going to be getting recognition from our own community, we felt it an obligation or duty to oppose it. So what we had planned was a demonstration outside of the event, like a picket demonstration. Of course after we worked on this event, we were told last minute that Luz the CEO of Valle Del Sol had met with Alan from UFCW and that they agreed to stop the boycott, in exchange, UFCW got a table and tickets to the dinner event. The three of us were so confused, furious and this was but one minor incident in which we began to disbelieve in our role or rather to see that we were just pawns in the organizing endeavors of the union. Another situation occurred when Alan got a call from the mayor asking him for support at the capitol, that there were some minutemen or racist groups staging a protest against the mayor Phil Gordon. Alan made the decision to send a few of his organizers, including our team to go to the capitol dressed as clowns and pose a counter

protest. When I refused to abide, and dress up as a clown, I was reprimanded and told I would be fired if I didn't go. By then I was pretty savvy of my rights, after working in a union, so I immediately called my union rep, and was excused from attending the fictitious protest. I mention all of this because Cynthia, was my boss during these events, and while in the past served as my mentor; our relationship became very coercive particularly when we began refusing to follow orders. We became cognizant of our power, though not recognized by anyone else; Cynthia understood that she needed us to keep the functions of Somos going. The three of us began coming in at our own hours and having more say over the actions that we supported or didn't support. It was then that UFCW brought on Raquel Teran, to lend more support to Cynthia, Ceci, and I were then transferred to the Labor organizing arm of UFCW where we began working with Martin Hernandez. Like many companies do, the union separated our solidarity in an effort to keep us from organizing or recognizing our own power. In short the union taught me a lot about organizing, and particularly about speaking up. I still believe in the Food City campaign, and still don't shop there, I still even believe in Unions and in organizing, but I do believe that we need to set higher moral and ethical standards for the practices we enact within our organizations.

Danny Ortega. Danny Ortega was the voice of reason of Somos America. Like Alfredo, who has a reputation from the community for his leadership, Danny also spoke passionately and remained ethical and loyal to the struggle. I know Danny isn't perfect, but he tried to always logically listen to the issues before making a decision based on politics. He was not paid by UFCW or

SEIU, so with his independence came a level of freedom and integrity. He always showed respect and compassion to all groups and organizations, and people. He was viewed as conservative, by more “radical” community leaders, because of his position as the attorney of the bunch, but was one of the few who actually supported the Pruitt’s struggle even when very few did. In fact, Danny provided monetary donations weekly to help pay for organizing supplies of the Pruitt’s protests. He also attended many of the demonstrations, and helped with crowd control. While his politics may not always be in alignment with those he chose to support, he was very open-minded towards most propositions. Danny was also very involved in the citizenship fairs, and immigration forums, he was one of the voices of the movement. He was often interviewed by media outlets about his perspective on whatever immigration news was occurring at the time. He was perhaps one of the few people who actually recognized my work, and that of Ceci and Karina’s. He was very respectful and supportive. Danny is a likeable person, dressed in a suit or a polo shirt. He has received numerous awards and recognitions and was most recently the Board Chair of the National Council of La Raza (NCLR).

Héctor Yturralde, AZ Hispanic Forum. Hector Yturralde was the second president of Somos America, and he was in Leadership in 2007 and 2008. Hector was an active member of the Arizona Hispanic Community Forum. He was always well dressed and a gentleman. Interestingly, I remember so many comments from him, that were plain sexist, yet his intentions were actually kindhearted in spirit. It was the sort of sexism, that comes naturally, machismo

that is ingrained into you by our Mexican culture. I remember meeting Hector shortly after the workplace IFCO raid³² that took place in 2006, ten days following the April 10,th march. He was wearing a straw hat and either a t-shirt or a sign, I can't recall specifically, but what I do remember is that this signage listed his and his family's achievements. We were in line at a podium waiting for our turn to speak about the raids and immigration in general. This was perhaps one of the only interviews or time I ever publically spoke. I was nervous and he told me he was nervous as well but that it would be fine. He inquired about my background and said he was impressed and that this is why he was getting involved, because he was tired of hearing people in the media bad mouthing our community, when many of us "go to work, pay taxes, and go to college." Hector was a businessman, who did well for himself and was beginning to get politically involved as a sort of community service of sorts. He had begun as a salesman for a pharmaceutical company, and now had his own consulting firm entitled Camino Real Investment Group. His wife would often show up with him, also very well dressed, and very involved in her church and custom jewelry business. While he was more of a facilitator than a traditional president/ leader, he provided Somos America with a

³² "The arrests by ICE agents at IFCO Systems sites in 26 states were the largest immigration-related enforcement actions against a single company in U.S. history, bigger than a high-profile bust of Wal-Mart in 2003 that led to \$11 million in fines, but no admission of guilt by the company. ICE arrested 1,187 undocumented IFCO workers, including 35 in Phoenix, and seven current and former managers, none in Arizona" (Madden, M. Republic Washington Bureau, "More raids over workers promised, but effect in question" Apr. 21, 2006 12:00 AM)

positive “American” image. His life was in sync with the traditional American Dream model of success, an assimilated migrant with a Christian family, English speaking, and achieving success via hard work and determination. He often made his decisions based on advice or input from union organizers in the group, particularly from. At the beginning of Somos, Hector served as the vice president for Roberto Reveles. They were a good team, and worked together very well, generally the organization was ran democratically, with integrity, and for the most part attempted to be fair in its votes and in the way items made it to the agenda. After Reveles left, Yturalde became the president. Hector’s intentions were good, but allowed the UFCW and SEIU to have way too much influence and power over the agenda and political decision-making of Somos.

Karina Guillen, Phoenix College. Karina became one of my closest friends. I met her in 2007, after the introduction of Proposition 300; an anti-immigrant piece of legislation that eliminated in-state tuition rates for undocumented residents of Arizona. She was a young student; idealistic with a big heart. She got involved because the issue hit closer than ever to home and was inspired by her friends who were also being affected by this proposition. I remember meeting Karina at an organizing meeting, another one of her friends Silvia, had pushed her to go and volunteer. It wasn’t long before Karina, launched herself head first and became one of the most hard working, hard-core volunteers. She was very good with computers and the first day we met, she volunteered to help work on a flyer for a student demonstration that Somos and a group of students were working on in response to Proposition 300. The students

were motivated to fight at all costs so that this bill was not passed in November. Their tactics varied from flyer-ing neighborhoods, to volunteering at the call center making phone calls, organizing marches, and promoting the efforts of the Mi Familia Vota Campaign trying to get the word about the importance of registering to vote, and voting against Proposition 300. Many of the current students involved, particularly in the Dream Act Coalition, also first began their involvement through Prop 300. In a way, it seems that while anti-immigrant legislation has had the negative effect of impacting communities, it also has served the role of mobilizing them. At the time, MySpace was one of the most popular social networking media, more popular than Facebook, particularly among young Latino students. Karina and I met through there, she was often posting music, and we began exchanging messages about the flyer we were working on. I mention this to contextualize the power social networking for modern organizing. The flyer that she made, was circulated widely, posted and reposted on a variety of friends' pages, shared and distributed electronically faster than could have been possible physically. Though it was also printed for Somos by SEIU, and students divided themselves up into groups who flyer-ed different parts of Maricopa County, west phoenix, south phoenix, east phoenix, and Glendale. Karina became integral to Somos America, her involvement intensified volunteering hours and hours of her time, day after day, until finally being offered a job with Ceci and I working for Somos America, via SEIU and eventually UFCW. She was responsible for helping organize the logistics of many of the Somos events, working in collaboration with Ceci and myself. While Ceci was

mainly working on volunteer recruitment, Karina's role was with the computer, making marketing materials, such as flyers, PowerPoint presentations, information documents, database support, organizing in the call center, Somos agendas, music cd's for the events, documents for the citizenship fairs, copies, etc. anything that was administrative or production of documents or in need of technology, Karina would somehow be involved. She also helped organized particularly with the Food City campaign, but her comfort and expertise was with the computer. Her nature was quiet and reserved, not very talkative upon first meeting her. She appeared sweet and kind and at times naïve, but was a strong and passionate organizer. The movement became a form of schooling; it changed her but also "absorbed her life" (personal communication, 2010).

Kyrsten Sinema, AZ House of Representatives. Kyrsten was a house representative when Somos America first formed. She was instrumental in fundraising and also in helping Somos with getting the appropriate permits to make the march happen. She was involved in and out throughout Somos America's activities. While she was not actively involved or in attendance in the Somos America meetings themselves, other than those that occurred when Somos first formed. She was very involved in the background organizing/strategizing. She also volunteered in many of Somos America Citizenship fairs, as an attorney and in reviewing the applications of people who had legal issues. She was a strong ally amongst the immigrant rights groups particularly with regards to the dream act, but became highly criticized in 2011 for introducing House Bill 2673 and supporting border security and legislation bills such as SB1225.

Martin Hernandez, UFCW. Martin Hernandez is a man with a heart of gold, easily one of the sweetest and most dedicated activist friends I met in the movement. He always greeted everyone with a smile and treated everyone with respect. He is a short stubby man, pale skin, with a thick black mustache and a deep voice...I can always picture him chanting "*Del Norte al Sur...Del Este a Oeste...*" or most recently "*Va Caer...Va Caer...Apao Va Caer!*" He was a shop steward at a canning company called Mesa Rosarita Mexican Foods. Unsatisfied with the unjust working conditions in the company, he began organizing and helped form and establish a union at his workplace. He became a leader within his union and worked his way up until becoming an organizer professionally. I met Martin H. at the immigrant freedom rides in 2003. He and Masavi Perea were some of the two union organizers I first encountered. They were super down to earth and very kind. They were passionate about immigration and seemed sincere in their beliefs in the union and their values. They also were big family men; they spoke so very highly of their families. They had an idealistic soul and I must have spent hours with them talking about politics, theory, and philosophy. Within Somos America, Martin played a lot of different roles. He attended the meetings it seemed, more for personal reasons than as a representative of UFCW, but was given certain resources to contribute, such as water, chairs for the events, etc. Later on, his presence became limited as he took on more responsibility on the labor side of things, he became the Labor Organizing Director, so he was focused on meeting with organizers to ensure they made house calls, etc. within the food city campaign. Nonetheless, when the

Sheriff Arpaio Raids began, he was one of the few first supporters of Salvador Reza's efforts with the day laborers and the Pruitt's protests. He was also my former boss within UFCW, and he always supported and trusted me both as an organizer, and a friend.

Martin Manteca, SEIU. Martin had an influential role within Somos America, while he presented himself as just another immigrant rights advocate within the group, he strategized with Alan, Alfredo, and other activists to make key decisions about the future and agenda of Somos America. For the most part his reputation in the beginning was positive, yet most people by the end of 2008 either hated or loved him. He was a great organizer, but his goals and values were not the purest. He fore-fronted SEIU's agenda and while instrumental in forming the Somos America Coalition, he utilized it for his own benefit as a tool for the SEIU's organizing platform. He helped manipulate meetings and people so that it would appear that the group had a vote and a voice, yet the decisions being voted upon were often already made behind closed doors by him and other organizers. He also had power over what items made it to the agenda. His ability to persuade and make you believe in his plans and ideas, resulted in many followers. While his energy and leadership kept the Coalition alive and active, upon his departure, much of the energy died off, since it was not a true coalition both in structure and in integrity. Most members of Somos America became disillusioned and many of the smaller organizations expressed their concerns over the ethics of the coalition and whether it truly represented the "community" and its values. While he worked for SEIU, he oversaw the work of the community organizing team at

UFCW. This relationship and collaboration with UFCW, raises various ethical questions, why was SEIU managing UFCW employees? Why did UFCW hire a team of people to be full time organizers and “volunteer” to do the Somos America logistical work? When the Arpaio raids began, Martin also played a major role along with Martin Hernandez and Chris Newman from NDLO in supporting and strategizing with Salvador into forming a campaign targeting Sheriff Arpaio’s supporters.

Masavi Perea, Roofers Union. Masavi was an organizer for the Roofers Union. As previously mentioned, I met him along with Martin Hernández via the immigrant freedom rides in 2003. He was friendly, and sort of quiet at the onset, but passionate about immigration and human rights, idealistic, and sincere. He also was very active in the community, particularly in labor related events. Within Somos America, he tended to be more critical and skeptical of the leadership and tactics. He was not heavily involved in Somos but remained involved whether in the sidelines or in the background throughout 2006-2008. He also became involved in community street theater, acting out roles that made fun of the racism by the sheriffs and local government in Maricopa County.

Liana Rowe, Humane Borders. Reverend Liana or Ms. Liana, as Ceci would say, was affiliated with the United Church of Christ Clergy in covenant with Shadow Rock UCC in Phoenix Arizona of the Southwest Conference. She was very active and frequently attended the Somos America meetings as well as the social gatherings that followed. She wasn’t very outspoken in the meetings, but had a strong presence and gave a lot of her time to the movement. She was

one of the few women leaders within the organization. Whenever she voiced her opinions, they were often fair, and respectful and loyal to the movement. She was one of two Anglo women who supported Somos America throughout its years. She was also frequently asked to speak in press conferences or events, particularly because of her symbolic role and image of being a reverend, Woman, and White. She is part of the board of directors for Humane Borders and has a long history of advocating for immigration reform. Alfredo was one of her biggest supporters and often involved her in a variety of events and activities.

Linda Brown, Arizona Advocacy Network. Linda Brown represented the Arizona Advocacy Network in Somos America. She also frequently attended the Somos meetings particularly in 2006-2007. She was the sort of feminist consciousness of the organization, in that she frequently called out Somos members who made sexist, offensive, or inappropriate comments towards women. I recall one instance in which Yturralde, the organizations' president stated "we need a secretary, Angeles? Karina? Will you guys take notes during the meeting please..." Linda stood up outraged and asked Yturralde why he would immediately ask us the two young women within the organization to be the "secretary," she encouraged him to ask if anyone would be willing to be the organizations "note-taker" or record the minutes of the organization. I frequently took notes anyway, but more for my own discourse analysis rather than the traditional minutes format. At any rate, Linda was never afraid to speak what others were thinking but too afraid to say. She is a strong woman, kind, smart, and powerful. She also never hesitated to present criticism and skepticism over

tactics or messaging she didn't agree with. She was very progressive but my only critique of her advocacy, was that she felt we needed to develop messaging that could change the hearts and minds of those in the middle, rather than advocating for our cause simply because it was the right thing to do she was still hopeful of convincing American voters.

Lydia Guzman. Lydia Guzman is a strong Chicana who was able to hang with the boys and stay relevant in the movement. She is one of those voices that should have received more respect and recognition. She worked her ass off for the movement, for the people, and for others. She was one of the founding members of Somos America and remains strongly involved to date with the organization Respect Respeto. She was one of the few women within Somos, and la comunidad, who is recognized by people as a leader in the immigrant rights community. She has remained an active advocate for anything relating to immigrant's rights, was outspoken, and a member of many of the organizing committees. She was part of the core group of organizers.

Roberto Reveles, Unidos en Arizona. Roberto was the founding president of Somos America, he is presently on the board of directors of the ACLU, and also has a long history of advocating for immigrants' rights. He is fair, compassionate, outspoken, and a strong leader. While he only presided over Somos, during 2006, he was very good at working with various personalities and giving people an opportunity to speak and be heard. He was organized and had a lot of integrity. He is an older gentleman who has gone through a lot, experienced various waves of racism in Arizona and therefore his politics have varied from

being more conservative in 2006 to more radical in 2008. For the most part, his role within Somos was a positive one, but my biggest critique was in his lack of support of the student walkouts in 2006 and his skepticism of organizations such as Copwatch. I remember he was a strong voice against high school students walking out, while he may have had good intentions, in protecting the younger generation, the effect of paternalistic politics restricted and tamed the positive energy that was being born at the time. I also remember an email from Phoenix Copwatch inviting Somos America to participate in a protest against Sheriff Arpaio and the raids he was beginning to organize against day laborers and taco/corn vendors. Roberto responded with an email on behalf of Somos encouraging Somos America members not to attend the protest. This protest was one of the first responses to Sheriff Arpaio, at the time many people ignored his emerging power and threat to the immigrant community. It is ironic, that years later, we see how our refusal to work with other organizations not representing the "Somos America" politics, our collaboration and faith in law enforcement, and our incorrect ideological commitment to assimilating the immigrant identity impacted our ability to resist and overcome growing racial tensions and threats from legislation, government officials, and anti-immigrant groups.

Another important note about Roberto is that he was a member and organizer of Unidos En Arizona, the original and truly grassroots coalition which predated Somos America.

Sharon Zapata, AZ Hispanic Community Forum. Sharon was unexpectedly radical and super supportive of the youth in Somos. I attribute her

progressiveness to having a son in College. She often spoke very highly of him and even brought him to a couple of meetings. He was visiting in Cuba, at the time of her involvement and I gather that her activism helped her stay close to him spiritually. He was smart and very radical and I think this influenced Sharon quite a bit. The only organizational affiliation that I remember her referencing was her participation in the Arizona Hispanic Community Forum, which Hector and Roberto were also members of. When the Arpaio raids began, Sharon attended the protests and was a great supporter of PUEBLO and Puente (in fact, she presently serves on the Puente Board of Directors).

Chris Fleishman, No More Deaths. Chris Fleishman originally joined Somos America or participated under an organization called the "Arizona Alliance for Peaceful Justice." He was actively involved in Somos America, and became best known for his extravagant and creative use of signs and posters. He used large cardboards, tape, paint, etc. to create vivid and attention grabbing signs that almost always brought attention from the media or the counter immigrant movement. Despite being a White male, Chris played the role of an ally. He was an active volunteer in many of the organized activities and his positions were generally liberal though at times in some meetings displayed concerns over labeling things "racist" since he believed it would alienate those that may be "in the middle." Nonetheless, Chris was present and in representation of No More Deaths and the Arizona Alliance for Peaceful Justice, his participation in almost all Somos' activities made him an integral part of the organization.

Bryant Murray and Al, Phoenix Police Department. Al and Bryant were the two police officers generally seen at most Somos America meetings. Al in particular was present prior to an action, march, or demonstration. Al was Spanish speaking, so he generally attended more frequently than Bryant, but they both played a significant symbolic role within Somos America. Al was the community liaison for the Phoenix Police Department and Bryant. I never quite learned his role, but I understood to be in a higher position than Al. Both of them appeared or performed to be "nice guys" just there to "work with us" and help out, but really were the eyes and ears for the police department. While most members were initially critical of their participation in the meetings, they soon became a non-issue and collaboration with them became second nature. They took a place at the table pretending to be members, but their status of authority was something they were unable to conceal and did not try to. Till this day, however, I am critical of Somos and the Union's collaboration with them as well as their influence in pacifying the resistance or momentum of our actions. While rubbing shoulders with us in the organizing meetings, when it came down to the public show, the police almost always appeared to be defending the minutemen rather than our group\1. Several of the photographs in the appendix, illustrate the highly visible police presence, and their physical positions and bodily alignment were typically situated as if against us, with their guns and anterior bodies facing us.

Professor Hernandez, Arizona State University "El Profe!" was also an integral member of Somos America. I looked up to him, because I felt that I could connect to what he was doing. At every meeting, he would bring a yellow

or white legal pad and begin jotting away notes. He seldom spoke, unless he was furious about an issue at which point he would let whoever angered him have it, with more passion than you would have expected emerge from his humble and kind demeanor. Professor Hernandez is a professor of Spanish literature at AS, but ever since I can remember have seen him visibly active and present in many of the immigrant rights actions that took place. In particular, I recall him always taking notes during the meetings. I often wondered what he wrote, but he seemed to also be very private, and since I engaged in the same activity, of "recording" and "jotting down" what I view as history, I felt it best not to ask. At any rate, I got to know him more through his involvement in the civic participation committee amongst others during the marches for immigration reform of 2007.

In summary, the list and short bios above illustrate some of the people that I determined to be key players within the Somos America Coalition, and simultaneously the organizing in the immigrants' right movement from 2006-2008. While there were clearly other personalities that were active within Somos America, my selections were based upon the duration and level of activism that made them clearly recognizable as Somos America members. Throughout the years, various people came in and out of the organization, but this does not mean that they stayed or could be considered affiliated with Somos simply by being seen.

In the next section I illustrate other personalities and stakeholders that were active participants in the immigrants' rights movement but remained clearly distinct or separate from Somos, leading their own organizations or making an

explicit effort to differentiate or distance their affiliation from Somos. This does not mean that they did not attend the Somos meetings, in fact most local Arizona organizations advocating for immigrants' rights at one point or another attended one of the Somos meetings, but it simply means that they remained separate, often out of their own volition or disagreement with the Somos America tactics, ideologies, or politics from the Somos Coalition. These organizations I categorized together and they include Unidos En Arizona, the Arizona Coalition for Migrant Rights, Fundacion Mano a Mano, Phoenix Copwatch, and Tonatierra/Macehualli Day Labor Center.

Organizations Outside of Somos America

Unidos en Arizona. Unidos in Arizona is the organization attributed to organizing the historic March 24th March in Phoenix, which set a record breaking number of over 20,000 people. Recognizable leaders included Tony and Linda Herrera, and of course Roberto Reveles; the first president of Somos America. My understanding of Unidos En Arizona, was that it was a coalition of organizations formed to combat issues affecting the immigrant community. Other than that, I didn't really know much about them, because from a public perspective they seemed to have disappeared. After analyzing a series of emails and organizing documents from this time period, it appears that Unidos provided the organized grassroots community base for Somos America. On November 25th, 2005 I received an email from a fellow activist with a document attached entitled "Arizona Hispanic Community Forum, Unidos En Arizona, Action Plan." The activist describes that some friend of his has been working extensively for

many months in a committee to carry out the attached plan. After reading and analyzing the document, and other relevant and interrelated emails, it appears that the Arizona Hispanic Community Forum had identified a need for a coalition of organizations to work together under several "points of unity" surrounding immigration issues in Arizona. The document describes "In furtherance of its mission, the Arizona Hispanic Community Forum proposes to facilitate and provide ongoing support for organizing and operating an umbrella coalition of individuals and organizations committed to protecting and promoting the wellbeing and security of the Latino community."

The "Action Plan" then proceeds to outline in great detail and length, specific action points for carrying out this plan and mission. The document is detailed and organized and reflects months of work and thought out points of departure. What is fascinating from this text, is that it was always fascinating to me how fast Somos America had organized, and this text contextualizes the background leg work that had already begun to take place in Arizona. The ethical concern that instantly came to mind is whether this imposition of Somos America as the new Coalition to organize with, was sort of a colonization of organizations and a takeover of the local immigrant rights political climate. Either way, it's interesting from a political studies and social movement studies perspective to look at the oppositional symbolic exchange between organizations, and the ways in which they represented and carried forward the fight for immigrant rights. Going back to the literature on Performance, this makes a great example of Ritual and Play.

Loizos (1969) described patterns of "flight or fight" and "Turf" as key functions of ritual. As demonstrated previously, play and ritual and performance sort of exist in a multidirectional continuum. Thus, play provides an opportunity to practice ritual, to practice protecting the turf, applying the metaphor of hunting, as a ritual that plays at killing, can illustrate the symbolic significance of this organizational quarrel. In a symbolic and yet real sense, Somos dominated or killed Unidos, established itself in the hierarchical order, and out of it performance around its Turf emerged. I go into more detail about this in the discussion on the ritualistic theatrical aspects of organizing meetings.

Prior to writing this dissertation, I didn't know very much about Unidos in Arizona or its history on how or why it was formed. I was aware of the name, and I knew people who were involved with them, but Since Somos America did not form till April of 2010 and my participation prior had not intensified to the level of organizing, my understanding was they were simply another organization. I filtered their significance through the veil that Somos leadership placed on them. While Roberto Reveles was a member of Unidos and a president of Somos America, I usually associated him with the Arizona Hispanic Community Forum, which I was not aware to be the organization that created Unidos. After Somos America formed, it appeared that Unidos was basically just Tony and Linda. Their politics were more critical, particularly of the immigration reform bills that were being discussed in early 2006. While I didn't have any direct contact with any of their meetings, I only know that union leaders within Somos America

attempted to portray Tony and Linda as too radical or crazy, and that their strategies would not be conducive to passing comprehensive immigration reform.

Similar to Tonatierra, this organization was marginalized politically. In contrast to Tonatierra, however, this Coalition's significance and role (at least visibly) within the movement sort of dwindled away. After going back and looking for email exchanges or emails that contained the words Unidos or immigrant rights movement, I found a couple of documents that Tony Herrera forwarded to various community organizations, and indirectly made their way to the Somos America listserv. These forwarded emails contained direct and very outspoken critiques and analysis from Nativo V. Lopez, the National Director of Hermandad Mexicana Latinoamericana. The documents³³ specifically called out the national leadership of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), UNITE-HERE, United Farmworkers (UFW), and the leadership of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), for what he termed "selling out" and a "backstab" the immigrant community in collaboration with the democratic party. He accuses that the unions strongly advocated and thus played somewhat of a role in convincing senator Reid to accept the compromised legislation known as "Hegel-Martinez Bill":

The compromise legislation came to be known as the Hegel-Martinez Bill, named after the authors (Chuck Hagel – R-Nebraska and Mel Martinez – R-Florida), with the number S.2611. This was the Democrat's, and

³³ The document also contains an analysis of the immigrant rights marches of 2006 and why in his opinion these mobilizations did not result or cannot in his view result in a movement.

moderate Republican's, version of the "path to citizenship" for those who could meet certain demanding criteria (an estimated three million), removal and possible re-admission at some later date for millions of others (by waiving their legal rights), and the absolute deportation of millions more (Lopez, 2006, p. 8).

Lopez (2006) describes that the unions played an auxiliary role to the Democratic Party's efforts to compromise the organizing platform for immigration reform with a path to citizenship. He describes in a lengthy discussion that the compromise coupled with the symbolic political game between democrats and republicans destroyed the movement;

"The Republicans and the Democrats--these phonies will jostle and juggle over who will be the majority in Congress to continue to deny the rights of all working people."

Interestingly, this very "jostle and juggle" describes the type of jostle and juggle that immigrant rights organizations on the local level engaged in, instead of surfacing the source of the problem at the deep rooted racism permeating the state of Arizona.

Arizona Coalition for Migrant Rights. The Arizona Coalition for Migrant Rights was another organization prominent after the 2006 Marches. It began as a part of the Somos America Coalition, but eventually, due to drama and conflicts within the media and messaging committees in the April 10th March, distanced itself from Somos and began organizing separate activities on its own. Many of their activities centered on voter registration, getting out the vote, and citizenship fairs. Its agenda, mission, and structure were very similar to and paralleled activities of Mi Familia Vota. At the time I didn't understand why the groups were not working together, I am still unaware of the historical background

of this drama, all that was evident was that on the surface, certain interactions I witnessed gave me the impression that leadership from the Coalition for Migrant Rights and Somos America saw each other as adversaries or at the very least didn't like or trust each other.

Tonatierra and the Macehualli Day Labor Center. Tonatierra has become known as one of the most influential organizations in the immigrant rights movement in Arizona, particularly in regards to fighting the Maricopa County Sheriff's Office and Sheriff Arpaio. When I first began getting involved in community organizing, I viewed Tonatierra as an organization of the people. In my eyes (particularly when working for CPLC) and in the eyes of many others not directly involved in the movement, I visualized this organization and Salvador Reza in particular (one of the most public of its leaders) as one of the most grassroots and radical organizations within the movement. In terms of resources, at one point it was one of the most humble, in that it had very little support from public and corporate funding, partly out of choice.

Looking at the history of Arizona's non-profit sector, specifically those serving Latino and immigrant communities, Tonatierra has sat at the table with established non-profits such as Chicanos Por La Causa, Friendly House, and Valle del Sol. While these organizations have been around for a very long time, Tonatierra was able to successfully distinguish itself as different than the other nonprofits, whether this differentiation occurred consciously, strategically, by accident, or out of the simple reality that their messaging, ideology, and mission stood in opposition to the agenda of funders is not exactly clear. What is clear is

that while other nonprofits became dependent on financial resources, which constrained their activities and agendas, Tonatierra was able to be more politically vocal. This distinguishing characteristic has allowed Tonatierra to adopt and position themselves within a counter-hegemonic discursive framework focused on human rights and the rights of indigenous people. An analysis of their mission is symbolically evident in their name, Tonatierra Nahuacalli, their website states Tonatierra; Nahuacalli is " A Cultural Embassy of the Indigenous Peoples supporting local-global holistic indigenous community development initiatives in accord with the principle of Community Ecology and Self Determination."

Tonatierra served a critical role in being openly critical of Somos America and its objectives and tactics. At the beginning, their attendance was often a symbolic one; they represented the opposition to the push for assimilation within Somos. I remember several meetings, particularly in the beginning and formation of the coalition, where Salvador Reza and Silvia Herrera would stand up and denounce the activities of Somos. If you can visualize a room full of people, most in "professional" like clothing, suits, etc. and within this space, juxtaposed against the display of formality the bodies of Salvador and Silvia, their long hair, dark complexion, and traditionally indigenous type clothing and dress. Within the ritualistic theatrics of these meeting, framed by the actors, and the setting (a formalized union hall), their appearance and presence caused great discomfort to

the room full of model Hispanic³⁴ citizens. The response of the current leaders was to use comedy and an aura of common sense to dismiss their positions and opinions and foreground their image as different, foreign, extreme, and even crazy³⁵.

As time progressed however, Sal and Silvia and Tonatierra became more integrated in its collaborations with Somos America. As Somos actions became less frequent, Somos members began to join in or capitalize on the activities of Tonatierra and other organizations whose actions were gaining popularity. For members, their participation granted them legitimacy in claiming to continue to "be doing something" about immigration and their presence made them a part of the struggle, maintaining their identities (as organizers/activists/advocates of immigrant rights) current. At the same time, the support received from Somos America was valued and appreciated by organizations (such as Tonatierra) because it legitimized their causes while also granting them automatic support in numbers, recognizable bodies and leadership in the demonstrations, resulted in

³⁴ I intentionally use this term here, to highlight the symbolism of the term Hispanic, as a label assigned versus adopted, an umbrella term that disguises the oppression and colonization of indigenous people and groups the recipients of the term into one category, without recognition of their distinct histories

³⁵ This similar reaction was fabricated towards Anarchist groups and at one point towards Phoenix Copwatch, they were often ridiculed as extremists and dismissed their concerns as trying to sabotage the immigrant's rights movement (See Appendix for an Email from Somos America dissuading its membership from participating in the Copwatch protest against Arpaio)

political currency and bait for media coverage of their causes, elevating them to spaces of significance.

When organizing the Pruitt's demonstrations, Salvador and Silvia developed a separate coalition outside of the realm of Tonatierra, this coalition began as the 35th Street and Thomas organizing committee³⁶. Just like the marches of 2006, it was a coalition rather than an organizational entity born out of a need to protest the criminalization of immigrant communities. The role of this organization became to gather public support and sustain weekly resistance through targeted protests of Pruitt's Furniture. Pruitt's became a symbol for resisting Sheriff Arpaio. I elaborate on this relationship and the significance of the Pruitt's protests in the following narrative; Race, Protest, and Resistance in Arizona.

Fundacion Mano a Mano. I don't have many notes on Mano a Mano, but I still feel they are worth mentioning because of their role as the counter organization often vilified by leaders of the unions amongst others in Somos for being too angry or crazy. They were often very critical of the organizing activities that took place. In particular, one of its leaders, Oswaldo, was often criticizing the labor unions and Somos America and accusing the Unions of not

³⁶ The original success of the 35th Street and Thomas Organizing Committee resulted from the expanded audience and supporters it was able to reach and activate. The diversity in political ideologies of the members, helped popularize, grow, and stabilize the committee and its actions, but this very lack of common ideology contributed to conflicts and a self-defeat, in its inability to maintain resistance. This coalition is what later became known as Puente. For a greater discussion on Puente, and its revitalization post Pruitt's see Chapter 4-5.

being truly representative of the people and monopolizing the immigrant rights community. Looking back I don't recall the dispute that finally kept Oswaldo and Mano a Mano away, but I do remember there was an angry discussion, and Oswaldo got up and left.

Phoenix Copwatch. The role of Phoenix Copwatch within the immigrant rights movement is often understated. However, they without a doubt played a key role in radicalizing to some extent the organizing that was taking place. Many of the members of Copwatch also identified as anarchists or had friends who were anarchists. This connection made them a lot more radical. In fact, Copwatch, I recall was one of the first to call for a protest of Sheriff Arpaio's immigration raids. Though Reza had had a long battle with Pruitt's in 2006 over day laborers, Arpaio did not take a significant visual presence till early 2007. As he began conducting these immigration roundups, Copwatch emailed Somos America to invite them to a protest of Arpaio. In response to this friendly invitation, the leaders of Somos discouraged its members from attending. (See Appendix for email exchange regarding protesting Arpaio). Specifically, Matt, Stacey, Tabitha, and Sean along with Laura Ilardo and Dennis Gilman (from no more deaths) helped document the actions at Pruitt's through the use of video cameras (similar to the legal observing program that Ray had conducted along the border in response to the minutemen project). At every immigration raid, Copwatch would show up to help legal observe and patrol in cars documenting abuses by the sheriffs. It's also worth noting, that Stacy's writings through her blog "Chaparral Respects No Borders" presents an excellent analysis of the

immigration movement and most likely played a role in communicating to a wider audience about the racism in Arizona.

Vboc, Pueblo, and Ray Ybarra. I met Ray Ybarra at one of the Pruitt's protests. Danny Ortega introduced Ray to me as one of the most well-known organizers who I probably had not met and should meet. Danny explained that this was due to Ray's organizing work mostly along the border. Ray had come down all the way from Douglas, AZ to boycott the Sheriff and support the protests. He was speaking throughout the country at the time on the need for civil disobedience in the immigrant rights movement. I fell in love instantly. Anyway, his influence to the movement I believe was in speaking out about a much needed shift in our rhetoric about immigration and the right to cross borders as a fundamental human right. Ray organized the legal observing project in 2005-2006, a team of hundreds of volunteers who went down to the border to document with video cameras the abuses to migrants and the actions of vigilantes from the Minutemen Project. His work in utilizing cameras to document the abuse influenced immigrant rights organizing even locally. Prior to the minutemen project, I do not remember anyone using cameras as a tool to offset the violent and aggressive behavior of counter protestors.

During the Pruitt's protests, many of the legal observers had received training through their volunteering during the minutemen project along the Douglas/ Agua Prieta border. During the immigration raids, Ray and I formed a subgroup called the Van Buren Organizing Committee or VBOC. (See Appendix for VBOC principles). The group was originally formed out of frustration that

arose during the legal observing activities in the immigration raids of 2008. We began to observe that several of the younger organizers were frustrated with the way the leaders of immigrant rights were responding to Arpaio's raids. The group formed privately with the goal of creating a shift in tactics in immigrant rights organizing as well as a shift in consciousness. The group organized several actions and protests against Arpaio's book signing and also served as a support group for legal observing during the raids. The group eventually dissolved with difficulty finding time to meet, yet most of the people involved continued actions on their own either through joining and supporting other existing organizing such as Pueblo, and when that fell apart with Puente.

PUEBLO is a non-profit that formed through the leadership of Ray Ybarra. The organization's organizers included Karina Guillen, Ceci Saenz, Yesica Maldonado, and I. We attempted to form a three tier organization. The first of it would entail worker's rights, the second would be community organizing, and the third aspect would be education. We were hoping that through the organization we could offer an organizing school that incorporated critical pedagogy, educational workshops and seminar like "classes" to raise consciousness about internalized oppression and channel the anger and frustration experienced by youth in regards to their immigration status and the raids and laws. Then people who went through the Pueblo organizing program would also be required to volunteer their time either at a local organization or form a campaign of their choice that pueblo would support. In regards to worker rights, we assisted workers who weren't paid by their employer to reclaim wages, or

other employment related issues. At the time, obtaining funding for immigrant rights organizing was not easy, as Arizona did not have the national public attention it has since gained, and so after our fundraising funds ran out, we were forced to close down the organization.

Anarchists. Similar to Mano a Mano, the anarchist members were often vilified as a solid group that somehow had the goal of "dismantling" or "creating conflict" within the movement. Quite the contrary, many of the anarchists seemed to sympathize with the immigrant rights struggle and were frequently present in marches, though on their own, and particularly in the Pruitt's protests, and later on in the civil disobedience actions in 2010 in opposition to SB 1070. One such event was the eve before SB 1070 came into law; anarchists took to the streets in Guadalupe.

In sum, most of the organizations that existed outside of Somos were cast in a light of extremism or seen as too crazy and angry by Somos leaders. The use of stereotypes to establish leadership legitimacy was evident here, through the use of derogatory labels of organizations that did not subscribe to the mantra of "we are Americans."

Race, Protest, and Resistance in Arizona

Like a shifting border; their white bodies, uniformed in blue and visibly adorned with grey and silver weapons, encircled the few brown-faced protestors who were present. Smokey billows of the amber-like copal flowed from the urn being carried around by a woman with long-black hair and dark, indigenous features. The rain had not completely washed away the musty smell of traffic. At

the sidewalk in front of the liquor store, exhaust and fumes of passing cars met with the preparation of the buffet at the nearby Chinese Restaurant. "Let's make sure we don't block the sidewalk" said the police officer to a small group of anti-Arpaio protestors holding a banner. They held their banners with trembling, yet firm hands. In front of them was a man screaming in English. "Go ahead through mam, get out of here," says a tall white man to a woman with long black hair passing by. "She's with them, with the incense." "Ay oh Ay oh, praise to the Sun God," he laughs. The cars filled with holiday shoppers continued to pass by. "A-O-U-T, A-O-U-T," points west, "Oh, Which way is south, oh yeah," points south, "O-U-T, O-U-T!" Evil laugh. "Yeah baby, O-U-T!" "Prick, yeah, mother fucker you are going to get yours. Your North of the border now boy, your north of the border now." "No comment amigo?" ha-ha-ha, "O-U-T!" "This is great, I love intimidation." Cop comes from behind. "We can't block the sidewalk." "Make sure we give 36 inches to these people," says the police officer to the protestors holding the banner. "Let me stand next to him brother, let me stand next to him," the man tells the police officer. Biker man orders people to stand in front of the protestors as he points his video camera towards one of them. "Smile you are on candid camera." "Is there something that you don't understand about Sheriff Arpaio?" "Maricopa County is not going to turn into LA County. This is gonna be America. We are going to read English." "Honk if you are for America!" man on bullhorn. "Jorge? Ya vienes? Estamos en frente..." [pause for response from person on the other line of the phone...] "Por favor, porque hay muchos

Minutemen.” (Maldonado & Ybarra, *Vignette from Video Fieldnotes*, December 1, 2007).

A Discourse of Fear

The vignette above depicts the type of discourse that has taken place in the immigrant rights struggle for social justice. The U.S. Mexican border, though several hours away from Maricopa County, is a vivid presence and shifting force in the lives of immigrant families. Immigration law enforcement in the interior has served the role of racializing citizenship, developing a *shifting border* that targets and restricts via fear and intimidation anyone suspected of not belonging, being “foreign” or “alien.”

Immigration raids such as Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio’s “crime suppression sweeps” or raids, take place in mostly Mexican populated neighborhoods, making it visually explicit that “aliens” are Mexican, and can be found in places where Mexican communities reside. When Arpaio enters Latino neighborhoods, his operations become a large-scale media event, with lights and microphones that broadcast in a very direct and visual way what his target looks like and where his target lives. The result is surveillance and racial profiling of all people who look brown, including Indigenous, Tribal and Native American communities.

Setting up his mobile command center, closing streets, utilizing RV’s, vans, horses, and hundreds of sheriff deputies, Arpaio’s operations conclude with the visual exhibition of brown bodies handcuffed away in white sheriff vans. The openly public and choreographed spectacle of immigration enforcement teaches

passing observers that there is an open attack and “hunt” on the whereabouts and movement of migrants; a label that has become so racialized that it implicates anyone who appears to be non-white.

Through the criminalization of immigration, the raids in the interior, and the visibly growing militarization of the border, government entities provide an illusion that boundaries are in place, to reassure spectators that U.S. territory is being protected, that “our turf” is under control and surveillance. These practices along with the stunts of Sheriff Arpaio in Maricopa County can be understood as nothing more than spectacles of power and an attempt to safeguard white supremacy. The strategies have further polarized the immigration debate and instilled a sense of fear of others who reside on the opposite side of the fence. In Arizona, the fence moves and is geographically correlated with color.

People continue to learn that discrimination based on race is normal and necessary, and all of these practices are occurring under the guise of homeland security, patriotism, and defending the integrity of America. As slightly illustrated in the vignette at the beginning of this essay, the role of patriotism is prevalent in much of the discourse and rhetoric of the anti-immigrant crowd. Their use of the American flag in their actions and activism, showcase their desire to draw a dividing line between who belongs and who does not.

I engage in this discussion in an effort to contextualize the claim that the raids and immigration policies such as the 287(g) agreements, which enable immigration enforcement at the local level, are a concerted effort to continue safeguarding white privilege. Sheriff Arpaio’s immigration raids further *racialize*

immigrants; symbolically linking their, *Mexicanness* with a notion of *otherness*.

The racial profiling of Mexicans under the guise of immigration enforcement and crime suppression sends the clear message that belonging entails whiteness.

The detrimental consequence of this assertion is that migrants have learned to collaborate in the law enforcement spectacle rather than resist the very tactics that continue to oppress them. All of this is done in an effort to “pass” and exist unseen from the shifting border and surveillance placed by sheriff deputies and nativist Arpaio supporters. Fears fabricated through media representations of “the other” have motivated people to organize and convert their emotions into tangible direct action. They have organized marches, vigils, and protests/demonstrations to Arpaio’s raids and other anti-immigrant legislation. Typical organizing strategies and tactics, however, reveal the collaboration with law enforcement to maintain non-threatening, non-confrontational protests. Organizers use patriotic symbols, planned unified messages, visual props, discourse of non-violence and the notion of earned citizenship to display and enact an image of immigrants as “role model citizens” who are deserving of civil rights. Great efforts to showcase the contributions of immigrants to the US economy and a concerted effort to react and attempt to dismantle anti-immigrant myths and fabrications of criminality complete the theatrics of Arizona’s immigration spectacle. Several simultaneous and reactive scenes, ritualistic behaviors, and symbolic settings contribute to the final production and performance of Arizona’s war against migrants as a symbolic metaphoric war to protect the stability of Whiteness.

These settings include the public image of a threatened and scared business owner Roger Sensing, Pruitt's trucks parked strategically in front of his property symbolizing horse carriages from the old west protecting the land, sheriff deputies in horses defending the turf under invasion, and the visual power display of Arpaio's deputies armed in full gear capturing and hunting dirty, disease carrying, and law defying immigrants; the element of crisis is simultaneously orchestrated by reporters rushing with their microphones, lights, and video news cameras; the imagery of anti-immigrant demonstrators armed with guns, rifles, American flags, and posters standing in solidarity and cheering as brown bodies are handcuffed and taken away fuels rampant emotional fires; and finally the counter images of visible numbers of "illegal" immigrants protesting in American neighborhoods and taking over the streets enacting civic participation rights and claiming to be American while chanting in Spanish and yelling through bull horns thereby disrespecting the rule of law. This symbolic exchange of tactics in the immigration movement showcases an entanglement of perceived identities in their struggle to negotiate, contest, and redefine boundaries of public space.

Historically, it has been through resistance and protest that social change has come about. Subsequently, it is important to continue to reflect upon and analyze the way resistance is manifested, interpreted, and exercised within social movements. Analyzing the Discourse, rhetoric, and organizing tactics in social protest presents a promising platform to unravel underlying ideologies of fear and resistance.

In this essay I reflect upon, how the Pruitt's struggle began. How this struggle was one of the first signs, within the interior, of the eruption of anti-immigrant politics that was to resurface in Arizona similar to the wave that erupted in 2005, in the exterior, with the creation of the Minutemen and their activities along the border.

In early 2007, the Arizona Republic had been reporting incidents of Sheriff Arpaio going into remote areas in Arizona picking up corn vendors, and day laborers. By the fall of 2007, Roger Sensing, the owner of Pruitt's, a local furniture store in Phoenix, Arizona, requested the support of Sheriff Arpaio and hired Maricopa County Sheriff's Office deputies to patrol the neighborhoods of 35th street and Thomas, the corridor in which Pruitt's conducts business. The result was the first in a series of attempts by the MCSO to begin enforcing immigration at the local level. Deputies began to "use officer discretion" to racially profile, arrest, and try to deport anyone that appeared to be here undocumented. Arpaio told the media through press releases and various press conferences that he was present at Pruitt's and in those neighborhoods, because various businesses had asked him for help. Judicial Watch, a national organization, shortly after released a press release thanking Arpaio for addressing the letter they sent on behalf of a coalition of businesses expressing their concerns over day laborer activity along the Pruitt's corridor³⁷. Their endorsement publically legitimized Arpaio's efforts in claiming that the immigration problem

³⁷ See Appendix, Judicial Watch Press Release

was getting out of hand, and he was simply responding to the crime concerns of his constituents. The outcome was that an increasing number of day laborers and people that appeared “Mexican” or were likely to be “undocumented” driving in the area were harassed and ultimately deported for minor traffic violations such as broken tail lights, or broken windshields. This type of tactics represent both micro and macro aggressions towards the Mexican community.

In response to the visible presence of racial profiling, a group of immigrant rights advocates, led by Salvador Reza and Silvia Herrera, began to strategize a boycott against Pruitt’s Furniture. This boycott took the form of weekly demonstrations in front of Pruitt’s Furniture. The initial goal of the protests was simply to demonstrate an opposition to the County Sheriff, the MCSO deputies, and Pruitt’s blatant attempts to terrify the immigrant community. As more information about who was behind the Pruitt’s campaign became clear, and Pruitt’s allies and supporters were identified, it became evident that Pruitt’s was a test case for the Sheriff’s office and other national anti-immigrant groups that were funding some of these actions, to see how they could use the 287g agreements to enforce immigration on a local level. The immigrant’s rights community subsequently called for the Federal Government to end their collaboration with Arpaio and terminate the 287g agreements with the MCSO.

The protests took place every Saturday until Pruitt’s agreed to stop hiring sheriff deputies. The protests escalated with confrontations from anti-immigrant groups including the minutemen. The protests concluded in December, when Pruitt’s owner Roger Sensing agreed to stop hiring the sheriff to patrol the

neighborhood. To the community, it appeared that the Pruitt's protests had been a success. However, shortly after, the sheriff began conducting neighborhood immigration raids throughout the county.

Arizona: A Test Case for Local Immigration Enforcement

The gates were open for local law enforcement to engage in immigration enforcement when ICE established the 287 (g) Program that targeted “criminal illegal aliens.” In 2005, the then governor of Arizona, Janet Napolitano, negotiated Arizona's initial 287 (g) agreements – the first in the nation to “deputized state prison guards to perform civil deportation duties. The governor later signed a second agreement with ICE to deputize street and highway police in the state's Department of Public Safety” (Shahani and Greene, 2009, p. 23). Shortly afterwards, the Arizona Legislature passed House Bill 2539, aimed at prosecuting human smuggling “for profit or commercial purpose” as a felony. An over-zealous Maricopa County attorney Andrew Thomas issued “a legal opinion charging that the victims of trafficking were conspirators in the crime” that broadened the possible population of “criminal illegal aliens” (Shahani and Greene, 2009, p. 24). To further worsen the situation for immigrants, Proposition 100, which eliminated bail rights to immigrants, was passed in November 2006.

The enthusiasm in which Arizona politicians and law enforcement agents responded to the anti-immigration campaign's cry to arrest “criminal illegal aliens” created a safe haven for white supremacist movements in the state. Representative Russell Pierce, an active house representative who introduced draconian immigration propositions, received solid support from the White

Knights of America and funding from the Federation for American Immigration (FAIR) (Abernethy, 2004). The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), along with numerous civil rights organizations, tracked the increasing number of nativist extremist and hate groups targeting immigrants in Arizona. The list includes: American Border Patrol, Sierra Vista, American Freedom Riders, Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition, Maricopa Patriots, Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (branches in Cochise County, Green Valley, Lake Havasu City, La Paz County, Phoenix, Prescott, Tucson), Mohave County Minutemen, Patriots' Border Alliance, Riders Against Illegal Aliens, United for a Sovereign America, Warden Burns Mexican Flags, and Yuma Patriots. Many of these groups also have strong links to other anti-immigrant groups, such as Save Our State, Colorado Minutemen, and California Coalition for Immigration Reform. Almost all of these groups have members in Maricopa County and are active supporters of Sheriff Arpaio. All these groups carry hate-filled banners and yell racist slogans at the opposing protesters. Some, like the American Freedom Riders, arrive armed with visible guns to demonstrations on their motorcycles and freely engage in physically intimidating immigrant activists.

El Cheriff Arpaio and Pruitt's

Throughout his law enforcement tenure, Arpaio has aggressively sought media attention and uses every opportunity to politically shock the public. As the anti-immigrant sentiment intensified in Arizona, Arpaio noticed the increasing media attention that Maricopa County Attorney Andrew Thomas received for his controversial application of the human smuggling law to include immigrants on

the basis of conspiring to smuggle themselves into the country. Arpaio's first move to gain center stage in the national immigration spectacle was achieved by offering jail rooms to detain immigrants and obtaining funding to establish a country-wide immigration law enforcement program (Doty, 2009). Following Thomas's footsteps, Arpaio signed the controversial 287 (g) agreements between the county and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), which allowed him to cross train sheriff deputies in immigration enforcement. In an ICE news press release (2007) the 287 (g) program granted to Maricopa County was described as follows: "[u]nder the program, the deputies will complete the processing of any *criminal aliens* and prepare the document to place those aliens in deportation hearings. . . . Like ICE officers, these cross-trained MCSO personnel will have the authority to determine whether or not an individual is an illegal alien and can be placed in immigration removal proceedings" (emphasis added). ICE granted Maricopa County "the most robust 287 (g) contract in the country" (Shahani and Greene, 2009, p. 24). In September 2006, the Law Enforcement Agency Response (LEAR) program began in Arizona and ICE agreed to provide "a more comprehensive response" when officers encounter suspected illegal aliens (ICE, 2008). The Phoenix Office of Detention and Removal Operations (DRO) field office director, Katrina S. Kane, claimed that public safety was one of ICE's key priorities. "One of ICE's top enforcement priorities is to improve public safety in Arizona communities. By focusing our resources on programs that identify criminal aliens for removal from the United States, we are succeeding in our mission to keep foreign-born criminals off the streets in Arizona" (ICE, 2008).

By 2007, Arpaio took his campaign to the streets and began to actively target working poor immigrants of color under the guise of “crime suppression.” He established a new hotline designed to allow the public the ability to report so called “illegals” and any “smuggling activity.” The *Arizona Republic* reported that a nine day crime-suppression sweep resulted in twenty-five immigrant workers arrested in the Wickenburg area and another seventeen arrested during traffic stops. Not long after, Arpaio’s deputies arrested eighteen *eloteros* (corn vendors) in the Maryvale area of West Phoenix for operating without business permits and “selling contaminated food.” Acting on a tip from Arpaio’s hotline, deputies arrested sixteen undocumented day laborers in Queen Creek. The raids included Cave Creek and businesses in downtown Phoenix. Valley police chiefs criticized the campaign for using resources allocated for arresting criminals to arresting undocumented immigrants posing no criminal threat or criminal background other than entering the country “illegally” (González, 2007).

Direct confrontation with immigration activists and Maricopa County Sheriff’s Office (MCSO) resulted shortly after off-duty deputies were hired as private security guards for Pruitt’s Home Furnishings in an effort to intimidate and deport immigrant day laborers that were perceived to be a threat and an inconvenience to shoppers and local residents. Roger Sensing, owner of Pruitt’s, has alliances with anti-immigrant groups tracing back to 2002, including hate groups such as the Minutemen. Sensing began to organize with local businesses to place pressure on the Phoenix police to pick up local day laborers. In 2005,

city officials negotiated a non-arrest process for regulating day laborers by creating a labor center, which ended policing of the area (Wingett, 2006).

Sensing along with a coalition of about twenty businesses hired off-duty deputies to patrol the area and to cite day laborers for trespassing. The intent was to scare them off and eliminate their visual presence. Additionally, Sensing utilized his economic and political influences to pressure local businesses such as the Carniceria Guerrero (a friendly gathering place for day laborers) to place no trespassing signs on their premises. Carniceria Guerrero reported that property owners threatened to take over their lease and run them out of business if they did not comply with the request. Having established his tough anti-immigrant reputation, Roger Sensing led a coalition of businesses to contact Arpaio and request assistance in removing immigrant day laborers gathered in the area. From October 2007 through January 2008, anti-immigrant groups and immigrant activists protested weekly for months (Giblin, 2008). On Monday October 15th, 2007 Arpaio made his first series of arrests in the Pruitt's neighborhood. The Arizona Republic and an MCSO press release reported that the Sheriff's deputies had arrested six people appearing to be day laborers near the Home Depot located on East Thomas Road. Each weekend after that, Arpaio and his sheriff posse made their appearance at Pruitt's with a strong following of anti-immigrant demonstrators. The partnership between ICE and the MCSO allowed sheriff deputies to enforce immigration locally and ignited a series of events that further solidified Arpaio's power to intimidate and control immigrant communities. Pruitt's collaboration with Arpaio guaranteed him a symbolic reputation for being

tough on immigrants and carrying out anti-immigrant sentiments and policies. Armed with the claim that the community called for his help and protection, Arpaio began a series of operations that legitimized racial profiling against migrant communities in Arizona.

Resembling the 1997 *Chandler Roundups*, in which Chandler police and border patrol agents conducted a five day immigration sweep in Chandler, Arpaio's Crime Suppression Sweeps raided highly concentrated Latino neighborhoods in response to the "problem of immigration" through "tough immigration enforcement" at the local level. Pruitt's became a test case for the extreme right and a battleground for immigrant workers' rights. At stake was the ability for private people to enforce immigration laws locally by hiring off duty ICE trained officers to patrol, not only on their premises, but the neighborhood's surrounding businesses. At the epicenter of the debate, anti-immigrant and race based hate groups were reinforced and empowered, as their convictions and desire to scare away immigrants became actualized and supported by law enforcement officials. In response, immigrant advocates began to organize weekly demonstrations to protest Arpaio's tactics, the use of the 287 (g) agreements, and to boycott Pruitt's furniture for taking a direct stance against immigrant communities. The significance of the Pruitt's demonstrations intensified on both sides.

Understanding the implications of the Pruitt's symbolic struggle, immigrant advocates set out to launch a campaign against Sheriff Arpaio. Initially backed by few followers, Salvador Reza and Silvia Herrera from

Tonatierra, organized a strategizing meeting in response to Arpaio's use of the 287 (g) agreements. In attendance was Salvador, Silvia, a representative from the National Day Laborer Organizing Network (NDLON), two organizers from the Laborers International Union, my friend Karina and myself (both of us were working as community organizers for the UFCW at the time). The outcome of the meeting was to launch a boycott against Pruitt's. We began to organize weekly protests in front of Pruitt's. The protests took place every Saturday until Pruitt's agreed to stop hiring sheriff deputies. The protests escalated with confrontations from anti-immigration groups including the minutemen, and KKK supporters. The demonstrations culminated in December, when Pruitt's owner Roger Sensing agreed to stop hiring the Sheriff to patrol the neighborhoods surrounding Pruitt's.

The goal of the protests was to illustrate resistance but the demonstrations brought to the surface the vast racism that dominates Arizona's political climate and legitimizes Arpaio's enforcement of federal immigration policies on a local level. Shortly after, Arpaio returned to conducting racially profiled "crime suppression sweeps" (i.e. immigration raids) throughout the county.

Methodology

In order to analyze the ways that Immigrant Rights advocates unwillingly became part of the symbolism and spectacle of immigration raids and contributed to Arpaio's media attention, notoriety and strengthening his power in the county, I relied primarily on participant action field-notes and personal reflections of demonstrations, meetings and videos to analyze the demonstrations, including

tactics we used as immigrant rights activists and those used by anti-immigrant activists, as well as analyzing the tactics by officers and posses under Arpaio's supervision. I engage in an autoethnography of my own involvement as an organizer of the Pruitt's protests and my legal observing experiences. Additionally, Sheriff Arpaio's lust for media attention drew national and local news coverage, as well as video coverage on the evening television. Many of these later became you-tube-videos. Both anti-immigrant and immigrant activists contributed to the archive of you-tube-videos. Immigrant activists involved in legal observing frequently chronicled their experiences with video-tape. Many of these observations and cop-watch activities became YouTube videos. Arpaio issued numerous press releases giving radio, television and newspaper interviews on Maricopa County Sheriff's Department participation in the 287 (g) program. Press releases and interviews are also publicly available from anti-immigrant groups, immigrant activists, civil rights organizations, city councils and police chiefs in Maricopa County. I analyzed systematically collected data from these various sources between 2007 to the spring of 2009. Lastly, I also collected and analyzed elements from the trial transcripts and legal documents of the *Ortega Melendrez v. Arpaio* trial that took place towards the culmination of my research. Future research will include a more in depth analysis of these very interesting documents.

The autoethnography was extremely important in providing a context for understanding secondary data and videos. For instance, field notes provided data to map out exactly where a particular video was shot, additional information

about the actors and acts observed and the level of emotion during events. The autoethnography provided data in locating law enforcement, anti-immigration protestors and immigrant activist organizations in the Pruitt's protests that were videotaped. This methodology also included analysis of field notes of organizing meetings, which includes data on the type of planned activity on activists' part, and distributed flyers at protests.

All data was coded looking for symbols, metaphors, and ritualistic behavior. Video-taped speeches, press releases, and interviews quoted in the newspaper were all coded to identify patterns of ritual such as 1) display (of power or status) 2) Flight or Fight, and 3) Turf Protection. Specifically, I searched for the ways that immigration law enforcement was constructed under a lens of crime prevention and to give the impression of protecting the safety of communities. Coding for metaphors used to construct immigrants as criminals, dangerous and a threat to society was included. I examined the ways in which props played a role in the construction of performance (ritualistic behavior mediated by play). Other symbolic tools employed by Arpaio, and analyzed include the use of weapons and the role of the mobile command center in creating a symbolic setting mimicking hunting, war, and captivity. This coding was significant in identifying the verbal and visual symbols used to manifest the image of immigrants as criminals and law enforcement responding to a crisis situation. Metaphors for constructing Arpaio as a symbolic and competent leader were also coded. Finally, I describe the ways in which anti-immigrant groups adopted discourses of patriotism and nationalism to label immigrant activists unpatriotic.

My Participation

I was working for the United Food and Commercial Workers in early 2007. My position was that of a community organizer, under the Bashas "Soy Uno Mas" Campaign. My role was to organize community organizations to support the UFCW campaign and get its members to support it, by pledging to become "Uno Mas" one more that does not shop at Bashas / Food City, in the goal of pressuring the company to allow its employees to form a union.

One of my tasks was to get a variety of organizations to sign on to support the campaign. I was working in collaboration with Raquel Teran to obtain a certain number of pledge forms from various community organizations. Karina, Ceci, and I had worked extensively trying to compile a database of information we referred to "as the universe" with names of people that we thought might support the campaign or that were on our wish list of supporters, the list included individuals and organizations. The list of organizations was then split amongst Raquel and I to go visit and make presentations about our campaign. When I saw the name Tonatierra and the Macehualli Day Labor Center on my list, I was considerably concerned and scared. Raquel in fact, seemed pleased that she didn't have them on her list.

The reason of course, was none other than one person's name; Salvador. Salvador is someone I have learned to love dearly. My emphasis is on the learned part, of course. He is a complex individual, who one will either love or hate. He is open and honest, critical, often appearing angry, and yet one of the most sweetest and humane individuals I have ever met. He seldom makes a good first

impression, mainly because he is always trying to analyze who you are first, decide if he trusts you, and only after such analysis does he allow you in. For whatever reason, I gained his trust and till this day, this crazy old man could call me at any hour of the day, and I'm certain I would take the time to listen.

He is wise about so many things, from organizing, to politics, to human nature and history and culture. I remember the morning I had to go make my "pitch" about the UFCW. I showed up in my grey Honda civic at the day labor center on 28th Street and Bell Road. I lived in north Phoenix at the time so it was a fairly short drive from my house. I remember pulling up and being intimidated by the many men gathered around the street from the McDonalds onwards towards the day labor center.

As soon as I parked and got off the car, a bunch of men approached me. I quickly asked "I'm looking for Salvador." One of the guys excitedly turned around and whistled to some of the other guys who seemed to be running the place. When I say a place or a center, I want the reader to keep in mind, that this was a humble location, rather than what one would imagine when the word center is presented, there are no walls, but rather an open area with a sidewalk, a shade or tarp, and a small temple with a virgin that the day laborers built to pray to.

Not to get sidetracked, but I think these details are important. Because from this humble location, out came this grumpy old man, the same man whose previous interactions I had with, were not very positive, not to mention that they were most likely not even remembered by him, as at the time he didn't really even know me. At any rate, I was intimidated. Still I gathered the courage to talk to

him, and get my “No I will Not Support your campaign, so I could get on my way.”

But then, I wanted to remember that I did believe in the campaign. I genuinely did. So why not talk to him about these reasons. So he approached and said, hey Angeles, how you doing...I said good Sal, how are you, what’s going on he said, the UFCW sent you, yeah I just wanted to talk to you about--have you ever been here before he asked? I responded “No, actually I haven’t.” “Let me show you around,” he cut me off and we walked towards various picnic tables where people had various stations, he explained in detail how the center worked, and how different people volunteered, and they took turns operating the center themselves, then he walked me to another table and said “I’m hungry, are you hungry?” Before I could answer he was introducing me to a woman making tacos, he smiled and handed me one and explained that they were amazing. He asked me to sit down and continued talking passionately about the center and the work that they were doing, he then diverged onto another topic, and I couldn’t gather the desire to interrupt him and explain that I was a vegetarian and didn’t eat meat, at the moment all this seemed irrelevant, I folded the taco and politely ate it as excitedly as I could, I thanked the woman who made it and continued to listen respectfully. After he was done talking, he asked "Pues anyway, what did you come here to talk about?" I was ready to talk to him, yet felt so nervous and yet angry as I glanced across the table and saw a white and blue box of Donuts, on the cover the Food City logo stood out vividly.

I began to talk to him and compared the Food City relationship with the Hispanic community as one that resembled a domestic violence relationship, in the sense that we kept shopping there even though we knew that they treated us badly, simply because we were so used to being treated that way and taking it. We talked and argued back and forth, and somehow at the end of our dialogue, came to an understanding and agreement, I try to ask myself what I said that he must have liked, but I can't pinpoint it, all I know is that he agreed to sign the pledge and then began to talk to me about a lot of other things. Amidst these was his perspective on what Sheriff Arpaio had begun to do, around Pruitt's Furniture. He started inviting me to participate in some of the protests and press conferences he began to have in opposition to Pruitt's and Arpaio. I remember the first demonstration of 2007 was a press conference in front of Pruitt's, there were very few people in attendance, perhaps only Salvador, Silvia, Martin Hernandez, Martin Manteca, Randy Parraz, Karina Guillen, and a couple of day laborers. After the press conference, we were surprised to see a bunch of sheriff deputy cars driving around the neighborhood as if asserting their territory. Salvador asked everyone to come to a meeting so we could figure out what actions would follow and what we could do about what was happening. That night, I drove to Esperanza, a charter school in north phoenix adjacent to the day labor center. The meeting began with outrage from different people, and ideas about the need for a full-blown campaign against the Sheriff. After much discussion, Sal interrupted and declared, "you know...this is all great and good, but the thing is I can't do this by myself, you guys throw your ideas around, but at the end of the day, it's

only going to be me and Silvia facing the Sheriff, the Union is not going to allow you all to get involved, you can walk away, and I can't...I have to give a response to day laborers calling me telling me the sheriff is driving around picking people up." I suggested that I really wanted to help, and that I wished I could give all my energy to this, and then someone told Salvador "why don't you hire Angeles to help you out." He quickly replied, "I can't pay what the Union pays, plus Angeles doesn't want to quit UFCW." My emotional response was to blurt out, as if I had Tourette syndrome or something, "yes I do! I'll quit UFCW right now!" Surprised by my reaction, Silvia and he asked me if I was serious, if I would seriously be willing to take a fifty percent pay cut to work on this. Put in those terms, it seemed a bit crazy, but I hated the Sheriff and was so damn tired of not doing anything about it. Sal and Silvia's offer seemed like the most exciting and rewarding opportunities I had come across, and so I hurriedly responded "there's nothing I would love more." That night was the beginning of my participation; I was hired to dedicate myself full time to organizing the Pruitt's protests and the campaign against Sheriff Arpaio. Looking back I feel so happy to have made that choice, even if the outcome was not what we all had hoped.

The first task I undertook was to draft a proposal in conjunction with Chris Newman to give to NDLOM about the need and urgency to launch such a campaign in Arizona. We argued that Arizona was ground zero for the immigration debate. We described that Arizona was a test case to enforce immigration at the local level and that action was need not now or tomorrow, but yesterday. I included that the anti-immigrant sentiment, which exemplified itself

visibly in 2005 through the minutemen project, was fermenting in the interior via Arpaio and the MCSO. It was early 2007, and at the time and no one seemed to take our proposal or claims seriously. In retrospect, I pinpoint Arpaio's present power to his success in utilizing the immigration raids, what he termed "crime suppression sweeps" as a means to terrorize the community. Since then, politicians and government agencies and officials have tried in numerous ways to use political and legal tactics that in appearance attack crime, to enforce immigration and ensure the deportation of thousands of people.

Observations and Findings

Activists play a significant role in maintaining the political spectacle that Arpaio stages in immigration raids. Analysis of the data reveals that fear of confrontation and a discourse of non-violence in the protests functioned as a mechanism of social control. The goal of the protests were to illustrate resistance but in doing this they brought to the surface the vast racism that dominates Arizona's political climate and thus legitimized Sheriff Arpaio's attempt to enforce federal immigration policies on a local level.

The unintended consequences of strategies applied in protests have perhaps placed the immigrant rights movement further away from The Left or perhaps even delayed the exposure of injustices being committed against immigrants. The goal of protest to indicate resistance has been pacified and/or taken over by the ideology of The Right and other nativist groups. Organizing strategies, such as those employed by groups like Somos America, focus on passively reacting to the racist opposition rather than making constructive

demands and campaigns focused on the human rights of all people, regardless of their immigration status.

Organizing strategies focused on creating a symbolic image of a united community speaking in one voice, with only one message and limiting the issues to a violation of civil rights serves to pacify momentum and the larger purpose of the protests.

The over emphasis on non-violence allows policing to focus entirely on immigrant advocates and legitimizing anti-immigrant groups' claim that immigrants are a threat to be contained. As a reaction to this myth, and as means to correct this fabrication, immigrant rights activists over compensated this attack by ensuring that actions were carried about with an over-emphasis and visible display of non-violence. One of the functions and intentions of protest and resistance is to disrupt and disturb the status quo and pressure a discomfort and fear of those in power towards direct action and social change. Despite this fact, the strategic use of security in demonstrations (though created for the purpose of ensuring safety of participants) to control crowds and emotions eventually had the unintended and yet real consequences of serving the role of self-policing the movement. In this regard, those in power, particularly law enforcement and Arpaio were not threatened by the mass demonstrations, for the actions became predictable and they knew that they could count on the organizers to self-police the crowd. The visual image portrayed was of vulnerability.

At the beginning of the boycott, the actions were increasingly successful because they elevated the debate to national levels. All eyes were on Arizona.

Public officials began to wonder if violence would erupt and who would win this symbolic, emotional, and visibly racial war. The threat of disruption to the social order that comes with any revolutionary resistance, however, became pacified through time, and never materialized. This is not to say that great outcomes did not come about through this resistance. At the end of the day, Arizona became nationally recognized as the epicenter of the immigration struggle. Media coverage generated support on both sides, and brought about government intervention. Still, deportations continue, family separation continues, and it is unclear if we are on the path towards maintaining a sustainable fight for social justice and human rights.

Reflecting on the lessons of resistance in this grassroots micro level struggle, reveals that one possible reason worth exploring is whether our peaceful display of symbolic submissiveness and predictable responses to law enforcement served the role of strengthening Arpaio's power to run shotgun over city officials and local police chiefs.

If violence was to result, perhaps more attention would be placed on the situation and the racism would come forward as a threat to the social order. Because the momentum in the raids and protests is consistently tamed, the injustices remain grave but not grave enough to become an inconvenience for politicians to pay attention to and resolve. While I am not advocating for the eruption of violence, I am advocating for the violence that already occurs against migrants and people of color to occur in the open, where the media and others can visibly see the spectacle from an uncensored perspective. For us to exercise our

human rights and stake in these lands rather than willingly giving them up one by one on a silver platter.

Political Spectacle of Immigration Law Enforcement. The Pruitt's protests resembled a staged performance, a parade of power, politics, desperation, and an attempt at resistance coupled with anguish, and fear. Sheriff Arpaio choreographed his use of the 287 (g) agreements in establishing areas for citizenship inspection stops and for immigration raids and sweeps. Given the lack of support from city council members and police chiefs in the country, he made concerted efforts to demonstrate the need and urgency of these police actions. Organizing the sequence of actions for county sheriffs, voluntary posse and participating ICE officials, Arpaio set the police action in motion, provided the media and news reporters with adequate access and staged press releases. Props were not limited to officers and posse wearing bullet proof vests and carrying arms but also included setting up a mobile command center in the area. A major component of the sealed off center was highly visible vehicles, including diesel trucks, sheriff's trucks, police cars, and unmarked vans. Having previously been notified, both the opposition and supporters complete the spectacle. Immigrant Right advocates stand outside the command center in an area that has usually been previously negotiated with police officials. Props include signs, bullhorns, video-cameras, cell phones, and flyers. They too have established a prepared press release. Organizers incorporate other activists who bring family members, making the group much more racially and age diverse than the other actors involved in the spectacle. The supporters consist of members of the Minutemen,

American Freedom Riders and other anti-immigrant groups, mostly adults. Unlike the immigrant activists, they are less organized and show little discipline in keeping their distance. In addition, their props are not limited to signs but include some men visibly carrying guns and revving their motorcycles in display of their status and power.

Protest Signs, Flags, and Patriotism. Protesters, legal observers, volunteers, and nearby pedestrians gathered nearby the parameters of the designated "command center" with poster boards, bullhorns, American flags, and signs chanting and/or yelling in unison a variety of "messages." Examples of these messages included; "We are American" "No Human Being is Illegal" "Go After the Criminals" "Arrest Arpaio for Violating the Constitution" "Hard Working People are Not Criminals" "Serve the outstanding Warrants" "Arpaio! ¡Escucha! Estamos en La Lucha" "Hey Hey Ho Ho, Arpaio's Got to Go." In similar fashion, MCSO supporters or counter-protestors, many dressed in leather, and also carrying signs, posters, and American flags yelled a variety of messages of their own. These varied, from "What Part of Illegal, Don't you Understand?" "Go back to Mexico, and fix your country," "This is America, this is not going to become California," "Salvador Reza is a Communist," "America killed by Illegal Aliens Since 9/11" "The Counter protesters were rowdy, loud, and aggressively in the face of pro-immigrant protestors. Some entered the parking lots revving the engines of motorcycles, cars, and large trucks.

Many of these trucks displayed large American flags, others had flags hanging out of the windows on the bed of pickup trucks. This incorporation of

semiotic signs and symbols of patriotism, via the use of flags is a primary strategy employed by anti-immigrant groups. The most common prop displayed by Arpaio's supporters is the U.S. flag. Their demonstrations and counter protests almost always include excessive incorporation of visual imagery of patriotism into their protests. Additional symbolism of the flag is acquired by including red, white and blue into their clothing. Even the American Freedom Riders arrive on the motorcycles to the protests wearing leather clothing with red, white, and blue patches. Signs and banners also incorporate symbolic language and discourse of patriotism. Banners and signs with red, white and blue background or lettering framed their support of Arpaio as "Sheriff Joe" being "a real American." Nativist patriotism not only appropriates "American" to be only the U.S., but their anti-immigrant slogans define the criteria of citizenship to be a mono-lingual English speaker who is law abiding and White.

Posters carry a range of the following nativist phrases: "Be a patriot!", "Protect your country from an invasion,", "Enforce the Border!" and "Speak English!" Their messages further emphasizes that to be patriotic one must be anti-immigrant. The protests became what Edelman referred to as a condensation symbol. In the sense that condensation symbols "condense into one symbolic event, sign or act patriotic pride, anxieties, remembrances of past glories or humiliations, promises of future greatness: some, one of these, or all of them" (Edelman, 1985: 6). Other strategies used by anti-immigration groups, including hate groups, to appear as patriotic and mainstream are volunteering and

contributing for political campaigns, having sympatric candidates and politicians as speakers at protests.

Symbolic metaphors that construct immigrant activists as unpatriotic are constructed by their opposition. Nativist movements in the U.S. have successfully appropriated patriotism to signify and define U.S. citizenship as white through cultural hegemony. The ideology that to be a patriot is one and the same with being anti-immigrant has been elevated to the level of common sense. Any one holding concerns about the treatment of immigrants in the U.S. or violation of human and civil rights in immigration law enforcement are designated as unpatriotic. The appropriation was finalized with the consistent media images of persons carrying Mexican flags during the March 24th immigration march in Phoenix. The presence of Mexican music, Spanish conversations, accents and even the physical embodiment of brown bodies calling for an end to the raids and sweeps that break-up law-abiding families are symbols of being un-American and un-patriotic. Unable to address Arpaio's supporters from using these troupes against them, Coalition leaders restrict the movement, speech and action of activists and demonstrators in attempt to make them appear like law-abiding protestors. This constraint takes monitoring and lots of planning because Minutemen, American Freedom Riders and other anti-immigrant groups engage in actions to create a menacing atmosphere that keeps potential violence present during demonstrations.

Immigrants and the Construction of Criminality. Numerous uses of symbolic language and rituals identify immigrants as criminal and a threat to the

community's safety. First of all, naming the immigration raids "crime suppression sweeps" presents the symbolic illusion that these operations have nothing to do with racial profiling or immigration, but are in fact an important operation with the single aim or goal of eradicating (via the use of the term "sweep") crime. Therefore, the name implies that all persons arrested are criminals and are being arrested for criminal behavior. In order to support this criteria officers constructed "acceptable criteria" established by the state as "reasonable suspicion." However, by targeting neighborhoods that have a high concentration of Latino and immigrant families, the link between crime and immigrants is established. Since Arpaio operates under a tough on crime reputation, his targeting of immigrants and arresting of "illegals" (i.e. those not abiding by the law) further reinforces the link between crime and Latino immigrants.

Interrogating the notion of crime itself is important for this discussion. When labeling people criminal, what are some of the conscious intentions and unintended implications? Crime like patriotism is also a condensation symbol. Embedded within this label, is a history of oppression of people of color, and a rationalization to marginalize and define as deviant anyone carrying such label. We need to problematize the messages that our movement incorporates and examine the ways in which slogans such as "we are not criminals" can legitimize the stigmatization of crime, and simultaneously work towards oppressing or targeting other already marginalized and disenfranchised communities as the sources of society's evils. Historically, it has been through hegemony, and

common sense, that the lives of people of color have been criminalized. People of color are more likely to end up in prison than in educational environments. This is neither a coincidence nor a symbol of our deviance, but rather systematic evidence of the racist nature of institutions and social structures that target, enforce, and abuse the rights of our communities, thereby making us ideal candidates for the prison pipeline. The complex nature of crime as a social construction becomes simplified into the realm of rationality and common sense.

Observers and any audience of these slogans, receive the message that "immigrants are not criminals, but someone out there is" In turn, our quest for liberation results in tactics that can oppress people who have also being subjected to the hegemonic forces of the ruling class, by virtue of being labeled and constructed as criminals. What are the unintended consequences of our discourse, and in defending our rights, what communities are we putting down? According to Donald Black (1983) crime itself is a social construction, a form of social control and "conduct regarded as criminal is quite often the opposite. Far from being an intentional violation of a prohibition, much crime is moralistic and involves the pursuit of justice" (Black, 1983: 34). The visual display of immigrants as a symbol for crime further reifies the notion that they violate laws when in fact they are simply pursuing a form of "self-help" (Black, 1983: 34).

In understanding the symbolic consequences of terms that signify crime and criminality, Arpaio has made great use of these signifiers to carry out his strategies to terrorize communities of color, and reassure his supporters from the imminent fear and threat that criminal immigrants pose. In return, his tactics to

visually display immigration enforcement in the middle of the streets ensures his constituency that business will be carried out to target and capture the illegals and to put them away to be punished. Other symbols utilized by Arpaio to give the impression of crime suppression, include his use of a hotline. The hotline serves as a mechanism that signifies crisis, and that in this crisis, Arpaio will be there to document and respond to the calls of help from his constituents. The hotline phone number is vividly displayed in vehicles and vans, with images of hands in handcuffs illustrating that the result of these phone calls is the capturing, suppression, and apprehension of crime. At the end of the day, the criminals will be handcuffed away. In Arizona, Arpaio has vividly and efficiently linked this notion of criminality with the identities of immigrants and day laborers.

A Symbolic and Charismatic Leader. Arpaio is a perfect example of Weber's (1946) concept of a charismatic leader. He is probably the most interviewed public figure in the Phoenix area and the most recognizable because of the frequent media coverage. He has been reelected four times to his position and gets large crowds at his book signing events. Similar support appears to counter the civil and human right protestors. Arpaio successfully manages the media's portrayal of him as an extremely competent law enforcement agent who is tough on crime. He establishes himself as a leader in immigration law enforcement by willingly engaging in tough enforcement practices despite the fact that these practices have been questioned by others for violating human and civil rights. Popular media adds to his legitimacy as an immigration expert by interviewing him regularly for his viewpoint on border issues. Always

representing himself as a person who is willing to take action even when city council members do not support him further enhances his image as a strong leader.

He keeps his presence and image a constant feature for the public by maintaining ongoing media coverage of his deputy sheriffs as they engage in immigration law enforcement operations. Reports on the number of persons arrested in “Crime Suppression Sweeps” are immediately released with little detail provided on the nature of the arrests or any context about the people arrested. The enormous budget he acquired through his collaboration with the Department of Homeland Security strengthens his claims as an expert and that there is no basis for criticism or the growing number of lawsuits. The spectacle aspect of his claim to competency and leadership in immigration law enforcement and a leader is based on his personality traits rather than his record. Claims to competency and leadership is not supported by the budget debts he has incurred, lawsuits taxpayers have paid as a consequence of his actions as county sheriff or the lack of cooperation other branches of law enforcement in the county offer.

Arpaio in Ortega Melendres v. Arpaio. On July 19, 2012, a long awaited date for many activists, human rights advocates, and Latino families in Arizona, the Manuel de Jesus Ortega Melendres vs. Joseph M. Arpaio trial began.³⁸ The plaintiffs consisted of a team of attorneys from Covington and

³⁸ Santos, F. (2012). Arizona sheriff’s trial begins with focus on complaints about illegal immigrants. *New York Times*. Published: July 19, 2012

Burling, L.L.P., the American Civil Rights Union (ACLU) and the Mexican American and Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF).³⁹ Representing Sheriff Arpaio was Tim Casey and James Williams from Schmitt, Schneck, Smyth, Casey, and Even, P.C. along with Deputy County Attorney Thomas P. Liddy. During the course of the trial the plaintiffs attempted to prove that “the Maricopa County Sheriff’s Office ha[d] engaged in a pattern and practice of racial discrimination” (*Ortega Melendres v. Arpaio*, Tr.⁴⁰ at 38:11-12). During the opening remarks plaintiffs’ attorney Stanley Young stated:

We intend to show that the MCSO’s policies, in particular its use of the saturation patrols to apprehend illegal immigrants, has resulted in disparate treatment of Hispanics. We also intend to show that this disparate treatment results from an intent to treat people differently based on their race or ethnicity. (Tr. at 38:12-17)

U.S. District Judge G. Murray Snow issued a 142-page decision (Document 579) that found the policies and practices of Arpaio and the MCSO to be discriminatory and violating “the Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964” (“Federal court rules,” 2013). U.S. District Judge G. Murray Snow’s decision determined the following:

Plaintiffs have established that the MCSO had sufficient intent to discriminate against Latino occupants of motor vehicles. Further, the Court concludes that the MCSO had and continues to have a facially discriminatory policy of considering Hispanic appearance probative of

³⁹ Plaintiffs in the case were Andrew Byrnes, Stanley Young, David Hults, Lesli Rawles Gallagher, Nancy Anne Ramirez, Annie Lai, Cecilia D. Wang, and Andre Segura.

⁴⁰ Tr. is utilized to refer to trial transcripts (p. 1-1936) in *Manuel de Jesus Ortega Melendres, et al. v. Joseph M. Arpaio, et al.* (AZ D. Ct. 2012)

whether a person is legally present in the country in violation of the Equal Protection Clause. The MCSO is thus permanently enjoined from using race, or allowing its deputies and other agents to use race as a criteria in making law enforcement decisions with respect to Latino occupants of vehicles in Maricopa County. (quoted in Segura, 2013)

The court found the MCSO and Sheriff Arpaio guilty of racially profiling and targeting Latinos for traffic stops and detaining them based on suspicion of being undocumented because of their Hispanic appearance. During the three week trial, the plaintiffs presented an overwhelming amount of evidence, from racially biased letters written to Sheriff Arpaio, to inter-office anti-immigrant racist correspondence, emails, and jokes about Mexicans and undocumented immigrants.

In addition, the plaintiffs presented testimony by MCSO deputies admitting that they frequently used Hispanic appearance to determine someone's immigration status. Furthermore, Arpaio's testimony showcased an intent to conduct "saturation patrols"/"crime suppression sweeps" (raids) in Latino populated neighborhoods based upon requests from citizens who mailed him racially biased letters. During trial, plaintiffs presented numerous exhibits illustrating racist letters from constituents to Arpaio. The letters contained ink markings with Arpaio's handwriting in which he made notes and suggestions to subordinates in the MCSO to investigate particular areas or take into consideration the locations highlighted in the letters when conducting saturation patrols. The letters were placed in Arpaio's immigration files, issued personal thank you letters from Arpaio, and forwarded to the "appropriate" MCSO unit. Similar action was taken when the MCSO received "tips" from anonymous callers

in the MCSO hotline. The result was a series of immigration raids in locations that matched with the concerns of constituents letters. According to Cecilia Wang, from the ACLU, “During these ‘saturation patrols,’ (known to residents as immigration sweeps) over 70% of people arrested were Latino – in a county where Latinos make up only a third of the total population” (Wang, 2013).

As illustrated in the discussion of “Whiteness as Property,” throughout history, the law has played a role in normalizing and legitimizing White Supremacy.⁴¹ Race continues to define an individual’s expected legal status as well as their enslaveability. Just as historically, being Black was enough evidence for being considered a slave, today being Brown (as illustrated in *Ortega Melendres v. Arpaio*) is sufficient evidence of being considered an “illegal” immigrant. Not substantially, being undocumented has also become equated with criminality. In Maricopa County, law enforcement officials, from agencies such as the MCSO, DPS, ICE, and PPD, continue to utilize race and Hispanic appearance to profile and to establish reasonable suspicion to detain, apprehend, and arrest undocumented immigrants. As illustrated by Smith’s (2006) article on the three pillars of white supremacy, under the pillar of orientalism/war, undocumented immigrants pose a threat to the United States empire, and therefore are seen as foreigners, and a target for war (pp. 68-70). The systematic removal of these “foreign threats” is common policy and practice under the Obama

⁴¹ See generally Harris, A. P. (1990), Harris, C. (1993) and Smith, A. (2006), see also Appendix, “Letters to Arpaio.”

administration and has been the practice of most democratic administrations in the past. Subsequently, it is not surprising but rather logical that in Maricopa County, personalities such as Sheriff Arpaio appeal to the racial sensibilities of White nativist constituents in order to sustain his position in power.

While there are many dimensions that one could analyze about the *Ortega Melendres v. Arpaio* trial and what the court decision means and will mean, in this analysis I focus on selected elements of discourse in Sheriff Arpaio's testimony.⁴² I highlight a few excerpts from the trial that illustrate not only the embedded racism by the MCSO, Arpaio, and his supporters⁴³ but also excerpts that illustrate Arpaio's leadership tactics. I argue that some of these selected statements illustrate in practical ways the power of a charismatic authority/leader to enact and protect, through law and policy, white supremacy.

As described in Chapter 2, charisma "is tied to an individual personality who is considered extraordinary and seen as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or highly exceptional powers and qualities" and this charismatic authority is only possible through the recognition of its followers (Buechler, 2011, p. 32). I argue that analyzing Arpaio's tactics can shed some light on why and how Arpaio is able to rally support and legitimacy for his tactics. As the *Ortega Melendres v. Arpaio* trial showed, Arpaio frequently sent thank you

⁴² I'm working on other articles that analyze some of these other dimensions.

⁴³ See Appendix, "Letters to Arpaio"

letters to his constituents; he was often giving interviews to the press, and sending out press releases about his activities and overall staying in constant communication with the public. Through a series of media interviews, press conferences, saturation patrols, book signings, and highly visible enforcement operations, Arpaio has been successful in fabricating a public image of being a tough charismatic leader that the people can trust to get the job done, the job being “protecting our borders” and removing the “foreign threats” i.e., illegal alien brown bodies from the streets in Arizona.

Interestingly, throughout the testimony in *Ortega Melendres v. Arpaio*, Arpaio showed a contrasting personality to the one in the media. The title of his book “Joe's Law: America's Toughest Sheriff Takes on Illegal Immigration, Drugs and Everything Else that Threatens America” (Arpaio & Sherman, 2008) provides a small glimpse of how he views himself both as a politician and as an authority figure. In the film, *Two Americans*,⁴⁴ Arpaio is filmed singing the song “My Way” which also exposes an image of Arpaio as a traditional heteropatriarchal figure that gets things done, *his way*.

In comparison to this image, Arpaio’s testimony showcases a more distanced, hands-off, law enforcement official that has no discretion on the way things get done in his office or in his law enforcement operations. Question, after question, Arpaio dodges the interrogation claiming that most of what he said, he either 1) didn’t mean it, 2) didn’t say it, 3) didn’t write it, 4) didn’t see it,

⁴⁴ Film by DeVivo, D. & Fernandez, V. (2012)

5) only glanced at it, 6) didn't know about it, or 7) he responded with the choreographed chorus (repeated over and over by multiple officers and deputies throughout the trial) "the MCSO does not racially profile." Still throughout this dance of "I don't recall" and "I didn't know about" whatever remark or action he was asked about, Arpaio managed to still present himself in a witty charismatic manner. The usefulness in analyzing Arpaio's statements and public identity performance rests, I believe, in that when we can dissect and unpack some of the elements at play in his symbolic performance, it will prove useful in outlining the ways in which white supremacy operates. According to Buechler (2011) movements are less likely in structures or societies with a strongly legitimate authority, and in contrast, movements are more likely where social orders "experience legitimation difficulties" (p. 33). What we can conclude from this, is that because the Obama administration is experiencing legitimacy difficulties, charismatic authorities such as Arpaio's which capitalizes on the embedded racial and nativist sentiments of society, are able to rise up and root an anti-immigrant nativist movement.

While more analysis on charismatic leadership within the immigrant rights and anti-immigrant rights movement is necessary, I do believe that looking at the testimony in the *Ortega Melendres v. Arpaio* trial, can shed some light on the ways in which charismatic leadership plays out in Arpaio's identity performance as a symbolic figure in a symbolic state of war against illegal

immigration. This is not a full exploration of what Weber (2004) meant when he described the revolutionary power of charismatic leadership,⁴⁵ but it is a first step at exploring this concept within the discourse of sheriff Arpaio in Maricopa County.

The trial began on July 19, 2012. Sheriff Arpaio was sworn in and asked a series of questions from plaintiffs' attorney Stanley Young (Tr. at 322:21-323:1-9). Throughout the interrogation, Arpaio was shown videos, letters, and other exhibits illustrating statements he had made. Arpaio was asked to answer whether the person making the statements was indeed him, whether writing on certain documents were made by him, and to verify that it was him in various recordings. At times, Arpaio complied with the questions, but most of the time he answered the questions with other statements or with the words "maybe" or "possibly." Whenever he claimed to not remember or recall certain things, or gave a different answer than what he had given the plaintiffs previously, the plaintiffs proceeded to show the court and Arpaio video depositions that showed a different answer. In Exhibit 410D, the plaintiffs showed a video of a press conference in which Sheriff Arpaio admitted to going "after illegals" and not "crime first" by claiming that his office had a pure program:

⁴⁵ See Max Weber's (1922) "The Pure Types of Legitimate Authority." [published in English as *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*] See also Weber, M. (2004) *The Essential Weber: a Reader*; Whimster, S (Ed.) and Weber, M. (1968). *On charisma and institution-building, in selected papers*; Eisenstadt, S. N. (Ed.) and Hoffmann, B. (2009). *Charismatic Authority and Leadership Change: Lessons from Cuba's Post-Fidel Succession*.

Exhibit 410D played as follows:

SHERIFF ARPAIO: Actually, when you look at this whole situation, the Phoenix Police situation, ours is a --a -- a operation, whether it's the state law or the federal, to go after illegals, not the crime first, that they happen to be illegals. My program, my philosophy is a pure program. You go after illegals. I'm not afraid to say that. And you go after them and you lock them up. (Tr. at 332:19-25)

Prior to showing the video, Arpaio had testified the complete contrary; that he went after the crime first. What I want to highlight from his statements is the sentence in which he states “You go after illegals. I’m not afraid to say that” (Tr. at 332:23-24). The fact that he announces that he is not afraid, explicitly implies that he should be. Or at least, that social norms would expect him to be afraid to say “go after illegals” and not the crime (Tr. at 332:23-24). One explanation is because his job is not to enforce federal immigration laws but to investigate crimes. Another interesting textual element is that he specifically states in this passage that this is “his” program and “his” philosophy. The fact that he frames “going after illegals” as a philosophy or a sort of ideology based on theory, pinpoints that underneath the practice lies a loftier goal. Simultaneously utilizing the possessive “my” in “my program” and in “my philosophy” signifies that he is taking credit for this lofty achievement (of going after illegals). His statements illustrate the way he views what he does as something that is of extreme importance (in the use of the word “pure”). In other words, he is not just enforcing the law, but he is enacting a philosophy; an ideology; a way of life. By stating that he has a “pure” program, he is referencing discourse on purity and dilution. These terms have historical significance in race discourse and invoke

other texts for the reader/listener of the words. While it could be argued that this parallel is simply coincidental, I do believe that whether conscious or not, the intertextuality⁴⁶ of these words embed the notion that a program that is diluted, is somehow inferior to one that is pure. Since he claims ownership over this program, he is crediting himself with enacting a philosophy of purity, and thereby associating himself and his law enforcement efforts with this ideology of purity. Since the program's objective is to go after illegals, it follows then, that what he is going after, is *unpure or* diluted, and if diluted—diluted from what? I would say from whiteness.

In fact, in a later passage, Arpaio is asked about whether he had called Mexicans dirty in the past, the exchange is reprinted below:

Q. You've called illegal immigrants dirty in the past, is that right?

A. I think on the context that I said that was when you cross the border **illegally** [emphasis added] and cross the desert, sometimes for days, that you are heated, you could be dirty after four days in the desert, and that was the context how I used that word. (Tr. at 347: 9-12)

As this passage illustrates, Arpaio does not even deny and is unapologetic of having referred to undocumented immigrants as being dirty. Instead, he rationalizes the idea that in some contexts immigrants who cross the border and are in the desert could be dirty. While one could maybe buy his explanation in the sense that crossing through the desert could make one sweaty and “heated,” when comparing the series of remarks he has made, his explanation seems less

⁴⁶ See Gee, J. P. *Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. New York, NY: Routledge, 1999.

plausible. For example, in the past Arpaio has associated Mexican immigrants with the swine flu. In a press release, Arpaio stated that “it is estimated that over 90 percent of all illegal aliens arrested by the anti-human smuggling unit come from areas south of Mexico City where the swine flu has already killed nearly 150 people” (Tr. at 346:6-10). The plaintiffs tried to make a case that what Arpaio was doing through this press release is trying to link Mexican immigrants with disease. In fact, the MCSO deputies during the saturation patrols utilized medical masks during the immigration raids. In this context Mexican immigrants are associated with filth and disease (see Tr. at 346:6-347:6), and pairing these remarks with his statements above on his philosophy of having a pure program (in reference to his enforcement tactics), along with his statements that he is “not afraid” to say “go after illegals,” the comment of Mexicans being dirty, can be understood more contextually. In other words, the combination of his remarks, highlight the possibility that his statements were not meant in the context of explaining what can occur when you “cross the desert” but rather in the context and discourse of nativism that Arpaio enacts. This discourse of nativism, associates all that is foreign with negative things like disease, dirtiness, and poses them as a threat to the way of life of natives. By framing undocumented immigrants as dangerous, dirty, and carrying disease, this brings about justification and legitimation for going after them and enforcing “the law” against them. This type of criticism against immigrants is not new; it has been the history of immigration that with each wave of new immigrants came similar criticism and fear.

Furthermore, looking at the lines “when you cross the border **illegally** [emphasis added] and cross the desert,” reveals that his focus on defining whether one is dirty is dependent upon the means of crossing (Tr. at 347: 9-10). Discourse analysis looks not only on what is said, but on the alternatives of saying something different. It asks the person to consider what and how the same sentence could have been said differently, and what possibilities are opened by reversing elements of the sentence. In dissecting this sentence, the conscious use of the word ‘illegally’ implies that if one was to cross the border legally, one would not be considered dirty. Also, looking at other elements within this structure, for example:

Q. You've called illegal immigrants dirty in the past, is that right?

A. I think on the context that I said that was when you cross the border illegally and cross the desert, sometimes for days, that you are heated, **you could be** [emphasis added] dirty after four days in the desert, and that was the context how I used that word (Tr. at 347:7-12).

The use of the words “could be” illustrates some hesitation by Arpaio, in coming to his conclusions that crossing the border illegally/crossing the desert “sometimes for days” that you “could be” dirty. He also adds emphasis after the word “dirty” by stating once again and in a circular fashion “after four days in the desert.” The fact that he felt the need to emphasize that he referred to the word dirty in relation to the desert shows that he can envision the alternative context of being dirty because of one’s legal status or race. While it is plausible that he could have been trying to explain with emphasis and persuasion this context of dirtiness in relation to crossing the desert, what is not plausible is the need to

signify the illegality associated with the act of crossing. The same statement and meaning could have been achieved by stating “I think the context that I said that was when you are walking through the desert for days you become heated and dirty.” This alternative does not need, rely, or capitalize on the discourse that “illegality” symbolizes.

Moreover, the exchange below reifies the plaintiffs’ argument that Arpaio’s pure goal was ultimately immigration enforcement. While he tries in multiple ways to dodge the questions, he eventually concedes that his agency “is quickly becoming a full-fledged anti-illegal immigration agency.” (Tr. at 336:8-9)

The exchange occurs as follows:

- Q. Then at the bottom it says, and this is in quotations attributed to you, quote: “We are quickly becoming a full-fledged anti-illegal immigration agency,” end quote. Those are your words?
- A. Yes, as re -- as reference to two state laws, and the authority from the federal government to enforce illegal immigrant laws, so we did have a unit to perform those duties. It wasn’t the whole agency working on immigration.
- Q. Is that statement still true, that is, is your office still a full-fledged anti-illegal immigration agency?
- A. We are not a full-fledged agency. We have units to perform those duties along with homicide and many other duties.
- Q. But you had the tools, and by July 2007 you developed the tools, the money, and the training to concentrate on the specific problem of illegal immigration, is that right?
- A. Yes. Yes (Tr. at 336: 8-22). We have heard the people speak, we understand their frustration, and will continue to do all that we can do to reduce the number of illegal aliens making their way into the United States and Maricopa County. Was that your feeling at the time?
- A. Yes.

Q. Is it still your feeling today?

A. Yes (Tr. at 337:1-8).

Lines 8-22, in the transcripts at page 336, as depicted above, vividly depict Arpaio's anti-illegal immigration perspective. When in front of the public view, he bravely proclaimed that he was openly conducting an "anti-illegal" operation, yet when interrogated in trial, Arpaio enacted a different identity. In trial, as illustrated in the lines above, Arpaio claimed that immigration was simply one of many duties. Yet as Mr. Young proceeded with further questions, and exposed his contradictory statements, Arpaio eventually conceded that immigration was indeed a focus of his agency. He justified this focus by stating, "We have heard the people speak" (Tr. at 337: 1). Again, if we review this excerpt we can verify that Arpaio felt that he was simply answering to the call of his constituents: "We have heard the people speak, we understand their frustration, and will continue to do all that we can do to reduce the number of illegal aliens making their way into the United States and Maricopa County" (Tr. at 337: 1-4). Subsequently, the plaintiffs are able to prove that Arpaio, not only intended to be "a full-fledged anti-illegal immigration agency" but that he did this in the name of his constituents; "We have heard the people speak." An analysis of this statement, would posit who exactly is Arpaio referring to when he states that "we have heard the people speak." What people is he referring to? Certainly not the families of those he is persecuting and deporting. Certainly, not the many people that are in his jails. Certainly, not the people who endure harassment by the MCSO or are targets of racial profiling and discrimination. Certainly, not the people who are

suings him. The notion that there is one people, just as when politicians utilize the “nation” to refer to a symbolic group that entail a particular set of values and beliefs, here too Arpaio is referencing white supremacy when he refers to the people. When utilizing words that are general and abstract in nature, they are usually signals of the status quo, of the unquestioned hegemonic norms of a society. In the United States, the traditional family unit consists of Heteropatriarchy, Whiteness, and Christianity. Thus, when Arpaio, refers to the people, he is referencing White, heteropatriarchal, Christian, American families.

The consistent back and forth in Arpaio’s identity performance illustrated an attempt to play himself as both an actor and a passive observer. While on camera, Arpaio consistently made statements about his actions and what he was going to do, etc. During trial, he frequently shied away from any statements that would make him culpable or the source of power of anything. Some examples of Arpaio’s self-denial are illustrated below. In the first instance, I present an excerpt where Arpaio denies ever running any of the saturation patrol operations. The second is regarding his book, and how he “didn’t write it.” For example: “You know, I don't arrest people on these operations; my deputies and my staff that runs the operations. I don't get involved in these operations. I'm not there on the street patrolling and making arrests” (Tr. at 344:25-345:3).

Furthermore, in reference to the writing of his book he states:

Q. Sheriff, Sheriff, in 2008 you published this book, Joe's Law, America's Toughest Sheriff Takes on Illegal Immigration, Drugs, and Everything Else That Threatens America?

A. That was with my co-editor.

Q. You dictated it into a tape-recorder, is that right?

A. Much of it.

Q. And then your co-author gave you background and you repeated it, is that right?

A. He may have made some of his own comments.

Q. Well, you wrote the book, correct?

A. In conjunction with the co-author.

Q. In your deposition in the Mora case on September 7, 2010, at page 232, lines 15 to 21, you testified as follows, starting at line 15: It is to ask now, have you read it?

A. No. I dictated the subject matter working with my co-author. So I already knew about the book. Why do I have to read it again? I mean, I wrote the book. So I don't have to read it again. So when I say I didn't read the book, I don't have to read the book.

Q. Was that testimony truthful at that time?

A. Which is very confusing. I don't understand your question. But are you saying that I didn't read the book again?

Q. No, I'm saying that you wrote the book, so at the time you said you didn't have to read it again, that's what you testified to in September 2010, is that right?

A. Yes. (Tr. at 347:15-25)

This passage really animates Arpaio and his way of thinking and logic in an almost amusing way. He states that he had a co-author multiple times, trying to distance himself from the material that is in the book in an effort to escape any culpability during trial for any racially biased statements. At the same time he very adamantly pronounced during his September 2010 deposition, that of course, (duh!) of course he didn't even need to read his own book, because he "wrote the book" (Tr. at 348:7). "Why do I have to read it again? I mean, I wrote the book.

So I already knew about the book.” (Tr. at 348:5-9). Yet, again, when he was asked specifics about content within the book, Arpaio reverts back to his previously scripted remarks that his co-author wrote the book:

Q. And now let's look at the book. On page 48 -- and again, we're looking at PX 396 -- you wrote, quote: All other immigrants, exclusive of those from Mexico, hold to certain hopes and truths. Do you see that?

A. What paragraph are you referring to?

Q. Yeah, let me apologize here. It's the -- the third paragraph from the top, and it's the paragraph that begins: There were other differences as well. You see that sentence?

A. Yes.

Q. And you're referring to your parents there, right?

A. Yes.

Q. And you said that they, like all other immigrants exclusive of those from Mexico, held to certain hopes and truths, is that right?

A. **Once again I will say that my co-author wrote much of the items you're reading.** [emphasis added] (Tr. at 348:17-349:9)

In addition, Arpaio is also asked about the notion of the American dream, he is asked if he thinks that people from Mexico have similar hopes and dreams to those of earlier immigrants, like those of his family. The source of this question stemmed from excerpts from his book, in which Arpaio stated that he felt that this new wave of immigrants differed in their goals, hopes, and aspirations. He also states, in fact, that the new generation of immigrants “contend” that the United States stole the territory that is now California, Arizona, and Texas, and that according to Arpaio, the wave of Mexican immigration will guarantee a “Reconquista of those lands” (Tr. at 351:6). The following lines depict this:

Q. My question is: Is it a fair reading of that sentence in your book that says, My parents, like all other immigrants exclusive of those from Mexico, held to certain hopes and truths, that it's saying that immigrants from other places in the world have the same hopes and truths that your parents had, but the people who came here from Mexico do not?

A. **Well, that's not fair. The people from Mexico had the same hopes and enthusiasm for coming into the United States.** [emphasis added]

Q. You think that people who come here from Mexico, and who have come here from Mexico, come here in search of the same freedoms and opportunities in America that other people have come to America for during its long history?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Would you agree with me that the American dream is for everyone?

A. Yes.

Q. But on that same page -- again, looking down in the paragraph that starts number 2 -- you say in your book that **there's a growing** -- quote, growing **movement among not only Mexican nationals but also some Mexican Americans** -- and I'm paraphrasing here a little bit -- **who contend that the United States stole the territory that is now California, Arizona, and Texas, for a start, and that massive immigration over the border will speed and guaranty the reconquista of those lands returning them to Mexico.** [emphasis added] Do you see that?

A. Yes.

Q. You put that into your book, right?

A. **Once again, my co-author wrote them.** [emphasis added]

Q. You say that second and third generations of Mexican immigrants, with respect to language and customs and beliefs, are, quote, "separate from the American mainstream," end quote. Is that a fair reading of this section of your book?

A. **Once again, I didn't write this; my co-author wrote it.** [emphasis added]

Q. "Did you review the whole manuscript before the book was published?"

And on page 35 at line 1 you answered: "I briefly looked at it, yes." Is that right?

A. It may not have been every line of the manuscript, but in general terms I looked at it.

There's a lot of interesting things packed into these questions and answers. The first one, I would like to point out is the sentence in which Arpaio contradicts his own statements depicted in his book. Arpaio proclaims that Mr. Young's summary of Arpaio is "not fair." He refers here to the book statements in which Arpaio proclaims that Mexican immigrants did not have the same hopes and enthusiasm for coming to the United States that earlier waves of immigrants had. After Mr. Young asks Arpaio if his reading of the sentence in his book is accurate, Arpaio replies:

Well **that's not fair** [emphasis added]. The people from Mexico had the same hopes and enthusiasm for coming into the United States.

He states this, almost as if he was a child pouting at his parents. The use of the words "that's not fair" to express disagreement on the reading of a sentence in his book presents a child-like image of Arpaio. The alternatives of this statement could have been saying, "no, that is not a correct reading of the book." By using the words "not fair" Arpaio victimizes himself, this could mean that he is either feeling attacked or that he wants to pretend that he is being accused of something wrongfully. Notions of white injury are embedded in these sentences.

More importantly, these passages from the trial transcripts vividly illustrate the connection of whiteness and property I tried to illustrate and discuss in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. At the end of the day, a discussion about law enforcement and immigration, results in a discussion about racial appearance and

peculiarly about land. In his book, Arpaio references the idea that “there’s a growing movement” of undocumented immigrants from Mexico and Mexican Americans who have a different agenda; an agenda of reconquering the southwest because they “contend” that the United States stole their territory and are therefore planning a Reconquista of those lands:

Q. But on that same page -- again, looking down in the paragraph that starts number 2 -- you say in your book that **there's a growing** -- quote, growing **movement among not only Mexican nationals but also some Mexican Americans** -- and I'm paraphrasing here a little bit -- **who contend that the United States stole the territory that is now California, Arizona, and Texas, for a start, and that massive immigration over the border will speed and guaranty the reconquista of those lands returning them to Mexico.** [emphasis added]

In addition to the content of this passage, looking at the word “contend” can also illustrate the problematic hegemonic discourse embedded herein. While it is a historical fact that states such as California, Arizona, and Texas were once Mexico, Arpaio attempts to blur the validity of this history by utilizing the word “contend.” The phrase indicates that it’s a claim, i.e., not a grounded fact. At the same time, the passage references Arpaio’s use of the words “growing movement.” This presents an image of a mass of Mexican nationals moving towards the border, threatening the established Empire and well-being of the people that rest in it.

In this section, I tried to highlight textual elements of Arpaio’s discourse as depicted through the *Melendres v. Arpaio* trial. There are various limitations to this analysis, and it is by no means a complete discussion of Arpaio’s discourse and whether or not his personality would fit into Weber’s model or description of

the charismatic leader. Nonetheless, the passages I depicted are presented here as a way to give the reader a glimpse of the type of symbolic authority figure that we have in Maricopa County. The transcripts present a fascinating amount of evidence about Arpaio's and the MCSO's racial profiling and discriminatory practices. Simultaneously, I believe they paint a picture of Arpaio's grandiose personality; a personality that has managed to capture and tap into the essence of White nativism. His communication style and performance of toughness makes him appear invincible. The exchange of questions and answers as illustrated in the transcripts, showcase the way he is consistently conscious of himself as a public figure. He is an actor who knows how and when to perform. His charismatic leadership styles should not be underestimated, and any attempt to organize against him needs to take into account the way he controls, promotes, protects and capitalizes upon the ideology of white supremacy.

In this last passage, Arpaio summarizes his point of view by stating that with or without his book people know where he stands on the issue of illegal immigration. He is asked about a series of book signings in which he never told anyone that the opinions expressed in the book were not his own, but rather possibly those of his "co-author." Mr. Young proceeds:

Q. You've done book signings for your book?

A. I believe when it first came out I did some book signings.

Q. You did one at Barnes & Noble in Happy Valley on May 20, 2008?

A. **I may have.** [emphasis added]

Q. And another one at Barnes & Noble in Palm Valley on May 31, 2008?

A. I don't know the exact time, but I may have.

Q. Then another one at -- in Arrowhead at another Barnes & Noble on June 18, 2008?

A. **May have.** [emphasis added]

Q. Then at Borders on July 26, 2008?

A. **May have.** [emphasis added]

Q. And you've done four or five national media interviews about your book, "Joe's Law," correct?

A. Yes, when it first came out.

Q. You went on night talk with Mike Schneider, New York Bloomberg TV, and Neil Cavuto on Fox TV, is that right?

A. **The best of my recollection.** [emphasis added]

Q. And you did a book interview on June 4, 2008, with Fox News, on June 4, 2008, is that right?

A. **I may have.** [emphasis added]

Q. You did one with Mike Savage on his radio show on June 13, 2008?

A. **May have.** [emphasis added]

Q. At any of those book signings or interviews you've never told anyone that the opinions in your book were not your opinions, is that right? Now, it would be fair to assume, Sheriff, that the people who buy and read your book believe that the opinions in it about illegal immigration are your opinions, is that right?

A. No, that's up to -- that's their -- **would be** their opinion. Once again, it's in front page, back page, **about my co-author.** [emphasis added] (Tr. at 354:14-356:24)

This is a long passage, but I think it's important to notice the pattern of the use of the words "may have." Arpaio strategically places these answers of maybe, maybe not, to pose doubt that he did any of these book signings. He is attempting to straddle two opposing possibilities, that he either wrote the book, but maybe he

didn't, that he did a book signing at Barnes and Noble, but maybe he didn't, and on and on. Of course, at the end of this back and forth, Arpaio states in response to a question of whether he believed that people who bought and read his book believed that the opinions expressed in it were his own, Arpaio replies very harshly;

I have no idea, but I would surmise that they do as I'm very outspoken on the subject, book or no book. **I average two speeches a day for 18 years.** [emphasis added] I don't prepare speeches. So I think everybody knows where I stand, book or no book."

As illustrated in the line "I average two speeches a day for 18 years" Arpaio appears to be proud on his track record of being a public figure, a figure that averages 2 speeches a day for the last 18 years. The use of the word average implies that he takes count of the number of speeches he gives, and that he cannot believe that he has been doing this for the last 18 years. He states that everyone knows where he stands, with or without his book, which posits the question why write one then? Also, he states that he is very outspoken, yet throughout the trial when presented with evidence after evidence, video after video, and letters after letters showing statements made by him--by virtue of his outspoken personality, he countered each of the statements by implying that it was not him and redirecting the blame to his subordinates or to other people. In multiple occasions, he tried to play a role of being innocent and simply not understanding the questions or the statements that were shown to him. One particular example that comes to mind is when Arpaio was asked about a letter in which a constituent stated, "What our open border crowd calls racial profiling is what I call

reasonable suspicion and probable cause. If it walks like a duck....” The constituent referenced the following metaphor “if it walks like a duck and quacks like a duck” (Tr. at 372:9-25). Arpaio was then asked whether he believed that the person who wrote the letter was referring to a parallel statement on undocumented immigrants:

Q. Now, that’s saying if someone looks like an illegal immigrant, he must be an illegal immigrant, correct? (Tr. at 371:5-6)

Arpaio quickly responded with a once again witty and seemingly innocent conscious response:

Q. Do you agree with that statement (referring to “if he walks like a duck, quacks like a duck”)

A. Once again, that’s his statement, and I don’t know what context he’s talking about, about ducks or whatever he’s mentioning. (Tr. at 372:17-20) (see also Figure 5)

Arpaio’s Discourse of Charismatic Authority

QUESTION: Do you think he’s talking about ducks?

ANSWER: Well he says “if it walks like a duck and quacks like a duck,” he must be talking about ducks.

QUESTION: Do you seriously think he’s talking about ducks?

ANSWER: I’m just saying what he’s reporting in his report.

QUESTION: You don’t think he’s talking about illegal immigration?

ANSWER: He may, but once again, I can’t read his mind. This is his opinion, not mine.

(Tr. at 372:21-373:6)

Figure 5. Arpaio’s discourse of charismatic authority.

In summation, this testimony about ducks or illegal immigration really emphasizes the idea that Arpaio is aware that he is at all points in time engaged in a performance. He takes his job as this symbolic sheriff very seriously, and will no doubt continue to play his part in appearing to be tough on crime and waging a war against Brown, disease-carrying, dirty Mexicans. He states over and over that he is unapologetic and outspoken about going after “illegals” and in his twisted world, illegals are equated with Mexicans, with people who resemble “certain appearances” (Tr. at 361:6-8).

Hunting Immigrants and Playing at Killing. During the spring of 2009, Arpaio incorporated controversial symbols into the raid ritual by issuing his deputies protective gear kits consisting of face masks and gloves to use when encountering and arresting Mexico Mexican immigrants. After making a news release of the need to protect deputies and jail staff from the risk of swine flu exposure, he provided the media with visual images of law enforcement agents using surgical masks and gloves, which clearly conveyed the message that Mexican immigrants pose a health threat to officers and citizens. This reinforced the already prevalent and old myth of foreigners and immigrants as dangerous and carriers of disease. The fact that surgical masks do not combat the virus was unimportant since the only point of issuing protective gear kits was part of the spectacle. The news release also attributed the presence of tuberculosis and chicken pox in jails as the result of incarcerated immigrants. Arpaio emphasized that health issues were an additional threat posed on his sheriffs in carrying out his crime suppression sweeps. Using infectious diseases as one of the symbols to

identify the threat that Mexican immigrants posed in the U.S. was a completely planned and staged event. By issuing the protective gear for dealing with “suspected illegal immigrants” marked all non-citizens, particularly Latina/os, as a threat to public health.

Additionally, the primary ritual in the political spectacle that constructs immigrants as criminals and a threat to the community’s safety are the raids and demonstrations. Arpaio manufactures a media parade by establishing a mobile command center, and ritualizes the act of immigration enforcement. Unmarked white vehicles, police cars, MCSO patrol cars, and the Sheriff’s deputies dressed in brown uniform with bullet proof vests, and occasionally black ski masks, were juxtaposed in specific areas of the 36th street and Thomas corridor. His excessive use of sheriff deputies and posse in each operation, coupled with extravagant and highly visible vehicles, creates a war-like zone. He usually arrives with his fleet of Ford Econoline vans that are clearly marked in red lettering with the following: “HELP SHERRIF [sic] JOE ARPAIO FIGHT ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION & TRAFFICKING CAL 602.876.4145 WITH TIPS ON ILLEGAL ALIENS.”

Armed with long barrel shotguns and at times tear gas, Latino neighborhoods are raided in a manner that any observer can conclude that the operations are targeting an imminent threat. The massive show of weapons and intense police presence instill a sense of crisis and protection of the homeland. Arpaio’s highly visible operations enforce the notion that immigrants are criminals, and not just criminals but dangerous. To further emphasize the criminal image of criminals,

Arpaio staged a “perp walk” of the shackled immigrants arrested during the raids through the streets of Phoenix.

All of these choreographed activities share symbolic resemblance to the ritual of hunting, and hunting as performance. According Schechner (1988), as described in the literature review in Chapter 2, ritualistic behavior that resembles or enacts itself as performance of hunting or is mediated by patterns of play, allows participants to share in the practice of “playing at killing.” As discussed earlier, play in primate animals serves the role of giving subjects an opportunity to practice the enactment of domination and in situating themselves within the hierarchical and social order. Animals practice, via play, at protecting their turf, displaying status, fight or flight, and/or mating. The metaphor of killing and hunting animals is recreated in the tactics of anti-immigrant groups. Arpaio and the MCSO released press releases illustrating the number of immigrants captured, as if reports on the number of animals killed.

The spectacle of the command center, and the visual display of force followed by the public submission of immigrant bodies, reassures nativists and allows them an opportunity to share in the emotional gain of the capture. This “symbolic” killing enables feelings of solidarity and communion amongst their group. Together, demonstrating, in support of these activities, they in turn give Arpaio a symbolic appearance of loyalty in the fight. The illusion of a war, and their presence, sends the message that they are side by side in the fight, to reap the benefits and risks of the hunt, and to share in the practice of killing; the play of killing. Schechner (1988) described that animals often create shows to claim or

protect territory. This enactment of play at killing is visible and synonymous with domination, not only over property and land, over the rights and bodies of immigrants, but also in killing or eradicating all that their presence as a condensation symbol represents. The label of “immigrant” or “criminal” as a condensation symbols can consolidate in one word notions of race, ideology, remembrances of past events, perceptions of white injury, glory, emotions, etc. To deport or catch immigrants therefore becomes a performance that they help construct, and at the same time enjoy and watch from a distance. Arpaio has created the politics of immigration into a spectator sport, in which he symbolically arises as a leader who is admired, respected, and appreciated for carrying on this national fight, and winning.

Mariachis, Banda, and Cultural Rituals at Pruitt’s. In contrast to the metaphor of hunting employed by law enforcement and anti-immigrant nativist and minutemen groups, immigrant rights organizers employed a series of symbols in the manifestation of their protest and resistance against Arpaio’s immigration raids. The symbols and signs used, gave the impression of a celebration. Reflecting upon the many signs, symbols, and rituals employed, it appears as if our performance resembled a sort of celebration of life, and metaphors of communal festivals as in those that used to occur when members of a group departed for war. Analysis of the tactics and strategies illustrate that hyper cultural Mexican rituals of song, dance, music, celebration, customs, and the release of birds worked effectively to showcase a culture resisting assimilation and an image that countered the pervasive discourse of patriotism (particularly

from the Somos America influence) that more conservative mainstream immigrant rights leadership tried to employ. In other words, the performance showcased a contradiction in discourse. While media coverage and language in framing the immigrant rights perspective in the struggle, attempted to paint the image and identity of immigrants and day laborers as model Americans pursuing the American dream, as fathers and mothers that are law-abiding, taxpaying, and non-violent people. The visible discourse in the Pruitt's protests themselves, counter to the mass demonstrations and Somos America organized collective actions, illustrated symbols of indigenous culture, brown bodies gathered in song and dance, celebrating happily and making a mockery of "American" laws. Public leadership of the Pruitt's protests was reduced to Salvador and Silvia, at least for most of 2007. As described in the profiles in the previous narrative, Sal and Silvia are typically dressed with indigenous clothing and they both have long hair and dark skin.

Not substantially, the effectiveness of these demonstrations came from the activities of the protests themselves. In one of the demonstrations, we had a group of Mariachis, in another a Trio, and in one of the largest attended protest, we had a full blown 16 person Banda Norteña. The visual parade and sounds evoked through the demonstrations made many people in the Pruitt's corridor angry, particularly the minutemen and the nativist counter protestors. Our symbolic presence illustrated in a very real way, immigrants as a cultural threat to White supremacy. Our numbers further reified their fears in becoming a minority if they allowed us to remain. A popular slogan, in fact, that illustrates this

demographic fear in many of the demonstrations, under analysis, was “Maricopa County is not going to become LA County.”

Pavement and Sidewalks. Much of what a protest involves negotiating areas of public space. The Pruitt’s protests and crime suppressions raids involved a public display of conquering areas of public space. Adelman describes the significance of symbolic settings to politics. The sidewalks and the streets were manipulated by Arpaio and the anti-immigrant crowd to signify a setting of enforcement and of private land. Arpaio would utilize large vehicles and barricades to mark a territory, the minutemen and nativist supporters would add to this performance through their presence in these exclusive, and marked areas, the use of flags would further delineate this space as American and belonging only to those enclosed in these closed off areas. The symbolic conquering of streets, pavement, and sidewalk served as a way to declare a territorial war. The barricades and use of police and sheriff deputies to protect them, gave the impression of yet another border within the interior regulating the movement of people of color, and the rights of migrant communities to live in peace and crippling their pursuit of happiness.

After police intervention and an increasing amount of counter protestors, the protests became very volatile and the police department soon asked us to move our demonstrations across the street of Pruitt’s and away from "their sidewalk." It then became a weekly battle between the protestors and counter demonstrators to see how close we could get to the Pruitt’s side of the street. The minutemen would use their flags and banners to stand in front of our group and

tried to intimidate us with racist slurs and language. The sidewalks became battle grounds, and places of contestation. The police often favored the space to those belonging to the anti-immigrant groups and “Security” volunteers would help regulate how well we followed law enforcement instruction to stay in certain areas that were designated as permissible to protest in, despite the reality that all public sidewalks are fair game for anyone to protest and demonstrate so long as the right away is not being blocked to anyone walking by.

Security and Policing the Brown Body. Part of the choreographed event of setting up Arpaio’s spectacle is assigning police or the Sheriff’s deputies with their visible guns to monitor the protestors. This is done by creating a symbolic border with barricades and having the officers face the activists rather than anti-immigrant supporters⁴⁷. The symbolism created by the patrol of protestors is situating immigrant activists as potential law-breakers and posing possible violence. Even though none of the activists arrive to the protests displaying guns or rifles nor are they riding cars or motorcycles while demonstrating, the police form a line separating the opposing demonstrators by facing the immigrant activists. The presence of the police did little to curtail Arpaio’s armed supporters from making threatening gestures and the armed American Freedom Riders riding their motorcycles around and between the activists.

I do not recall any incidents of a police officer’s asking Arpaio’s supporters to keep their distance from the activists. Keeping the activists under

⁴⁷ See Photograph on Police Facing Protestors

police surveillance contributed to condoning the action of Arpaio armed supporters and creating the appearance that activists were not law-abiding citizens. The armed police officers monitoring the protesters further enhanced the image of immigrants as dangerous.

The ambiance was chaotic, and many times tense and stressful. People participating had a lot of energy and/or anger. They were emotions running strong from both groups. The facial expressions of people illustrated anger, excitement, passion, and fear. The response from law enforcement and community organizers was to try to control these emotional displays. There were many police officers and police cars, sometimes with masks, guns and tear gas; they all looked as if they were getting ready for a riot to erupt. Regardless of how many protestors were present, there were always tons of law enforcement. Those in vehicles would follow protestors or marchers closely by the sidewalk, making their presence known, so the surveillance effect was engraved well in each person walking by. Those in the streets would often stand and/or gather facing the pro-immigrant crowd, their backs facing the anti-immigrant protestors almost as if they were their own personal bodyguards ready to defend them against the brown angry mob of protestors. Sheriff deputies would also utilize their bodies and numbers to block off certain areas or guide traffic of people in certain directions, barricades were other props, in their attempt to reinforce their Discourse of protection.

Aside from law enforcement officers patrolling and trying to exercise their power over the way protest was manifested, organizers themselves attempted to

control and/or patrol the way participants chose to protest. People were often told where to stand, what areas were off limits, and if they were getting too rowdy or out of hand, they were reminded that we were there to protest peacefully, and non-violently. The level of loudness in which people voiced their discontent, chose to chant, shout, and scream in the protests also became a source of disagreement and regulation by some protest organizers. This self-policing was an organized endeavor originally done also under the guise of "protecting" participants of the march, but what was really at stake for organizers was the movement itself, specifically, it was not just about the well-being of participants, but more importantly, it was about protecting the image or message of the manifestation. We wanted to appear as non-violent, good, tax- paying, hardworking Americans, simply engaged in civic participation, demanding justice and equal rights.

To achieve this, organizers trained volunteers on principles of non-violence, on things they needed to do if they saw people getting out of hand; they were told logistical information about the route or other specifics of the march or protest. Organizations recruit volunteers, typically students, and train them on how to minimize potential violence from pro-immigrant demonstrators. Many times this training is done with representatives from the Phoenix Police Department. This is significant in that it demonstrates that police and organizers had a direct collaborative relationship. Security many times received color coded t-shirts, usually a bright color that could be easily identified and recognized by perceived "allies" in the police department. This team of volunteers was referred

to as "security" in organized Marches. There was an unwritten collaboration of sorts, police knew that those with security t-shirts were there to keep the peace and they worked with them to tell them any issues with the route of a march or problems with areas where they were going to protest. Yet, when the collective actions took place, police typically sided with anti-immigrant crowd. The emphasis on security enforces the assumption that demonstrators are inherently violent and pose a threat to safety. The result is carefully planned actions where demonstrators are told where they can and cannot stand and how they can and cannot protest (i.e. how loud they can be and what they can and cannot say), coupled with strict self-policing through security volunteers who create symbolic borders between the minutemen and those opposing Arpaio and the raids.

Collaboration between activists and law enforcement rather than resistance against their abuse is the direct outcome of these demonstrations. While the intent is to minimize potential violence between hate groups and immigrants, the outcome is instead to silence and keep the obvious racism in the shadows; disciplining them into whiteness.

Another interesting observation about "Security," is that at first most security volunteers were usually men. Later, organizers utilized/relied upon student volunteers to serve as security. While in theory, this sort of crowd control might seem like a good idea, the reality is that this self-policing served as a way to tame and pacify resistance. Some of the security volunteers took their role on way too seriously; they began to try to control everything, not allowing people anywhere near the counter protestors, and eventually controlling public areas,

chants, or screaming. They would also utilize their bodies to form human chains, and block off certain areas or streets. I recall vividly a protest in which barricades were blocking one of Arpaio's command posts, inside this area, people were being taken away to be deported, and instead of allowing the community to protest, security members were placed in front of the barricades to keep protestors from getting too close to the command center, other times they stood also with their backs towards counter-protestors, to prevent immigrant rights protestors from engaging with the anti-immigrant nativist crowd, visually they appeared like bodyguards protecting the status quo, the symbols of power and oppression responsible for the separation of families and the terrorizing and suffering of so many children.

Messaging in Demonstrations. Some examples of ways in which the immigrant rights leaders engage in symbolic politics that help complete the spectacle include the control of messages at each protest and demonstration, as well as prepared press releases. Just as Sheriff Arpaio, the Minutemen, nativist groups, and the right wing media make a concerted effort to illustrate immigrants as either unpatriotic or criminals, immigrant rights advocates make a concerted effort to refute this claim through messaging. Through strategic press releases, carefully constructed talking points, and the establishment of messaging and media committees, activists select spokespersons that are "trained" on the proper message for whatever demonstration is taking place. The discourse primarily focuses on showcasing immigrants as American, as law-abiding, and as contributors to American culture.

Another strategy is to showcase that immigrants are “victims” of Arpaio, by presenting sympathetic stories of abuse or profiles of citizen children or undocumented students who were raised in this country and “have never even been to Mexico.” Any attempt to provide a different perspective is quickly silenced or persuaded by Somos America (We Are America Coalition). The name of the coalition itself presents a branding of immigrants as American, and was the slogan for the historic pro-immigrant marches that took place in April of 2006. After the marches people were positive that an immigration reform bill would come about, and so people were organized to become more civically involved but only under the right image. Demonstrators were asked to wear white t-shirts (white symbolizing peace), bring American flags, exclude Mexican flags and colors, and be “non-violent.” This “branding of immigrants as American” is significant because it showcases the struggle to anchor our roots in contested land through imagery of immigrants as deserving and good. The intention was to reassure the fears of the ruling class, in particular those with strong racist sentiments, to portray our culture as non-threatening, and that if given rights; we will be "one of them." The tactic, while well intentioned in the sense of wanting to mobilize inclusion of immigrant families, fails in that it seeks inclusion of a set of ideologies and pigmentation that is simply not possessed by all who seek refuge under the umbrella of immigrant rights. Not all immigrants speak English, are hardworking or deserving, yet is it not a basic and instinctual human right such as eating and breathing to migrate and to move across lands, regardless of one’s background?

The symbolic use of the term “*la comunidad*” is also problematic. Somos America Coalition and other immigrant rights organizations have monopolized the way immigrant rights advocates can protest and resist. Leaving no room for alternative strategies. Organizations obtain their legitimacy by stating that they are speaking in the name of those without a voice, to protect *la comunidad*. One has to wonder who is *la comunidad* and who owns it. The visual metaphor of a community united with similar characteristics, desires, and needs posits a mythological illusion of unity. The reality is that a community contains diversity not only in its people, but in its needs and also in the tactics in which they are willing to use to protest. There is a misconception that *la comunidad* has become disengaged, but the reality is that some are willing to act and continue fighting but have disengaged from the ineffective messaging about peaceful protesting and the assimilation and further shadowing of our people.

Discourse of Non-Violence. The discourse of non-violence is an important symbolic metaphor vivid in many of the organizing meetings of immigrant rights organizations in 2006-2008. Examples included distributing flyers at protests with the images of Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and Cesar Chavez. The flyers, titled “Non-Violence Agreement” include rules regulating the behavior of protestors. The Agreement illustrates in detail what protest participants can and cannot do, including a statement directly discouraging participants who do not agree with the guidelines of the protest to leave (“We don’t expect you necessarily to agree philosophically with all these points, but we do expect you to follow them during this action. If you feel you can’t, please

respect the effort spent planning the action by not participating.”). The eleven rules are:

1. Our attitude will be one of openness and respect toward all whom we encounter, regardless of their attitude or actions.
2. We will not be violent, abusive or insulting.
3. We will respond peacefully to verbal and physical violence by others.
4. We will not damage property.
5. We will not run or use threatening motions.
6. We will carry no weapons.
7. We will not bring or use any drugs or alcohol.
8. We agree to accept responsibility for our actions
9. We will not go into private property without permission
10. We will not block the right of way.
11. We will obey all lawful police orders.

At times these flyers are distributed even in demonstrations or actions that have been organized organically, i.e. not planned by any particular organization, but rather a demonstration came about in an unprecedented location simply because people showed up on their own in an effort to protest Arpaio or his deputies from raiding the community. Instead of channeling this participation into concerted resistance aimed at exposing the injustice, the energy is pacified and controlled.

Numbers and Quantifying Oppression. Another symbolic practice is the attempt to quantify the oppression of immigrant families. The symbolic use of

numbers to either minimize or maximize an experience or an event was utilized by both anti-immigrant groups, Arpaio, and immigrant rights organizers. Just as Arpaio sends press releases notifying the media the number of people arrested or “captured” in his crime sweep operations, i.e. raids, immigrant rights organizations also try to quantify the abuse, thereby contributing to the positivist spectacle. Activists and organizations designed to “speak for those without a voice” and “protect our civil liberties” stumble around trying to get *nuestra comunidad* (the immigrant community) to speak up about their experiences, to let *them* (the organizations) know if they have been discriminated against or racially profiled by Arpaio.

By appropriating fifty or ten stories from immigrants and selecting those most likely to gain public sympathy because of civil rights violations, the assumption is made that one will rise to make a difference in the immigration debate. Organizers act as if having one more will give *el movimiento* (the immigrant movement) more credibility, more grounds for achieving social justice.

Yet not all stories are valued, further evidence of epistemic and ontological racism. Only those from Mexican “citizens” are seen as instrumental in the fight for human rights. Masking our brown skin with the red, white, and blue, organizations have slowly exchanged the pride and dignity of Mexican migrants, for coveted civil rights. As noted in the distributed “Non-violence Agreement” in rule eleven: “we will obey all lawful police orders.” This statement alone illustrates our compliance with Arpaio’s spectacle and our own willingness to accept the law however just or unjust it may be:

When we go to Washington, DC, expecting those crooks down there—and that’s what they are—to pass some kind of civil rights legislation to correct a very criminal situation what you are doing is encouraging the black man, who is the victim, to take his case into the court that’s controlled by the criminal that made him the victim. It will never work that way” (X, qtd. in Breitman, 1965, p. 52).

In essence immigrant rights demonstrators are being asked to expect justice and obey the orders of those focused on taking them away. In doing this, immigrant protesters become an easy group for law enforcement and sheriff deputies to manipulate and control.

Immigrant Children and Education

Jim Ryan, author of “Exclusion in Urban Schools and Communities” describes his experience as a nine-year old boy, sitting on the sidelines, because of his age and size, watching a football game unfold in front of him. He depicts the feeling of being excluded from playing as “one of the most enduring memories” of his childhood. Without doubt, many of us have experienced some form of exclusion growing up. The ongoing extent to which certain groups experience it is an atrocious injustice and everyday reality.

The vast level of ignorance and forms of oppression that prevail and are legitimized in American classrooms today, via structures, policies, curriculum, texts, language, and permissible discourse warrants our attention. If our goal in education is to truly promote learning for all, we must engage in a more real and critical discourse about our assumptions and what actually happens in the classroom. The urgency of Paulo Freire’s pedagogies in understanding

oppression and mobilizing inclusion in educational environments is more immediate today than ever before, particularly in Arizona.

As illustrated in my own narrative and background growing up and the complexity of being undocumented, the dynamics of immigration impact and define immigrant children in traumatic ways. The many borders and barriers strategically placed against immigrants wounds families in profound ways. Some of the implications, particularly for those in educational contexts, include the need to continue the work of creating spaces of inclusion and critical pedagogy; spaces that take into account the many challenges faced by these vulnerable populations.

There are 5.1 million immigrant children from Mexico in the United States (Shields & Behrman, 2004). Every year, they enter the American educational system with a series of difficult challenges. They must embrace the concept of being in a foreign country, the reality of a new language, and the evasiveness of the new dominant culture. For the first time, students become aware of their racial and cultural identities, they become cognizant of their economic class and the fact that they are different than other kids. They live scared and divided; between the customs and traditions of their families and the new imposed ideals of what constitutes an American.

Arizona, the heart of a growing anti-immigrant and nativist sentiment is generating a climate of hostility and exclusion in education. In 2006, Proposition 103: *English as the Official Language*, was passed by a 74% to 26% margin, similar to the vote for Proposition 203: *English for the Children*, which passed in 2000. Also in November of 2006, Proposition 300 was approved, effectively

denying Arizona residents who are undocumented immigrants access to higher education by requiring that they pay out-of-state tuition. The overwhelming passage of these propositions reflects the strong anti-immigrant sentiment and fear of the increasingly visible demographic shift.

The multiple forms of discrimination and social stigmatization faced by immigrant populations have an incredible and damaging impact on their children. Most young children idealize their parents, and upon arrival to the United States, these images are shattered by the reality of their oppression. They live in the shadows of a society that uses their labor, their consumerism, and still does not legally recognize them. Quickly they learn to recognize the mistreatment of their parents, from the workplace to their housing and living conditions. This population is stigmatized as inferior and without rights or protections, criminalized and vilified through popular media, institutions, and the law.

Growing up is not an easy venture for immigrant children. Many lack health benefits, live in poverty, and attend schools with little resources. Additionally, while many live in two parent homes and have strong family ties, their academic support is not as strong as those of other children. In an informal survey, conducted to assess parental involvement, one father from Excelencia Elementary described this challenge.

“I want to be there for my children, that’s why we came to this country, but it’s hard, I work at five in the morning, my wife has to be there by six, the children do not enter school till seven, if it wasn’t for the help of my mother in law, I don’t know how we would do it, she takes them to school and we pick them up” (Community Telephone Survey, November 2006).

Many immigrant families work two to three jobs, typically in the service or construction industry, do not speak English, and therefore have little time or ability to assist children with their homework. Balancing parenting with work, and on top of that the fear of being apprehended or deported is a constant struggle that haunts the lives of immigrant families.

As illustrated by the narratives in the previous chapter, the political context in Arizona coupled with Arpaio's immigration raids have further terrorized families. The climate of fear has gotten substantially worse. Children no longer have to just worry about being without status, feeling like an outsider, or the implications of being "illegal" they now have to go to sleep at night worried about whether their parents will become Arpaio's next victims. The kidnapping of parents by Arpaio, has left many children and young teenagers without their parents, these horrific stories do not exist in a vacuum but rather make their way into the culture and context in which immigrant children filter their experiences, and their notions of reality. The real and possible idea of losing their parents plagues their present and paralyzes their ability to think positively about the future.

Amidst all this they are expected to learn and perform in similar ways to that of their peers. The new accountability era with policies such as No Child Left Behind has placed high and unfunded expectations about children's educational achievement. NCLB mandates requiring mandatory testing of all children present enormous pressure to teachers trying to make sure that their school is not classified a failure. Because the original intent of NCLB was to be

able to measure student achievement, NCLB originally allowed Spanish speaking children to test in their native language for the first couple of years.

After the passage of Proposition 203 (*English for the Children*) in Arizona, however, this is no longer an option. So what is actually occurring is that immigrant students classified as English Language Learners (ELL) are faced with having to pass a test on subject matter that they do not understand, the test is effectively testing whether they know the English language rather than their ability to comprehend required grade level “standards” in subjects such as reading, math, and science. Children develop in a sink or swim environment that forces them to perform and assimilate in order to feel welcomed. School culture demands hegemony and sameness and their language is seen as a threat. In many ways, immigrant students live in a culture of silence, they are not understood by their society, and face the stigma of living “illegally.”

As adolescents, after many years of disappointment and disillusionment students are faced with the harsh reality of not being able to continue their education. Some students decide to drop-out so as to assist their families by working, and others who have fallen behind in their studies see this as the only option. Those who succeed academically must swallow the reality that they are unable to go on to college. Proposition 300 was passed in Arizona in November of 2006, and requires that undocumented students pay non-resident tuition, upwards of \$15,000 dollars a year to attend a state university. It is important to note that these children are residents of Arizona, i.e. their families pay property taxes, and yet still are being priced out of their education. Even prior to

proposition 300, the cost of education was too high to be considered a real possibility for all. Even more depressing, is the reality of students who actually make it to college and graduate only to discover that they are unable to obtain employment in their field of study because of their immigration status. One example is the case of a friend of mine who received her Bachelor of Science degree in Family Studies with a major in French. She was forced to obtain a job earning the minimum wage at a local convenient store after graduation. That was the only place that hired her “knowing” that she was undocumented. Another student does not particularly look forward to her graduation, now a graduate student, she is facing similar dilemmas; unable to apply for scholarship opportunities and internships.

Despite the passage of Obama’s Deferred Action program, that enables students to apply for deferred action status and an opportunity to work and have a sort of temporary legal status, many of the original dreamers and/or students have aged out, or are ineligible to qualify because they do not meet the age requirements or random and arbitrary age range for DACA. Those that dropped out of high school because of frustration with their immigration status, also face the challenge in DACA of not being enrolled in school or holding a high school diploma. While many have looked for ways to meet this requirement, it is nonetheless a ridiculous requirement that does not take into account the context in which immigrant students live and/or have been living in for many years. The adults without education of today, were yesterday’s immigrant children;

yesterday's dreamers, pushed out of the educational pipeline and now criminalized and without access to recourse.

The key lesson that many immigrant children have their dreams shattered before they even begin schooling. Immigrant children are continuously oppressed and excluded. They are excluded from receiving an actual opportunity to learn, as the curriculum is not tailored for their academic needs. The schools seem to care more about their assimilation than they do about their success and achievement. They are also silenced through the banning of their native language and excluded from truly belonging to American school culture because of their economic class. Further, the motivation to remain in school is insignificant as they see their schooling leading nowhere. Going to college is reserved as a privilege for the wealthy and are thereby excluded once again from career aspirations. They are excluded from realizing their full potential and kept from dreaming to be something more than a second-class citizen.

Implications and Mobilizing Inclusion through Critical Pedagogy

One of the most attractive elements of Paulo Freire's work is his reconceptualization of the future as possibility. As indicated earlier, Freire believed that the first step towards liberation is reflection, acceptance of ourselves as historical subjects rather than objects. This simple yet radical step enables us to see why and how hope can emerge. Both Weber and Freire focused on the exterior and powerful forces that produce the conditions and institutions we find today. Popular discourse in America focuses on the individual, usually blaming people for their misfortunes. The oppressed begin to internalize this guilt

believing that they themselves are responsible for their lack of rights and deserving of the mistreatment. The following passage describes this vividly:

unemployment is treated as laziness and pricing yourself out of a good job, workers' strikes are transformed into a problem of public order. Criminality and new forms of violence are treated as the result of lack of authority in the family, not enough law and order, lack of Victorian values, and so on. Terrorism is successful because of the free press and the excessive leniency of the law. Divisions and forms of discrimination are partly blamed on immigration and partly conjured away by patriotism and jingoism (qtd. In McLaren, 2000).

According to Freire we need to see past these myths and focus on the real causes of our situation, so that we can figure out how to change them. Agency and praxis, thus, begins with reflection. In other words, the present conditions are not arbitrary; they represent a series of decisions, and are but one alternative over another. The exclusion of immigrant students in education, the mistreatment and exploitation of workers, poverty, low wages, these are all examples of something that is but does not have to be.

Peter McLaren (2000) in *The Pedagogy of the Revolution* discusses the impact of the pervasiveness of capitalism. Capitalism has been a shared reality for so long that it is almost difficult to imagine our world without it. But it is through capitalism, globalization, and imperialism that exploitation and oppression of so many impoverished communities and countries has been realized. Social classes and status groups emerge by their location within capitalism. Through politics and the media, people in power have led us to believe that capitalism is synonymous with democracy. That it is a just system of opportunity. The reality is that capitalism benefits only a few, but shines with

glamour in promising you the possibility that you might be at the top one day.

This is illustrated in John Lennon's song "Working Class Hero," he writes:

As soon as you're born they make you feel small
By giving you no time instead of it all
Till the pain is so big you feel nothing at all
A working class hero is something to be
A working class hero is something to be
They hurt you at home and they hit you at school
They hate you if you're clever and they despise a fool
Till you're so f---ing crazy you can't follow their rules
A working class hero is something to be
A working class hero is something to be
When they've tortured and scared you for twenty odd years
Then they expect you to pick a career
When you can't really function you're so full of fear
A working class hero is something to be
A working class hero is something to be
Keep you doped with religion and sex and TV
And you think you're so clever and classless and free
But you're still ****ing peasants as far as I can see
A working class hero is something to be
There's room at the top they're telling you still
But first you must learn how to smile as you kill
If you want to be like the folks on the hill
A working class hero is something to be
If you want to be a hero well just follow me

The very meaning of education and its purpose has been transformed by the dynamics of capitalism. "In the United States the logic of capitalism has been scalded into the historical imagination of its subjects" (McLaren, 2000, p. 19). As it stands today, the purpose of education is to safeguard the economy. Schools have become sites where students learn how to be social citizens, how to be prepared for the workforce and "smile as you kill." The very notion that education is valuable in and of itself, that learning is something worth doing, is so foreign to capitalist thought and discourse. Without doubt, schools serve a strategic political

role; they embed within children's minds the ideologies and principles of the society they live in. "Schools have been a key locus for the production of the attributes and behavior of citizens and for giving legitimacy to the workings of Western officialdom and statecraft" (McLaren, 2000, p. 97). Schools teach us about "the nation" and what it means to be "American" or "good" or "smart." Intelligence is reduced to our ability to follow rules and directions, to memorize and regurgitate information, to accept the world as it is given to us, to think of the "I" rather than the "we." Those who are different present a threat, and so we exclude them. We try to mold each student to learn "A," do "B," look like and speak like "C" and symbolize "D" but if you do not learn A, and do B, and look like and speak like C, then you definitely are not D, you are an "other" and "others" in Arizona as in many other states are feared. Proposition like 103, and 203 who try to assimilate "others" reflect Arizona's fear of diversity. Proposition 300 which deliberately attacks students and excludes them from going to college, is yet another symbol of oppression, power, and status. Immigrants in Arizona are perceived as having lower status, and thus are less powerful, and continuously oppressed.

The urgency for progressive education, problem posing education, and critical pedagogy is critical to transform the role of schools to become sites of resistance and possibility. If education is to be understood as something valuable, then our role as educators should be to make an effort to mobilize inclusion of all students, to work towards social justice, to protest "common sense" and "neutrality" and actually try to understand our conditions. Education is a

powerful tool that can help promote dialogue and reflection. We have to continuously ask ourselves and talk about these issues, demythologizing stereotypes, and questioning why certain structures are in place. We have to allow our students to become subjects, to find their voice, to utilize it and participate in their own conscientization. Praxis is action with reflection.

For Freire, revolutionary praxis is the “denunciation of existence in demented society, followed by an annunciation of an alternative set of possibilities—with the announced new reality always already present in the act of denunciation and annunciation” (p. 194). A revolutionary pedagogy challenges the assumptions of schooling and its role. It is a huge task, but it is not about creating victories, but rather the conditions necessary for resistance. Accordingly, “we need to support signs of collective rebellion wherever they spring up” and have “unity in diversity,” to come together in an effort “to struggle against inequality in all of its odious manifestations” (McLaren, 2000, p. 202). We cannot stand back and pledge neutrality, “what is my neutrality, if not a comfortable and perhaps hypocritical way of avoiding any choice or even hiding my fear of denouncing injustice. To wash my hands in the face of oppression” (Freire, 1998, p. 101).

While there are no recipes for mobilizing inclusion, as they vary from situation to situation, we are required to commit ourselves towards critically comprehending and reading our world, in order to work towards changing it. Focusing on the struggle of immigrant students, here are a few themes and/or

recommendations for problem posing educators seeking to mobilize inclusion in their classrooms.

- Recognize the problems faced by immigrant populations, how these affect or impact students and children. How their condition is tied to their social status and position within the power structure.
- Recognize the impact of major structural forces such as race and racism, globalization, and capitalism. Understand how they influence power structures, ideologies, and the very role of education. How the meaning of schooling shifts depending our definition of education's purpose. Is it to educate or to assimilate or to train? What are we working towards?
- Recognize knowledge as a symbol of power, as a relationship that is always conflictive, understand that when we include some knowledge, we maybe excluding another alternative, we must have "respect for both [types of] knowledge" (of experience and of content) yet always ask what is being left out? Why? (Freire, 1992)
- Understanding our historicity is critical, not being afraid to foreground the role of race and racism in our history; understanding it but not being determined by it.
- Forming Alliances. So long as one is oppressed, we are all oppressed. How can we work towards our collective liberation?
- What does it mean to internalize oppression? How can we learn to become fully human when our identities are divided? Stepping out of our comfort zones, questioning what is perceived to be "logical" and "rational" in

order to strive for freedom is our goal.

- Language, how is it tied to our identities? How do policies such as English only and English as the Official language attack immigrant children? Promoting education models that are tailored towards the learning needs of students should take priority over their assimilation.
- Promote access, participation, and integration. Propositions like 300 deny access to higher education. Parent teacher conferences held during working times do not promote access to parent involvement. If parents of immigrant children are unable to help students with their homework, what can schools do to help through tutoring or other programs? As an educator, our role is to help children learn. Only through understanding our children's needs can we begin to achieve that. Who are our students, what are their struggles?

Finally, we must remember that we “only diminish the distance between [ourselves] and those who are exploited by the injustices imposed upon them when, convinced that a just world is a dream worth striving for, [we] struggle for a radical change in the way things are rather than simply wait[ing] for [them] to arrive because someone said [they] will arrive someday (Freire, 1998, p. 122).

Without doubt, many of us have experienced some form of exclusion growing up. We can no longer remain on the sidelines, watching the game unfold without us.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY AND NARRATIVE THEMES

We need to expand the civil rights struggle to a higher level—to the level of human rights. Whenever you are in a civil rights struggle, whether you know it or not, you are confining yourself to the jurisdiction of Uncle Sam (X, qtd. in Breitman, 1965, p. 34).

Without a doubt, fighting for immigrant rights is a complicated conundrum. For many years, we have been trying to fight for social justice within the confines and limitations of civil rights. But how can we advocate for rights within a system that classifies our very existence and physical presence as "against the law?" Based on my experiences and narrative analysis in this dissertation, I would argue that it is overdue to move ourselves away from this paradigm and fully embrace a discourse of human rights. Ours is a human rights struggle. We cannot continue to be afraid of a language of resistance, *a language that affirms our resignation to their facts and our unapologetic acceptance and resignation to this "label" of "illegality."*

We need to embrace a language that does not oppress but liberates - not just those that express and identify with its words, but anyone that this language infers or evokes in the process. What I mean by this is that we need a language that liberates not just those that are signaled by its words but those that take the role of doing the signaling. When someone labels someone an illegal, it oppresses not just the person being named and labeled but it also situates the subject doing the naming in a position of the oppressor. Similarly, when someone

claims that they are not illegal or that they are not a criminal, they are simultaneously placing a derogatory meaning to the term and shaming, judging, and convicting through language anyone who does fall under the category in question. And what is illegality after all? What does it mean to do something that is against the law? What is the law, but a seemingly agreed upon set of rules based on notions of rationality and common sense? And after all is said and done, what is rationality and common sense?

Historically, rationality, common sense, and the law have worked together to legitimize racism and oppression of people of color. Our lives have been subjected to a series of micro and macro aggressions that have traumatically damaged our ability to remember our shared humanity, and this political system and social structure is nothing but a fabrication of human hands; there is nothing rational about the hierarchy or the roles of inferiority and superiority that various groups are assigned. Being against the law, if anything, means being against and in opposition to this system, a system built on exploitation, injustice, greed, and an obsessive war against the "other." There is, therefore, no significant value in continuing to deny the heroic and beautiful act of crossing a superficial border; a border that perpetuates death, oppression, and injustice.

Antonio Gramsci's (1971) theoretical concept of cultural hegemony proposes that the norms or common sense of a society should not be viewed as natural or remain unquestioned, for they are most likely the result of the ruling class. They are shaped by a "political-economic and historical context" that privilege the ruling class of a society. As such, organizing under the guise of

common sense or good sense is dangerous, for without intending, one can very well adopt the very structures we are trying to dismantle or disrupt.

Critical analysis of the five narratives presented in this dissertation, reveal several key lessons about the way immigrants' rights were fought for in Arizona. The most important of which involves the idea of expanding our discourse and understanding of social movements, to the level of human rights.

In this section, I attempt to critically analyze the way the five narratives above are connected and the ways in which they relate and together speak to or inform my research questions, I revisit these below and conclude by offering some of the lessons and implications to the dialogue of sustainable social justice, and what this means for those trying to create it, particularly anyone involved in this struggle for human rights.

What did the Immigration Movement in Arizona Look like?

Contested Spaces

One of the primary themes of this dissertation involves the negotiation of public space. The narratives emphasize the significance of spaces and settings in shaping and influencing the way we construct, understand, and perform identity. Thus, in trying to understand what the immigrant rights movement in Arizona looked like, it is imperative to first conceptualize a series of spaces, and within each space the situated struggle of a discourse of threat versus a discourse of reassurance or belonging. "Places Like Naco," highlights one story of migration, my story conveys images of the type of spaces that migrants navigate. From the

journey(s) of crossing the border, to the setting of being an undocumented student in a classroom, these are symbolic narratives of symbolic settings.

Crossing Borders

The first narrative begins with the image of a migrant center and the visualization of trying to cross. To cross a physical border, entails entering not only an off-limits physical and contested space but it simultaneously involves that the subject enter the symbolic, mythological, and imaginary third space of "existing as an immigrant." The meaning of this location, which lacks a physical space, is contextual and framed by the cultural hegemony of the ruling class. This essay attempts to convey the visual image of migration itself as an act of resistance. I tried to illustrate that this journey, while many times beginning with fear, which almost always needs to be put aside, also begins with courage. When trying to imagine a portrait of migration, I believe this has to involve the constant balancing act of fear and courage, fear and resistance, and fear and possibility.

Furthermore, the various narratives depict the symbolic contrast between crossing the public and private sphere. The way my journey and the journey of immigrant rights organizers engaged in a constant dilemma while navigating the public versus private spheres.

Fear

A portrait of fear best captures the strong sentiments and discourse of hate displayed in the immigration movement. People screaming, yelling, and harassing day laborers and protesters of Sheriff Arpaio, name calling, anger and frustration all reveal the underlying current of fear, fear of the unknown and of

losing a style of life. At the same time, immigrant rights activists and immigrants participating in the protests were incredibly afraid. For many years now, our community continues to witness, with our hands shackled behind our backs, the way families are torn apart, the way our rights and lives depend upon political games.

What Discourse & Tactics Mediated the Immigration Movement?

Given the current political climate concerning immigration, it appears that the anti-immigrant sentiment continues to grow. One of the most critical components or repeated themes in any organizing meeting is the concept of messaging. Organizers are constantly aware and conscious of the importance of having the right “spin” or “message” for the media in order to make “our case” more palpable to the masses. Subsequently, it is important to analyze the hidden curriculum of our discourses and their role in social movements in order to understand what we were fighting for, whether our messages and discourse truly provide an avenue for sustainable social justice, and what we are losing or gaining from the identities we recognize, construct or deny in the process.

Assimilation

The narratives also illustrate the interconnectedness of migration with an assimilationist discourse. I described snippets of my childhood in which it was encouraged that I learn English and that I assimilate so as to become more worthy of citizenship or closer to being considered American.

Identity Performance

The importance of identity and the unconscious and conscious ways in which we choose to perform or enact it, is another symbolic feature of the writings presented. In my personal narrative I discuss the role of identity and the ways in which it was defined by the immigration situation that my family was living in. This is also illustrated in the identity performance of the organizers as seen in the narrative on “fighting for immigrant rights.” The Somos America meetings and profiles reveal the symbolic and political significance of identity performance. The literature on play and ritual points to the importance of play as giving us practice in situating our role in the social order. As such, the meetings presented a place and location to enact and practice a variety of positions and identities and observe the unfolding of numerous discourses that in turn shaped our own identity formations and juxtaposed them against each other.

Hegemony

Another symbolic theme of the counter narratives is the role of hegemony in limiting and constraining the behavior of each actor and subject. In the narrative on Somos America, the organizing meetings, and the tactics of Arpaio and organizers of the Pruitt’s protests, our behavior was mediated by the hegemonic culture of Arizona’s political climate and our own *habitus* of internalized oppression.

Micro and Macro Aggressions

Moreover, another feature that was visible in the immigration movement was the vast amount of micro and macro aggressions that the migrant community

experiences. Our community has been subjected to so much racism and oppression that the fabrication of borders in the interior via symbolic displays of aggression, violence, and force to deport and separate Mexican families is seen as part of everyday life, as common sense by virtue of living in Arizona.

Crisis

The discourse of crisis played a huge role in the tactics used by groups from both sides of the immigration debate. Arpaio utilized fear tactics to link the notion of criminality with immigration and fabricate an environment of crisis. His tactics to scare his constituency about the threat of immigrants to the safety of the county, helped safeguard his position and political career. Arpaio capitalizes on the fear of racists and anti-immigrant groups. In this sense, fear and crisis serve both as a distraction and as a weapon. On the one hand, people are distracted from real issues in society by blaming immigrants for society's ills and problems.

Internalized Oppression

Internalized oppression, as evidenced by the discourse throughout the various stories, was a significant theme across the narratives. Growing up undocumented had the effect of making me resent my status, and the circumstances that had gotten me there. I remember vividly at some point being ashamed of my life, and hating my parents for taking me into a country that wanted so badly to kick me out. Undoing and combating the internal oppression within us, is a difficult task to achieve, it takes time, and practice. The narratives

about Somos and Pruitt's describe in great detail the quest to adopt messaging that best refuted the ideologies of the oppressor.

In What Ways did the Protests Facilitate or Discourage Resistance?

The protests at Pruitt's were successful in manifesting a setting of resistance and visible platform to confront the injustices of the immigration raids. Participants of the protests were able to take time out of their lives of oppression and take action that enabled them to feel a sense of fighting the oppression. Standing in solidarity against the anti-immigrant crowd enabled participants a space to release the frustration and anguish often experienced in daily life via the reality of living undocumented. In this sense, the protests successfully manifested a front of resistance, at least temporarily. They drew national attention from the media and even government about a situation that remained in the shadows. At the same time, the protests also pacified the resistance of participants, in that they controlled and regulated the strategies and tactics and discourse that participants could use.

Collaboration with Phoenix police in appearing non-violent and non-threatening also served as a means of pacifying the momentum and disruption of the injustice that was happening through Arpaio's immigration raids. The discourses employed in the messaging of the protests to elevate the discussion to a discussion of human rights in contrast to the messaging previously displayed in the massive marches of 2006, were also liberating to participants and broadened the agenda of the movement, while also making the struggle more attractive and thereby increasing the support and participation of various members of the

community, from very radical ones to more conservative ones. At the same time, the discourses and emphasis on disputing myths of criminality, served as mechanisms of oppression and completed the hegemonic ideology about crime and the social construction of criminals as dangerous. They helped to further legitimize the claim that criminals are non-deserving of rights, by trying to differentiate ourselves from the label as if something was inherently wrong with criminality, and that if in fact we were criminals, then the oppression and injustice would be justified. These are some of the dynamics of resistance present from the side of the immigrant rights advocates.

From the side of the anti-immigrant proponents, Pruitt's served as a platform for them to carry out a visible parade in which to showcase the frustration with the immigration system and elevate their agenda to a national level. Their public support of Arpaio legitimized his tactics and made them look normal. Their power to define the debate through a discourse of patriotism was highly successful in distracting the reality of racism and nativist agendas, to a discourse about the law and protecting American territory.

Resistance was manifested in the sense that they did not restrict their movement in the streets, but rather freely expressed themselves and utilized the media to create a narrative of white injury. To showcase that they were simply protecting their turf, their community from the crime, filth, and criminal danger that immigrants were posing. Simultaneously, they utilized the story of Roger Sensing, the business owner of Pruitt's as an example of the harm that day laborers were causing to local business. Thus, Sheriff Arpaio, was simply

responding to their concerns and taking matters into their own hands, action that the Federal Government was failing to do.

What are the Implications or Lessons for Social Movements and Creating Sustainable Social Change?

A Discourse Focused on Human Rights I believe that the implications for social movements are the need to continue interrogating the tactics and strategies we employ in fighting for social change. Recognizing that the “fight” almost always entails two sides and that in making a good and bad guy scenario, we are simplifying the complexity of most social issues.

Elevating the discourse to a platform on human rights serves to unify rather than divide our cause. Being aware of the ways in which we can affirm or deny various identities and the implications that this has in our struggle is another lesson worth exploring. Lastly, the findings of this autoethnographic study underscore the need to continue to learn and take notice of the youth and their leadership in remaining more honest about what we are really fighting for.

Immigrant Children and Education

As illustrated by the narratives in the previous chapter, the political context in Arizona coupled with Arpaio’s immigration raids have further terrorized families. The climate of fear has gotten substantially worse. Children no longer have to just worry about being without status, feeling like an outsider, or the implications of being “illegal” they now have to go to sleep at night worried about whether their parents will become Arpaio’s next victims.

The kidnapping of parents by Arpaio, has left many children and young teenagers without their parents, these horrific stories do not exist in a vacuum but rather make their way into the culture and context in which immigrant children filter their experiences, and their notions of reality. The real and possible idea of losing their parents plagues their present and paralyzes their ability to think positively about the future. Amidst all this they are expected to learn and perform in similar ways to that of their peers.

The role of critical pedagogy in unlearning the oppression and trauma caused by the conditions immigrant children are living in is more critical than ever before. Social movements dedicated to sustainable social justice need to take into account the responsibility to create spaces of inclusion for our children, spaces that channel the anger and frustration they so validly are experiencing and forced to witness. A key lesson, again, is the importance of education, whether it occurs in the streets or in a classroom in guiding and empowering the new generation of people who will carry on this struggle after we are long gone.

Diversifying Tactics and the Role of Civil Disobedience

Undocumented and Unafraid wasn't always the popular slogan back in 2007. [Indeed] In fact, the role of civil disobedience was something organizers seldom contemplated nor wanted to explore. Great efforts were frequently placed on shaming certain tactics, and almost always overcompensating with a discourse on non-violence as essential to any of our demonstrations. Any push or attempt to discuss the need to diversify tactics and incorporate civil disobedience was often disregarded as too radical and crazy. One of the few and original proponents of

shifting the immigrant rights discourse further to the Left, included immigrant rights organizer Ray Ybarra⁴⁸. In his book, "Born on the Border" Ray describes the need to recognize human mobility as a fundamental human right. According to Ybarra (2013), in "Born on the Border," a discourse of resistance should "follow in the footsteps of migrants" who cross the border every day, who defy one of the biggest governments in the world in an effort to feed their families and exercise their fundamental and human right to migration.

In the narratives, I try to depict a need to evaluate the tactics and strategies we employ, and to allow room for more than one way to confront the racism and oppression that continues to marginalize the lives of immigrants in Arizona. An emergence of this tactic is now gaining popularity amidst the "dreamer" and immigrant rights youth movements.

The previous generation of "dreamers" argued that they had come to the United States, through no fault of their own, and that they were simply students pursuing their dreams, that they did not recognize Mexico as their country, and only knew the U.S. as their home, that they were good students and embodied the collateral damage of the immigration policies. In contrast to previous immigrant rights organizing groups, a new wave of immigrant youth activism has emerged and powerfully co-opted the stigma of illegality through the use of more radical

⁴⁸ Ray Ybarra led ACLU's legal observer project against the Minutemen Project in 2005. He organized hundreds of volunteers to document abuses from vigilantes along the U.S. Mexico border. He also presented across the country on the militarization of the border and the human right to mobility.

tactics such as civil disobedience. Their messages of “undocumented and unafraid” have powerfully radicalized and revolutionized the movement; creating a new wave of energy, resistance, and hope. I believe one of the lessons from this study, is that we need to have more of this type of resistance, the type of shift in consciousness Ybarra was advocating for in 2007.

Another example of this shift in messaging is illustrated in the work of a student photographer. A link to her project was shared all over Facebook. Her work captures the images of immigrant students honoring “the original dreamers.” The images contained photos of their parents and their children standing behind them with pride and honor. While previous tactics had the unintended and detrimental consequence of placing blame for their undocumented status on their parents, the new messaging sort of honors their sacrifices as instrumental to their dreams. While the push is still to paint a photo of dreamer students as good, law abiding, and American, I believe the shift in messages of “undocumented and unafraid” reveals a positive transformation in consciousness which can potentially begin to craft a space to unpack the internalized oppression of our community by owning a more open and honest discourse of resistance and liberation.

Finally, in the following and last chapter, I discuss some of the broader implications of the issues discussed in this dissertation and the lessons of fear and resistance in organizing for immigrant rights in Arizona.

Chapter 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

I like to tell stories, circular ones. I believe that stories have the effect of conveying the way meaning unfolds for the storyteller and the actors depicted in the narrative. For a long time now, our community has been the subject of a myriad of stories. All over the country people continue to talk and tell stories about immigration.

The interesting thing about stories is that there are many sides and multiple perspectives. Unfortunately, the story of migration, a tale of fear and struggle and through it all a story of courage and resistance, is a story not often told from the side of those who live it, those who don't have the privilege to disengage from this narrative after work hours, those whose identities have been defined by the implications and status of their migration. No. Stories from these perspectives are seldom told.

Instead, our history continues to be written, without our version of these events. Politicians and legislators in Washington spend countless hours legitimizing a hegemonic narrative that favors White supremacy and vilifies people of color. They have formalized meetings, read reports, toured the border, and listened to testimonies from think tank experts and witnesses about the numbers and economic impact, and the drugs, guns, and violence from the south. There are beheadings along the border, the Governor said so, and terrorists crossing miles of desert with backpacks.

Their power makes them the authority on issues that impact families and children of color; families they do not talk to, and children whose lives are deemed irrelevant in their simplified discussion of immigration. Their minds are made up. The nation's security is at risk. We cannot discuss comprehensive immigration reform without more security at the US... / Mexico border. The story continues. The border symbolizes their position or privilege to divide and draw boundaries. History in their eyes reveals that immigrants are harming our communities, they pose safety risks, they are more criminally inclined, and *why don't they try to speak English for God's sake*. The old immigrants understood this. *Not this generation of immigrants*. They are breaking our laws and making a mockery of our justice system. They are scaring old white folks in Sun City.

At a Fry's near the Arcadia neighborhood in Phoenix, an older man named Tom waits in line. Ahead of him is a Mexican mother with two kids, their cart is full of groceries, foods he doesn't recognize like *Fideo* and *Chocolate Abuelita*, a child begins to cry and the mother appears frustrated and frazzled. The cashier speaks to her in Spanish; he can't understand what they are saying. An item doesn't have a price. The cashier needs to go check the price, *the wait continues*. The increasingly visible presence of immigrants in Tom's neighborhood is undeniable. Across the street at the local Home Depot, men gather looking for work. As he turns on the ignition of his Ford truck, he becomes frustrated with the poverty and transformation of his neighborhood. The talk radio host sounds angry, he reports that a young brown male shot and killed a cop. *"Immigrants are taking over our country."* *"What part of illegal don't they understand...No one is*

above the law.” Tom drives away and wonders whether he agrees with the announcer. The streets appear different. Businesses with bright colored buildings and signs with Spanish names depict the shift in demographics. *Filibertos, Carniceria Guerrero, La llantera.* “*What is happening?*” The announcer continues. At a red light, he turns to his side and notices a black Navigator with shiny rims, through the window he notices the driver. His dark skin adorned with gold jewelry confirms his fears. He’s approaching Thomas and 36th street, a crowd of people, predominantly White with Harley motorcycles, carrying flags, and wearing red, white, and blue clothing stand to the left of a liquor store. Some are standing in a line with signs and banners. He slows down to read the signs “*Maricopa County is not going to become LA county,*” “*We Support Sheriff Joe!*” To the side another crowd gathers, mariachis and signs that read “*No Somos Criminales*” and “*We are American*” permeate the setting. MCSO Sheriff deputies in khaki gear and black bullet proof vests gather around the protest group to the right, and appear to be regulating their actions. Police officers in blue uniforms with guns, also out in large numbers, are present and appear to be placing barricades between the groups. Tom drives on and cannot believe what he witnessed. “How many cops does it take to contain these law breakers?”

It’s 2:45 and Katherine can’t wait to get home. Her mom promised her she’d take her to her aunt’s house to play with her cousin Lourdes. She waits outside the school in the same spot as always. The minutes go by and it is now almost 4. Something is definitely wrong. *She’s scared.* She heard not too long ago that Silvia’s dad was stopped and deported by the Sheriff while driving to

work. She tries to put these thoughts aside but can't stop thinking about it. Suddenly a car drives up and it's her Tia Carmen. She runs to open the front passenger door and sees the tears rushing down her Tia's face. A knot begins to build inside her throat. "*Your mom was taken...* in a raid at her job Katy, I need you to *be strong*." Her stomach feels sick. Empty. She starts to cry. "What does this mean? *¡Quiero ver a mi mama...!*" Carmen tries to be strong for Katy, but can't find the words to explain that the sheriffs took her mom, that she really didn't do anything wrong, but that she is facing criminal charges. October 19, Katy puts on her best clothes. They are attending her mom's arraignment at Superior Court. The court's high and open ceilings and space intimidate her, but she doesn't care, she wants to see her mom. From a distance Katy's mom comes out in shackles wearing striped white and black clothing. She wants to run to her and hold her, but has been told she can't make contact with her mother during court. She feels trapped, like if she too was wearing handcuffs. She screams, runs, and cries in silence. Inside her, her screams become louder, but outside her she can't move, her body fails her. Her heart hurts, "why are these people *taking my mom away?*"

The story repeats, and with it, common sense makes love with the master narrative of lies.

Enough.

Disruption of this story is not enough.

It exists uninterrupted in a structural system of inequality, racism, sexism, and hatred for anything and anyone that is not understood or that does not fit into an

easy label to be controlled and to assimilate into the prevalent theater of The American Way. Our play of good and evil requires someone to take the fall. Immigrants are part of this story, we are needed to fill this role, we serve a purpose, and a good one, our criminality ensures their goodness. Good guys can't exist without bad guys. Any storyteller knows that.

And so what of it? This is just a dissertation. But it is a narrative that aims at dismantling the theater and making us all part of the performance. For a brief minute, it hopes to spark reflection and abstract a situation that is so emotionally charged that we have found no tools to take our hearts out and understand it. Our identities are dependent upon which discourse, which story perseveres. If immigrants are bad guys, then would not "our hating them" for no good reason make us the bad guys? If the minutemen and Arpaio are not the cause of this mess, then what would explain the imprisonment and criminalization of our parents? The answers are not clear, nor should they be.

We are dealing with an issue that is complicated, and perhaps this is the theme and message of this writing. Perhaps we need to focus more energy on complicating and seeking to elevate this often simplified discussion away from common sense and into the realm of problematizing our responses and ways of resolving it. We need to take in – deeply – the stories we share.

So what does this mean for social movements? What lessons can we take away from the demonstrations and the discourse used across the street from the Pruitt's parking lot. What does my own personal auto ethnography reveal about education and migration? After reflecting on my participation in the

demonstrations, and in trying to analyze the effects of the contrasting language and competing symbols of assimilation and resistance, I believe my personal narrative and my experiences in Somos America and organizing at Pruitt's showcased that language and discourse that attempts to disguise our identities by claiming us to be "American" and "good" have the potential of indirectly harming the struggle, and our own liberation, in the long run.

At the end of day, we are who we are, and there's not much we can do to change the minds of those in power. Instead we must continue a movement directed at and *for ourselves*. A movement that seeks to change the conditions of oppression that affect us all, not at convincing people to feel bad for us and grant us human rights. Human rights are something we already possess, something that rests within us and that no one can take away. We must continue to resist oppression, but make us the audience of our own liberation. We will do this through education and a continued struggle of collaboration and support, not just of one tactic, but of many strategies that have the goal and aim of liberation of our community.

In regards to community organizing, we need to remember that spaces of resistance should not be controlled. The impotence felt through Katy's body needs a space of manifestation. [placeholder for embodied scholarship vs. disembodied – Refs from Beth]. Our voices of protest and resistance should at the very least exist unrestrained and allowed to scream free through the contested streets of Arizona. Let's make it clear that the violence and criminalization that occurs daily in the interior and via deaths and injustice along the border, the

violence that is impacting our families is not something that will occur in silence and without an unafraid response to call racism by the name it carries.

I would argue that there is an urgent need to diversify our tactics and support sites of resistance wherever they appear is more necessary today than ever before. The civil rights movements of the 1960s occurred with many of the dilemmas we are witnessing today. They included turmoil and dispute in strategies and within organizations. But together, the multiple strategies employed placed a front to the movement that indicated that change was imminent, for it would be taken whether through peace and non-violence, or through disruption of the status quo and civil disobedience. The various strategies shaped the possibilities and framework in which civil rights were to be understood. The parameters allowed for the status quo to recognize that there was no longer a choice, the way things were was going to change.

We cannot enclose or: limit ourselves within the parameters of those on the Right. Where is the left in the immigrant rights movement? We need to establish a more leftist and radical position and allow our community to express their role(s) within this symbolic contestation of land and identity. We cannot mimic the tactics and strategies of repression that are used against us by the ruling class and apply them to the communities we are trying to mobilize and represent. We must join the struggle and leadership that is already existent in the daily lives of immigrant families.

Simultaneously, we need to continue the journey of critical education and pedagogy. Our children are hurting and our communities are in a context of

trauma and internalized oppression. We cannot wait in line for a system to recognize and legitimize our lives. How can we create spaces that liberate us? As Henry David Thoreau so profoundly and accurately stated, “these four walls cannot imprison me...you can imprison my body, but not my mind.” As such, we need to continue the work to educate ourselves about what is happening to our community. We also need to interrogate the roles of racism, sexism, prejudice and discrimination in our lives and in our communities of color. We need to view this as a duty that we have not for ourselves but for our children.

At the same time, I am calling for a conceptualization of education as not restricted to formal systems of education such as schools and universities, but something that is very much possible and already existent in the streets and through civic engagement and social pedagogy (insert citation for Schugurensky or others). I believe community organizing and social protest are educational vehicles where learning happens. It is in the streets, with posters, and banners and in community meetings and conversations with people that I feel I have learned more about myself and about subjects that are only theories when exposed in pages at school. When we are engaged civically, we observe and participate on the way these concepts play out. Identity, politics, sociology, psychology, education, art, religion, economics, business are all examples of subjects that are taught indirectly through civic participation and community organizing. This realization further exemplifies the great responsibility that community organizations and advocates have in the ways in which we organize collective

action. There is a need to recognize the lessons we are projecting and whether these are aligned with our philosophy of justice.

As a scholar, I align myself with Gloria Anzaldua (1990) in recognizing the need for *teorias*. Like bell hooks, I'm advocating for a reclaiming of theory as a "necessary practice within a holistic framework of liberatory activism" (hooks, 1994, p. 69). I am calling that we reclaim theory through our stories, our narratives, our testimonios of resistance, perseverance, struggle and even our fears. Let's re-insert *el espiritu de la mujer* into the abstractions of theory that aims at understanding the behaviors of bodies that exist in spite of bodies. In spite of our race, in spite of our gender, in spite of our sexuality, we continue on, we pull through. This is the spirit of the *inmigrante*. This is the spirit of the *mujer*. We exist and thrive in the foreign, the unknown and the uncertain for it is what we have known. Throughout this work I questioned myself and the borders and spaces I found my research crossing. Navigating these spaces with uncertainty and a feeling of isolation is not something new. As an immigrant *mujer* of color, the notion of walking through uncharted terrain was engrained into my conscience by the sweat and struggle of my parents.

The support of our *madres*, our *abuelas*, our *sisters*, our *suegras*, our *amigas* and other *mujeres* who *get us* heals and reinvigorates our spirit. I am claiming that we reinsert this *espiritu*, the *energia* that comes alive at a table of *mujeres chismeando, peleando*, or what my mom called *alegando*. This spirit has been silenced-many times by our own conscience; it has been made invisible, unseen, unsymbolized, unintegrated, or disregarded from theory. All too often we

dismiss it as not real, we too are threatened by our acceptance of ourselves. In reclaiming theory, I aspire to insert this body and the stories I find meaningful as valid forms of knowledge and tools for analyzing society and the world.

Pendleton-Jimenez describes "My body is my primary tool for sensing the land, for establishing intimacy" (p. 222). My body has experienced feelings of invisibility associated with existing in a status of illegitimacy.

But we are not saved. I am not undocumented anymore. *La residencia y la ciudadanía* opened doors for me that were not available for other girls *like me*. My privilege is an injustice, and yet the impetus for continuing to advocate for social change of a system that creates these disparities. I call upon the new generation of "documented immigrants" not to forget the spaces of repression, to maintain it in the collective memory to convert it into a collective conscience that guides our actions and our movement. *We are not saved.* The language we are using to communicate with is in itself a symbol of oppression. "I know that it is not the English language that hurts me, but what the oppressors do with it, how they shape it to become a territory that limits and defines, how they make it a weapon that can shame, humiliate, colonize" (Adrienne Rich qtd. in hooks, 1994, p. 168). I am calling for an active conscious understanding of the way our words embody ideologies of oppression.

Most importantly I am advocating that we continue breaking the silence, that we continue crossing borders that are not just physical but those that regulate various dimensions and relationships in our lives. We need to embrace and co-opt the labels of illegality and crime, and question them. There is nothing inherently

wrong with breaking a law that is unjust. If it comes to picking sides, I much rather be the criminal, the person that resisted a law that separated me from my human instinct to live and provide for my family.

As a mother, I have become so amazed at the lack of physical space to contain the vast amount of love I have for my child, for my son Ray Emerson. I realize that there is nothing in the world that could stand in my way of protecting him and giving him the world. It saddens me to recognize that his life must exist within reality of hatred and violence and political games that make his smile invisible and unimportant.

The people in the world that recognize that humanity supersedes any structural man made system of arbitrary rules and laws are people who are already free. Collective action and a movement for human rights is an inclusive responsibility. I believe the one key lesson I have learned, through this personal journey of self-reflection and contradictory struggle, is that anyone interested in sustainable social justice cannot ignore the duties and responsibilities and complications that are an inevitable part of the process. At times this entails crossing mental, cultural, political and real vs. fictional borders. Just like so many migrants often describe, lo hice “por mis hijos” espero que esta historia también le dé luz a las injusticias que ocurren todo los días en Arizona, y en todo el país. Mi voz y mis palabras en esta historia también las escribí;

Para mis hijos.

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APPENDIX A

ESSAY ON BORDERLAND RESEARCH

Transformative and Imaginary Spaces:

The Borderlands, Research, and the Stories We Tell

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Transformative and Imaginary Spaces:

The Borderlands, Research, and the Stories We Tell

Abstract

This essay discusses implications and ethical dilemmas associated with conducting research with vulnerable communities. The Arizona/Sonora border and surrounding migrant communities have been subjects of constant misrepresentation, decontextualized political debates, and dehumanized ideological discourses. Through quantitative statistical reports, outsider research, and agendas that do not take into consideration or acknowledge an ethical responsibility to those communities, a mythological and imaginary identity of the border, and the communities that reside around it, is sustained. The stories we tell, have meaning, and impact communities in tangible ways. This counter-narrative presents a critique and analysis of the symbolic construction of transformative spaces, such as the border region. I critique the ways in which this zone has been fabricated as dangerous and migrant communities as a violent threat. I argue that there is a pressing need and ethical duty for researchers and activist scholars to develop what I call a “critical borderless space” whereby we can continue to interrogate the ethical responsibilities and dilemmas associated with doing borderland research and work. I propose a theoretical framework, which I am naming Border Crit Theory or Border Crit Studies, with the intention of crafting an emerging field that better addresses the needs and concerns of border and migrant communities.

Transformative and Imaginary Spaces;

The Borderlands, Research, and the Stories We Tell

What does it mean to call a place home? Since the age of eight, I've grappled with this question and its transformational significance. Increasingly so, with the birth of my son, I ponder what it means to build him a home, to come home, to feel at home. Once upon a time, I too was "an illegal," an "immigrant," a "criminal," an "other." Today, I "belong." However, this sense of belonging doesn't quite feel genuine. I suppose that for some of us, we will never be able to experience a deeper sense of belonging, so long as we are an other, we will continue to exist in this zone of indistinction, in an imaginary space, *sin tierra en cuál sembrar nuestras raíces*. This is what living in the borderlands feels like. It is like living in a house without foundation. We are confined by shifting walls and borders, we exist in a mythological land of the here and there. Como dice la India Maria, *somos ni de aqui ni de allá*. This is our home. And it has been fabricated for us. It is a wavering zone that has been intentionally constructed to make the "other" feel unwelcomed. This disquiet of being an insider yet outsider is what haunts this reflection on ethical methodological practice.

What does it mean to do research on and in the borderlands? What ethical responsibilities do we sustain and reinforce when we help narrate these mythological spaces through research? These are some of many questions that I grappled with when "researching" the immigrant rights movement in Arizona. Having spent a considerable amount of time organizing and advocating for

immigrants' rights, I wanted to document what was happening, the things that outraged me, and the things that I felt were an important and yet neglected part of history. It did not take long, however, before I began to feel great discomfort and began questioning the ethics of this process, my own included. As a graduate student, with the goal of writing a dissertation, I needed to label my work research and the stories of my people became data. I wondered how I could reconcile my obvious privilege? I am an insider, yet an outsider too. Was I betraying the people who trusted me? Who was this research for? What was its purpose? Who was I writing about and why? Did I have a right to write about this? I claim that I'm not a researcher. But what are the implications of my writings and who do they benefit- if anyone? What stories am I neglecting and or foregrounding? What narrative(s) or details am I leaving behind? These and many other concerns, led me to realize that this thing I was doing called 'research' had real-life consequences. The stories we tell have meaning and they impact communities in tangible ways.

For a long time now, I've been angry about the way the media and academic literature on Latinos represent Mexican and migrant communities, and the way headlines and countless reports depict the border as dangerous and characterize the migrant community as violent. Here I was, now part of the offending groups that research and label our *gente*. "My goals are different," I told myself. "Esta es mi comunidad..." but somehow not even that seemed enough to guard me from making the same mistakes that plague other researchers when people become data. Latinos and migrant communities along the U.S. /

Mexico border are often subjects of misrepresentation and decontextualized political debates. They are consistently dehumanized via ideological discourses, quantitative statistical studies, outsider research, and agendas that do not acknowledge an ethical responsibility to the communities they are working with. Researchers collect what is useful to them, parasitically, and then leave. Researchers write their studies, outsiders draft their reports, organizers hold their campaigns, filmmakers make their films, politicians take tours and hold their meetings, and then one day, without any sustainable commitment to those communities, they leave. Only minimal academic literature addresses the ethical responsibility with conducting borderlands research. Subsequently, this essay attempts to formulate a platform in order to continue interrogating some of the above mentioned dilemmas. I problematize the notion of research in the borderlands, to create a Critical Border Studies space, situated within a LatCrit theoretical framework. It is written with the intention of crafting what I am naming a "Borderless Critical Space" whereby we as scholar-activists can pause and consider more deeply what it means to do research with vulnerable communities.

First, I present context, background and analysis of the way the Arizona-Mexico border has been socially and visually constructed to become what Adelman (1985) refers to as a "political condensation symbol." This militarized zone represents danger, violence, and a threat to American values. This construction of the border and the people who inhabit these lands has resulted in a fanatical brand of patriotism that is racialized (thereby evoking feelings of fear,

patriotic pride, and the production of public anxiety about the integrity of whiteness). Second, I offer a theoretical framework that I name Border Crit Theory, an emerging field to better addresses the concerns of migrant and border communities.

It is my hope that as scholars, but more importantly as people, we continue to offer more difficult questions rather than easy answers as we struggle together to make sense of our not always rational or sense making world. I argue that there is a pressing need to evaluate the implications of misrepresentation and the consequences of fabricating an imaginary identity or mythological construction of the border and the communities that reside around it. The border is not an abstract space for us to discourse and fight over, it is a place where children are born, and it is the home of many, not always visible, communities.

Migration & the Dangerous Border Area

Sitting on a wooden bench, like birds perched upon a tree branch, two older men stare into the road as a few cars slowly cruise on by, both wear vaquero hats, from a distance you can see the sign of hotel Gadsden...

Driving down to Douglas, Arizona, my husband often points out the beauty of the Arizona/Sonoran Desert. The vastness of the desert and its radiantly orange sunsets create some of the most beautiful landscapes one has ever seen. Yet, here in this very space begins what many do not describe as beautiful but rather as dangerous. As soon as you begin exiting Tucson, this zone is encircled

by white SUV trucks with bold green letters (that read Border Patrol). The visibly “tough” trucks are protecting the country from the potential harm of villain-like strangers. They are foreigners, or worse-- faceless “aliens,” who according to most in Arizona, invade and exploit the land. Despite the veracity of these problematic narratives, it makes for convincing fiction. This fiction has been created to reinforce a symbolic illusion or what Murray Adelman (1985) refers to as “condensation symbols” (p. 7).

In politics, condensation symbols are politically constructed markers that do not accurately reflect the communities they seek to define; they are acts that stand for something and yet lack a check with the immediate environment. They “condense into one symbolic event, sign, or act patriotic pride, anxieties, remembrances of past glories or humiliations, promises of future greatness: some one of these or all of them” (Adelman, 1985, p. 6). In other words, these singular events or acts come to hold meaning beyond the action. The border, the walls, the trucks, the gear, the brown bodies handcuffed away, are but a few examples of the type of images that not only work in harmony to create a “moving panorama” or “passing parade,” in other words, a perception that immigration or rather criminal enforcement is taking place, but they do so in a way that implies that this circus is necessary (Adelman, 1985, p.5). The result is yet even more support and funds of militarization of an already heavily policed area. These symbols evoke a myriad of emotions, from nativism, patriotism, and hate to fear, discomfort, and anxiety.

The symbolic nature of the border makes it clear that there is a dangerous *them* and an innocent *us*. Subsequently, when authors narrate these spaces as

dangerous they, inadvertently or intentionally, are participating in a discourse that co-constructs and fabricates a zone or world that becomes political, a world that passing observers cannot touch or verify for its truth. The fact remains that the lines are not clearly delineated, those that are trying to keep people out, and those that are considered in, are sometimes more out than in, and those in the outside are more in than out. Douglas, AZ and Agua Prieta, SN are an example of this dynamic.

Douglas and Agua Prieta are two cities but consist of one community; one community wounded by *a line* of ignorance. Families and relationships exist across both towns; Mexican children go to school *en el otro lado*, and economies—legal and illegal—are interdependent upon each other. Both communities are joined together by a wall, a wall that neither residents notice too much, as it is something one eventually dismisses as part of ‘the way things are,’ and yet it is the big elephant in the room that has made them all collateral damage. These communities have become so impoverished, that the only avenue for making a living for younger generations is to join immigration enforcement or crime (both entities exist because of each other). People in this area have no choice but to work for law enforcement or result to crime because the circus of enforcement has become such a huge business that it has distorted and consumed the entire identity of this community and killed everything that resides around it. Therefore, the only choice for people who want to make a living here is to either ‘join ‘em’ or work against them, by crossing drugs or crossing people.

El Chef y El Wual-Martt

rows of vehicles fill the small parking lot, of a salmon colored dilapidated building with brown lettering painted across the top, one or two border patrol trucks take center stage, inside rest sonidos de risa, gente platicando, in English y en Español, ¿Tiene chiles rellenos, hoy? More chips, please...y luego cuentame...yo te lo dije...are you ready to order? Asks the waitress as salsa spills across the plastic table cloth of our table...as I stare ahead, four men uniformed in green sit together in the corner...the bathroom is occupied by two Mexican children playing hide and seek, their mother runs behind them “Andale, open the door, people are waiting..” a BP agent walks past her...excuse me maam...smells of warm tortillas, onions and frijoles fill the room

At El Chef, for instance, the local Mexican restaurant in this area, there might be smugglers and border patrol agents eating within a foot from each other, all sharing this space. Simultaneously, there are the residents that live there, residents that put up with all of it and yet are often forgotten in the conversations about migration. The government and self-identified patriots talk about protecting the nation, while no one discusses and protects the folks who live and breathe in this militarized zone, they are the true natives.

The Wal-Mart, or what appears to be more like a giant mall, is yet another example of how people are connected, families from both sides of the border come here to shop. The people look the same, and yet these brown faces are seldom the ones we see on television sets. Instead, the majority is presented as

consisting of white ranchers who are coincidentally against 'immigration.' While in reality, local residents are mostly of Chicana/o Latina/o descent; they are people whose families reside on both sides of the fictitious divide. The production of a visual spectacle of white injury remains in the memories of countless patriots across the nation. As fear and rage spreads, the government and savvy politicians willing to capitalize on fragile emotions respond in full force. The federal government sends troops, technology, and weapons to further dramatize the spectacle.

Millions of dollars in funds are sent to Douglas year after year; all of this money goes towards enforcement and financial support is exacted under the narrative of "protecting the nation." Yet the people in this area, who are predominantly of Mexican heritage, whose community is truly under invasion receive nothing. Douglas residents, for example, are forced to drive over an hour to Sierra Vista, AZ to see their children being born, as this is the nearest hospital with a maternity ward. Housing is dilapidated, business and employment is scarce, and quality health care is simply unavailable. Funding to buttress the infrastructure that exists is desperately needed, but this aid never seems to come. This raises other questions like, who is protecting these communities? Who is responsible for the damage the spectacle of enforcement creates? Who's accountable for the symbols that are fabricated when myths are reinforced over accepting the inconvenient truth? The people that are coming across are at times simply relatives of those living in Douglas. Others from the deeper south are here for work, or to reunite with families. But this is not another narrative about why

immigrants are good, or why they are innocent or add economic value to this country. This is a narrative designed to denounce fiction, to question the stories we tell, and how we tell them, to turn research on its head in an effort to contextualize reality and to put in the open the agendas of those doing the writing, all with the goal of demanding ethics and respect to colonized and contested land.

This is a counter narrative to insert doubt about what it means to do research on the borderlands, about what it means to label particular communities dangerous, to label immigrants aliens, and to label migration a crime. It means that in turn condensation symbols will be created, reality will be distorted, people will be disenfranchised, and communities like Douglas will continue to be marginalized by symbolic political borders.

Border Crit: Towards A Borderless Critical Place

As described in this essay, there is a pressing need to begin crafting a space for research that acknowledges the complexities and ethical responsibilities one has and should maintain when writing about or with vulnerable border communities. I do not have the answers for how one should begin to achieve this task or if it is even a possible endeavor. But I hope to start a dialogue that can lead to a better understanding and better practices for those who seek to intellectually profit from the U.S.-Mexico border. As Swadener (2004) described in the introduction in *Decolonizing Research in Cross-Cultural Contexts*, “I have confronted the likelihood that decolonizing research is a messy, complex, and perhaps impossible endeavor. Yet I have affirmed that attempting to decolonize

one's work is a project worth pursuing in solidarity with local colleagues and movements" (Mutua & Swadener, 2004, p.7). In an effort to continue building upon this attempt to decolonize our own research, I present my concerns as points of departure for further dialogue and critical self-reflection about our research and political agendas. We need to keep asking the type of questions, that bring us closer to becoming ethical storytellers and allies to the communities we seek to represent.

Critical Race Theory is a useful tool to begin this important self-reflexive and epistemological interrogation. I propose a theoretical framework emerging from within LatCrit and Critical Race Theory. Similar to Bryan Brayboy's (2006) article "Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education," in which he outlines the tenets for an emerging field he calls TribalCrit, in this essay I build upon his framework for TribalCrit and begin outlining some possible tenets for what I am naming Border Crit Studies or Border Crit Theory. I do this with the intention of creating a space that better addresses the issues and concerns of border and migrant communities.

The proposed field Border Crit Studies or Border Crit (Border Critical Race Theory) consists of the following, briefly summarized tenets:

1. Borders and Racism are interlinked and endemic to society.
2. U.S. policies toward border communities are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for political gain.

3. Border communities occupy a symbolic mythological and transformative space of indistinction that accounts for both the political and racialized nature of identities.
4. Migrant communities believe in (and act upon) their fundamental right to cross borders, or what Ray Ybarra has named “the right to Human Mobility.”
5. The concepts of land, property, migration, citizenship, identity, culture, community, knowledge, education, and power take on new meaning when examined through a borderless lens.
6. Governmental policies and educational policies toward border communities are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation and white supremacy.
7. Redefining migration as a natural fundamental right, exposing the symbolic parade of enforcement and racial fears, as well as foregrounding the stories of local communities, is central to understanding the lived realities of border migrant communities.
8. Coming to the border to film, write, or document often does more harm than good (by inadvertently re-affirming the racism and fear of a few white residents while ignoring, or giving disproportionate time, to people of color who have lived in the border area for generations and make-up the majority of the population).

9. Counter-stories and narratives are essential to theory, and are therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.
10. Doing research towards a Borderless Critical Place demands a direct action, activist, and ally component to research. It requires a systematic commitment to social justice, and human rights for people residing on both sides of the border.

Border Crit Research requires a re-imagining of a world without borders, geographic, and epistemological. It requires a call for context and a history of the beginning. Researchers have a responsibility to admit their privilege, and engage with the world they are ‘studying,’ to become close to the people and places they are narrating versus distancing themselves through insincere objectivity. We cannot allow the continuance of opportunistic narratives to exist without at the very minimum exposing them for what they are or using them as tools to demand more from those that claim to represent or narrate the stories and lives *de nuestra gente*. People come in and out of border communities, concluding their studies, picking up and leaving. Working in the border region with insincere objectives (or to fulfill a “third-world” experience) is not only unacceptable, but it is violence resulting in irreparable harm.

Subsequently, I propose Border Crit Theory as an epistemological tool to help further explore and navigate the ethical dilemmas discussed herein. While this is a very rough sketch of an emerging and important theoretical framework, it is a start for others facing similar dilemmas, or sharing similar concerns, to

critique and or build from. There are a number of writings, from decolonizing research to Chicana Feminist epistemologies, that have paved the way for this important discussion (such as Anzaldua (1999), Delgado Bernal (1998), Elenes (1997), Dicochea (2006), Mignolo (2000), Pendleton Jimenez (2006), Saldivar (1997), Rosaldo (1993), Sandoval (1998, 2000), Villenas (2006)). It is my hope that this essay contributes to this growing field of ethical borderland scholarship.

Conclusions, We Are Still Not Home

Since the age of 8, I have grappled with this idea of what it means to call a place home. I am no longer seeking to find the answer, but rather continuing to ask and not accepting answers that seem good enough. For some of us, we will never know what it means to truly belong. Still, I find comfort in residing in places that transform us. We will continue straddling borders and binaries and spaces that divide us, that ignore our multiple identities and confuse our intentions. The important thing is to continue acknowledging and exposing the contradictions and social constructions that attack and hurt border communities. While I struggle with the discomfort of writing and doing research, a process that forces me to become the colonizer doing the *othering*, I still recognize the importance of telling our stories, and attempting with the risk of failing to come somewhat closer to ‘a critical borderless space,’ whereby I can attempt to do justice to the history, experiences, and *cuentos de mi gente*.

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APPENDIX B
PHOTOGRAPHS



Mama Lu



La Virgen da La Luz



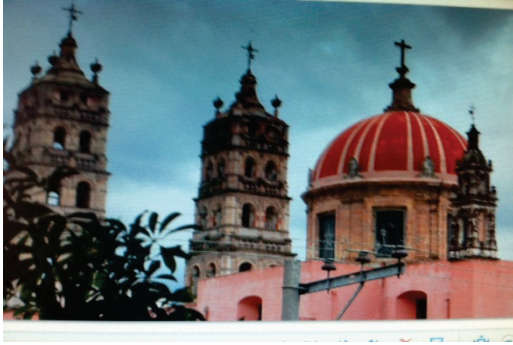
El Jardin, Salvatierra, GTO, Mex



La Parroquia, Salvatierra, GTO, Mex



El Carmen, Salvatierra, GTO Mex



Salvatierra, GTO



Salvatierra, GTO



El Mercado, Salvatierra, GTO



Salvatierra, GTO



Salvatierra, GTO



Mujeres, Salvatierra, GTO



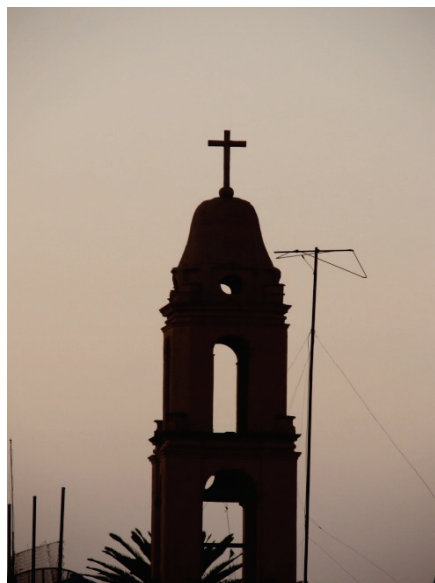
Salvatierra GTO



Salvatierra, GTO



My Papa Miguel y Mi Abuelita,
Salvatierra, GTO



Salvatierra, GTO



Mis Padres



Mis Padres



Mi Padre



Mi Abuelita's Kitchen, Mexico



Mis Padres



Mi Familia



Mi Familia



Mi Familia



Mi Familia



Nieve en el Jardin



Nieve en Jardin



Learning in the Borderlands



Border WALL



Desert



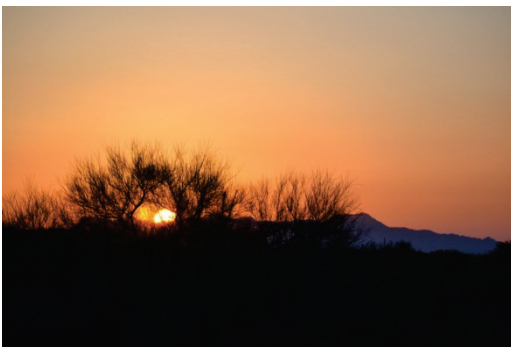
Border WALL



Arizona Sunsets



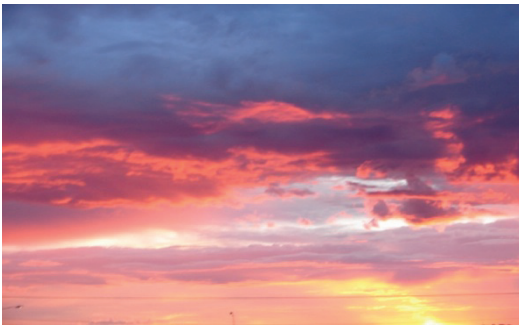
Border WALL



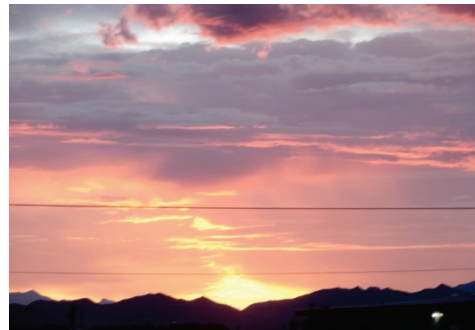
Arizona Sunsets



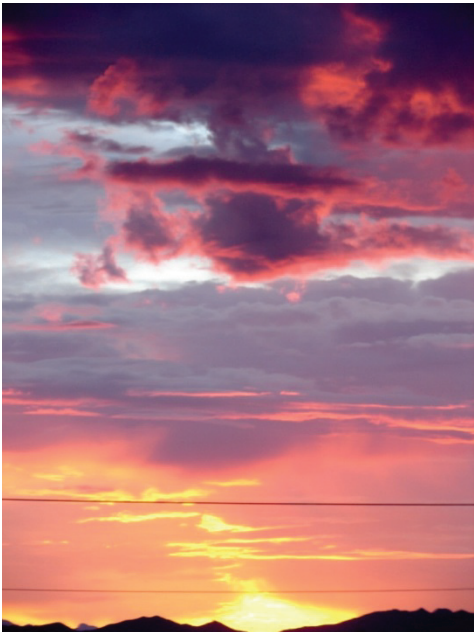
Arizona Sunsets



Arizona Sunsets



Arizona Sunsets



Arizona Sunsets



Arizona Dessert



Arizona Dessert



Border surveillance



Ray, Legal Observing at the Border



Children Playing in AP, Sonora



Border WALL



Border WALL



Naco Migrant Center



Naco Migrant Center



Naco Migrant Center



Naco Migrant Center



Naco Migrant Center



Child at Naco Migrant Center



Beaten up by Border Patrol, at Naco Migrant Center



Shoes, at Naco Migrant Center



Injured, Naco Migrant Center



Families, at Naco Migrant Center



Hermoso, at Naco Migrant Center



Children eating soup, at Naco Migrant Center



Young girl, at Naco Migrant Center



Women, at Naco Migrant Center



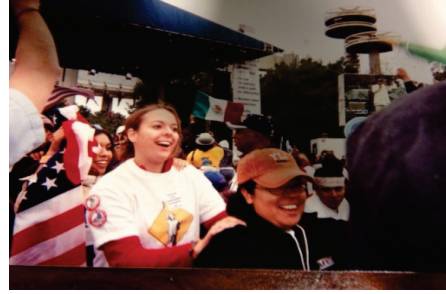
Peter, at Naco Migrant Center



Gilberto, at Naco Migrant



Immigrant Freedom Rides 2003



Immigrant Freedom Rides 2003



Immigrant Freedom Rides 2003



Immigrant Freedom Rides 2003



Immigrant Freedom Rides 2003



Immigrant Freedom Rides 2003



Maricopa County Sheriff's



Maricopa County Sheriff's



Pruitt's Protest



Maricopa County Sheriff's patrolling streets near Pruitt's



Pruitt's Protest



Pruitt's Protest



Pruitt's Protest



Pruitt's Protest



Sheriff Arpaio at Pruitt's Protest



Somos America Marches Banner



Pruitt's Protest



Pruitt's Protest



Legal Observing at Pruitt's Protest



Banda at Pruitt's Protest



Banda at Pruitt's Protest



Banda at Pruitt's Protest



Pruitt's Furniture Store



Pruitt's Protest



Pruitt's Protest



Pruitt's Protest



Command Center of Arpaio Raid near Pruitt's



Pruitt's Protest



Barricade Walls, Raid Near Pruitt's



Barricade Wall, Raid Near Cave Creek Rd.



Raid Near Cave Creek



Sheriff Vehicles, Raid Near Pruitt's



Raid Near Pruitt's



Raid Near Pruitt's



Pruitt's Protest



Pruitt's Protest



Pruitt's Protest



Pruitt's Protest



Raid Near Pruitt's



Pruitt's Protest



Raid Near Pruitt's



Raid Near Pruitt's



Raid Near Pruitt's



Raid Near Pruitt's



Vehicles, Raid Near Pruitt's



Motorcycles, Raid Near Pruitt's



Raid Near Pruitt's



Raid Near Pruitt's



Raid Near Pruitt's



Raid Near Pruitt's



Angry Man Shouting, Raid Near Pruitt's



Pruitt's Protest



Symbolic Resistance



Symbolic Enforcement



Pruitt's Protest



Pruitt's Protest



Pruitt's Protest



Pruitt's Protest



Symbolic Enforcement



City Hall



Dreamer's Press Conference on Prop 300



Making Posters



Making Posters



Prop 300 Press Conference



We Still Have a Dream Signs



Dreamers



Protesting Pruitt's



American Dream

AMERICAN DREAMS
We still have a Dream!
Higher Education
Pass the Dream Act!



www.myspace.com/justiceforazstudents

Prop 300 Flyer / Dreamers



Dream Act



Stop SB1070 Protest in Douglas in 2010



Stop SB1070 Protest in Douglas in 2010



Stop SB1070 Protest in Douglas in 2010



Stop SB1070 Rally in front of Capitol



Stop SB1070 Rally in Front of Capitol



Protest post Pruitt's



Protest post Pruitt's



Protest post Pruitt's



Protest Post Pruitt's



Police



Civil Disobedience in front of Federal Courthouse, during Arpaio v. Ortega
Melendres v. Arpaio Trial



Media documenting Civil Disobedience (From the sidewalk)



Civil Disobedience "sin papeles, sin miedo" "no papers, no fear"



Civil Disobedience "sin papeles, sin miedo" "no papers, no fear"



Civil Disobedience "sin papeles, sin miedo" "no papers, no fear"



My father's dream / My father's Wall



La Ciudadania



La Ciudadania



Me and my husband



Me and my husband



My Family



My Family



Para Mis Hijos

APPENDIX C
UNIDOS EN ARIZONA

ARIZONA HISPANIC COMMUNITY FORUM

UNIDOS EN ARIZONA

ACTION PLAN

A Community Empowerment Project

Community Empowerment Committee

Members

David Calderon

Lisa Garcia

Linda Herrera

Tony Herrera

Greg Mares

Roberto A. Reveles

Alma Villareal

Dedicated to providing administrative, logistical and operational support to all Task Forces in implementation of the **Unidos en Arizona** Action Plan

Situation Assessment

The recent onslaught of public policies emanating from Arizona's State Legislature, and equally hostile action in the private sector, directed at the Latino immigrant community leave no doubt that the entire Latino community -- both immigrant and nonimmigrant -- face immediate and long-term threats to the general welfare, safety and quality of life for all Latinos.

Mission Statement

In furtherance of its mission, the Arizona Hispanic Community Forum proposes to facilitate and provide ongoing support for organizing and operating an umbrella coalition of individuals and organizations committed to protecting and promoting the wellbeing and security of the Latino community.

Unidos en Arizona

Action plan

Develop an umbrella coalition that facilitates a broad, organized, proactive movement of all the forces in our community to neutralize and defeat the anti-immigrant attacks on the Latino community.

This broad based coalition of organizations will identify and act on long-range objectives while maintaining a ready-response mechanism for responding to challenges or windows of opportunity

Action plan

The coalition's tasks will be identified, planned and implemented through a task force structure comprised of persons with demonstrated commitment to the Latino community.

The coalition's participating organizations will support each other and unite and function by adherence to organizational and political points of unity.

Task Force Responsibilities

Policy & Legislative: Research, analyze and advise the coalition about legislation pertaining to current and future immigration law, plus other state and federal public policy proposals with significant impact on the Latino community.

Political: Develop legislative and political strategies for elections.

Message & Media: Design messages that educate individuals/organizations about the need, purpose and actions of the coalition to include the points of unity. Develop positive relationships with the English and Spanish language media, and monitor the media's coverage of any pertinent issues associated with the Latino community.

Organizing of Grassroots: Organize house and neighborhood meetings to communicate the message of the coalition. Use this process to unite the undocumented community with the documented community.

. . . task force responsibilities

Outreach: Reach out to AHCF members' existing networks to target supportive individuals and organizations to join the coalition. Build alliances within the Anglo, African American, Native American, Asian American, Middle Eastern communities.

Legal: Build legal support and infrastructure.

Fundraising & Resources: Secure, maintain and develop an ongoing source of financial and other resources to sustain and grow Unidos en Arizona.

Arizona Hispanic Community Forum Task Forces

I. Policy and Legislative Task Force

II. Political Task Force

III. Message & Media Task Force

IV. Organizing of Grassroots Task Force

V. Outreach Task Force

VI. Legal Task Force

VII. Fundraising & Resources

Arizona Hispanic Community Forum

Unidos en Arizona

Political points of unity:

- 1) To help formulate a just immigration reform policy and fight for its adoption,
- 2) To fight against the anti-immigrant attacks in whatever form (social, political, legal, economic, education, health, and other issues as identified by the coalition).
- 3) To defeat anti-immigrant and segregationist or racist legislation, enacted or proposed. And to support candidates who reflect these principles and oppose those who don't.
- 4) Support funding for English learners.
- 5) Agreement to come together for the betterment of the Latino Community and to protect its interests.
- 6) To link up with other forces working for the same cause.

Arizona's Hispanic Community Forum

Unidos en Arizona

Organizational points of unity:

- 1) That each participant has equal voice and vote and simple majority makes decisions.
- 2) That each participant will be treated with respect and that all proposals will be given attention.
- 3) That all discussion will be above board and no effort to undermine the unity of the coalition will be tolerated.
- 4) That each participant will make a good faith effort to overcome differences that may arise.
- 5) That each member will agree to participate actively in the discussion and decision process.
- 6) That each member agrees to actively participate in carrying out the decisions and plans of the coalition.

ARIZONA HISPANIC COMMUNITY FORUM

UNIDOS EN ARIZONA

ACTION PLAN

Develop a coalition that facilitates a broad, organized, pro-active movement of all the forces in our community to neutralize and defeat the anti-immigrant attacks on the Latino Community. This broad based coalition of organizations will support each other and unite under the Political and Organizational Points of Unity.

- I. POLICY and LEGISLATIVE TASK FORCE: Analyze, research and advise coalition about legislation pertaining to current and future immigration law, plus state and federal legislative proposals with direct impact on the Latino community. Task Force Members:

	TASK	LEAD	TIMEFRAME	STATUS
1	Analyze current and future legislation regarding immigration law.			
2	Analyze current and future legislation that is anti-Latino.			
3	Keep the AHCF and the coalition informed on immigration policy.			
4	Design a thoughtful immigration reform bill that the AHCF will put forth. Define immigration reform that the AHCF and the Coalition support.			

ARIZONA HISPANIC COMMUNITY FORUM

UNIDOS EN ARIZONA

ACTION PLAN

Develop a coalition that facilitates a broad, organized, pro-active movement of all the forces in our community to neutralize and defeat the anti-immigrant attacks on the Latino Community. This broad based coalition of organizations will support each other and unite under the Political and Organizational Points of Unity.

II. POLITICAL TASK FORCE: Develop legislative and political strategies for elections.

Task Force Members:

	TASK	LEAD	TIMEFRAME	STATUS
1	Register and inform voters.			
2	Recruit and support candidates that have the best interest of the Latino Community for everything from school boards to the presidency.			
3	Neutralize the effects of Proposition 200 and it's hija's.			
4	Educate regarding local versus federal jurisdiction of immigration law.			
5	The restoration of voter rights to people that have committed felonies and paid their debt to society.			

ARIZONA HISPANIC COMMUNITY FORUM

UNIDOS EN ARIZONA

ACTION PLAN

Develop a coalition that facilitates a broad, organized, pro-active movement of all the forces in our community to neutralize and defeat the anti-immigrant attacks on the Latino Community. This broad based coalition of organizations will support each other and unite under the Political and Organizational Points of Unity.

MESSAGE & MEDIA TASK FORCE: Design messages that educate individuals/organizations about the need, purpose and actions of the coalition to include the Points of Unity; Develop positive relationships with the English and Spanish language media, and monitor the media's coverage of any pertinent issues associated with the Latino community. Task Force Members:	TASK	LEAD	TIMEFRAME	STATUS
1	Craft multiple Kits that carry messages to individuals and organizations that explain the why, what, and how of the coalition.			
2	Organize contacts list			

	and determine who and what the best message is for the specific contact.			
3	Develop a Speakers Bureau.			
4	Develop a Media Watch of what is occurring			
5	Develop a rapid response team to the Media			
6	Develop a Web Page			
7	Make contacts with the Media that can be used to broadcast Specific crafted Messages.			

ARIZONA HISPANIC COMMUNITY FORUM

UNIDOS EN ARIZONA

ACTION PLAN

Develop a coalition that facilitates a broad, organized, pro-active movement of all the forces in our community to neutralize and defeat the anti-immigrant attacks on the Latino Community. This broad based coalition of organizations will support each other and unite under the Political and Organizational Points of Unity.

- II. ORGANIZING OF GRASSROOTS TASK FORCE: Organize house and neighborhood meetings to deliver the Message of the Coalition. Use this process to unite the undocumented community with the documented community. Task Force Members:

	TASK	LEAD	TIMEFRAME	STATUS
1	Connect with other organizations that are currently doing house meetings.			
2	Work with the Message Task Force to create appropriate materials for the meetings.			
3	Hold house meeting with the support of trained AHCF members.			

ARIZONA HISPANIC COMMUNITY FORUM

UNIDOS EN ARIZONA

ACTION PLAN

Develop a coalition that facilitates a broad, organized, pro-active movement of all the forces in our community to neutralize and defeat the anti-immigrant attacks on the Latino Community. This broad based coalition of organizations will support each other and unite under the Political and Organizational Points of Unity.

V. OUTREACH TASK FORCE: Outreach to AHCF members existing networks in order to target supportive individuals and organizations to join the coalition. Build alliances within the Anglo, African American, Native American, Asian American, Middle Eastern Communities. Task Force Members:

	TASK	LEAD	TIMEFRAME	STATUS
1	All members develop a list of their existing networks of individuals/organization to be contacted by the member.			
2	Develop a data base that categorizes the areas of involvement of the different contacts made by the members.			
3	All members contact their existing networks and carry the messages designed from the Message Task Force.			
3	Prioritize the list of individuals and organizations to be contacted.			
4	Develop a list of individuals/organizations that need to be contacted based on their importance as allies to the movement.			
5	Identify who will meet and deliver the Messages to the individuals/organizations identified in #4.			

ARIZONA HISPANIC COMMUNITY FORUM

UNIDOS EN ARIZONA

ACTION PLAN

Develop a coalition that facilitates a broad, organized, pro-active movement of all the forces in our community to neutralize and defeat the anti-immigrant attacks on the Latino Community. This broad based coalition of organizations will support each other and unite under the Political and Organizational Points of Unity.

VI. LEGAL TASK FORCE: Build legal support and infra-structure Task Force Members:

	TASK	LEAD	TIMEFRAME	STATUS
1	Distribute information regarding rights.			
2	Pull together a legal team to support the activities of the coalition and advise the coalition of its legal rights.			

ARIZONA HISPANIC COMMUNITY FORUM

UNIDOS EN ARIZONA

ACTION PLAN

Develop a coalition that facilitates a broad, organized, pro-active movement of all the forces in our community to neutralize and defeat

The anti-immigrant attacks on the Latino community. This broad based coalition of organizations will support each other and unite

Under the Political and Organizational Points of Unity.

- VII. FUNDRAISING AND RESOURCES TASK FORCE. Secure, maintain and develop an ongoing source of financial and other resources to sustain and grow Unidos en Arizona.

Critical Review Process

The coalition will have in place a critical review process to periodically review its actions and to take corrective steps to ensure it is effectively promoting the objectives of Unidos en Arizona.

Code of Ethics

. . . that Unidos en Arizona accepts financial assistance only from sources committed to enhancing and protecting the health, environment and quality of life of the Latino community.

. . . that Unidos en Arizona will decline assistance from sources that would compromise the umbrella coalition's values or goals.

Viene de Jorge Mujica de la coalicion 10 de Marzo en Chicago 8-4-08

NUESTRA PROPUESTA:

Proponemos una estrategia para los próximos 11 meses, que gire en torno a dos puntos:

1. La campaña de los 100 días, y
2. "Nuestra" Ley de Reforma Laboral para Resolver la Cuestión de la Inmigración.

La campaña de los 100 días:

Del 20 de enero de 2009, fecha en que toma posesión el nuevo Presidente(a) de Estados Unidos, al 1º de Mayo de 2009, hay exactamente 100 días. Los "primeros 100 días" de una administración forman parte de la cultura política y popular del país, y proponemos una campaña de lucha y de "accountability", de presión política para que el futuro presidente no solamente "cumpla sus promesas" y avance en la resolución de la problemática de la inmigración, sino para que avance en el sentido en que nosotros queremos.

Proponemos 100 días de "picket lines" y otras acciones públicas y visibles. Programaríamos un picket line frente al Capitolio en Washington, y frente a la Casa Blanca. No necesitamos decenas de personas todos los días. Con dos o tres personas por turno, mañanas y tardes es suficiente. Los diferentes grupos y aliados pueden "rotarse" y "rotar" los temas. Un día el tema puede ser contra la guerra, otro a favor de la inmigración, el tercero por la libre sindicalización, y así sucesivamente. En la medida de nuestras fuerzas y de nuestros aliados, cada día

puede ser también "multitemático", es decir, podemos marchar juntos en contra de la guerra, por el cuidado universal de salud y a favor de la reforma migratoria.

En los estados y ciudades, los pickets quedarían a los recursos de cada organización o coalición. Mínimamente, se buscarían eventos en fechas clave dentro de los 100 días (MLK, St. Patrick's, Lincoln's, Abril 19-Irak, etcétera). Los picket lines se pueden establecer frente a las oficinas de congresistas o senadores (que también están en campaña y serán reelegidos o electos por primera vez), en frente a las oficinas de ICE o del Seguro Social, etcétera.

La campaña de los 100 días es también de preparación para el 1º de Mayo y termina precisamente ese día. Es también una campaña educativa para el público en general, blanco, Afro Americano y Latino, para generar un mayor entendimiento de la crisis económica, la inmigración y su relación con toda la sociedad; para mostrar que los problemas de los inmigrantes están íntimamente unidos a las condiciones económicas, políticas y sociales.

En general, proponemos no una gigantesca discusión de los temas "para ver si nos ponemos de acuerdo", sino una gran acción colectiva donde todos contribuyamos a presentar las demandas y presionemos colectivamente para conseguirlas.

"Nuestra" Ley de Reforma Laboral para Resolver la Cuestión de la Inmigración

Queremos, en vez de esperar a que los partidos Demócrata y Republicano presenten una, hacer nuestra propia propuesta de ley que resuelva la cuestión migratoria. No la entendemos ni como una propuesta de seguridad nacional, que abarque temas como el terrorismo o la seguridad fronteriza, ni como reforma a la ley actual de inmigración, que nos observa como "familiares" que nos reunimos en Estados Unidos. Proponemos una perspectiva de reforma a la Ley del Trabajo, que considere a la inmigración como el movimiento de trabajadores de otros países a Estados Unidos.

Proponemos partir de los puntos del Unity Blueprint for Immigration Reform, y construir una propuesta de ley "de abajo para arriba", por medio de Foros o Asambleas Populares (Town Hall Meetings); una propuesta de legislación participativa, a partir de la realidad concreta del trabajador y su familia, y tenerla lista par cuando el congreso se reúna y "alguien" se atreva a proponerla. En todo caso, se entregaría a todos los Congresistas y Senadores, y cabildearíamos en su favor como base para una eventual negociación.

Hemos creado en Chicago un "Comité Legislativo" que comience a trabajar en ello, y sabemos que en Los Ángeles hay gente que también quiere trabajar en una propuesta de Ley.

OUR PROPOSAL

We propose a strategy for the next 10 months, based on two main points:

1. The 100 Days Campaign, and
2. Our Labor-Immigration Reform Law

The 100 Days Campaign

From January 20th of 2009, when the next President is sworn in, to May 1st. 2009 (May Day,) there are exactly 100 days. The first 100 days of any administration are considered to mark the trends and direction of such administration, and are supposed to be dedicated to key legislation to form that trend. Politically speaking, if the next administration does not act somehow on immigration reform in the first 100 days, we can assume that there will not be any such reform in years.

What we propose is an "accountability campaign" based on political pressure so to make the new president act on immigration reform and advance on the issue.

We propose 100 days of picket lines and other public actions and events. We should hold the picket lines in front of the White House and the Capitol in Washington, and in places such as the ICE offices locally in as many places as we can. We do not need dozens of people each day in each picket line, but two or three every day, morning and evening.

Different groups and allies can establish a "rotation" according to their forces, and each group can present its demands. So to speak, according to ours and our allies' forces, we could have an "Immigration Monday", and "Antiwar Tuesday" and so on, or we can have an "Immigration morning and a "Free Employee Choice Act Evening".

In each state and city, ticket lines would be held according to each organization or coalition or alliance, but the ones in Washington DC should be programmed and scheduled in a great national alliance.

We would look for particular events on key dates within the 100 days, such as Martin Luther King, St. Patrick's, Lincoln's, April 19-Irak).

The 100 Days Campaign should build towards May Day. It is also an education campaign for the public, white, Black, Latino, on the reasons for immigration, the origins in our countries of origin and its interconnection in the host society.

Our Labor-Immigration Reform Law

We want, instead of being waiting for the Republican and Democratic parties to agree on something useless and present a proposal, to create our own version, with what we think could resolve the immigration question. We don't see it as part of national security and definitely not in connection with issues such as terrorism or border security. Moreover, we don't believe we should "correct" or "update" the current Immigration Law, which is based on family ties. We propose an Immigration Law as a part of a better Labor Law, one who considers immigration as part of the movement of workers according to economic needs and trends.

We would start from the points established on the Unity Blueprint for Immigration Reform, and build a law proposal "from the bottom-up", in popular Forums and Assemblies or Town Hall Meetings; it should be a "participative" legislation, one built based on the reality of workers and their families, and we will present it when the next Congress convenes in January of 2009. Hopefully somebody could present it and introduce it in Congress. In any case, we would deliver it to each Congressman and Senator, and we would lobby in its favor as a base to any negotiation.

In Chicago there is already a "Legislative Committee" in place, and Los Angeles is working in a similar idea.

The fight against the racist attacks on our community “Unidos en Arizona”

**Presented by the Community Empowerment Committee of The Arizona
Hispanic Community Forum**

It is important for our community activists to put their work within the context of the struggle against the racist attacks on our community (which includes prop 200 and “las hijas”). They must keep their eyes on an overall objective and maintain their bearings. To begin with we believe that we need to make a clear commitment to leave behind forever reactive, “protest politics” and agree from now on to see things in a new light. Where before our measuring stick was how big or how well attended or how we were able to influence the outcome of a particular fight, our new measuring stick has to be what was left in place as a result of our efforts. By that we mean, was our community more organized, or more educated as a result of our work? Were leaders brought forward or new members brought into the fight? Overall, was the community in a better position as a result of our actions or was it basically left just the same as before? We do not mean for a minute that we should not engage in protest, nor mobilizations and mass actions (such as a march or rally). What we do mean is that these things must be part of a larger plan so that our measure of success is not the quantity of participation but the quality both before and after that moves us closer to pre-determined objectives, be it a fight to improve a school or a campaign to recruit and elect our representatives.

It has become painfully evident that our efforts to improve the condition of our community have been hampered by the scattered nature of our forces and the lack of unified vision. Now as the most vulnerable members of our community, our undocumented, are the subject of hostile and devious attacks from extreme conservative and racist forces, the state of our movement is evident for all of us to see. Our ability to react and defend ourselves, let alone launch a counter-offensive is next to non-existent.

We feel however that this is a temporary state of affairs as already the forces that have been moved to take action are slowly but surely gathering strength and consolidating their efforts. From spontaneous responses there is emerging leadership and organizations and with it, resistance and defiance. We are not a community that will stand idly by. It has become obvious to all that without a coordinated effort on the part of the forces defending the interests of our community, we will not advance.

We need to build a broad movement that sets in motion all the forces in our community

We (The Arizona Hispanic Community Forum) think it important to put on the table the view that what we must do is set in ORGANIZED motion (as opposed to simply setting in motion) a whole series of social and political forces that make up our community. The largest of these social forces will be working class Latinos, by virtue of the fact that most of us make up the vast labor force needed to turn the wheels of economy and industry. The small business sector follows closely as do the students (who led many of the battles of the 60's and 70's by the way). In addition we have our intelligencia (writers, scholars, analysts, etc.), our cultural workers (painters, musicians, poets, actors, etc.), our professional classes (lawyers, educators, legislators, doctors, accountants, etc.), our religious sector, etc. Each of these has their organized expression of one type or another in the form of guilds, cultural committees, associations, etc. Among the wide array of networks that our community activists have at their disposal are members of all these groups in one form or another.

Our community activists and leaders have to think way beyond the boundaries that our "protest politics" days imposed on us. In the old way of viewing things there were never enough people and always-another battle to wage in a never-ending cycle. Slowly but surely, our movement faltered and burned out as the demands outstripped our ability to keep up the pace. The experiences of the April 5th and May 10th 2005 march and work stoppage showed us that there is no limit to the help that the community is willing to offer. In addition there were countless leaders who came forward to encourage their peers to take action and get involved. These form our natural networks and conduits not only into the community, but also into the various classes that desired to get involved. Through these networks of leaders is the key to mobilizing, educating and organizing their group. The trick is for our activists and leaders to be organized and with a plan so that they can take advantage of these networks and resources as they become available. We must find the way to unleash a whole movement on our community that reaches every corner and every class of people.

Therefore we, The Arizona Hispanic Community Forum proposes that our community must:

- I.) **Begin the process of building a broad coalition of forces, organizations and individuals in our community.** We believe that all the various players must be brought to the table. We propose that a broad coalition be brought together and develop and agree on a plan of action. This coalition would represent for all intents and purposes the entire community. We would build what is in essence “an organization of organizations”. We would request that individuals join or affiliate with one of the member organizations from which to help.

Its members to include:

- 1) Representatives of the business sector.
- 2) The student and youth sector.
- 3) The sports and recreation sector.
- 4) The educational and academic sector.
- 5) The religious sector
- 6) The non-profit and community agency sector
- 7) Representatives from the non-Latino community
- 8) Representatives from the legislative and political arenas.
- 9) Representatives from the professional and white-collar sectors.
- 10) Representatives from labor.
- 11) Political organizations
- 12) Other sectors not mentioned.

These forces would be called on to come together under some basic agreements and guidelines.

Political points of unity:

- 7) Agreement to come together for the betterment of the Latino Community and to protect its interests.
- 8) Fight against the anti-immigrant attacks in whatever form (social, political, legal, economic, education, etc.).
- 9) To link up with other forces working for the same cause
- 10) Support funding for English learners.
- 11) To defeat anti-immigrant and segregationist or racist legislation, enacted or proposed and support candidates who reflect these principles and oppose those who don't.
- 12) To help formulate a just immigration reform policy and fight for its adoption,

Organizational points of unity:

- 7) That each participant has equal voice and vote and simple majority makes decisions.
- 8) The each participant will be treated with respect and that all proposals will be given attention.
- 9) That all discussion will be above board and no effort to undermine the unity of the coalition tolerated.
- 10) That each participant will make a good faith effort to overcome differences that may arise.
- 11) The each member will agree to participate actively in the discussion and decision process.
- 12) That each member agrees to actively participate in carrying out the decisions and plans of the coalition.

II) **Survey:** That the coalition organizers conduct a survey of the active and once active organizations and individuals that are or have played roles in the community on whatever level (civic, social, political, etc.) for the purpose of assessing what our community is composed of in terms of active forces. Based upon this information we can make a list of who and how we will begin the process of contacting them.

III) **Organize for the meeting:** That coalition organizers set a tentative target date for the convening of the first organizing meeting of this new coalition and begin by visiting the potential participants personally to discuss with them the purpose of the coalition and to see if they will agree to participate. Based on these responses coalition organizers will have a better idea of not only what type of participation to expect but also the level of participation based on the type of interest is displayed.

IV) **Prepare an agenda:** Coalition organizers will have to have a thought out agenda well in advance that keeps the meeting moving along and yet speaks to all the issues that require addressing. This agenda will need to speak to the practical reasons that will be of benefit to all parties involved. The agenda could be worked on in draft form and circulated ahead of time for revision and critiques. Ideas for the agenda could come from the meetings we have before the first meeting, based on their views and concerns.

V) **Recruit a broader cross section of community activists into the organizing committee.** In order to pull off the before mentioned tasks, coalition organizers will need to broaden the initial committee to another layer of leadership willing to take on the tasks proposed. Not only that, the different types of forces in the community each have specific characteristics and realities they face on a day-to-day basis. Therefore

coalition organizers will need to draw in leaders representative of these varied sectors in order to bring those realities into their discussions. For example in order to mobilize the small business sector, we will need to have business owner representation in the organizing committee who can address the types of issues they face. The coalition will have to be a practical organization that helps each participant while they in turn fight for the community's interests.

VI) Divide the coalition organizers into the various areas of work and split up the tasks.

This is where the actual process of organizing the various components needed to make up this coalition. For example, as part of the effort to set in motion a cultural movement complete with music, literature, mass media forms, etc., we will need to insure that we have present in the organizing committee people who represent the sector and who have networks with these forces, such as the teatros, or film makers, bands and poets, writers, etc. This stage of work will require that the organizing committee have a list of forces and have analyzed them prior to beginning.

VII) To have the coalition organizers assemble a list of immediate leads to follow up on.

At the organizing committee meeting we should already have a list of the areas that we see need to be covered (academia, labor, students, artists, etc.). We should request that all coalition organizers help in the form of contacts they may have so that we can begin with direct referrals rather than cold-calling forces in the community. In addition this is where other activist, can fill out the organizing committee to take on the many tasks before us.

VIII) Coalition organizers must agree to begin the process of organizing house meetings.

As mentioned beforehand there is a deep divide between the Chicano, citizens and our undocumented. This represents a strategic break in our community's ranks and political strength. Unless this gap is closed, this movement will fail! This part of the plan calls for the building of grass roots bases scattered throughout the valley that can serve as support mechanisms for this movement and to mobilize our citizen sector to rally behind our undocumented. The first stage calls for building bases of support, which later will be bases for mobilizations (such as during the electoral campaign struggle, etc.). Beyond this struggle they will serve as forms for beginning to tackle problems our community is facing in their respective communities or valley wide.

IV) Present to the coalition forces the need to begin the building of such bases in neighborhoods churches workplaces, schools, etc. This process needs to be universally implemented as part of a strategy of quickly building bases of support. The bases in the undocumented areas will serve very practical purposes such as helping out a family when one or both parents get deported, raising money or warehousing food, etc. As the repression tightens, it will be necessary to be prepared to help our people survive until some type of immigration reform makes it possible for them to live openly and without fear. This may be an extended period of time, which we cannot predict.

X) Begin the process of setting up a legal support infrastructure. We will almost immediately need to have teams of attorneys and legal workers at our disposal to consult us in the necessary legal maneuvering that will be needed in order for us to stay within defined legal limits. This is important, as we cannot allow ourselves to fall prey to obscure or random legal traps that can severely hinder or bring our efforts to a halt. Such traps could conceivably drain our resources quickly. Such a network could take the form of a legal coalition coming together specifically for this struggle and be part of the larger community coalition. It would serve as our movement's legal arm.

XI) Begin the process of assembling our legislative and political analysts to begin working on an electoral strategy for the 2006 elections. As with our legal component, our electoral / political arm will need to take the lead in formulating counter-measures to "las hijas de 200" and the recruitment of qualified candidates. The base building mentioned above will be the base of support necessary to not only register people, but also insure they turn out and vote as needed to neutralize 200 and its offshoots.

XII) Begin the process of establishing working relationships with forces outside our community. There are many activists and organizers who have casual, personal or working relationships with entities outside our community such as churches in the Black community, or with Native American organizations, community organizations, etc. These need to be tallied and assessed so that we can begin this work. These will play an important part in the broader picture as they can potentially represent allies that can go to work with us to rally their communities behind this battle. In addition, such relationships can lead to mutual support, as they will no doubt have their own issues that will require our support as well.

XIII) Establish a fundraising component that can tap any and all resources available.

This part of the coalition is probably one of the most critical as it will be responsible for generating the money needed to conduct the varied levels of work of the coalition. This arm will employ a wide variety of activities ranging from neighborhood garage sales and car washes, to raffles, dances, soliciting grants and donations. Part of their task will be to maintain the record keeping needed to comply with pertinent laws and regulations.

Summary and conclusion:

This plan may sound overwhelming to some. However it is well within our grasp, PROVIDED that everyone does his or her share, beginning with the initial organizing committee. We are truly in a "Use it, or get off the pot!" situation. Many of us go way back and have tons of contacts and know the political panorama well enough to help make this plan of action work. It is the beginning of a new era in our fight and the forces of evil that are behind the attacks on our people have no clue what they have unleashed. It is our job to see that they become an example to the rest of the country to what awaits those who follow the same devious path. Communities from all over the U.S. are nervously watching us to see what we are going to do. The ball is in our court.

***From Unidos en Arizona to the immigrant rights
movement of 2007***

(Traducción en Español pendiente)

Introduction:

In the wake of the failed senate immigration reform bill, the answer to the question of how to proceed has never been greater. Our movement has gone full swing in its up and down, left to right swings as we have been forced to react to the changing political climate in relation to the effort to reform the current immigration law.

Unidos en Arizona has consistently held for the past two years that the current immigration crisis (and debates) and the corresponding repression that has come in its wake were very predictable. Knowing what we know of the plans to implement "Endgame" and its relationship with the guest worker programs, we could easily see what was coming down the pipeline. It was just a matter of time. This proposal was originally written in March of this year in an effort to help influence the May first actions that were in the planning stages. Our position is that without a specific strategy that is being implemented by design, such actions amounts to mere mobilizations without clear objectives beyond a successful event, if attendance and press coverage measures success. Such as what took place on May first of this year as city after city launched their marches demanding "a fair immigration reform"(however their leadership happened to define it). People came, marched or protested and then went home, end of story. While there may be isolated cases of a broader plan in motion, our experience is that, as a whole, these were one-shot deals. In the context of the danger facing our

community, it was a shame to be content with these results or even continue using the same style of work.

We have received not ONE reply to our proposals!

Unfortunately we have received not ONE reply to our requests for exchanges over what to do. It is interesting to note that there is such a lack of dialogue and debate over the direction to take and the strategies to implement. It appears that most forces in this struggle (at least those that are on the major mailing lists that we are part of) are content to carry out their plans and strategies without question and certainly do not see the need to engage in exchanges and debates. It is a policy that is having severe negative impact. It is interesting to note that not hearing feedback would seem to imply agreement. At least if there were political or ideological opposition to our proposals, we would have heard some kind of criticism. Instead we hear NOTHING. What does that mean? That this topic is too boring? That it is too complex? That everyone is happy with the way things are going? What the hell is going on? Do people realize the danger that is facing our communities and us?

A request for comment and dialogue

We are repeating our proposal, updated to reflect the new reality now that the senate bill has died and operation Endgame is in full implementation. We have not a moment to lose. Maybe this time around the topics we raise might be taken seriously, maybe not. We shall see.

We are headed towards a Fight for our Lives

What is in store for our community, on the scale that has been set into motion has no precedent. It is without a doubt the darkest period we have ever faced as a community or as a nation. Attached are two documents that we have been using to explain to our community why we need to prepare to survive the major impact of repression that is just around the corner. The current (and future) "immigration reform" debates will center on the best method to implement a guest worker program. The claimed "victories" will be the bits of crumbs that get "negotiated" to remove the most repressive aspects of this new law (such as the right to change employers, to enter and leave the country, belong to a union, bring their family, etc.).

The alliance between the racist right and industry fizzled out as the needs of corporate America were momentarily pushed aside by fanatics who could not see allowing such a large pool of migrants to reside inside the US. Even the lure of increased spending for security could not placate their desire to see wholesale repression against the undocumented.

While we can and should attempt to influence the willingness of the Democrats and Republicans to fight for the rights of the undocumented and for the Democrats to deliver on their campaign promises to that effect, the accompanying article and DHS document will show that this is not the game plan at all. Not to mention the fact that the Democrats themselves collaborated in the current state of affairs, why should we expect anything constructive from them? We have seen that the immigration debates are merely rehashes of the Kennedy / McCain bill to

be revived or some variation of it along with elements of HR4437 (Gutierrez / Flake bill) mixed in. We need to be prepared to counter with our own bill that reflects the desires and aspirations of the undocumented community.

The Impending Danger to us all:

Operation Endgame- a plan to remove ALL12 million undocumented

Attached is a link to the plan "**Endgame**". This is Homeland security's strategic plan to remove ALL (yes ALL) the undocumented off the face of the US map. They lay out how they plan to do this and the stages of implementation. This plan was on their website, but removed. This plan was presented and in effect since June of 2003! Here is the link to this document:

<http://cryptogon.com/docs/endgame.pdf>

They are almost five years into the plan. The accompanying article is a political / economic analysis of why this plan is set into motion and how it is part and parcel of the "movement" to get a "guest worker" program implemented. Everything we have heard to date regarding raids, repression, detentions and deportations are in line with this plan. Once having this document in your hands, compare it to what is happening as it gets reported, from the local ordinances to the DNA database that will be built up by collected samples from the undocumented when they are arrested, to our local Sheriff's (Joe Arpaio) who has already trained and graduated 160 deputies to act as immigration agents, is laid out in the plan. In fact ICE has permanently assigned 64 agents to work under the Maricopa Sheriff to enforce local laws in addition to their immigration duties. They have been sworn in and are now operational in Phoenix (as of 7-27-07). You will find that "Endgame" is right on schedule. This is way beyond ICE "intimidation" or "low key war" against our undocumented community as some activists have misinterpreted. It is the implementation of year four of their ten-year plan to wipe the ENTIRE undocumented community off the U.S. map!

This is why we MUST get our undocumented communities to prepare for the worst in a plan to survive through this period and prepare for their own offensive. If we rely exclusively on the strategy of lobbying efforts to convince legislators for winning this reform (much less leaving it up to them to word it) we will be leaving our undocumented community totally and absolutely defenseless and unprepared for the repression that is just around the corner. Already we have received a taste of what is to come.

The "**Endgame**" strategy of Homeland Security (dated June 2003) is not waiting for the "comprehensive" immigration reform to take place. Its function is to lay the groundwork for the expected "guest worker" reform and beyond. In fact in a later press release dated 11-02-05 referring to their "Secure border Initiative" or **SBI**, DHS states that part of their mission (via ICE and the Office of Detention and Removal) is to enforce the provisions of the guest worker program proposed by Bush. It reads:

Temporary Worker Program

SBI will serve as the enforcement complement to the Temporary Worker Program that President Bush proposed last year. The Temporary Worker Program will have the effect of enabling migrants to pursue work in

regulated, legal channels – and will increase safety and security by giving us a better idea of who is entering our country and for what purpose. “

How can this be? Bush’s program is not even law and it is already part of Homeland Security’s mission? It doesn’t take a genie to see what is going on here. The guest worker program has already been decided on and what we are witnessing are the preparatory stages to put the infrastructure in place to make it a reality.

Transient Servitude: The U.S. Guest Worker Program for Exploiting Mexican and Central American Workers

by Richard D. Vogel

The second document is an article that appeared in the January 2007 issue of the **Monthly Review** magazine. This piece goes into the detail of the current political debate and strategic plan behind the “guest worker” program proposed by Bush. It also references the DHS strategic plan and proves that the issue has already been decided against our undocumented community. The author makes his case beyond a doubt that the guest worker program is part of a broader global plan of the industrialized western nations to insure a steady source of docile labor in the form of “guest workers”. “**Endgame**” is the tool for its implementation here in the U.S.

Here is the link to this article: <http://www.monthlyreview.org/0107vogel.htm>.

Unless someone else can come up with a better analysis that can disprove these facts, we as a movement will have no choice but to adopt a fundamentally different strategy than the current ones we have so far pursued.

This is the fundamental synopsis of this article; in the author’s own words:
"The final campaign of Endgame, a nationwide assault on the established communities of the undocumented migrants living and working in the United States and the deportation of millions of men, women, and children to Mexico and Central America, is the immigration emergency anticipated by the DHS. It will be the biggest mass deportation in world history. To remove all removable aliens means to locate, arrest, detain, and deport in excess of twelve million people. The logistical problems alone are staggering and, if ICE meets organized resistance, the operation could indeed produce an immigration emergency. People with their lives invested in the United States and with nothing to return to in their home countries might not go without a fight. The organization and training of ICE for military operations indicates that DHS is anticipating just such a contingency."

In the face of this evidence, can ANYONE actually argue that this is not happening? Can ANYONE actually argue that the strategies of yesterday are going to get us out of this predicament?

We need a new strategy based on thousands of organizations at the deep grassroots

To counter this threat will require ORGANIZATION at the deep grassroots in the form of thousands of support organizations where the undocumented community and their allies organize themselves into "self-help" groups to survive the impact of the coming repression and lay the groundwork for it's own offensive. These organizations will enable the undocumented community to utilize its economic and political power, not as "shows of force" that the massive mobilizations accomplished, but as a real, viable tool that can bring pressure to bear where it needs to. Ironically, in Arizona the day after the massive April 10th march, racist Republican legislators introduced 25 anti-immigrant bills! While impressive, the mobilizations were not enough to sway the Republican majority in that state to see things differently.

Our movement must adopt a more sophisticated strategy

The strategy that we adopt as a movement must be far-sighted and not locked into trying to win the race of some September deadline imposed by the present legislative environment where 2008 elections will take precedence over coming up with a meaningful reform. We cannot fall victim to the thinking that we will "lose" our window of opportunity if we fail to do so. Our strategy must be independent of such external developments and include how to leverage them to our advantage, but absolutely NOT allow them to determine our course of action.

A correct strategy would be one that includes provisions for "helping" congress change their minds if they happen to pass a negative bill into law such as the current ones on the table. Just as they can pass a bill into law, they can repeal it or replace it with a better one if it becomes evident that they miscalculated. Isn't that what the civil rights movement was truly all about?

This can only happen if we develop and implement a plan "B". We cannot proceed with only a plan "A". We must make the motto "Hope for the best, prepare for the worst" an everyday phrase amongst our undocumented and their allies. We have no doubt that the worst is coming. If plan "A" is to sway congressional votes in favor of a progressive immigration reform law through lobbying, then plan "B" must be to have the organized ability to convince congress that they made a mistake if it does not turn out to be so. To not have such a strategy is to put total and absolute faith in lobbying efforts, in wheeling and dealing and trade-offs or in the blind belief that "somehow" congress will see the need for a positive immigration reform because we mobilize millions to the streets once again. This is beyond blind faith; it is foolishness.

Where is OUR bill? Where is our community during all of this?

This means we need to have a better bill developed and in the pipeline that our community supports and not one that distant negotiators haggle and negotiate over in absence of any community oversight. This implies by its nature that our community be ORGANIZED to endorse such proposals as well as withdraw their support for any that runs counter to their best interest. This implies by definition that our movement must have the ORGANIZED means to take and to bring back ideas and feedback to our undocumented community and their allies. If they are not involved intimately with the process of developing "OUR" bill, then they are being relegated to passive observers over decisions that will impact and change their lives forever. Our movement will have USED them to "IMPRESS" congress on the need for passing immigration reform bills, but kept them out of the loop and forced to learn of our work during the six o'clock news hour. They are expected to "march" upon demand on their own behalf, but not take part in the development of the solution over what is to become of their lives. This smacks of extreme paternalism and totally bypasses any democratic principles. We must build organized communication with our community as an integral part of this movement as the people who are negotiating on their behalf will not be the ones facing the consequences resulting from these efforts.

The “Unity Blueprint”, a starting point for developing our community’s own proposal for immigration reform

We embrace the effort to promote the “Unity Blueprint” being promoted and disseminated by Nativo Lopez throughout the country. It represents a starting point from which language can be developed that reflects the true needs of our undocumented community and satisfies the demands of industry in the spirit of respect and adherence to basic human rights and social justice. Our only complaint is that it is not being circulated in the immigrant community with any aggressiveness. In fact, it is not being circulated in Spanish (although a version exists), the language of the largest segment of the undocumented and immigrant community. Why is that?

Why is our movement “English Only”?

In a nutshell, our movement must be made up of and led by the undocumented and immigrant leadership. Today, this is not the general state of affairs. Generally speaking, the pro-immigrant movement is being led by the citizen sector that is making the decisions on behalf of the undocumented community. This explains why 99.9% of available material and analysis is in English. Even within our own movement we practice “English Only”. This is an indictment of the forces leading our battle. Who are they speaking for and why is the leadership not clearly in the immigrants’ hands?

Plan “B” calls for bringing such leadership into the foreground as a fundamental requirement of preparing their defense and offense.

This is a tall order, but it is a strategic view that requires thinking beyond simple mobilizations to convince a Democratic controlled congress. Our movement cannot rely on a one-sided approach. We do not believe in a “kick start” approach to moving our communities to take action. The task of organizing our community is hard, tedious work, but it is quality work that produces long-lasting results. We need to see this from the long haul. If a bill becomes law that injures our undocumented community, then the movement must shift gears to repeal such a law.

If we fail to heed the warning signs and the task of preparing our community for the worst, we will not be looking at the same community in a matter of a few short years.

The point of no return: Operation “Endgame” and a “guest worker” program

For those who are desperate that we hurry up and lobby for an immigration reform law because time is running short before the 2008 elections, we say they are right. Time **IS** running short. But we are not referring to the same time frame they are. We are referring to the time that is left before “Operation Endgame” is in full implementation. That will be when a guest worker program is ratified and signed into law.

At that point, the final piece will be in place and the floodgates of temporary workers will open to replace those who will be displaced by the hundreds of thousands and millions as the plan progresses. We urge that everyone NOT hide their heads in the sand and ignore the warning signs.

This is pre-holocaust Germany of the 1930’s era all over again. The main difference is that we have a “heads up” so we cannot claim we didn’t know it was coming. If it plays out as it is planned, it will be our own doing (or undoing) for failing to take decisive, strategic steps to head off a catastrophe that will hit us in short time.

We cannot rely on a “kick-start” approach

We agree with the view of some that our undocumented community is living in fear and that we must give them hope and protection. However their only hope is in the organization of their numbers and their only protection is in their power to command respect.

This is not accomplished by “kick starting” the mobilizations again to “impress” politicians to do the right thing, but by “kick starting” the mobilizations of the best leaders from within the ranks of the undocumented and their allies to lead the charge to build their organizations from the ground up if need be and to prepare our people for what is heading in their direction and beyond. Our community must develop self-reliance. Not reliance on well meaning liberal leaders, but the ability of our community to speak and to exercise its will on its own behalf.

There are two major trends in our movement, and a minority one

Our view is a minority position among the forces active in pursuing a humane and just reform. **The first trend:** The dominant trend is convinced that the only hope is to lobby hard to sway the legislators to pass a positive bill into law. This form of struggle has historically led to many progressive reforms. Its main strength depends on the ability of the lobbyists to offer something in return for legislative support such as votes or political consequences, etc. Its main weakness is that lacking the ability to convince, trade off or deliver political consequences leaves this effort in the weakest of positions, with no bargaining power. Such is the case today where the issue of “illegal aliens” has been elevated to the level of a national security risk, no thanks to 911, the Patriot Bill, etc. None of the mainstream legislators (upon whose vote a reform will depend) in his or her right mind will go against this trend and risk being labeled “unpatriotic” and risk ending their political careers. All but the most principled among their ranks and whose allegiance to our community is unwavering will do so. Unfortunately these can be counted with the fingers of one hand.

On top of this, there is a strong undercurrent among the “lobbying” forces that believes “something is better than nothing” and would willingly accept in our community’s name a law that will spell horror when implemented at the street level. This view believes that we must be willing to compromise in order to win our ultimate objectives. While this is generally true in legislative efforts, the real issue is: **At what cost are they willing to compromise the lives of the 12 million undocumented?** These people will not be the ones to suffer the consequences of their actions and it is all the more reason why our community must be prepared to be capable of resisting and winning. The lobbying effort is an example of a good tactic which cannot and should not be seen as a principle strategy as its inherent weaknesses will jeopardize the fight for a successful reform if relied on exclusively in the absence of an overall strategic plan.

The second trend: The other major trend believes in taking the approach of constant “reactive” mobilizations and strategies, which propose to mobilize our communities to protest and march, boycott and engage in work stoppages but without a clear strategy and plan in mind. We also have to include all the “rapid response” networks that are being put together complete with phone trees and volunteers reporting ICE activity.

While this type of work is admirable and practical from a short-range standpoint, it is not moving to organize our community so that it becomes empowered. What we have is another reactive mobilization that devoid of a broader strategy consumes resources and manpower. This does not mean that this work is not needed. What it means is that without a plan, it is just another effort of a community in danger flailing about trying to grasp at straws.

This view, while believing in the inherent power that our community has, is not proposing a strategy to win but a strategy of reaction or of protest. This is most evident whenever an announcement of a particular injustice is made or of a new law, proposed bill, raid or detentions. The first response is usually to organize a protest in one form or another. The success of these efforts are measured by the numbers mobilized and the press coverage attained. One has only to look at the conscious, organizational base that the community has (or has not) attained following this strategy to see that our community is not in a stronger position after years of following this approach. While this approach has successfully led to many reforms over the many years of its implementation on every social and political front, within the context of a broader strategy, it is simply another tactic and nothing more and as such must be subordinate to a broader strategic plan. It is self-evident that times have called for a different way of looking at things.

Both of these trends while achieving relative successes do not in and of themselves, harness the organized, intelligent power of our community nor do they promote it. Instead they rely on the appearance of it, on the spontaneous nature of it to press forward. As strategies, they do not arm our community with self-reliance and leadership needed for the long haul. We have to be in this for the long haul, not the short-term fix.

Unidos en Arizona proposes the following:

While recognizing the strengths of both these main tactics, we also recognize their inherent weakness when used as primary strategies. We propose a third alternative that we believe will complement both of these efforts when combined with real organizational power at the grassroots that harnesses the labor and spending power of our community and its allies to forge a united effort with real teeth and muscle behind it.

We propose that local forums be organized immediately to accomplish five main objectives:

First: To reveal, debate and discuss the plan that has been set into motion against our community in detail, so that our activists and organizers can appreciate the depth and scope of the repression that is headed our way. Our own forces must either prove or disprove the existence of such a plan on the part of DHS and arrive at a consensus as the correct path to take in light of this information. Complete copies of “Endgame” must be circulated in our communities and translated so that everyone who desires can get their hands on it and study it for themselves.

Second: To present, debate and discuss proposals to prepare our communities for the worst-case scenario while developing their capacity to fight and win a just reform. ***We must come out of this interaction united on the nature of the danger that is looming over our communities and more importantly a basic strategy to implement.***

Third: To begin immediately the dissemination to our undocumented community this same information so that they to are armed and can begin taking measures to defend themselves. In addition we must disseminate and distribute any and all proposals that are being formulated, presented or debated to the legislators so that they can be informed and can choose to support or not to support. This includes by definition that all materials be translated into at least the language of the majority immigrant community, which is Spanish. All immigrants must have access to this information for without it, they are totally and absolutely dependent on the citizen and legal resident leadership to carry their message to the legislators.

Fourth: The immediate implementation of an organized defensive strategy via the formation of thousands of support / survival groups at the deep grassroots whose primary mission is to prepare the undocumented and their allies to defend themselves and economically survive this dark period and lay the groundwork for a much richer, deeper movement that has much more capability to exercise the type of pressure that congress will surely understand.

Fifth: To utilize every effort, every action and every message to point to the need for our community to prepare themselves for the worst. The success of our mobilizations must be measured by how this agenda is advanced and how many come forward to join the ranks of those preparing themselves and their networks and not by mere numbers or press coverage. When all is said and done and everyone goes home at the end of the day, this is where success is to be measured, by what is left in the wake of the action.

If any particular action or mobilization does not lead to drawing forward new leaders and contacts to begin the organization building that our movement requires, then its success is questionable at best and a failure at worst, **DESPITE THE TURNOUT OF PARTICIPANTS!** Our standards for measuring success must be based on whether or not we are accomplishing our strategic objectives and not a reactive mobilization that gives us a feeling of “fighting back”, but not in fact moving our effort forward.

This means that sign up sheets must be circulated as a matter of standard practice specifically asking people to leave their contact information to begin the formation of their support groups, tables with information setup and flyers soaking the crowds with messages to prepare and how to do so and who to contact to join the effort. Speeches must be utilized to give concrete direction that points out to our community why they must move quickly to establish their lines of defense. Radio spots and interviews need to be done that explain the danger coming our way clearly and concisely. The DHS plan for the removal of ALL 12 MILLION undocumented must be broadcasted far and wide so that no one and no political sector can claim it is not true. Copies of this plan must be reproduced by the tens of thousands and circulated widely. Translated version must be gotten into our community’s hands so that they can read for themselves the truth about what is about to happen.

In turn, this effort will complement the existing two trends by providing the intelligent, conscious and most importantly, ORGANIZED participation of our community on its own behalf. By providing an organized base of support, the legislative efforts can know that they have the backing of our community at the street level. As long as their work is in line with the needs of the undocumented community and their allies, this support can be unconditional. By the same token, if their efforts deviate from this or dangerous concessions are being considered, such support can be withdrawn in an open and visible way. It is an instant barometer to the pulse of our community that the legislative forces can see and feel and use to stay on track. Without this element, they are not only without oversight; they are operating in the blind as to the real needs of our people and in absence of their moral and organized support. We must bridge the gap between the negotiators and the people they speak for.

The Black Community taught us precious lessons to learn from

We should learn from the struggle of other communities. Black people in this country endured centuries of extreme exploitation and segregation. Their most basic human and civil rights were violated on a daily basis. Long after they were “freed” from the bondage of slavery, they could not even cast a vote as legal maneuvers and racist laws prevented them from exercising this most basic right that citizens enjoy. From the very beginning of their existence on this continent as slaves their resistance began and their ability to fight evolved. At each step their social consciousness developed and their ability to act in an organized, unified manner took shape. They lost countless lives due to negligence, political, economic and social repression, poverty and hunger before the desperation of their situation forced them to step up their resistance and develop a full scale social and political movement where all the forces in their community were set into motion to accomplish one goal: Civil, Social justice and equality! The decades of the 50’s, 60’s and 70’s in this country was marked with social upheavals that have not been repeated since. It is these upheavals that paved the way for deep, significant reforms in favor of the Black community that led to fundamental changes on every level that Black people enjoy today. This does not mean that their fight is over, far from it. What it does mean is that it took desperate measures to break through desperate times.

The plight of the undocumented is no different in principle from the struggle that Blacks waged and continue to do so. But what needs to stand out most is the lesson that Blacks did not win the right to vote, by voting! This is just as true today as it was then.

In conclusion:

We cannot emphasize enough the strategic importance of moving to prepare our community to survive the coming repression and insure their full democratic participation in the fight to secure a just reform in the immigration law. These things will not happen by themselves. It will take a conscious, organized and methodical plan and its implementation to make it happen. This proposal and the successful completion of the first stage of organizing is being presented as an urgent task under what must be seen as emergency conditions. We must close ranks around a plan of action that arises from the concrete conditions that we are facing. Without such a move, each of our organizations is independent of the other and relying on our own resources to accomplish tasks that must be carried out nationally and in unison. It is imperative that others join this effort as if there was no tomorrow, for soon there will be no tomorrow for millions of our people unless we succeed.

We have to say that the time to reflect on these things is not when we are being herded off to detention centers for either being undocumented or for being allied with them. Their cause is our cause in a one for all and all for one proposition. There is no time to waste.

In solidarity,

**Unidos en Arizona
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International Immigration Conference

Calexico, California

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**THE QUESTION OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS – WHAT’S NEXT FOR THE IMMIGRANT
RIGHT’S MOVEMENT IN 2007**

By Nativo V. Lopez

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National Director, Hermandad Mexicana Latinoamericana

- (Introduction – the following was taken from a presentation made at the International Immigration Conference held in Calexico, California on December 9, 2006 before delegates of immigrant and border right’s advocacy organizations from both the U.S. and Mexico, and therefore, reflects an assessment from the Latino experience about the U.S.-based immigrant right’s movement as this is expressed within the Latino communities, and is not intended to address the complete experiences of other immigrant communities).

Welcoming – I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks and congratulations to the conference committee, to Arturo Encinas and Rogelio Reyes, and the sponsoring organizations, supporters and contributors for their work in convening this conference and sharing with so many other individuals the opportunity to share experiences and ideas on addressing the complex question of immigration in the current political climate of our state and country.

We are at the close of 2006, and for those of us who have participated in various capacities in the immigrant right’s movement, we are called upon to help define the strategy and tactics to pursue in the continued fight to fashion new, fair, and humane immigration policy and law for the United States. There are many ways to define strategy, but for the purpose of this presentation, I would like to offer this definition: strategy is the art of being able to determine with precision at which stage the struggle

is currently and formulate the tasks that are required to move it to its next stage. This would not be possible without a brief objective assessment of the actual state of affairs between our adversaries – the anti-immigrant xenophobes and their allies – and us. It is always about defining and being clear about WHO ARE WE, WHAT WE WANT, and HOW WE INTEND ON GETTING IT. In our specific case, today, so many people have asked – WHAT NEXT? I hope to offer some observations in this regard.

Review of this year’s developments. This year the United States witnessed the largest and repeated mass mobilizations of the immigrant communities, their families, friends, and allies to oppose the most extreme anti-immigrant legislation, perhaps, to ever be approved by one chamber of the U.S. Congress – H.R.4437, the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005.. This legislation, authored and introduced by Congressman F. James Sensenbrenner, Jr., a Republican from Wisconsin, not a state overrun by immigrants other than the old world European immigrants of yesteryear, sought to criminalize the immigrant and anyone touched by the immigration process in any manner. This legislation, then, became the rallying cry of broad social forces, immigrants at the forefront, to seek its definitive defeat. Literally millions marched and protested on at least three occasions, workers with their families and even many employers, persons of all political parties, less so from the Republican Party, a diversity of faiths, nationalities, languages, and cultural expressions, but in most cases the majority reflected the current composition of the immigrant population in the U.S. – Mexican and Latino, and to a lesser degree, Asian Pacific.

The nature of H.R.4437 – The Sensenbrenner Bill pieced together various provisions of an enforcement character, the most onerous of which was the felony charge for mere physical presence in the U.S. without legal status, and a felony charge for “aiding and abetting” an undocumented individual. This meant that a doctor, teacher, pastor, priest, social worker, charitable organization, such as Catholic Charities or Hermandad Mexicana Latinoamericana, could be charged with a felony count for providing assistance to its constituents. The 1852 Fugitive Slave Act, which made it a federal felony offense to aid and abet a fugitive slave seeking her freedom, is certainly analogous. This is probably the best example of overreaching politically by the

Republicans in this Congress. The legislation also included provisions for more onerous employer sanctions, a felony charge; the U.S.-Mexico border wall of 700 miles; elimination of due process rights to fight deportation or appeal denials for permanent residence status and U.S. citizenship; significant increase in border troop enforcement; local law enforcement cooperation with the immigration authorities, and others.

How did such legislation get proposed and who are the political forces that proposed it? It should be understood that H.R.4437 did not surface out of a vacuum, but in fact, was the culmination of aggressive organizing by extremist political forces in and out of Congress. Most of its provisions had been previously proposed in single-piece legislative proposals by one or another member of the anti-immigrant Republican caucus over the past ten years, led by the likes of Congressman Tom Tancredo, (R-Colorado). It should also be considered as continuity legislation to that approved by the U.S. Congress in 1996 under President Bill Clinton's administration, but a Republican-controlled Congress, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (a serious comprehensive restrictive immigration measure, which significantly reduced legal rights and eroded the ability to adjust legal status while remaining in the U.S.) As a side note, this is similar to the passage (under the Clinton administration) of the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, which would eventually become the basis upon which the Patriot Act of 2001 was passed so quickly under the administration of President George W. Bush. This 1996 Clinton-sponsored legislation includes provisions curtailing the right of habeas corpus, exclude and deport "aliens" based on their association, criminalize fundraising in the U.S. for designated groups, and to allow the military expanded reign domestically under certain circumstances.

What struggles are being waged within the Republican Party and what class interests do they represent? Most of this extremist legislation is supported by all Republican members of Congress, and even a majority of Democratic members, such as the 1996 legislation (Democrats actually split on this measure, sixty percent opposed and forty percent in favor), the Real I.D. Act of 2005, and the Secure Fence Act of 2006, and various other restrictive measures.

PAT BUCHANAN AND LOU DOBBS. Notwithstanding the voting record, I believe that we can observe a fissure within the Republican Party, ever so slight, in relation to extremist immigration policy and legislation. There are different political forces at play and in struggle within the party, even though the majority DOES support enforcement measures. This is reflected in the position President George W. Bush has taken in support of “guest-worker” programs and options, and even some form of legalization for those currently in the U.S. His position can be considered integral to the globalist view, the so-called free traders, and advocates of global corporate expansion, reach, and control. On the other hand, probably the most prominent ideological positions of the closed-door restrictionist view, the vociferous anti-Mexican and anti-Latino posture, are reflected in the rants of author Pat Buchanan and CNN host Lou Dobbs. This is what Buchanan had to say about current immigration policy. This is taken from his recently published work – ‘The State of Emergency – The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America’ – “From the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries, the West wrote the history of the world. Out of the Christian countries of Europe came the explorers, the missionaries, the conquerors, the colonizers, who, by the twentieth century, ruled virtually the entire world. But the passing of the West had begun.” (Page 1) “And as Rome passed away, so, the West is passing away, from the same causes and in much the same way. What the Danube and Rhine were to Rome, the Rio Grande and Mediterranean are to America and Europe, the frontiers of a civilization no longer defended.” (Page 2) “Against the will of a vast majority of Americans, America is being transformed. As our elites nervously avert their gaze or welcome the invasion, we are witness to one of the great tragedies in human history. From Gibbon to Spengler to Toynbee and the Durants, the symptoms of dying civilizations are well known: the death of faith, the degeneration of morals, contempt for the old values, collapse of the culture, paralysis of the will. But the two certain signs that a civilization has begun to die are a declining population and foreign invasions no longer resisted.” (Page 5) And lastly, “We are witnessing how nations perish. We are entered upon the final act of our civilization. The last scene is the deconstruction of the nations. The penultimate scene, now well underway, is the invasion unresisted.” (Page 6). And Mr. Dobbs does not hail far behind Buchanan in his thinking and daily tirades. Another consideration, however,

explains that split within the Republican Party in relation to immigration policy, and that has to do with the growing Latino electorate and the desire of the moderate wing of the party to attract this electorate to its ranks. In this sense, any Republican-sponsored immigration policy should be seen as “compassionate” (even within the context of being an enforcement policy) and not anti-immigrant, at least not anti-Latino immigrant.

In the U.S. House of Representatives, Congressman Tom Tancredo is the worst/best example of the anti-immigrant caucus, comprised of 70 to 100 members of the House at any given time depending on the legislative proposal. Do these extremist forces within the Republican Party represent the majority of America? I am of the opinion that these extremist views and forces do not represent the majority of Americans or of the Republicans themselves. However, they do represent the core extremist wing of the party. This is their most loyal base.

It is noteworthy that before the November elections, political consultants to Republican Party candidates counseled against going over the top with the anti-immigrant message. This was based on their own polling of the diversity of political constituencies including the Republican Party. They encountered that the majority of all constituencies does not support a policy of mass deportations; does favor a policy of offering legal status to those already in the U.S. – a path to citizenship (as it has been dubbed); and does favor some form of guest-worker program. Thus, the position held by President Bush.

This is what the Ruiz Column, titled – “Anti-immig pols wrong” – published December 13, 2006 in the New York Daily News, had to say about the matter -

But if those anti-immigration, pro-repression hard-liners still need more proof of how badly they misread public opinion, they would do well to look at two new polls.

The Denver-based Vernon K. Kriebel Foundation released the results of a poll on Dec. 4 which leaves no doubt about how much better Americans understand the immigration problem than many elected officials.

By a two-to-one majority (64%- 34%), voters say a more efficient system of visas for future workers would do more to control the border than increasing law enforcement.

"Candidates who thought running against illegal immigrants would be a winning strategy were clearly wrong," said foundation President Helen Kriebel. "Our national leaders need to stop trying to make political hay of this issue, and solve the problem. The voters have made it clear that they get it; now it's time to get to work."

That politicians need to leave demagoguery and irrationality behind became crystal-clear when three rabid anti-immigrant congressional candidates went down in flames in the November elections.

Rep. J.D. Hayworth of suburban Phoenix; Rep. John Hostettler, chairman of the House Judiciary subcommittee on immigration; and self-described Minuteman candidate Randy Graf, whose campaign in southern Arizona's 8th Congressional District was little more than immigrant bashing, were soundly defeated.

Voters wanted leaders with a greater sense of fairness and understanding about the reality of the immigration crisis.

On Nov. 21, Quinnipiac University released another national post-election poll that came to very much the same conclusions.

Nearly seven out of 10 voters (69%), the Quinnipiac poll found, favored a program that would open a road for undocumented immigrants to advance toward citizenship over a period of several years - an approach close to what President Bush and the Senate have proposed, but contrary to the House Republican leadership's position.

Like the President and the Senate, Americans also want tighter border security and to reduce future illegal immigration, Quinnipiac found.

The November 2006 elections bear out this counsel. According to a December 26, 2006 article published in the New York Times, House Republican Jeff Flake of Arizona stated, "...the elections had disabused many Republicans of the notion that opposing legalization and guest worker plans would win widespread support. "That illusion is gone," Flake said.

Congressman Flake is currently involved in meetings with other moderate Republicans and Democrats to craft new immigration legislation to be introduced in early 2007, however, not along the lines dictated by Mr. Sensenbrenner.

How was the immigrant's rights movement successful in defeating H.R.4437? The strategy of broad unity was fundamental to bringing together all those political forces that would have been adversely affected by H.R.4437. The felony provision helped us make the case. The unprecedented attempt to criminalize immigrants and their service providers or supporters, and or employers, was a central incentive to unite opposition forces. This felony provision put the Republican Party on the defensive after the massive demonstrations of March, April and May. There actually began a debate and blame game amongst themselves (more the moderate voices of the Party) on the question. They correctly concluded that this was an over-reaching provision that allowed their opponents to build a broad opposition and pro-immigrant movement.

How the Democratic Party struck a compromise, and how the auxiliary organizations

divided the movement? Over the last ten years the Democratic Party has moved to the political center and even to the political right on the immigration question. While many Democratic politicians and candidates may verbalize platitudes when they are before their minority Latino or Asian Pacific electoral constituents, the voting record tells another story. Probably the most glaring example of this was the vote of Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez in favor of the Real I.D. Act of 2005, the first national identification law in the U.S. and the measure which precludes states from issuing driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants. Sanchez is the first female and Latina Democrat to win a congressional seat in Orange County – having defeated right-winger Robert Dornan in the rancorous disputed election of 1996 wherein Dornan and the Republican Party alleged voter fraud and illegal voting by immigrants. She was carried to victory on the backs of the 100,000 new immigrant U.S. citizens (resulting from the amnesty program under the Immigration Reform Control Act of 1986 law), many of whom had the opportunity to vote for the first time in 1996. After the massive historic marches this year, she was quoted criticizing the marches and declared that voter registration would have been a better approach. This comes from a congresswoman who has not invested in nor committed significantly to voter registration in her own district over the past ten years (nor has the Orange County Democratic Party, for that matter) and as a result has witnessed a decline in the voter registration margins between the Democrats and Republicans.

Senate Bill 2611 (taken almost straight from the previously proposed Kennedy-McCain legislation, but re-wrapped under the surnames of other federal legislators – Hagel and Martinez) was the Democrat's legislative answer, or compromise to H.R.4437. But, what did it contain? This is important to note because I predict that the legislative fight in 2007 will be developed along similar lines. We must be prepared for what the Democrats have in store for us, notwithstanding the political party shift that occurred in November.

THE GREAT AMERICAN BOYCOTT. By May of this year, certainly after the Great American Boycott on May Day, we can safely say that H.R.4437 was definitively defeated. It could not find a corresponding home in the Senate. Just before May Day,

Senator Harry Reid, the Democratic Party Minority leader, declared that H.R.4437 was DOA, dead on arrival. Considering that the Republicans held all the keys to the committees of both houses, and could control the agenda on any piece of legislation, it would have been better to forego any new legislative version and wait it out until after the November elections, wait out the lame duck session, and come back the following year with a new fresh approach, under a new Congress, and supported by a motivated and mobilized constituency. This was the counsel of the majority of grassroots leaders throughout the country. However, it was not to be. Shortly after Senator Reid's comments, a number of political players went into action to work out compromise legislation, much to the dismay and opposition of the grassroots. These included the top hierarchy of the Catholic Church, the Democratic Party leadership, Senator Edward Kennedy's office, the National Immigration Forum, the National Council of La Raza (NCLR), amongst other minor organizations and Latino elected officials.

The compromise legislation came to be known as the Hagel-Martinez Bill, named after the authors (Chuck Hagel – R-Nebraska and Mel Martinez – R-Florida), with the number S.2611. This was the Democrat's, and moderate Republican's, version of the "path to citizenship" for those who could meet certain demanding criteria (an estimated three million), removal and possible re-admission at some later date for millions of others (by waiving their legal rights), and the absolute deportation of millions more. It also called for the codified elimination of certain current legal rights, particularly the right to appeal unfavorable petition determinations and deportation orders, the construction of a border wall (only 300 miles instead of 700), more onerous sanctions against employers, a massive guest-worker program with no possibility of legalizing one's status, indefinite detentions, cooperation between local law enforcement and federal immigration authorities, and many other enforcement measures. This bi-partisan legislation passed the Senate with a majority vote by the Democrats, but was rejected in conference committee by the Republican members from both houses. The compromise broke down on the watered down "path to citizenship" and guest-worker provisions. The majority of Republicans wanted enforcement-ONLY measures, even though, the Democrats, and the auxiliary organizations, were willing to entertain enforcement-PLUS measures.

While it cannot be ascertained whether they played a central role in lobbying Senator Reid to accept the compromise approach, the leaderships of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), UNITE-HERE, United FarmWorkers (UFW), the leadership of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), and others advocated strongly in favor of this approach and legislation, notwithstanding growing opposition within their respective base membership.

A divided immigrant right's movement - Ultimately, this compromise divided the immigrant right's movement. In the run up to May Day, the religious and political elites of the country absolutely opposed any militant strike actions by the immigrant mass movement. In unison they used the corporate media, Spanish language included, to declare and counsel against any such notion of boycotts or general strikes. Even President Bush, in unprecedented fashion, made a call for the populace to ignore the call for a general boycott and strike. The truth of the matter is that the movement did not begin with the elites and the hierarchies, and therefore, it was not beholden to them. It had a logic, tempo, and rhythm of its own. The demands arose from the grassroots, and while it certainly had a spontaneous character to it, the organized contingents of the movement had and have been involved in organized action for the past twenty-plus years. And, as we all know, the May Day actions were a resounding success throughout the country. The masses of immigrants responded to their own message and not that of the hierarchies and elites. In city after city, commerce, traffic, schools, and production came to a screeching halt. The immigrants demonstrated their inherent economic value to the economy and country, and their willingness to take militant, but non-violent direct action to pursue their demands. In the spring, a Pew Research Center report confirmed that 63 percent of Latinos saw May 1st as the beginning of a mass social movement to win their rights.

But, by then, the fix was already in. Nevertheless, the right-wing of the Republican Party was not up for a compromise. It was enforcement-ONLY or nothing for them. And, they prevailed. That was fine with us because we neither wanted S.2611. But, all of this helps us understand the role of the Democratic Party, its legislative leadership, the role

of the auxiliary organizations, the role of some of the unions, and the timidity of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus. This is important because it provides a basis for what we can expect as we enter 2007 and the new Congress - Democratic Party-controlled.

After June 2006, the strategy of the Republican Party switched to a piece-meal legislative approach - death by a thousands cuts for us. And, they prevailed with the support of the majority of the Democrats. Two Republican initiatives bear out my observation. One, legislation to increase the border patrol budget and troop strength to an additional 6,000 officers - bringing the total to 18,000, and second, the Secure Fence Act of 2006, which translates into the construction of the border wall - 700 miles to the tune of \$10-15 billion. These are now both laws that were included as provisions in either H.R.4437 or S.2611.

The most massive demonstrations in the history of the United States, more massive and numerous and national in scope than the civil rights movement, the labor movement, the feminist movement, and the peace movement, and, while we defeated H.R.4437, we were unable to prevent the compromise approach of the Democratic Party or the piece-meal enforcement strategy of the Republicans with the complicity of the Democrats. The Secure Fence Act of 2006 demonstrates an ironic perversion of affirmative action - wherein the two female senators from California, Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, and the lone African American senator from Illinois, Barak Obama, all three Democrats, voted in favor of this offensive and racist measure.

TODAY WE MARCH, TOMORROW WE VOTE. One of the most chanted slogans in the marches of May was - "today we march, tomorrow we vote." It was a clear reflection of the people's will to move the immigrant right's agenda to the electoral arena, specifically to defeat the xenophobe Republicans. No doubt the Democrats liked this slogan. It played right into their hands. The Democratic Party could absolutely not take back the Congress without an energized Latino vote in their column. Labor and Latino organizations talked about the prospect of registering one million new Latino voters. Alas, this was unrealistic and without adequate resources it was nothing more than a pipe dream - un sueño guajiro.

The Democratic Party did not make the resource commitment in this direction and the labor movement focused on labor families, not necessarily on Latino families. No new terrain was really pursued. The Latino and immigrant communities would have to pursue the electoral strategy with their own meager resources, unless these intersected with the Democratic forces - such as occurred in the race to defeat Congressman Richard Pombo from Stockton, California, and two important races in Arizona, Rep. J.D. Hayworth, from the Phoenix area, and candidate Randy Graf, the self-described Minuteman. Nevertheless, the Republicans had done enough to estrange the Latino electorate from its favor and the result in November was a significant drop of the Latino vote percentage to the GOP - between 11 and 15 percentage points. Exit polling conducted by the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project in numerous states indicated that Latinos supported Democratic candidates by 70 percent and Republican candidates by 26 percent. The Republicans were punished by the Latino electorate and the Democrats reaped the benefits. According to the Willie C. Velasquez Institute, in 2006 Latino voters grew to 9.9 million registered voters, a record setting off year cycle increase of 1.7 million compared to 2002 (8.2 million). And, more importantly, Latino turn-out increased by 1.1 million votes cast (5.8 million) compared to 2002 (4.7 million).

The main issues on the minds of Latino voters, according to the exit polls, were the economy/jobs, the war in Iraq and immigration. The conclusion that the Democratic Party can draw from this result is that a major investment was not necessary to gain the Latino vote - they had no where else to go - even when you consider that Democrats supported anti-immigrant Republican-sponsored legislation. Nevertheless, half of Tancredo's most vociferous allies in the House were defeated in the elections, although many of their Democratic replacements are not considered much better on the immigration issue. Latino's expectations for change have been significantly raised as a result of the elections - both in terms of ending the war in Iraq and in approving fair immigration reform legislation. In an interesting aside, the same Pew Research Center report indicates that Latino's rating of the Democrats' immigration policies fell from 39 percent to 35 percent, while the number of Latinos who believe that neither party has good immigration policies rose from 7 percent to 25 percent.

The New York Times of December 26, 2006, mentioned earlier stated the following – “Hispanic voters, a swing constituency that Republicans covet, abandoned the party in large numbers. Several Republican hardliners, including Representatives John Hostettler of Indiana and J.D. Hayworth of Arizona, lost their seats. After the dismal showing, House Republicans denied F. James Sensenbrenner, Jr. of Wisconsin, the departing chairman of the Judiciary Committee and an architect of the House immigration approach, a senior position on any major committee in the new Congress.” This is a significant rebuke to a senior member of the House and by the Republican Party.

REPUBLICAN THUMPING. In this sense, the Latino electorate, while growing in the independent column, was not much different than the general Democratic electorate as this relates to the war and what they expect from the new Democratic-controlled Congress. The Democrats will have a thirty vote margin in the House and a two vote margin in the Senate. President Bush declared this a "thumping." Shortly after the elections there were two new developments. One, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld resigned (a reflection of the general electorate’s opinion of the war situation). Second, Senator Mel Martinez was selected to head the Republican Party (a reflection of the Latino electorate’s opinion of Republican candidates’ immigrant bashing). Both reflect adjustments in strategy, but not necessarily substantive change in the direction of the administration. I would say that the war, political corruption, and moral hypocrisy got the best of the Republicans. The people want change. President Bush reaffirmed his commitment to pursuing victory in Iraq, but he did hold out the prospect of common ground with the Democrats in relation to immigration reform. It is interesting that the issue of immigration did not make the cut in terms of soon-to-be House Speaker Nancy Pelosi’s list of legislative priorities. She immediately took impeachment off the table, and declined to make any commitments about stopping congressional funding for the war. The power of the purse resides on the House side, and this is one lady who is a spendthrift when it comes to war. Her list of priorities included an increase in the federal minimum wage, Medicare prescription price reform, war related investigations, hearings, and oversight, no extension of the tax cuts for the wealthy, and others, but absolutely nothing said about immigration reform. Without a doubt, the complete list of priorities corresponds to the material social interests of

Latinos, but immigration is central to the integrity of our families.

This is a preview of the coming dynamic that we can expect in relation to the leadership of the Democratic Party. We are still viewed as the peons on the political plantation by these people. And, we will have to fight for everything we want from this new Congress. This even includes on the issue of the war in Iraq.

THE STATE OF ARIZONA. The state of Arizona is currently the epicenter of the anti-immigrant nativist movement, and we should recognize the same and act accordingly. We are all familiar with the scorched nastiness of the anti-immigrant forces during the 1990s in California - Proposition 187, the no driver's license legislation, no access to university education for immigrant youth, denial of healthcare services, Proposition 227 to eliminate bilingual education, Operation Gatekeeper along the U.S.-Mexico border (again 1996 legislation under the Clinton), but focused at the San Diego-Tijuana nexus, the rise of the border deaths phenomena, and the rise of the hate-mongering radio shock jocks. This resulted in spurring on increased U.S. citizenship acquisition, voter registration, the unprecedented election of Latino legislators (27 percent), and the minority status for the Republican Party in California. Their last big hurrah was the re-election of Governor Pete Wilson in 1994. We have defeated the worst of these measures and are slowly building on the electoral gains made over the past decade to roll-back the remainder.

However, entering the 21st Century, the epicenter moved to Arizona. This also is a border state, and Operation Gatekeeper forced the flow of undocumented migrants to the most dangerous terrain along the border - the deserts of Arizona, which are known for extreme high and low temperatures. The most current information indicates that more than 4,500 individuals have lost their lives attempting to enter the U.S. through this route. The virulent measures so common in California during the 1990s have become fashion in Arizona. While the so-called racist Minutemen hail their birthplace as Orange County, their first display of vigilantism occurred in Arizona. Anti-immigrant ballot initiative after ballot initiative has been put before the Arizona electorate. Driver's licenses are denied to immigrants. Thousands of vehicles are confiscated and towed away by local authorities daily. The sheriff of Maricopa County has applied an

anti-smuggling law to both the smuggler and the passenger - a felony complicity charge. Proposition 200, which denies basic services to immigrants, and imposes a universal identifier for voting purposes, was approved in the previous election. And, the November election resulted in the approval of four state measures to further prohibit services to immigrants, even though two of the most xenophobic Republican candidates were defeated at the polls. Nonetheless, each measure has been met with increased organizing by the immigrant communities, and their allies of labor, church, Spanish language media, immigrant and human right's organizations and coalitions. The fight-back has been fierce. Currently, new strategies are being applied for sustained organizing amongst immigrant families to resist the worst forms of repression. Demographics (both in terms of population and political party affiliation) continue to shift away from the xenophobes and their political allies, but in the meantime immigrant workers and their families will continue to suffer the brunt effects of the wave of anti-immigrant policies, laws, and practices. The national immigrant right's movement must join the movement within Arizona (on its own terms) to turn-back the ugliness of the period. A defeat of the anti-immigrant movement in Arizona is a defeat for these forces everywhere.

Current state of the immigrant right's movement - The national immigrant right's movement is characterized by various local, regional, and national networks and coalitions. Some areas are more mixed in terms of the participation of diverse nationality groups, then others. California is probably more homogenous in terms of the predominance of its Mexican and Latino participation and leadership. Nevertheless, literally all immigrant-origin groups are represented in some form within the movement. While there may not be organic unity, there certainly does exist an alignment of views on the type of immigration reform desired by most.

The Catholic Church (under the banner of its 'Justice for Immigrants' campaign) has generally opted for favorable measures, but has clearly indicated a willingness to accept enforcement provisions, more onerous employer sanctions, for example, in exchange for some form of legalization. It also supports guest-worker programs, preferably a form that allows ultimate legalization for the participant. It is most closely identified

with the legislation offered by Senators Edward Kennedy and John McCain - commonly referred to as the Kennedy-McCain Bill. The local parishes throughout the country that attend to the spiritual needs of their immigrant constituency have played a consistently progressive role in defending that constituency and have repeatedly protested in favor of more far-reaching reform than the hierarchy has advocated.

On the other hand, Protestant, particularly evangelical denominations, generally more inclined politically towards the Republican Party, have begun to play a more active role in supporting generous immigration reform. This is dictated by their growing church constituency - for the most part of first generation immigrant stock. This potentially can be pivotal as a counter-weight to the right-wing core Republican constituency which opposes the immigrants and favorable immigration reform.

The labor movement – the Kennedy-McCain bill has also won adherents from the unions mentioned earlier - SEIU, UNITE-HERE, and UFW, ironically all from the new labor federation - Change To Win (CTW), ostensibly the more militant, progressive and pro-immigrant. The AFL-CIO, on the other hand, has staked out a position closest to the progressive immigrant right's movement - opposed to employer sanctions, no guest-worker programs, and legalization for all. Some CTW affiliates, such as the Teamsters, Laborers', and United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), are more aligned with the AFL-CIO views. Local affiliates of both federations have been actively involved in the national immigrant right's movement, and even comprise a significant part of its leadership. Their leaders are generally more adamant and perceptive in articulating correctly the demands of the local immigrant constituencies. A growing rank-in-file movement within the first three unions mentioned opposes the compromise approach or support for bracero-type programs. This will be revealed in greater strength during 2007.

The auxiliary organizations mentioned earlier, National Council of La Raza (NCLR) and the National Immigration Forum, in particular, amongst others, are closest to the Democratic Party, corporate donors, and government contracts, and have historically been considered more inclined to accept trade-offs - enforcement in exchange for visas - under the argument that "this is the best we can get under the circumstances." The

problem is that to them the circumstances and political climate always look ominous, and therefore, they have a greater propensity to compromise before they wage a fight. The greatest perceived strength is their location in Washington, D.C., and therefore, their proximity to the federal legislators, corporations, lobbyists, private foundations, and national media. The local affiliates within these organizations, which are closest to the grassroots and depend on the local communities to sustain themselves financially and politically, are inclined to be more independent and take positions corresponding more to the interest of the local constituents. This is the case of LULAC, which is membership and chapter-based. Although, recent changes in the national leadership of this particular organization appear to move it in closer sync with local mandates.

The home-town associations - In the largest metropolitan areas there are Mexican Federations, the home-town associations, which are active civically, but look more towards their towns of origin than the local political scene. However, that is rapidly changing. Some of the most prominent leaders of the immigrant right's movement nationally have surfaced from these associations. The influence of the Mexican government, both state and federal, also plays a role in curbing the political independence of the associations, specifically when it comes to taking a critical look and advocacy in relation to the same governments. This was clearly observed during President Vicente Fox's administration and in the run up to the most recent presidential campaign in Mexico. Felipe Calderon, the PAN candidate, now president, certainly did his homework with the associations, and will continue to strengthen his influence amongst and over them.

The U.S. business community has also weighed in on the immigration issue in a big way. For several years now it has melded together its Essential Worker Coalition comprised of corporations, agribusiness, and with the collaboration of some unions - SEIU, UNITE-HERE, and UFW. It has actively advocated for immigration reform, especially in favor of a massive guest-worker program, but to allow such workers to labor in other industries than just agriculture. The U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce (its national office and state affiliates) has also been active in advocating for favorable immigration reform – opposed to employer sanctions and supportive of full legalization.

The local immigrant right's coalitions - While these networks have been at work for a number of years, local immigrant right's and civic organizations and coalitions, with both immigrant member composition and political activists, have labored tirelessly over the years on behalf of immigrants, opposed local, state, and federal anti-immigrant measures, policies and legislation, and have sought to build base constituencies within the immigrant communities. Nationally, coalitions with calendarized names (March 10th, May 1st, March 25th, April 9th, etc.) brought together local groups to launch the fight against H.R.4437. This, truly, is the well from which the mass mobilizations sprung forth during 2006. This is the strength of the movement. And, they have worked to weave together regional and national networks of collaboration to hammer out a national strategy which corresponds to the true interests of the immigrants, their families, and their posterity. Probably the greatest weakness of these coalitions, and the movement for that matter, however, is their lack of resources, which makes the prospect of political independence ever more difficult. What they lack in resources, though, they make up for in ingenuity, steadfastness, and audacity.

The Spanish language media has obviously played a generally progressive and supportive role, but more often than not, an auxiliary role - at times spurring on mobilization and at other times attempting to brake and even demoralize the movement. Much has depended on their corporate ownership, the political inclinations of the disc jockeys, the influence of advertisers, and the ability of the immigrant right's coalitions to leverage and move them in the right direction. It should be understood that the role of this medium has its basis on two legs - one, the vast majority of the front-line employees are of immigrant stock, and their personal experience mirrors that of the community; and second, it's a question of self-preservation - their market. Those most adversely affected by anti-immigrant legislation, policy, etc. constitute the consuming (and listening) market of these corporations. Bill Clinton, once said it best - "it's the economy, stupid."

The right-wing Minutemen - The local immigrant right's coalitions have also had to contend with the "Minutemen" phenomenon, a populist right-wing anti-immigrant movement funded by conservative private foundations and ideologues, and encouraged

and egged on by the radio and television shock hosts, such as Lou Dobbs, Bill O'Reilly, and their ilk. This minuscule movement has attempted to wrap itself up in the American flag and present itself to the American public as patriotic and as patriots. It could be nothing further from the truth. It has all the makings of a neo-fascist political current, and has been rightly opposed and protested by the true patriots and freedom fighters - mostly young activists, Socialists, and white pro-immigrant sympathizers.

The national networks - Most of the local and regional coalitions have come together under the umbrella of two national networks - **WE ARE AMERICA and the National Alliance for Immigrant's Rights (NAIR)**. The former is influenced principally by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), UNITE-HERE, the National Immigration Forum, the Center for Community Change (a liberal Washington, D.C.-based private foundation), and the NCLR, however, composed of local coalitions, advocacy organizations, churches, and local unions. The latter is comprised truly of the grassroots organizations and coalitions composed of the immigrants themselves. We belong to the latter forces, but we continue to seek areas of collaboration with the former. The WE ARE AMERICA coalition brings together other local and regional immigration coalitions, which were also actively involved in the mass mobilizations locally. The April 9th mobilizations were a good example of their national scope and strength. In effect, many of the local coalitions participate in both national network and coalition formations. This is universally respected - as it should be.

NAIR continues to formalize its network of coalitions (in many cases named by the first calendar date of their major actions) and organizations, and develop its strategy and the corresponding tactics. What most characterizes NAIR is its voluntary participation, its tireless commitment to its base immigrant community, and its political independence. NAIR convened a national conference in August 2006 (Chicago, Illinois) wherein it formalized its existence before 800 delegates representing 400 organizations from 27 states. This came on the heels of two other successful regional conferences.

The basic ten points of unity of NAIR include the following:

1. immediate unconditional legalization for all undocumented currently in the U.S.;

2. no mass deportations;
3. no arbitrary, mass or indefinite detentions;
4. no employer sanctions;
5. no guest-worker programs;
6. full labor rights, civil rights, and civil liberties;
7. no militarization of the border;
8. no border wall;
9. no criminalization of workers; and
10. increased family reunification visas.

These are the makings of alternative immigration legislation that NAIR seeks to pursue in 2007 in collaboration with other coalitions and networks, particularly the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR), which is probably one of the oldest immigrant right's networks in the U.S., and which has advanced many very progressive pro-worker and pro-immigrant policy positions with broad national support.

However, we recognize that there are diverse opinions within the immigrant right's movement, and we seek to forge unity with all political currents, organizations, unions, and churches, that support the immediate legalization of all undocumented persons in the U.S. This should be our common goal, our minimum basis of unity and collaboration. We can certainly reaffirm what unites us as a national alliance while we forge unity with all others who minimally agree that immigrants represent inherent value for America and the fair exchange to them for all that they contribute to the greatness of this country is a legal recognition of permanent status, and eventually, U.S. citizenship. This is the least that this country can offer and bestow.

We will continue to disagree on enforcement issues, guest-worker programs, the efficacy of employer sanctions, and other provisions. And, we should continue to debate these issues. However, this should not be an impediment to unite around the legalization of the estimated 12 million hard working immigrants within our midst. This is our imperative.

Some of the other important national and regional networks and formations that have participated in and led actions - legislative, lobbying, service delivery, legal defense and

litigation, and local and national advocacy - include the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR), the National Alliance of Latin American & Caribbean Communities (NALACC), the Human Rights Border Working Group, Justice for Immigrants (Catholic Church), the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), the Center for Constitutional and Human Rights, and others.

In October 2006, an important organizational development occurred that may have a very positive outcome for the immigrant right's movement. The National Latino Congreso was convened in Los Angeles, California, led principally by the Willie C. Velasquez Institute and the Southwest Voter Education and Registration Project (SVERP), and four other national organizations (MALDEF, NALACC, LULAC, the National Hispanic Environmental Council, the Latin American Council for Labor Advancement (LACLAA), and Earth Day Network. For an entire week it addressed among other relevant issues, immigration. The resolution approved by the Latino Congreso on the matter very much reflects the main outlines of the platform proposed by NAIR. The Latino Congreso will seek to play a leadership role on the issue of immigration, and probably its most valuable contribution will be in incorporating organizations whose principal focus of activity is not that of immigration, such as the environmental advocacy movement, voter registration and mobilization, local elected officials, and others.

Additionally, this year the World Social Forum convened a Border Social Forum in Juarez, Mexico, led principally by the Centro Obrero of San Antonio, Texas. The forum was well attended and addressed the issue of immigration in all its magnitude, particularly as this manifest itself along the border. The World Social Forum will convene its international presence and advocacy in Atlanta, Georgia during July 2007. This will be an opportunity to spread the pro-immigrant message, the fair trade over free trade perspective, develop organizational relations, and promote multilateral solidarity actions.

CURRENT POLITICAL CONDITIONS. While the current political conditions and climate may not be optimal for the character of change that the movement desires, it certainly is not what it was at the beginning of 2006. Two events that influenced the change of conditions and climate were: 1) the immigrant mass mobilizations; and 2) the November

elections and the party shift in the U.S. Congress. However, it would be simplistic and disingenuous to conclude that the first led to the second. The Iraq war and the uncompromising manner in which the Bush administration is conducting the conflict, and the resulting economic impact on the U.S. and the future implications, were the pivotal factors in the elections. Nevertheless, the political shift in the Congress, while still very tenuous, bodes somewhat better for federal immigration reform, albeit, the task will not be easy. The leadership of the Democratic Party would clearly prefer to not address the issue. The movement's challenge will be to force the Democrats to embrace fair and humane immigration reform (in counter-distinction to "comprehensive"), while pushing back the extremist xenophobes in and out of Congress. The window of opportunity is 2007. To the degree that the fight exceeds that calendar, the prospect of success will be improbable - due to the presidential elections in 2008. The broad-strokes picture is that immigration restrictionists will be in a weaker position in the 110th Congress. The hard-line restrictionists who were in a position to block immigration reform in the House in particular, have either been booted out of office, or by virtue of the Republicans' loss of control of the House, and thus of the committees, have been demoted, according to the National Immigration Forum. Committee assignments related to the issue of immigration and border security, for example, will pass to the likes of Senator Edward Kennedy in the Senate, to Congressman John Conyers (a long-time ally to immigrants) to chair the important House Judiciary Committee (in place of Congressman Sensenbrenner, if you can imagine that), and possibly the liberal-leaning Congresswoman Zoe Lofgren of California to chair the Immigration Subcommittee. This certainly represents opportunities for us.

Another consideration for the movement will be the impending struggle around the war in Iraq. What will the effects of a continued war in Iraq and the ensuing struggle within the U.S. have on the prospect for immigration reform? On the other hand, what connection should there be between the movement for an end to the war in Iraq and in favor of immigration reform? The immigrant right's movement must find answers to these questions.

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE – IMMEDIATE LEGALIZATION. The strategic objective of the

movement is the legalization of the estimated twelve (12) million undocumented currently in the U.S. Within the context of pursuing this objective, the movement must address the other demands that arise from the very conditions of life and work of the immigrant communities. These are reflected in the ten basic points of unity (and demands) of NAIR.

The balance between legalization and enforcement - A most vexing consideration for the immigrant right's movement is the balance between legalization and enforcement, at least as some have posed the question. Is a trade-off necessary? Must the immigrant communities accept onerous enforcement measures, and even the elimination of some of their rights, in exchange for some form of legalization? The premise of the platform elaborated by NAIR answers this question in the negative. However, the debate with ally forces will not be so easy. These include the Catholic Church, and probably other evangelical denominations, and some of the unions. For all intents and purposes, the most draconian enforcement measures were approved under the Secure Fence Act of 2006, although not completely funded. These measures were previously included in the S.2611 legislation. This is the legislation that was supported by many in the WE ARE AMERICA forces, particularly those based in Washington, D.C. (under the guise that it was the best possible compromise available), while rhetorically opposing its worst enforcement measures and some of the legalization deficiencies. It should be noted that the majority of local coalitions and entities that comprise the WE ARE AMERICA network publicly split with the national entities and opposed S.2611. This was most evident in a national conference convened by WE ARE AMERICA in Chicago, Illinois in August, 2006 wherein the house split on the question of S.2611 – the Washington, D.C.-based entities advocated in favor, and the local entities opposed.

The “guest-worker” program - The other element of discord swirled around the debate of the guest-worker provision. Again, NAIR opposes any form of guest-worker program. The WE ARE AMERICA coalition acquiesces to this provision under the argument that at least immigrant workers will have a legal permit to work, and theoretically could be represented by a union. This is certainly compelling to the worker who labors in the shadow without protection, but it is universally rejected by the labor movement - until

of late. Three members of the CHANGE TO WIN labor federation now accept the existence of guest-worker programs as a pragmatic alternative to an undocumented status. The prediction is that the movement faces a similar dynamic and debate in 2007.

In the article, 'No Way To Treat a Guest,' Alec Dubro observes that the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) is quoted as declaring, "any guest-worker program must offer full worker protection and rights." However, it couldn't be otherwise. All workers, irrespective of their legal status, are protected by federal and state labor law, hour and wage standards. The bar put up by NCLR to accept the existence of guest-worker programs is no bar at all, or one certainly not exceptional for such a new class of workers.

The previous U.S. and Mexican experience with a massive bracero program occurred from the 1940s to the 1960s. Wage and contract violations were rampant. Employers refused to hire local labor when they could depend on low wage bracero workers. The United Farm Workers of America (UFWA) was a mere figment of the imagination of one of America's most ingenious and tenacious labor organizers, Cesar Chavez, during the existence of the bracero program. He fought it tooth and nail while leading the Community Service Organization (CSO), and continued after separating from this organization until the program's ultimate demise.

Ernesto Galarza, author and farm-labor organizer, documented better than anyone the defects of the program in his seminal work, 'Merchants of Labor.' His own organizing efforts in the fields during the 1940s to the 1960s were dashed under the weight of the labor contracting scheme.

Bert Corona, Eduardo Quevedo, and Congressman Edward Roybal (all legendary Mexican leaders now deceased), the acknowledged founders and leaders of the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) in 1960, made the termination of the bracero program a top priority with the founding of this national civic-political organization.

No one can deny that the period during which the bracero program was the most

expansive (1940s to 1960s) corresponded to the era of organized labor's greatest strength in terms of the percentage of the work-force represented by a union under a collective bargaining agreement (37 percent - and even higher in some industries), national and industry-wide contracts, and the recognition and respect of national political circles and industry. Nevertheless, with all of its strength, the labor movement was unable to prevent the scale of abuses and labor law violations under the program. It was eventually successful, however, in its advocacy to sunset the bracero era in the early 1960s.

Considering the state of the labor movement today, its much reduced representation of the work-force (13 percent, and only 6 percent of private industry), why would anyone have any illusions about the ability of labor to prevent similar abuses under any new labor contracting scheme? They absolutely should not.

In a recent statement, AFL-CIO President John J. Sweeney had this to say in commemoration of International Migrants Day, celebrated December 18, 2006, "The U.S. government must implement an immigration policy that prioritizes workers' rights. Unfortunately, the rights of migrant workers have been largely ignored in the political discussions concerning comprehensive immigration reform. Corporations continue to call on Congress to create a new large guest worker program, which will provide corporations with a constant stream of exploitable workers and create a secondary class of workers that will drive down workplace standards for all workers. As a nation that prides itself on fair treatment and equality, we should accept the standards of rights laid out by the UN convention on migrants and demand immigration reform that will guarantee that all workers who labor in our nation enjoy full protections of the law."

STRATEGIC ALLIES. Notwithstanding the contradictory positions within some of the leadership of the Catholic Church and the labor movement expressed previously, the mainstay strategic allies of the immigrant communities are one, the broader communities that comprise the extended families of the immigrant communities; second, the labor movement; and third, the churches that dot our neighborhoods. These represent the social refuge for the immigrants - their nuclear and extended families (the most common characteristic of the immigrant communities is the diversity

of legal status represented in each family); the labor movement's very existence is premised on its ability to advocate for the social-economic advancement of all workers, and the strengthening of the organized sector is premised on strengthening the condition of the most vulnerable - the immigrant (similar to that of minority, women, youth, etc.); the spiritual renewal and hope that sustains the immigrant in the most difficult of times are the organized faith communities of the immigrant's life – the church.

The community-based organizations and coalitions that advocate for the rights of immigrants, either comprised by the immigrants themselves (membership organizations, for example) and/or activists represent the tireless fighters and the core leadership of the movement - at least representative of the most politically independent and consistently resolute.

There definitely exist a progressive wing of the Democratic Party, its most liberal segment, probably best represented by the Progressive Democrats of America (PDA), and the democratic progressive caucus in Congress (not completely homogeneous politically, and certainly not always consistently liberal) This wing of the Party can potentially be considered an ally. Much will depend on the movement's ability to pressure this sector to be consistent with its liberal principles, and be as loyal to its Latino and immigrant electorate as this electorate has been loyal to the Party. The Congressional Black Caucus and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus (not all members comprise the congressional progressive caucus) also can be viewed as allies in the fight to the degree that they can be held accountable by and to the local constituents, and not the party leadership.

Nationally, the Green Party has a platform and TEN VALUES that are most consistent with the needs and desires of the immigrant communities. Unfortunately, the Green Party hasn't demonstrated an organized capability to be considered an electoral alternative by the Latino electorate, even in states where the Latino voter is increasingly registering as independent, such as California, or where the party is the largest, again, California. In fact, the independent column is the fastest growing percentage of the Latino electorate. Nevertheless, the independent segment of the Latino electorate and

the Green Party can be mobilized to leverage the Democratic Party. Much of the Green Party's difficulties stem from the inherently undemocratic character of current political system. It is one of the most archaic and retrograde systems in the world, which excludes the majority voice of America, and which is not represented in either of the two main political parties, and therefore, not represented in the state legislatures or Congress.

Other strategic considerations - There are serious strategic considerations that the immigrant right's movement needs to contemplate if it is to be successful in broadening its political base. The reference is related to the environmental, feminist, peace, and labor movements, and the progressive social movements in the countries of origin of the immigrants. Relations with the African American community are also of strategic value and importance. Considering the demographic shifts that have occurred over the past twenty-five years and those projected in the future - in the U.S., the first four movements mentioned have no future if they do not embrace the growing immigrant communities as integral to their respective political and social base. This means meeting the immigrants on their own terms, addressing their specific and respective cultural, linguistic, and social class differences, and creating spaces within these movements wherein the immigrants find a friendly organizational home. These movements have reached a certain limit of growth, and have limited potential for further growth without incorporating the immigrant communities and their extended families within their fold. Similarly, the immigrant communities need these movements on their side and cannot be successful in accomplishing its goals without expanding its social base beyond the immigrant family.

The feminist movement, for example, has faced serious challenges in its endeavors to protect the right to choice over the past decade. The push back by the extremists and conservatives has been significant. The feminist movement is challenged to expand its own base, and deny the right-wing the ability to encroach on the immigrant communities under the false guise of "family values." It is interesting to note that the Christian conservatives and conservative Republican candidates or officials are great at lauding "family values" when it comes to the question of "choice," yet it smashes the

immigrant family, its integrity and value, when the question of immigration policy and legislation is posed. The feminist movement, particularly that segment that focuses on women worker issues and concerns, poor women, single-female-heads-of-household, union women workers, and pro-choice advocates, has everything to gain and little to lose by embracing the immigrant movement. The opportunity for alliance between the feminist movement and the immigrant right's movement within this context is obvious.

The environmental movement cannot secure greater political gains for a green America without coloring its own movement a darker hue of green by incorporating the communities of color - the immigrants. Where do the "enviros" move in California without stepping over the Latino and Asian Pacific populace, which now represents fifty (50) percent of the state's inhabitants. These are the only segments of the electorate that are growing. Brown-fields, for example, cannot be addressed in California without addressing the urban needs of the Latino communities. No environmental ballot initiative in California can pass today without the support of these combined electorates. In effect, the passage of Proposition 84, considered one of the greatest environmental state bond initiatives in the state's history, was approved due to the overwhelming support by the Latino electorate. On the other hand, the anti-tobacco initiative failed due to the lukewarm support by this same electorate. The initiative's proponents had no Latino campaign. But, there is another reason for this consideration. The anti-immigrant extremists (founders of the Minutemen, conservative population zero foundations, white supremacists, and the corresponding elected officials) have viewed the environmental movement and the organized expression of the same (the Sierra Club, for example) as fertile ground for their racist message and advocacy. Population zero to them translates into closed borders, mass expulsions, border militarization, and criminalization in the interior. We are challenged to close off this space to the extremists.

The peace movement currently has made great strides in moving public opinion against the war in Iraq in a shorter time-span than was the case during the war in Vietnam, according to acknowledged peace veterans. During the period of the Vietnam War, the Latino population constituted less than seven (7) percent of the total U.S. population,

yet accounted for twenty (20) percent of the fatalities. Today, Latinos comprise thirteen (13) percent of the U.S. population, and current fatalities mirror those of the previous era. Latino representation in the armed forces is disproportionate to its numbers in the population, notwithstanding the "volunteer" character of military service. Today's armed services depend on an economic draft. Latinos, similar to African Americans and poor whites, have every reason to oppose the war, and truly have little to gain from war. The peace and non-intervention movement has this challenge before it – to the degree that the peace message also encompasses advocacy to defeat the Patriot Act and other measures that crack down on immigrants, opposes the "terrorist" and xenophobic tendencies of American public opinion, fear and opposition of the "otherness" of America, and expresses support for movements of national liberation, self-determination, national sovereignty, and non-intervention in the affairs of other states, it will have every possibility of expanding its reach and find an echo with its message within the immigrant communities. On the other hand, the Latino community must not continue to allow the aggressive forays by military recruiters into its neighborhoods schools and offer legalization and citizenship status and money in exchange for military service.

The labor movement will never return to an era of historic strength, as that enjoyed during the 1940s thru the beginning of the 1970s, unless it finds a path to the heart of the immigrant communities. The organized segment of the labor-force is lower than any time in the history of the labor movement. Less than 13 percent of the labor-force is represented by a collective bargaining agreement. When the public sector is removed from this equation, the percentage drops to just over six (6) percent. Immigrant workers represented by a union are an anomaly. Yet, more and more industries in the great geographic diversity the length and breadth of the U.S. depend on immigrant labor. This tendency will only increase in the future. While Latinos, for example, represent thirteen percent of the total U.S. population, five percent of the labor-force is comprised of undocumented immigrant labor. Latinos constitute a third of California's population, but close to forty (40) percent of the labor-force. Immigrants, generally, enjoy the highest labor participation rate than any other segment of the work-force. The destiny of the labor movement is inextricably dependent on its ability to

incorporate immigrants into its ranks, and this begins and ends with an aggressive advocacy on all levels for the rights of immigrants. Even if only to protect the current standards (and improve the same) of the organized sector, the most vulnerable sectors must be protected and defended.

It was only in the last decade that the immigrant was embraced formally as a positive force by the AFL-CIO, and important shifts in policy occurred. If during the 1980s the immigrant right's movement fought the AFL-CIO on the question of employer sanctions, today the policy is just the opposite. The AFL-CIO and the Change To Win has been the wind to the back of the immigrant right's movement, nationally (notwithstanding the contradictions mentioned earlier). Some unions have played a more aggressive role in extolling their pro-immigrant views and have demonstrated a greater willingness to conduct bold organizing campaigns of immigrant workers. These include members of the Change To Win (CTW) labor federation. And, these are some of the very same unions that successfully advocated to change AFL-CIO policies vis a vis the immigrant - particularly, the undocumented. Yet, the current role of the leadership of these same unions (SEIU, UNITE-HERE, and UFW) is observed as controversial by many in the immigrant right's movement due to their acceptance of employer sanctions (even more onerous versions), guest-worker programs, and enforcement measures as trade-offs in exchange for some form of legalization. The controversy and sharp debate around S.2611 is the most recent example. The position of the leadership, however, must be distinguished from the sentiments of the rank-in-file of these unions. We expect that the debate around these issues will continue into 2007. It's significant to note, however, that other CTW unions, such as the Teamsters, the Laborers' and the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), have views which mirror the AFL-CIO and are consistent with the positions advocated by the immigrant right's movement.

The challenge before the labor and immigrant right's movements is to find common ground, develop a mutual respect for the role of each, and maintain open communication and dialogue notwithstanding sharp differences on tactical questions. It is in the interest of both to find in each other the answers to the political challenges posed by the right-wing, and the demands of our common constituency. Additionally,

the importance of strengthening relations between the labor movement and the immigrant right's movement is not solely for the purpose of pursuing federal immigration reform, even though this would certainly be a boost to the ability of labor to organize the immigrant worker into its ranks. Almost like a rule of natural law, immigrants will not progress socially without joining the labor movement and obtaining a collective bargaining agreement. If this applies universally to all workers, it most certainly applies to the immigrant worker.

Other tactical alliances. There are certainly other opportunities for tactical alliances with other important political forces. These include moderate forces within the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, and even the business community. For different reasons, these forces can be won over to some of the more advanced positions of the movement, for example, opposition to the criminalization (felony charge) of immigrants and those who employ them, and similar provisions. There is significant support for guest-worker programs amongst these sectors due to the absolute acknowledgement of the pivotal role immigrants play in certain industries, and the historical use of immigrants as the reserve army of labor for America. There may exist an opportunity to win these forces over to a guest-worker/legalized status (of a permanent nature) for these workers, as opposed to perpetual servitude with no right to obtain permanent legal status. This is something to explore.

Progressive social movements, especially those of a bi-national character, in the countries of origin of the immigrant communities are having a growing significance and impact on the immigrant right's movement within the U.S. There is increased unity between the movements. The cross-border movements (U.S.-Mexico), especially when the factor of the border deaths and the femicide phenomenon in Juarez are considered, have the potential to seed strategic bonds of international progressive change. It is not lost on any in the movement the current events in Mexico, the alternative presidency of Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador to the fraudulent imposition of Felipe Calderon, who is a declared "free-trader" in the worst/best sense of neoliberal subservience to U.S. capital; the popular movement to remove the governor of Oaxaca, Ulises Ruiz; and the growing social unrest throughout Mexico. The toppling of

neoliberal governments through the ballot in Latin American country after country is more than a popular trend. The re-election of Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez by a wide margin is an open repudiation of U.S. influence in the hemisphere.

The Special Case of Mexico: The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has made a mockery of the U.S.-Mexico border. The strength of our arguments against the infamous border wall and militarization of the border reside on two points: 1) the growing number of border deaths (only expected to increase with the most recent deployment of the National Guard and the thousands more border troops); and, 2) the globalization of capital, goods, and services (which has meant the deindustrialization of the U.S., and now, even Mexico).

Take a snapshot of the economic effects of Mexico's President Vicente Fox administration under NAFTA, and one easily concludes that the unfair agreement has only exacerbated the immigration situation. According to Mexican government reports, which track population movements within its national borders, some three million small farmers and their families have been displaced from the land – unable to compete with U.S. corporate agribusiness. At the same time, the Mexican government has documented that 430,000 to 500,000 Mexicans successfully entered the U.S. surreptitiously annually over the past six years – Fox's presidential term. In effect, more Mexicans have been systematically expelled from their national territory to the U.S. during the Fox term than anytime in the history of the two countries. It is not difficult to conclude that this mass displacement of people across borders is not part of an economic strategy contrived between capital on both sides of the border. The PAN's Felipe Calderon has repeatedly crowed that he has no intention of tinkering with the terms of NAFTA or doing anything to protect the Mexican small farmer. This is even in the face of the soon-to-be eliminated tariffs on Mexican corn and beans in 2008. He represents continuity of Fox's economic policies and the drive towards privatization of the Mexican economy – that is, what's left of it. He is the ultimate defender of the brake-neck speed with which Mexico is being walmartized.

A recent World Bank report compared Mexico to Botswana, Africa in terms of economic inequality. In the final days of his economic performance, Vicente Fox leaves his country

stalled with a notable increase in unemployment, polarized income in the extreme of its citizens, and few remaining opportunities. The report mentions that the Fox administration wasted opportunities represented by high petroleum prices, low international interest rates, high growth of remittances, and the brevity of the U.S. economic recession. On the other hand, the annual economic growth rate was only two (2) percent, the internal market disappeared, 50 million Mexicans live on the equivalent of \$1.00 a day, unemployment reached the highest level of the economically active workforce, 4.04 percent (not considering the growth of the informal economy); public expenses increased extraordinarily; and in 2006 alone the interest payment on the debt was the highest in history, the equivalent of \$26 billion (almost the total amount earned from petroleum revenue). According to the study, the Mexican economy demonstrated its capacity to generate wealth in the past few years, however, it regressed in the form of its distribution, and it experienced a decline in the real purchasing power of its inhabitants. The Fox government consolidated itself as the tenth largest economy of the world, but fell to 70th place in terms of per capita income (\$6,790.00), and to 80th place if the income is measured by the real purchasing capacity – a level comparable to Botswana.

In the face of these figures, the pretended advocacy by the Fox administration in the U.S. (his repeated meetings with Bush, his one speech before the U.S. Congress, and various state legislatures) and in the media (Mexican and U.S.) rings absolutely hollow.

Felipe Calderon's early visit to the U.S., and his pronouncements on the immigration issue, were more for public consumption and a play to gain political credibility. The hypocrisy lies in the fact that the policy options he intends on pursuing fly in the face of his statements in "defense" of migrants. His policies (as those of Fox) are the reason why Mexicans are leaving their homeland. And, they will leave in greater numbers over this next sexennial. The termination of tariffs on all agricultural products (particularly maize and beans) between Mexico and the U.S. in 2008, as per NAFTA, will be a watershed event as this relates to labor displacement and migration.

A massive guest-worker (bracero) program for Mexican migrants is a central programmatic approach in the economic model and strategy of both U.S. and Mexican capital. This is best revealed by the repeated advocacy for the same by Bush and Fox since 2000. This represents Jorge Castaneda's "whole enchilada" – although wholly void of any beef for the Mexican migrant.

It's the politician's populist rhetoric at its worst – seemingly militant, patriotic, adversarial, and protective on behalf of the humble worker, while working out the details of the deal behind closed doors to legitimize the wholesale expulsion of millions of workers for the use by U.S. capital, and devoid of full rights, especially the right to obtain permanent legal status. This is modern day servitude and the case of the recyclical worker in the age of recycling. If these same government officials are responsible for wreaking havoc on the small farmer – systematically pursuing economic dislocation in the interior of Mexico, and therefore, are not their true champions and advocates, but in fact are the real predators (within Mexico), why would anyone have any illusions that they would be true champions and advocates for the Mexican migrant in the exterior. Intrinsicly, they cannot

The Mexican migrant is being whipsawed in an ever expanding and dangerous vortex of economic despair, violence, and death along the border – a virtual militarized zone.

The African American community is a natural strategic ally to the immigrant of America. Both groups are predominantly working class and find themselves on the bottom echelons of all social classes. Both have more in common than that which separates and distinguishes them. Both have historically been used by capital to weaken the labor movement and divide working people based on their color, legal status, gender, national origin, and language. The African American was once subjugated to a legal status which denied their humanity in absolute terms, and later shifted this to relative terms. The immigrant today is denied a legalized status to ensure a type of exploitation similar to the African American experience in segregated "Jim Crow" America. The African American community has demonstrated the way out of this dilemma, while it continues to fight for an equitable share of the wealth it currently creates, and the unfathomable endowment it created for America since its forced arrival. The immigrant right's

movement owes a debt of gratitude to the major strides scored by the African American movement for civil and social rights in the U.S., and must look to this community and its leadership as mentors and partners in a common struggle for social justice and human dignity. Our common adversaries will search ever more closely for any and every pretext to sow division between the groups. And, any gain obtained by the immigrant on no account should come at the expense of the African American community, or of labor, for that matter. The mere perception of such will immediately be pounced upon by the xenophobes to divide us.

South Asian immigrant communities represent a special case of targeted persecution, repression, harassment, and profiling – not completely similar to that experienced by other immigrant groups. This has much to do with the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the subsequent search for the “enemy,” but also due to the international policies, interventions, and U.S.-corporate interests abroad. Arab and Muslim peoples (U.S.-native born, foreign-born, and throughout the world) are demonized daily in all existing mediums. This becomes the ideological justification for the approval of new interpretations of existing laws and / or the abrogation of traditional interpretations of law to weaken civil liberties, such as the ruling by a Brooklyn federal judge that non-citizens could be detained and indefinitely held on “the basis of religion, race or national origin.” In October, Congress passed the Military Commissions Act, handing Bush the power to identify “American” citizens as “unlawful enemy combatants” and detain them indefinitely without charge. And, more to the point, the Act eliminated habeas corpus review for “aliens.” Recently, Rep. Virgil Goode (R-VA) stirred up anti-Muslim bigotry by writing his constituents: “I fear that in the next century we will have many more Muslims in the United States if we do not adopt the strict immigration policies that I believe are necessary to preserve the values and beliefs traditional to the United States of America and to prevent our resources from being swamped.” The first Muslim elected to the U.S. Congress this year, Rep. Keith Ellison (D-MN), was also similarly attacked by Rep. Goode when he suggested that without a tough stance on immigration “there will likely be many more Muslims elected to office.” Lastly, in December, the Inter Press News Agency reported that, “Recent polls indicate that almost half of U.S. citizens have a negative perception of Islam and that one in four of those surveyed have

‘extreme anti-Muslim views...a quarter of people here consistently believe stereotypes such as: ‘Muslims value life less than other people’ and ‘The Muslim religion teaches violence and hatred.’ This is not an accident.

However, recent experience indicates that such persecution also represents an opportunity for alliance between all similarly or dissimilarly persecuted immigrant communities, and not just within the U.S. The defeat of Congressman Richard Pombo, for example, occurred by a creative alliance between Democrats, moderate Republicans, Greens, other independents, Latinos, and South Asian immigrants – of the Muslim faith. The American Muslim Alliance was instrumental in pursuing this creative broad collaboration. I am absolutely certain that such an alliance is what resulted in the election of Congressman Ellison. These are experiences that can be replicated. For every negative heaped on us, our answer must be such creative alliances to forge community, unity, and positive outcomes for our common immigrant family. And, lastly on this point, something not commonly known, but the majority of Muslims in the U.S. just happen to be African American. What an alliance!

A MILLION-PERSON MARCH DOES NOT A MOVEMENT MAKE. The immigrant mass mobilizations and movement in the U.S. during 2006 that exploded onto the television screens of millions throughout the world were just an apparent spontaneous manifestation. Behind the scenes, immigrant right’s groups, coalitions, and immigrant membership organizations, and home-town associations have worked tirelessly for the past twenty-five years - and certainly prior to the 1986 Immigrant Reform and Control Act (popularly known as the amnesty law), to build constituency, oppose anti-immigrant policies, practices, and legislation; propose fair immigration reform legislation and policies; initiate litigation at all levels of the judicial system; and build alliances within labor, the church, corporate, and other political currents and movements. The tactics employed by the myriad of organizations have included letter campaigns, legislative lobbying, leadership training, marches, targeted protests, civil disobedience, hunger fasts, strikes, boycotts, mass mobilizations, litigation, and others. In fact, the massive marches of 2006 were the cumulative effect of the many years of organizing amongst the immigrant communities, and an immigrant community pushed against the wall with

no space to maneuver – the political climate created by the H.R.4437 legislation.

No single mega-march, or series of marches, in one city or region of the country alone can or should be considered the panacea for the xenophobia infecting the body politic of America. While the 2006 May Day boycott/strike had national magnitude and historic significance, the organizational infrastructure of the movement was not adequate to take full advantage of the moment, build on its successes, and provide a coherent follow-up to continue gathering momentum and unite the regional leaderships under a national leadership direction to pursue future actions. The political balance of forces was such that the mobilizations were insufficient to stem the entire tide of repression and anti-immigrant legislation. While this may appear as a harsh critique, truth be told, the movement was caught off guard soon after the spring and was unable to prevent the passage of S.2611 by the Democratic Party or the bipartisan piece-meal enforcement legislation, namely, the Secure Fence Act of 2006, and others.

PROPOSAL FOR A WEEK-LONG GENERAL STRIKE IN 2007. Today, some political activists are already calling for a general strike on May Day 2007 - in fact, a week-long strike action. They do not present an analysis of the current state of affairs, an analysis of the new balance of political forces, an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the movement itself, or a comprehensive strategy with the corresponding tactics. They raise tactics to the level of strategy as an all or nothing answer to the immigration reform challenges facing the immigrant communities. It is their equivalent to the “big bang” theory – a massive mobilization or general strike with national magnitude will suffice to create the desired change. As if the political system was so fragile. It should be recognized that a strike, boycott, march, etc., and the organizational formations that give expression to these actions, are tactics employed to attain the objective(s) outlined as part of an integral strategy. Each tactic must be justified as it serves the overall plan. This is not what’s being proposed by the advocates of such a week-long general strike. In fact, the proponents do not represent a mass membership base of workers (with whom they could ostensibly consult about such an action), are not connected to the labor movement in its organized expressions throughout the country, do not relate to the churches, which enjoy the largest constituencies of the immigrant communities, and

have not developed an infrastructure to address the resulting retribution, firings, and repression that would certainly follow from a general strike. It is irresponsible to propose such actions in the manner in which they are proposed. Every action should lead to building more organization amongst the workers, not provoking more repression against them, and demoralizing the movement.

This is not to say that such tactics are not appropriate given certain conditions. No serious political organizer would be willing to disavow any tactic, particularly strikes including political strikes to shut down production or consumption for the purpose of sending a political message or exacting a political effect. The real question, however, is - what is the role of the workers themselves in employing such tactics and previously discussing their efficacy for the purposes advocated? To us this is everything!

NO-MATCH LETTERS. Immigrant workers are currently facing serious repression in the form of the NO-MATCH letters. The most recent example were the ICE raids covering six states against the workers of Swift & Co., the second largest meat processing plant in the U.S. Some 1,300 workers were detained and accused of identity theft. While the no-match letter is not new, the accusations of identity theft is certainly a novel tactic in repression against immigrants. Several months ago the Department of Homeland Security announced that by way of a new regulatory change it would begin enforcing the no-match letters to the full extent of the law. The issue of no-match letters arises as a result of the inability of the Social Security Administration to reconcile the social security numbers reported by employers from their employees. It is no secret that the SSA does not issue social security numbers to individuals who do not have legal status. Workers are then forced to offer up false numbers to their employers in order to obtain employment. For the purpose of collecting taxes, the Internal Revenue Service began a practice some ten years ago to recognize the Employer Identification Number (ITIN) for these workers in lieu of the social security number. However, this did not resolve the issue with the Social Security Administration. Over the past six or seven years the SSA began sending NO-MATCH letters to employers for the purpose of reconciling the discrepancy. However, employers were not required to do anything more than provide additional information, if such was available, and report back to the SSA - but not

necessarily take any action against the employee. In other words, this was not a requirement to dismiss the worker due to the discrepancy, and the discrepancy in and of itself was not proof that the worker was undocumented.

The Department of Homeland Security, through its immigration enforcement arm – Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) - discovered this as an opportune way to enforce the employer sanctions provision of the 1986 immigration law, and added their own new twist of identity fraud and identity theft, which is a felony offense.

Theoretically, all undocumented workers could be charged with such an offense and therefore be ineligible for any immigration benefit - either from a new legalization program or even a visa petition of the traditional character. It is no accident that the DHS has targeted one of the largest unionized meat processing companies in the country. Additionally, unions have reported that during the course of organizing campaigns employers have used the pretext of the no-match letters to dismiss workers who are involved in the campaign. This was also recently the case of the Smithfield Co, the largest hog processing plant in the U.S. located in North Carolina.

However, what is the lesson that the workers and the union, which seeks to represent them, the United Food & Commercial Workers (UFCW), have provided us on this question? Worker solidarity was the answer to the employer who dismissed some fifty workers under the pretext of the no-match letter. Some 500-700 workers (of a plant of 3,000) staged a week-long strike and demanded that their work-mates be returned to the production line. They eventually prevailed. The UFCW has had a decade-long campaign to organize the Smithfield Co.

To the degree that the Department of Homeland Security pursues their strategy of the no-match letters, the workers of Smithfield & Co. have provided us the answer, the collective work-stoppage. Call it a strike, boycott, or whatever you will, it is simply the ability, and more importantly, the willingness of the workers to unite in defense of their right to work and organize against the bosses. This is a tactic worth pursuing, but the lesson of Smithfield Co. is that the workers were intimately involved in pursuing the use of this tactic, and did so knowing full well the consequences of their actions, and they

were successful.

PROPOSED TACTICAL APPROACHES. It is extremely important that the local and regional coalitions move closer to establishing a strong national network and coalition, and collaborate with all other existing pro-immigrant networks, which for different reasons do not wish to be an integral affiliate to the national network. In other words, unity in strategy and organizational expressions are of utmost importance for the immigrant right's movement. Agreement on the minimum basis of unity - the immediate legalization of the estimated 12 million undocumented currently in the U.S. - should be the starting point to further build the movement, strengthen its local, state, and national organized expressions, and directly and actively engage the immigrant communities in the fight of their lives. The fight must be of and by the immigrants themselves, and not for the immigrants. The fight must be of and by the workers themselves, and not for the workers.

Every tactic employed in the fight to defend and expand the rights of immigrants must inevitably lead to building base organization amongst the workers, building their leadership, and raise the social consciousness about the class character of our current system, its inherent deficiencies, and build class unity with no regard for borders – this is our strength.

It is imperative that leadership summits occur immediately throughout the country to finalize plans of work for 2007. These plans should include the following:

1. Launch national mobilizations (not a general strike) to coincide with the federal legislative calendar (March, May, and August, for example), and put forth the principal demand of legalization, and the other correlating demands - points of unity;
2. Launch a national letter campaign demanding the immediate legalization of all undocumented directed at the Democratic Party leadership;
3. Establish advocacy and mobilization committees in every congressional district throughout the country - or at least in all the states where there exist immigrant right's

coalitions;

4. Convene national days of lobby in Washington, D.C. on targeted dates;
5. Develop alternative immigration legislation, which is rational, fair, humane, pro-worker, and pro-immigrant, and present the same before all members of Congress where the local committees have been established;
6. Reaffirm commitment and alliance with labor, church, community-based organizations, coalitions, and advocacy committees to coordinate plans and actions;
7. Build local membership organizations of immigrants, and strengthen existing ones;
8. Strengthen legal advocacy, defense, and litigation with the fine legal organizations that have conducted such work throughout the country;
9. Conduct special outreach to other political currents and movements to ascertain basis of unity and work - feminist, environmental, labor, international, and African American, PDA, Greens, and others;
10. Continue to conduct counter-protest and education around the right-wing Minutemen and their connection to white supremacy organizations and foundations;
11. Respond to the no-match letter repression as an opportunity to engage workers at the work-place, build organization, strengthen relations and work with the unions, and demand an immediate moratorium on the implementation of the no-match letter regulations;
12. Respond to the orders of deportation of those individuals who have U.S.-born children as an opportunity to build organization amongst women and families, and demand an immediate moratorium of such deportations, no separation of families, and the protection of the integrity of the family (the case of Elvira Arellano is the symbol for this aspect of the movement);

I submit to the greater wisdom of our immigrant constituencies, our membership, and our broader communities to determine the validity of my observations. Thank you.

CALL TO A NATIONAL LEADERSHIP IMMIGRATION SUMMIT

We are called upon to assume the responsibility that history assigns us at this important juncture in the history of the immigrant right's movement. The opening of 2007 begins a new chapter in this movement. The urgent task of the moment is to develop a national strategy consensus between the political and social forces responsible for advancing the agenda for the development of a rational and humane immigration law that protects the interests of the country, U.S. workers, and immigrants.

Broad unity was the lesson in the movement and mobilization to defeat H.R.4437 in 2006. How we arrive at such unity again is the test and challenge of the immigrants right's movement. The need for a comprehensive and coherent strategy (and corresponding tactics) for our national movement is of utmost urgency. Such a strategy requires various approaches – political, legal, and legislative. All are equally important.

The shift of political party control of the U.S. Congress could not have occurred without the energized electoral participation of all immigrant constituencies throughout the country, but certainly without the largest – the Latino electorate – and this constitutes an opportunity for rational and humane federal immigration reform. How to translate such electoral participation into a mandate for such immigration reform with the new party in power is the current challenge of the movement.

Leadership is of strategic value to move our agenda forward. While we recognize that we may not represent all currents of opinion and organizations, nevertheless, we make a call for all active participants with grassroots constituencies who agree with the minimum demands of demilitarizing the U.S.-Mexico border, legalization of undocumented immigrants, stronger labor protections for U.S. and immigrant workers, access to judicial review of DHS decisions regarding immigrants, addressing the fundamental causes of undocumented migration, and fair treatment for vulnerable immigrant populations (including asylum seekers, survivors of domestic violence, trafficking victims, and unaccompanied minors).

The immediate imperative is to be inclusive of all broad social forces in the national spectrum in support of immigrants – religious groups, unions, social organizations, legal services providers, community-based organizations, youth and students, and political parties – in recognition of the urgent need for unity and to apply the maximum pressure possible on the U.S. Congress over the next several months.

The work-place raids and NO-MATCH LETTER strategy being pursued by the Department of Homeland Security – Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), under the guise of criminal investigations of identity theft, throughout the country is the new hammer

against immigrant workers and those who employ them. It is the opening salvo in the battle to determine what type of immigration reform the country will ultimately approve. The DHS-ICE assaults are being pushed back by the workers in the targeted plants and the unions that represent them. We are challenged to turn this repression on its head and make of it a national campaign, part and parcel of the national movement in favor of immigration reform.

While some advocates may focus their work on improving a joint proposal that is likely to emerge from the offices of Senators McCain and Kennedy, we are challenged to formulate OUR OWN legislative alternative for rational and humane immigration reform – one that corresponds to the true interests of the country, U.S. workers, and our immigrant constituencies, and for which all will be willing to fight.

Collectively, we have the expertise and experience to formulate such an alternative and the tested political will to wage the campaign.

The summit, then, will address questions of strategy, unity, the wave of work-site raids and no-match letter policy, alternative legislative proposals, and the operational plan to build our movement and fight for the type of federal immigration reform we believe is truly needed. This plan will contemplate all the tested tactics employed over the years, for example, letter campaigns, lobbying, congressional committees, mass mobilizations, litigation, media, and others. We are only limited by our own imagination.

We invite you to join us on January 26th and 27th (Friday and Saturday) in Phoenix, Arizona at the offices of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), Local 99 (address).

Please contact to RSVP your attendance, and forward us your contact information to facilitate sending you the agenda and conference materials.

Sincerely,

Attorney Peter Schey

Executive Director

Center for Constitutional and Human Rights

Antonio Gonzalez

President

Willie C. Velásquez Institute

Southwest Voters Registration and Education Fund

Nativo V. Lopez

National Director

Hermanidad Mexicana Latinoamericana

Nacional President

Mexican American Political Association (MAPA)

This explains a lot of things that have happened here in Arizona.

Tony

James Marquez <latino_thinker@yahoo.com> wrote:

From: James Marquez <latino_thinker@yahoo.com>

Subject: [nm_raza_unida] Interesting analysis of a back-stab in the immigrant rights movement

Nativo Lopez: What's Next for the Immigrant Rights Movement? June 30, 2006

NATIVO LOPEZ is president of the Mexican American Political Association. He was a leading organizer of the huge demonstrations for immigrant rights in Los Angeles on March 25 and May 1. He spoke at a panel discussion about the future of the immigrant rights movement at the Socialism 2006 conference in New York City.

THANK YOU for the opportunity to make a presentation regarding the current status of the immigrant rights movement and attempt to answer the hardest question: What now?

We are in an interesting interlude. Some could paint it in a negative light, but I tend to believe that, in fact, there are very positive things we can draw from the current situation and the double fix the Democratic Party put this movement in, with the help of their auxiliary organizations.

I want to talk about this. Like in any movement, the struggle doesn't move in a direct path. It's more of a crooked path. What the Democratic Party and its auxiliary organizations did for us during the Easter interlude was a big favor. We don't realize it yet. We don't understand it completely yet. I'm still analyzing that period--what occurred and where we are today--but I have concluded definitively that they did us a big favor.

What is the favor that they did us? Certainly we know that they betrayed us, as historically has been the case for immigrants, for the working class, for national minorities in the United States.

One has only to look at the 4,000-plus deaths that have occurred on the border since the institution of the Gatekeeper program brought to us by Sen. Dianne Feinstein of the Democratic Party, and your friend, but not mine, President Bill Clinton. We can wail all we want against President Bush, but we absolutely know that the 4,000-plus deaths on the border can be directly attributed to President Clinton and Dianne Feinstein.

The Democrats were a majority in the Congress when that passed. The 1996 immigration "reform" that occurred is the predecessor to the Patriot Act and everything the Bush administration did.

The swelling of the undocumented population in the United States, particularly from India, Mexico, the Philippines, is directly attributable to the legislation that was passed, which made it more difficult for families to reunify by putting a heavy burden on them, a heavy fine and forcing them to leave the country. Therefore, families stayed here to face greater penalties and the possibility of never legalizing their status.

All this is directly attributable to President Clinton, the Democratic Party, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus--those who seek to portray themselves today as the fighters for immigrant rights. It's a bunch of hypocrisy.

WHY WAS there so much unity and such a great, aggressive mass mobilization throughout the country at the beginning of 2006?

HR 4437, the author of which was Rep. James Sensenbrenner of Wisconsin, left absolutely no social space-- none whatsoever-- for the immigrant to accommodate themselves to a truly unjust system, but yet a system that allowed him or her to find a job that perhaps others were not willing to do and still survive and thrive and send money home to their loved ones.

HR 4437 didn't just put the burden on the immigrant. Had that been the case, employer associations, trade associations, the masses of churches, social organizations and even the Democratic Party would not have come forward to join the immigrant in this fight to defeat that legislation.

There was a situation where most people in society connected in any way with the dynamic of immigration saw the possibility of being criminalized themselves. Therefore, they were willing to come forward and join the immigrant in this fight.

In that sense, Sensenbrenner became a unifying factor, similar to how Gov. Pete Wilson did in 1994, when he was the bandleader for Proposition 187. We were then united on what we did not want. But we were not as united, we're still not united on what we want. This struggle surged from the bases, not from the hierarchies. That's an absolute truth that no one can deny.

To be completely honest with you, I can tell you that even the base leaders of this movement found themselves running a marathon--out of shape and trying to catch up to the masses that were demanding focused and disciplined action against HR 4437.

In fact, on March 25, when over 1 million people marched in Los Angeles, all the organizations in the coalition couldn't muster more than 500 people for security for the march. But it's a testament of the great discipline of the immigrant community that it self-secured a situation that could have easily gotten out of hand, had the police, LAPD and other right-wing forces been provoked into action.

After March 25 in Los Angeles, the hierarchies sought to assert themselves at the front of this movement, and to control it and force it and channel it to accept a compromise that they had already cut several years before.

That compromise that they cut several years before is embodied in the legislation called Kennedy-McCain, crafted by Senators Ted Kennedy and John McCain, which essentially would codify in law more onerous employer sanctions than currently exist in law, and a massive contract-labor program in the United States.

For those who aren't familiar with it, there is an existing contract-labor program in the United States. It's called the H2A program. It uses approximately 50,000 to 60,000 contract laborers, predominantly in agriculture. The McCain-Kennedy bill would expand that to half a million workers a year, and perhaps more.

I call it a contract-labor program, because that's what it is. They like to call it by a benign name--a guest-worker program. As if workers are truly guests in the American house, when we know that the contract workers are treated as less than second-class citizens, and certainly not as guests.

The auxiliary organizations of the Democratic Party sought to assert themselves as leaders in this movement, and it's time to name names, because this is important. We must be truthful with our community. The deception must end.

The International leadership of the Service Employees International Union; the International leadership and some of the local leadership of UNITE HERE; the leadership of the United Farm Workers were all part of the deal. They were all

part of the betrayal. The National Council of La Raza, the National Immigration Forum, the League of United Latin American Citizens, the National Immigration Capital Coalition, the Center for Community Change.

These organizations, which are based in Washington, D.C.-- lobbyists, for the most part--are truly disconnected to the masses of immigrants and do not represent the interests of the masses of immigrants.

They represent the interests of Corporate America, because it's Corporate America that funds them and dictates to them the policies that they should pursue--beneficial to Corporate America, and perhaps some crumbs fall from the table that would benefit the immigrant community.

Certainly they need a facade to maintain the appearance of credibility, but we know that they're corporate-funded, corporate-directed, and they were doing the bidding of Corporate America, including those unions.

How is it possible that those three unions bolted from the AFL-CIO to create the new progressive Change to Win coalition, and they accepted the premise that contract labor in massive form could exist in the United States, with those unions to be the beneficiaries by cutting deals with Corporate America for yellow-dog collective bargaining agreements, in which they would receive dues money from those contract laborers.

It's shameful, and Ernesto Galarza, Burt Corona and Cesar Chavez are turning over in their graves. The very thought that leaders of those unions--which are part of the legacy of those three men--would be cutting a deal with Corporate America to support bracero-type programs, when they fought their whole lives to sunset existing bracero programs, which existed for over three decades, and fought to prevent their reinstitutionalization in the United States.

What I say, brothers and sisters, may be unsettling to some when this is published, but we intend to take our show on the road and tell the truth to the immigrant community, because there is nothing stronger than the truth--that we have been betrayed by these institutions and individuals. That's why I say this is a positive occurrence. Because it removes any shadow of a doubt that such institutions represent the legitimate interests of immigrant workers in America.

The illusion will be shattered as it becomes quite apparent to the immigrant community that the nasty compromise the Democratic Party and its auxiliary organizations sought to consummate in the legislation of Hagel-Martinez was nothing but a sham and truly has nothing of merit for the immigrant community.

THE MAY Day action, as never seen before, was truly a workers' action--from the bottom, not from the hierarchy. The message of the Great American Boycott

surged from below--it was not imposed from the top.

In fact, the Democratic Party; its auxiliary organizations; the National Council of Bishops, particularly, Cardinal Roger Mahoney; Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa; and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus fought tooth and nail, in tandem with corporate Spanish-language radio, to prevent the message of the masses in the Great American Boycott from reaching the ears of all immigrants throughout America, and they failed. They absolutely failed.

The Great American Boycott was successful because literally millions of people went into the streets, repudiating by their actions the message of the hierarchies. Because the message of the Great American Boycott was the message of the masses, and that's why it prevailed--it was their own message. They imposed their message over the message of the hierarchies, and they won.

They demonstrated to all of America that their message was more powerful than the corporate media, their message was more powerful than the institution of the church, their message was more powerful than the institution of the Democratic Party and its auxiliary organizations. They heeded their own message, and they won.

Easter in 2006 is a day to be remembered, because just before the Easter recess, the immigrant rights movement won. It had definitively defeated HR 4437. It had prevented the Hagel-Martinez from seeing the light of day from the Senate Judiciary Committee. Senate Minority Leader Harry Reid, in that one instance, obeyed the message of the masses to not compromise with Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist and allow Hagel-Martinez to see the light of day.

Do you all recall that? The national debate on immigration had shifted favorably to us--to the masses of immigrants. And in that two-week interlude, the cardinals went to Washington, D.C., Mayor Villaraigosa went to Washington, D.C., the Congressional Hispanic Caucus huddled with Ted Kennedy and Harry Reid, and Eliseo Medina, international vice president of SEIU; Arturo Rodriguez, president of the United Farm Workers; John Wilhelm of UNITE HERE.

They all huddled in Washington, D.C., and politically, they beat up poor Harry Reid. And Harry Reid cut the deal. We saw Hagel- Martinez debated in the Senate and approved by the Senate. We saw Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, the great California liberal, vote for the border wall, vote for National Guard on the border, vote for criminalizing employers with sanctions, vote for criminalizing immigrants with a misdemeanor offense instead of a felony offense, vote for eliminating due process rights to immigrants, vote for a massive contract-labor program. These are the measures they voted for, because this is what is contained in Hagel-Martinez.

SENSENBRENNER AND Sensenbrenner Lite--this is what we have today on the table. We're fighting not just one set of letters and numbers, we're fighting two sets of letters and numbers: HR 4437 and S2611.

But while it is a more difficult fight, the positive thing is that the immigrant will have no illusion that Barbara Boxer or the Democratic Party will fight to obtain what he and she truly deserve--a fair trade, a fair exchange for their labor.

This truly is the basis and the premise of our demand of amnesty for all immigrant workers, fully and immediately. It's a fair exchange. This is our answer to the hypocrisy of the so-called free traders, the neoliberals of America, when they talk about free trade.

We talk about fair trade and fair exchange--that as an immigrant worker, if I am willing to come to America to work, to create value, to create wealth, to create assets for America, a true fair exchange to me should be permanent residence, immediately and fully for me and my family.

Brothers and sisters, I welcome your questions, but more your comments and your statements and your commitment to continue in this fight--to work with us to implement throughout the United States a popular referendum where we will go to millions of immigrants and ask them what they want in immigration reform. On November 7 of this year, we will ask all immigrants to go to the ballot to vote for true, fair, humane immigration reform.

The Republicans and the Democrats--these phonies will jostle and juggle over who will be the majority in Congress to continue to deny the rights of all working people. Because let us remember that with the Democrats controlling Congress and a Democratic president, they absolutely refused to reform federal labor law in America to allow workers to organize unions with no impediments.

So they're no better than the Republicans in power. In fact, they do a better job than the Republicans to prevent the working class to truly be free in America.

Our struggle today is to eliminate all the illusions in these Democrats and their auxiliary organizations and some of the union leaders. I say some union leaders, because we have observed that those union leaders who are closer to the base are more true to the base. That also applies to the church--to the parish pastor, who is pastoring on a daily basis and sees the suffering on a daily basis. They're closer to the truth, because they're closer to the base.

So our job is to win over those intermediary and base leaders to have no illusions about what their leaders are doing in Washington, D.C. And be true to their constituencies, be true to the base, be true to the immigrants, and work with us to

build the strongest, mightiest immigrant rights movement in America, which will spill over across all borders throughout the world.

Because our fight, brothers and sisters, is a fight to carry the message that the working class is an international class, and it has no borders.

APPENDIX D

SOMOS AMERICA MEETING AGENDA NOTES



Somos America / We Are America Coalition

SOMOS AMERICA

STRATEGIC PLANNING

Mission Statement

1. Somos America promotes equality, economic justice and the defense of migrant rights in Arizona.
2. A comprehensive immigration reform w/ a path to citizenship that offers hope, respect, justice, and dignity to human all beings.
3. To foster economic empowerment and access to education in the immigrant community.
4. To integrate solidarity and diversity by respectful unity relationships.
5. We shall empower our community through political power and non violence

Needs

- Immigration Reform
- Workers Rights
- Challenging Injustice
- Exploitation of Immigrants
- Educating our community (political issues, labor issues, etc.)
- Aggressive local and national agenda
- Accountability from politicians
- Diversity in Somos America
- To maintain the legacy and responsibility those mobilized on April 10th
- Communication and Education
- Direct Contact from Community to Somos America and Vice Versa
- Strong and Credible Voice in Arizona

Purpose

- To address the NEEDS
- Organizational continuity and leadership

Primary Results

- Human Dignity

- Fair and acceptable immigration reform
- Worker Empowerment
- Voter mobilization success
- Increase Leadership/Diversity
- To insure equal rights and justice for all
- Political Empowerment through community empowerment
- Education of community on issues to sway public opinion

Milestone

- April 10th, largest political demonstration in Arizona's history (250,000)
- May 1st action
- Bringing attention to the need for immigration reform
- Capturing the attention of State and Federal legislators
- Defeated Proposition 405 (took initiative off the Nov. ballot with volunteers working 19 hours per day for five days to uncover invalid petition signatures)
- Labor Day Rally 2006 (largest in country with 5,000)
- Increase Minimum Wage by passing Prop 202 (aggressive phone calling & door to door contacts)

Goals for 2007-2008

- Continue with Citizenship Fairs to assist with N-400 forms and January 8th, Student March (against passage of Prop. 300)
 - Recover over \$300,000 in lost Wages for the VEEMAC workers
 - Confronted police and worked with business owners at 36th and Thomas to successfully protect the right of Jornaleros
 - Hosted the National Immigration Summit Conference (January 2007)
 - Participated in the Mi Familia Vota 2006 Campaign (caravana politica – brought candidates to the community)
 - Registered 16,000 voters to vote by mail (Get out the vote campaign)
 - Worked on producing the Mural on 75th Street
 - Instituted a culture of Non Violence in all of our Activities
 - Spearheaded the most successful citizenship project in the nation as part of the Ya Es Hora campaign (2,000 applicants assisted in two months June and July 2007)
 - Presented Immigration Forum where local attorneys explained local, state and federal laws to immigrant community (three forums held with full capacity of over 1,200 at each event)
 - Recover over \$40,000 in lost wages for the Samons Brothers workers
1. passport pictures
 2. Continue with Immigration Forums to educate immigrant community about local, state and federal laws

3. Work towards passage of Comprehensive Immigration Reform
 - Path to Citizenship
 - Family Unity
 - Future Flow
 - Workers Rights
4. Increase Civic Participation in Immigrant Communities
5. In Coalition with Organized Labor, **empower workers.**
6. Expand and Diversify Coalition
7. Media Influence Campaign
8. Establish Safe Zones
 - Sanctuary movement
 - Coyote Law

Constituents

- Over 35 organizations in Somos America / We Are America Coalition
- Immigrants/Communities; Asian, African, Hispanic, Middle Eastern
- Families
- Students
- Union members
- *Workers*
- Asylum Seekers
- Native Americans

Allies

- Immigrants
- Religious groups
- Pro-immigrant organizations
- Organized Labor/Unions
- Immigration attorneys
- Human rights organizations

Resources/Tactics

What we have:

- People resources
- Phone banking: lots of lines predictive dialers
- House to house visits
- Recruitment of volunteers (over 25,000)
- Legislative pressure: contributors, churches, attorneys



Agenda

Tuesday June 19, 2007

- ❖ Introductions
- ❖ Hungry for Respect
- ❖ Immigration Forum *hosted by Campesina and Somos America*
@ Phoenix College Bullpitt Auditorium 7 p.m. (June 21st, 2007)
- ❖ Citizenship Fair with Campesina @ Queen of Peace Catholic
Church 8am-11am 141 N. Macdonald St. Mesa, AZ 85201
(June 30th, 2007)
- ❖ Volviendo A Vivir (Aug. 4th, 2007)
- ❖ Mark your Calendar
 - Change to Win Potluck (June 21st, 2007)
 - Citizenship Registration at Citizenship Oath (July 4th,
2007)
 - Citizenship Fair (July 14th, 2007) *location to be
determined*
 - 33 A Su Lado (July 19th, 2007)
 - Multiple Citizenship Fairs throughout the state (July 28th,
2007) *locations to be determined*
- ❖ Announcements



Agenda

Tuesday July 10th , 2007

- ❖ Introductions
- ❖ Employer Sanctions – Alfredo
 - Guest: Leticia Calvillo
 - Guest: Magdalena Schwartz
- ❖ Hungry For Respect Coalition Update
- ❖ Ya Es Hora Citizenship Fairs – Update on July 14th , July 21st
- ❖ Other Announcements

Somos America Meeting

Notes Tuesday July 10, 2007

Start Time: 6:20

Introductions:

What language are we speaking?

Spanish or English?

Motion for bilingual meeting

1st speaker: Alfredo Gutierrez

Employer Sanctions

Companies starting to threaten workers about the employer sanctions, intimidating them.

Starting January 2008, people have to submit their names to a program, pilot program, if someone has a card that has two names, employer will be automatically notified, and

if they employ that person, they will be fined. We don't know the percentage of people that use false ids, but we know its high. Beginning January 1st the basic pilot program will be required of each employer. If you are contracted before January 1st you are safe, only those into the future have to worry about having their ids checked. What is now required in the no match letter, will happen automatically, computers will verify if that number belongs to that person. Employers can go into a business and do accountability sessions and review their records, if they find that employees are working without having basic pilot program or filed an I9, or are undocumented, you have a violation of the law, it's not an administrative law, if the company is found guilty company loses right to operate in 10 days, a second time, the company is banned from conducting business for good. What is happening now is that we are observing that some employers are beginning to intimidate employees and trying to manipulate them because of their status. Telling people 'you better do x, don't join a union, or you are not going to find another job.' The chamber of commerce and restaurant associations are looking at this and how to challenge it, but cannot do that till its implementation. Employers already focusing on this. The unite here contracts in las vegas, are fabulous in this regards, they say the conditions wherein, an employer can cooperate with the police and immigration, it limits what the employer can do by contract. It doesn't change much, but at least prevents employers from threatening workers. No pueden voluntariamente dar a sus mismos empleados a ice. Unite Here has really broken through here, we need those types of contracts for our people here.

Hector Yturralde: the governor is going to ask for a special session to work on the language. It's going to be less harsh

MM: full of shit

Alfredo: Yes and no

Hyturralde: US citizens are on that list, what happens if a hospital or a utility company how are we going to close a government agency because they hire someone who is undocumented

Alfredo: the bill contains 100,000. that's all, it's nothing in terms of the scheme of things, one of the things they want is a lot of money in order to enforce the law, there are a lot of errors, employers all over the place, remember you lose your job, you are going to sue somebody, on the 10th day first offense they haven't, you cant close govt for 10 days. I don't think they are going to work anything else, I think that Russell pearce doesn't want anything, I think they want aps to close for ten days, I don't think we will fix it through the aps thing

Hyturralde: I have two more things and then I can place it on the floor, if the governor would have vetoed the bill, the initiative would have been put on the November ballot,

and it would have been more difficult to change wording of the bill, so I think the governor, did it thinking of that

Alfredo: I think you are being too generous, first bill that would impact aps, every major corporation, hotel in az, every restaurant, for the first time we would have an option to fight this and align ourselves with the business community, so she took the title of mr. bad guy, esa toughota robbed us of the opportunity, I don't think if she was being she wouldn't have two arguments...

Hyturralde: I think we now have the business community that is going to be able to align themselves with our movement, what will happen

Alfredo: I think we will be allied in focusing on some changes, the protections they want is to protect themselves, their willing to throw us out any damn second,

Teo: I have about 4 comments, I see an environment of the torturers and the tortured, no voy a dar informacion, a parte de lo que me estan pidiendo no mas, y aun siendo torturado, tercero, esto me parece mas como una unidad entre el agua y el aceite, no hay ninguna unidad, no se une, componentes opuestos, y sin embargo, la comunidad de los millones, estarian dispuestos a dar millones, para defenderse

Hyturralde: el aceite y el agua se hace salad dressing

Alfredo: Ila se por que lo hizo, primero porque fallo la reforma migratoria, segundo dijo que mientras haiga esta atraccion para cheap labor, nosotros somos corrientes y baratos, va seguir este problema y esta ley es algo para arreglar eso. Y sobre el torturado y la tortura, you could have used a different less serious analogy.

Alicia Russell: can you say that in english

Alfredo: Teo why dont you make your points in english?

Teo: English

Alfredo: what I said was that az should provide leadership with this law, as long as there is this magnet for cheap labor

Irene Chavez: what I see happening is the governor shooting herself in the head, if they join us, we can be the ones that carry plan and they have the money, our agenda, we want workers to get paid for what they deserve, and they just want the cheap labor, I

think I see it more positive than negative...I think its more because we work hard than because we are cheap, I don't think we are cheap

Lydia Hernandez: I was talking to the gentleman who is running list of subcontractors, looking at contributions, to see if the employers ever contributed who

MM: I think the governor is chicken shit, I think she was famous for a week and now, pienso que la gobernadora dijo llo la firme porque el gobierno federal fracaso...

Rebeca Rios

Amanda Aguirre

Janik Esqueda

Paula Abul-esa senora estuvo alli con la cara de hipocrita

Amanda Aguirre, tambien vino a la caravana politica

En la house, linda lopez en la camara, robert mesa primero con lo de las placas, manuel alvarez, y tambien ed ablesser, esta persona marcho en la marcha de tucson con los inmigrantes, hablo diciendo que nos apoyaba, tenemos 16 democratras que votaron por la ley, bastante de nuestros representantes votaron contra nosotros, Amanda aguirre nunca

Hyturralde: quiero pedir una motion to have a letter that addresses these senators to

Alfredo: I want to go a little further, this wasn't Robert mesa jumping up and down courageous as he is, this is a damn democratic action, so that the democratic party should not be in the outliars of this debate, I think it's because of the governor

Martin: we need to do a brainstorming session to do something that holds people accountable, even ben Miranda voted for it in the first role call, we need to hold people accountable

Alfredo: I just made the motion, personas como Miranda votaron por ella, despues otras personas votaron otra vez

Trina Zelle, Linda Brown, Angeles to help write the letter, send it to every democrat (mm)

Hyturralde: now we open up the floor for discussion

Lydia: I agree that we need a letter, I love Linda brown's ability to write op ed's piece, perhaps an op ed to that effect

Irene: I say we invite them to come and speak to us, put them on the spot, stop interrupting us, I think we should write the letter,. And I think I will include my democratic cart and cut it in half

Polo; I think that we need to condemn them through the letter and ask them to explain what they did that's another thing..i think we have to make up our mind to ask what they did or to condemn them....damn you we will vote for someone else, one approach is to ask them for someone else...be critical, one action instead of two actions

Linda; one of the thoughts that occurs to me is that we have never had the business community by the you know whats, this is the first time, ben Miranda told the mcdonalds you're a little late, and we are not going to join you until you come to the table and work with us on moral issues...until you

1 opposed: polo

hyturalde:

Santos; my driver who is a resident, was at a gas station, and someone showed him the paper and started laughing.....

Cynthia; Proteccion de trabajadores, on the agenda we had Leticia calvillo, food city already has started intimidating workers and telling them if you have a union, we are going to fire you...

Hyturalde:

Passes unanimously-motion by masavi to get a meeting with univision second by angeles

to meet with somos america.

Laura ilardo announcement –126

Alfredo-abo make hot coupons

Agenda:

Subcommittee

-Considerar un paro laboral

-Magdalena – es facil para ellos decir llama

-passes unanimously



Agenda

Tuesday July 17th , 2007

- ❖ Introductions
- ❖ Hungry for Respect: Alan
- ❖ Committee Reports
- ❖ Ya Es Hora Citizenship Fairs – Update
- ❖ Other Announcements

Somos America Meeting

Notes Tuesday July 17, 2007

Start Time: 6:20

Employer Sanctions

Danny Ortega: We have not been invited to sit at the table with Business People. Antonio Bustamante and Danny to be legal spokesman. Business companies want nothing to do with people that represent Illegal Aliens. They have the money and they don't need us.

Lydia: Business entities are trying to protect their licenses.

Polo: a conscious decision to disassociate from us. I agree with Lydia. "The enemy of my enemy is my friend" Business people become our friends. We should support them, not because we are interested in the business but they are trying to fight what we are fighting for. If they have all the forces and resources, they don't need us. Have the leader of somos have a close door session with them, to see how we can support them.

Alfredo: I don't think we should rush into anything. WE have the construction, restaurant people...they have different interests. Their argument is gonna be if you find somebody in the hospital, how are you going to close a hospital. At this point I say screw them. The big guys are trying to break a deal for businesses not for us. They are looking for a series of strikes. If they want to talk to us, Mr., chairman I think you need to talk to them. I don't think they know who we are.

Spanish: Tenemos una invitación de Mary Rose Wilcox, que quiere incluirnos con los employer sanctions. Ellos no nos invitaron porque nosotros estamos pelear los derechos del trabajador y ellos su comercio.

Alfredo Spanish: Es muy temprano para llegar a un acuerdo con quien sea. Estas compañías están tratando de convencer a la gobernadora que como pueden cerrar un hospital si encuentran una persona ilegal. Ellos tienen otros intereses.

Constantino: Porque no invitaste a Mary Rose.

Hector: She was invited but couldn't come

WE should give Mary Rose a response. McGruder called it a racist law...WE got to make sure that the latino community is protected against discrimination.

Businesses are protecting themselves not to be sued at the federal level due to discrimination.

Danny: Los derechos civiles, es donde podríamos tener un impacto. WE can't have latino business be a client on a lawsuit, because then the message gets mixed again.

We have to listen what they have to say and then as an organization decide what to do.

Podemos ser aliados, no tenemos que hacerlo públicamente. Podemos desarrollar una relación que no hemos tenido hasta ahorita. Hicimos un plan estratégico que dijera que es lo que podemos hacer. Esta no es nuestra misión. Lets not make hasty decisions. We have a civil and workers rights mission. Tony: It has to be a case by case decision. There are businesses out there that do care. Lets not shut the door on them.

Fuera de esa ley se discute tener un comité para estar monitoreando los efectos de esa ley que pueden ser los sujetos de discriminación. Si el empleador no sabe reconocer los documentos, el empleador puede ser sujeto a una demanda.

Hector: WE want to thank you Danny for being here and discussing the legal aspect.

We skipped the introductions at the beginning of the meeting.

Hector & Alan (Hungry for Respect Update):

There was a press conference Thursday of last week where we had the expired baby formula on display. WE received a call from Bashas' lawyers that wanted to see the evidence after the media left. They asked for Trina and myself to stay with three UFCW lawyers. They brought a couple of ASU students to do inventory. So far they have not gotten back to us. They didn't care about our receipts. They only cared about the LOT #. That will track the manufacturer, to the warehouse, to the store. They are calling us liars. They are calling their employees whistle blowers. We are eagerly waiting for an answer.

Lydia: Isn't there a way to ask them to check their surveillance video.?

Next couple of weeks: Bashas' is hiding behind WIC. They look for Enfamil with Iron, there needs to be 30 cans that have to be in store shelves and they are in full compliance. If there are 2-3 expired cans they just get replaced and again, you are in compliance. Next Thursday, July 26th, at 1pm 2nd floor of Governors tower there will be a Legislative hearing. Our food code in Arizona is behind Alabama, and Botswana. In little less than 3 weeks, 8,000 shoppers have signed a pledge Not to shop at Food City.

Bashas' has to two campaigns against him. Hungry for Respect that is asking for cleaner stores, respect for our community and respect for their workers.

Update on committees

Letter was approved with a couple of changes.

Letter will be delivered and a couple days after, we will release it to the press.

Passed unanimously

Be prepared with a second letter



Agenda

Tuesday July 24th, 2007

- ❖ Introductions
- ❖ Ya Es Hora Citizenship Fairs – Update
 - 8/25 Citizenship Fair @ Excelencia
 - Committee Reports:
 - Tucson: Raquel
 - Yuma & Phoenix: Ceci
 - Mesa: Monica
- ❖ Somos America (Vote con Su Dinero) Press Conference & Pickett (Alfredo)
- ❖ Linda Brown – High School Student Counter Recruitment
- ❖ Nominations
- ❖ Other Announcements
 - Mike Evans – Change to Win
 - Roofers Union – Masavi
 - John Garido – Hispanic News
 - Art Museum - Alfredo Gutierrez

Start Time: 6:18

Notes

Hector Yturalde: Should we do the meeting in English or Spanish, is there any one here who doesn't speak English...? We do this every night...Raquel Teran: let's just do it bilingual

Introductions

Hector: quick summary on the wake up America, danny Ortega are supposed to look at the sanction bill, and will give a report next week, if they feel that it will be something that will help somos America, we will join their lawsuit...the attorneys will tell us if we should continue and be a part of the lawsuit...

Linda- hector did we decide what we are going to do?

Hector: no, we are trying to decide if they are using us or if it is beneficial for somos

Polo: alfredo made some comment, do we really see if we need a fence, we don't need illegal immigration, they even say that this won't help at all, that if they are going to hire illegal immigrants they are going to hire them anyway...

Hector; that's why we are allowing the lawyers to decide that...that's what we are waiting for

Teo: two issues here..one is the legal one and one is a political issue

Hector; that's what we are waiting for...then I was harassed by a reporter...where are you? Where's somos America...why aren't we

after arpaio...the media has asked me...I reached into my pocket and told them...why should we give him any more attention than he deserves...he's just a politician trying to get attention..it's best to do nothing...

Sarah: One of my friends who's undocumented wanted to come to this meeting but was unable to...he saw it all over the news...and so I think we should at least have a discussion about whether somos should get involved...there's many people I work with who are undocumented and I think we should at least have that discussion...I feel we should do something about it...

Alfredo- nosotros estamos diciendo que es ilegal de que un radio show is telling people to call and deport people...I think therefore we need to tell people to call those radio shows...we should see if its illegal to do that...we are looking into the legality of deporting white people...especially Linda or im very suspicious of monica...I do think we have to take an action I also think that Thomas is next...I think we have a perfect troy cut here...we should do something

Linda-

Martin- brian let me ask a question...if we are to call such number

Brian-two people can read a law and get two interpretations of what it stands for...anyway...I don't have the book in front of me...why don't I bring it next week and we can read it...

Brian- well we get those calls, I have a guy here...come get him...we get those calls! We call it a low priority...call it a suspicious guy call...

Martin- does anybody have the newspaper...why don't we call right now..

Raquel- call, call

Mike- I have the newspaper

Ceci- I have the phone

Trina- I'd like to report that chris and I have been working on a letter on behalf of the faith community to address this

Applause

Martin-maybe that's a better idea..if the faith community is engaged

Brian- I highly (emphasis) recommend that you discuss this with danny, Ortega, that's what you pay the man for...

Group- we don't pay them

Chris- I just called the number just to hear what it says...we can call them and read the bill of rights for all we know just to say that we disagree

Teo- I always get the impression that joe arpaio is like a god, you can't touch him, he's like the president, even Nixon got impeached...and no one can do anything to him

Martin- ?? investigate that office

Alfredo- I just want to say that his republican opponent got 46 percent of the vote even though he was accused by joe arpaio of raping his mother...I don't know if he can be beat...I agree with martin...im not sure if he can be beat...

Hector: 47 crank calls, 45 tips about businesses, 45 people reporting on members of their own families...laughs...14...16 tips about day laborers

'we are not going to run over and get someone in the backyard' why don't we table this...and leave it...

martin- I think we should discuss this...cause there's some people in the table who want to take actions...how does this affect the immigrant family...not really, not now...but...lets approach this and not make it bigger...so we don't give him free press

hector-also realize that before we had joel ready with a press release...I don't know where joel is...he's in dc

alfredo- I hate to disagree but I don't think its going to blow over...I think this is just going to grow bigger...will have allegations from fellow workers..they will build a whole set of companies they will go after..i don't believe this is a crazy thing that arpaio did...I think it's a unified effort with Thomas..they work together..this is just one more thing forward...we haven't heard from Thomas except his

statement...sometime in the next two weeks...he's going to announce how much resources are going to be put in...so this effort will be complete soon...and then you'll have the governor...I think what we are seeing is a complete conspiracy for people that hate Mexicans...we have no where to go...we have to take this seriously...all hell will break loose in January...mike-what if we have a hotline to report abuses of the other hotline, monica- seems to me the more he loses in terms of lawsuits the worst off he is in terms of re election

teo- I suggest a motion that president of somos contact the the un...and they contact joe arpaio about abuses of human rights...

alfredo- cant hurt

martin- aren't they already doing that...let's contact them...America watches

teo-america watches is doing some report

hector-why cant we do it on our own

mar-why do we want to reinvent the wheel

hector-can you look into that...lets just join them

teo-the reason I bring that up is that I see a pattern...that's how they begin..a small group..a hotline...death squats in Honduras, Salvador, Guatemala..

martin-ill do the research...

motion will be tabled-hector

can anybody speak- john garrido--I believe we gotta fight fire with fire...I want to talk to you about a boycott on hate radio..i sent out emails...I have had success...I have two more websites..the reason why immigration reform failed is because of the squicky wheel...boycotting bashas...then wells fargo...you will see posters...and prime sponsor of conservative talk radio –bashas met with elias and got some kind of deal—we need a battle we can get a hold of...lets penalize all the sponsors of the radios...immigration services are going up 76%...lets do something that is winnable and build a name for ourselves..bashas is vulnerable...

martin-ill address it at that time

Raquel-ill do Tucson, Lydia and I and two acorn members did Tucson...it worked out different- we didn't have many people that came out...slowed down at 11, had 20 volunteers, helped 47 people which I think is really good, other orgs asking about somos America...and what we do...any questions to Raquel (hec)

Ofelia- phx college-where did you hold it...

Cross streets are 36 and kino, maybe locations could have been an issue

Yuma- did 100- here in phoenix we helped 230 people- (hec)
wow...did anything interesting happen....(ceci) yeah we had a little
challenge we had to move

Hec- an acorn rep asked us that we had to be out of here at 5 o clock,
we had 25 volunteers, problem is we had 4 or 5 people from
Kingman, Florence, coolidge..etc...we are going to stay here till we
get it done...we got alan to give us this room...gave everyone
numbers...everyone came back here...except some of the
volunteers...what I got out of here is that when adversity hits us we
find a way...a great day for us...and the volunteers...claps...two
people in Prescott want a somos chapter in Prescott and Tucson...

Monica-mesa-overflow people in the office...keepin it going till
30th ...helped 75 folks...some came from phx...many from east valley

Const-whats the address for acorn

In phoenix all day from 9am to 9 pm

Is there a phone numb 602-??

Hec-helped almost 2000 people...more...

Hec-the volunteers

Raquel-ceci! Group-claps

Raquel-people think that cecipuede is an organization, are you
coming from cecipuede? Laughs

Hec- have to realize we need to mobilize the volunteers and groups of somos America to mobilize the vote...and start chapters in other areas..the volunteers is what makes somos America successful

Alfredo-one is a request to join a paro laboral for one week in October when the tourism is high, the other is the boycott talk radio..long discussion as well- this is something hungry for respect had been working on as well-there were various recommendations- and now we want to put them into play...mr chairman what we recommended that we focus not on a million companies but focus on a company that theres a reason to focus it on..the recomb was to boycott food city...and occasionally at ajs in your neighborhood mr. chairman...but a serious boycott at food city...hungry for respect has gathered 10,000 pledges to not shop at food city that's without any pressure..we'd like to launch this...this is a long term deal...months...long term action—con ambre de respeto- horita tiene 10,000 personas que no van a comprar...la gente reconoce...no tienes que combencer...saben que estan sucias..que los productos...saben...la segunda razon...lo acaba de decir ofelia...hay una gran diferencia en como tartan a la gente...el jueves...la rueda de prensa...el viernes...es el primer accion..una campana de meses...no hay ninguna duda que se puede hacer- que sepa el mike mcgrudder...la otra vez que sepa jerry colangelo...que sepan todos..que si podemos traer a bashas a sus rodillas...para crear un ejemplo...podemos llevar este poder a la comunidad vote...martin-

vote con su bolsa-gives money to the babies...loves...let's just do it...claps...si se puede...

Masavi- en la comunidad de footballero – la food city se reconoce

Alfredo-stands up...food city tiene un torneo grande en la comunidad...copa food city-tamale festival- promocion muy fuerte...no va ser facil tenemos que estar presente..el 15 de septiembre...tenemos que estar hay-pickett it nomas para volviendo locos...you have to act an infectious disease...that's what we got to do..your right masavi un dineral que dan..inmediatamente que empesemos nosotros...van hace double the presupuesto en la comunidad- andan pintando...poniendo sombra...sombra nada mas...

Teo-

Press Conference - Thurs July, 26th

Santos-Soy de contruction...me toco una construccion. Yo uso el Bobcat y paso que el el chavo llebava una cortadora y se callo del techo. Sus companeros no le ayudaban a levantar. Yo fui a auxiliarlo. La Union tal vez respalda...

Nos tienen prohibido hablarle al 911, primero le tienes que contactar al Foreman.

Garrido-Conservative Talk Radio accross the Nation, WE got to do something to eliminate the sponsors of Talk Show Radio. We got to

boycott them. They talk about stopping immigration reform happening. They favor a path to citizenship, talk show radio says, "American's don't want that." We have this local group that really work to harm at least 1% revenue of those sponsors. Tonight I'm here to ask you to work with me....we go do this at a national level, that's where it will really hit Conservative Talk Radio.

Www.AyudaUSA.com "Hispanic News"

Martin-Instead of Somos America joining you, why don't you join us. Join a committee and work with us. We want to use this opportunity to build the organization and they way to do so is through Action....Everything that we do has to do with mobilizing the community.

Martin-Es tanto el abuso que se le hacen a un trabajador. Los mismos trabajadores dudan en reportar incidentes.

Alfredo-Mexican Art in the 1900's that revolutionized. Arte popular, el arte del cuadro. Popular Graphic, tuvo un impacto.



AGENDA

Tuesday July 31st, 2007

- ❖ Introductions
- ❖ Reports:
 - Somos America (Vote con Su Bolsillo) Press Conference & Pickett (Update)
 - Ya Es Hora Updates – Date Change from 25th to 18th
- ❖ Nominations – Email Hector Yturralde your nominations
- ❖ Museum visit - Latino Night
- ❖ Other Announcements
 - No More Deaths Volunteer Training
 - Saturday August 4th : 1:00-5:00 pm,
 - RSVP to Laura at 602-818-5447

Meeting started at 6:18 pm

Additions wake up Arizona

Update on Roofers campaign

Announcement from AFL-CIO

-Conducted by Lydia Guzman

-attendees: 32

should we do meeting in English – bilingual

Danny Ortega presented on his meetings with Wake Up Arizona, his conclusion and recommendation is that it is beyond premature to work with the group, since their interest is business and have been quoted as stating that they believe in building a fence on the border. Stated that Somos America should be more concerned about anti-discrimination provisions. Somos America agreed, main support from Linda Brown, Alfredo Gutierrez, Teo Argueta, Polo, & Lydia. A recommendation that Lydia attend a meeting in representation of Somos America was made, with clear instructions that we were interested in dialogue but were more concerned about making sure that our community's interests were primary concern and discrimination concerns were at the table.

Karina reported on a change of date of the next citizenship fair. Fair has been changed from august 25th to august 15th.

Angeles reported on the last food city picket event.

Cynthia and Alfredo asked the Somos America group about whether they wanted to have a latino museum night, masavi perea supported the idea, a motion was made to go as a group on august 14th or the 21st depending on the availability of the museum.

The last motion was made by Miguel Angel from Volviendo a Vivir. Cynthia second his motion, that Somos America provide much

needed education to the community about our rights when pulled over by the police, and how one should act in such a situation.

Lastly, a subcommittee was formed to deal with Joe Arpaio's hotline.

Sarah Miklebust, from AFL-CIO, volunteered to take lead and brainstorm some ideas and actions so that Somos America can get involved.



AGENDA

Tuesday, August 14th, 2007

- ❖ Introductions
- ❖ Candidates
- ❖ Voting
- ❖ Counting of Votes
- ❖ Update on Fry's Mercado
- ❖ Cynthia – SWIFT Raids
- ❖ WIC – Hector (copies)
- ❖ Museum night
- ❖ Update on citizenship fair
- ❖ Other Announcements
- ❖



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Meeting Notes= people here 38

Meeting started at 6:12 pm, formally at 6:18 pm

Signs of all organizations posted on chairs, people voting= 23

Liana Rowe- presented on Fry's incident and hearing

- dropped all charges, except resisting arrest, which will convert to misdemeanor when conviction is satisfied, reyna and

magdaleno will be responsible for paying any restitution to the victims, also under ice hold, we were wan

- even if the felony charge is dropped? (hector)
- Who wants to translate that in Spanish (hector)
- That's why you're president (alfredo)
- Okay I'll do it (hector)
- lo que
- let me add to that
- I had lunch with the Mexican consulate, he said that they were going to drop all charges and walk away from this, secondly she was never tazered by police man, she did have some marks but it was from something else that could not be proved, it's a protection thing, the father intervned when a police man tries to take a child, and they had a scuffle, frys has realized that the bad publicity, the store has had a 200 percent increase in sales, it would be in their benefit to let this one go, if I was a manager and given them 2 bracelets to go home, my caution to everyone is the fact that we cannot rely on somebody's email as total truth, we have to investigate before we react to something, oh my god, she was tazered
- I envision somos America as being the forerunner of the immigration movement, whether immigration reform, justice, I feel that when we represent somos America, we represent the organizations at the table, I fell that we have an excellent and

unique group here and when we receive questions, Antonio- tengo una pregunta Cynthia-no no hay mas preguntas, porque si no todo mundo va hacer preguntas...

- Llo acepte la nominacion porque me siento muy agusto con esta coalicion, creo que se necesita arte, y pienso que puedo contribuir en esa area, es muy importante el enfoque a la comunidad latina, esta coalicion se va ir modificando, como valla cambiando la comunidad latina.
- One of the things that i personally enjoy about this group for me as a politician, i am always looking for different forms of democracy and how we practice it, and i feel i can make a huge contribution in terms of democracy and negotiating within the groups, I am good at negotiating, in my country I spent about ten years negotiating peace in el Salvador, I like the focus on the immigration community, their rights, we still don't know how to deal with those issues, whether I am a president or not, that will be my contribution.
- Lydia- we've been through a lot, we said today we march , tomorrow we vote, little by little we have played that role, its not about citizens or noncitizens, its about somos America, I want to support the president and carry out the vision, whoever the president is, estavamos muy frustrados, nos unimos por esa frustracion, seguimos, y va continuar mas,

quisiera seguir apoyando la marcha, y seguir apoyando, la meta.

- Masavi-cuento un chiste no? Bueno, lo primero, es que estoy orgulloso de estar aqui, aqui estamos los lideres no de manana, si no los lideres de hoy, estoy dispuesto a trabajar, al alcance de mis necesidades, tenemos que tener tolerancia con la gente que no tiene voz, i have been learning a lot, one reason why i am proud to be in this organization is that we represent the voiceless, and have tolerance for those people that are no the same as us.
- Al- it would look bad for me to sit on hte board, i appreciate the nomination, and we withdraw,
- Akemy- I want to continue voicing student opinion, siempre hemos tenido una voz en esta organizacion
- Sarah – i feel that what is going on in the world is terrible, i want to do something about that, i think the young people have a special place to be able to really do something, if i was in this role, i would make sure that students were more involved in this coalition
- Constantino-quiero server a la comunidad, esa es una organizacion, que me den el dinero
- Miguel angel, he visto muchas cosas muy buenas, me gustaria ser parte de esta mesa, principalmente porque vienen muchas

cosas buenas, mucha veces somos conformistas, somos
america no es conformista vamos por lo bueno

- Me siento contento de estar en esta organizacion, no estan las otras organizaciones que no estan en esta mesa que deberas representar el pueblo, y fui a mi orgnaizacion y me dijieron que no estaban de acuerdo que estuviera en la mesa, le doy gracias, pero tengo que retirar mi voto
- Counting of votes-cynthia read them
- Karina wrote them,
- People here=
- Polo asked whether there could be a second secretary – 2 left after elections.
- Hector-WIC...is aware of outdated goods in groceries.
- Cynthia-esto es una prueba de que como miembros de la comunidad, hemos logrado esto, en veces las victories pasan por accidente pero son victories (martin)
- Next item-museum night
- Ceci! Alfredo
- Once more museum night, from 5-9 it is recommended that we all be there to help, cater to the volunteers that have been there, on central and mcdowell, open studio, she's mentioning all the recommendations, from her favorite person, what's that chick's name? the crazy flyer lady?

- -the idea is that we all on Monday make calls to all the people that have volunteered in the somos America citizenship fairs, seiu is going to eat the billing...
- over 2500 people
- if half of those voters, we would have Russell pearce
- immigration forum, committee meeting is manana, September first
- 9-1 pm or so
- more or less same pattern, obviously different topic of conversations, various lawsuits, maldef will be making an announcement antes de sept first, here and now trying to make it out, a discrimination suit, its not going to challenge law, we will leave that to the chamber of commerce, probably wont be filed till January, and the other thing that is going to happen is what is going on with sheriff joe, tomorrow is meeting at 4 pm, cause that when the voters can be here, logistics committee, 3 comites, agenda, publicity, logistica, carl hayden, probably insured, insurance is very inexpensive, our organization, campesina we can use their event permit,
- otro anuncio- documentario de sheriff, next Wednesday or the Wednesday after, we will show it,
- beat the odds, red chiles, at noon
- human rights- Lydia lgbt community, e

- masavi- teatro bravo who is putting a play regarding women of Juarez, large number who have been killed, asking that somos America support this group, one day to go all
- 3634 W. Taylor / phoenix, AZ
- sheriff meeting – Friday at 3 pm
- iron workers-students asking dr. pearl to stop hiring great western
-



AGENDA

Tuesday, August 28th, 2007

- ❖ Introductions
- ❖ New Somos America Elected Officers:
 - ◆ Hector Yturralde-President
 - ◆ Lydia Guzman- Vice President
 - ◆ Akemy Flores- Youth-Vice President
 - ◆ Constantino Lopez-Treasurer
 - ◆ Miguel Angel-Secretary
- ❖ Immigration Forum Saturday September 1st, 2007 at:
 - **Carl Hayden High School**
3333 W. Roosevelt Ave.
- ❖ Updates:
 - Museum Night
 - Hungry for Respect Report
 - August 25th
 - Fiestas Patrias
 - MALDEF Meeting
 - Elvira Arellano's Vigil
 - Couple Arrested at Fry's Mercado
- ❖ Strategic plan to avoid confrontations at actions
- ❖ White Month (Akemy)

Meeting Started at 6:19 pm

20 people

Hector asked if the floor would mind if we began the meetings with a prayer, angeles and polo objected for reasons of being welcoming to everyone. Hector asked if someone would get up and leave if we did that. Angeles said maybe...hector said okay, let's table that.

Hector

Sarah- he's taking notes in Spanish I'm taking them in English.

Cynthia- I think we agreed it wouldn't be called secretary

H-What would it be called?

Historian? – laura

Hector- sarah do you want to be our historian?\

Ceci- report on immigration forum, we need people to help with setup at 7 am, need volunteers, everyone can put banner up but must be there at 7, so if you want to bring your banner for your organization or whatever, its open for everyone, being announced from nine to one, but probably wont get started till ten, its good to assume that 1500 people will arrive, need help with clean-up, if people can be there whole day, that's great

Hector- y don't we send an email to organizations and they can send email to all their members, I see program starts from 9 to one what time does it really start?

Danny-we are going to start at ten, we will say nine just because we know what happens, we will start at ten...

Ceci- we need to be there at nine, period

Danny- let me tell you why the lawyers are doing this, 3 lawyers, emilia presenting on employer sanctions, nick suriel on no match letters, third guy – lawyer from martin manteca we had intended to have a union lawyer, to talk about if you were a union member how does it apply to you, we will start at ten, my hope we will be done by 11 or ten at most, I will do introductions, and try to facilitate through the process, after we are done, we will turn it over to next speaker, there's a likelihood that there will be questions about dream act, comprehensive immigration reform, the whole idea, is to

calm people down, the degree of panic is the highest I have ever seen, higher than anything, most importantly to tell people don't panic, let's discuss it, don't sell your house yet, its like saying I am just going to go and turn myself in, lets calm down, and spread the word, if you are an employer how you can calm employees down, what you can do, what most people don't understand is if they are hired before January one, on state level, but the practicality of no match letter, its going to happen, if you get no match letter, let it happen, those are the messages, not just about law, have to explain it to get people to understand, we are moving people at 100 a day, according to elias bermudes, he's the authority on this, alfredo you were supposed to laugh, tecnicamente we will start at ten, los abogados que van a presentar, etc. in Spanish

Alfredo- vamos a tener otra junta manana a las cinco, hemos oido en campesina que ayer las organizaciones han recibido una carta de elias pidiendoles que cierren por una semana, so muchas personas piensan que le dieron un pago debajo de la mesa, hay que orientar a los empleadores

Danny-todavia hay oportunidad de la demanda, y que somos sera incluida en la demanda..es posible que se inicie el pleito antes del foro, haci es que eso le ayuda a la gente saber de la demanda, los detalles de la ley no importan, lo mas importante es calmar a la gente, porque hay personas que pueden abusar de ese miedo, let me tell you the key to the law suit, valle del sol, we tried to get cplc to respond, but even harder to get through to them, state cannot require use of a federal program, the only entity, we are plaintiff in prop 200, we need employer who is not a part, valle will be a plaintiff but waiting for decision from their board.

Alfredo-make a point, governor issued statement about a three part drivers license, verifiable, pilot program, at least some of us are precise, in assuming that its a way of governor to get around to the requirement, the 3 part id. Even if we won on Hazleton front, governor already predicted this possibility, and wants to implement this state program, you have to show you are a us citizen, not a felon, and registered to vote, one third element, cant recall what it is, all going to appear on card itself, card is verifiable, so when you show it to employer, that will automatically verify citizenship, etc. basic pilot, from what I heard it will have pertinent medical information too

Hector-yes but look danny and alfredo, when I put my ssn on the licence they told me not to, because someone will steal it,

Danny-yes but that's because now its on a magnetic strip

Ceci-committee having meeting at 5 pm tomorrow

Alfredo-need volunteers

Cynthia- la 99 will be sponsoring the fiestas patrias...somos America will have a booth, etc.

People that attended a vigil on Monday night...we need to hear what happened and what can be done as far as legal portion of being out on public street, also some reports, we have a meeting with chief of police tomorrow, liana can you start, we really need to think about this when we think of what to do in this situation

New sanctuary movement called a prayer vigil for Elvira arellano, other people who were not interested in the same thing came, group made a big effort in not reacting to provocation, but it got very violent, onslaught of hatred, the filth spilling from these peoples mouths, got substantially worst, just raw foul things coming out of their mouths, very ugly, at least one person from our group, claimed that one of them attempted to push some response by pushing and bumping, use of bullhorns, physical space was very oppressive, it was meant to be a spirited gathering, to be surrounded by that kind of abuse, was just wow, most people, I had no idea, I said im sorry welcome to the new world, very hanous act in my opinion, eventually did leave, but couldn't see myself leaving before people left.

Roberto- I don't have much to add, but danny, the fear that you say is in immigrant community, is reflected in the people in mothers against illegal aliens, we could not, one of our group attempted to form a safety perimeter around us, it was obvious that the other side was intending as getting as close to us as possible, unable to hear eachother's prayer, several things resulted from that, many young people, some twelve years old, couple of young girls, a couple of young fifteen year olds, to me it was an attach at their innocence, hey you Mexicans, get off of the American sidewalks, you are going to hell, it was ugly, I came away from the first time, we need to warn especially young students, tell them not to react to provocations, they are most vulnerable, the only saving grace was the two police officers, even that didn't make us feel safe, I think we are on the verge of seeing physical action, I caution everyone to form a security line, whenever we have gatherings, to have a protective circle, I was expecting them to strike us, always have a video tape going, I think its important to document, fox, univision was there, but I would be very surprised if they would show that to anyone, I don't think mainstream media would show it, we need video cameras.

Irene- you tube, we should submit this, I bought a camera, from now on I am taking my camera, its scary, the rally was scary, they are becoming more powerful, the minutemen, and the maia, they are powerful, we feel not in control, we don't know next step to take, they immediately call and ask their attorney, I have danny's number on my cell, we were being harassed, pushing around, they used more force than anything else, we need training from aclu about what to do

Danny- the idea of cameras is always good, but imposes a great deal of burden, just please don't video tape people that you are trying to protect, must be trained, not uncommon for us to film people that we are trying to protect and then they use it against us...with cameras come a new burden, duty and control, hopefully we can get city of phoenix to cite, if not to get group of lawyers to bring lawsuits against these individuals to let them know they can't do this sort of things...even self defense doesn't work.

Laura-at what point is everything that liana was saying, at what point are they within the guidelines of the law?

Al-anytime you are on a public sideline, you have access to do as you want, courts have not decided as to what is a specific section of side walk, eric had to explain to us, if you are on a public walkway, you have to show intent on their part to cause you harm, when it comes to disorderly conduct, what was intent, cause inconvenience, harm you, harass you? Those things are very grey when it comes to constitutional, use of explicit, the f word, even in us supreme court, cant decide whether that is vulgar, according to az supreme court says its protected free speech, have discussed it with Erick and gerry, run into this more and more and more, kind of give us a directive, in terms of what point we can get in, maybe in retrospect, like when minutemen having problem with anarchists, we have stepped in middle so it doesn't get to this point if someone is coming over, those are the problems we are getting into protected speech, another problem is megaphone, had that problem when building cardinal stadium, one time had a city council meeting, someone making noise with megaphone, loud, we couldn't hear the people in meeting, so now rules, what time was it used, where, how loud, purpose, etc. those are things we have to take in in retrospect, we have to take in, when we file a charge, those are the things we have to look at, anytime on a public sideline, public venue, we cant tell people to go to other side of sidewalk, we cant

Hector- I understand legality of having people separated, what I don't understand whether abuse to children and other people, that is close to an assault in my opinion, I was there when police allowed people to come with their banners to create confrontation, we ignored them, I still feel there should be some sort of police involvement when people try to antagonize, ive talked to people who are in rallies, and they tell me police have ability to keep people aside, other thing is that when we have an event and we say its over at nine, we have to leave at nine, we should have a rule if we leave a nine, we leave a nine. We need a committee in charge of filming, in a committee that learns to use film, we need to fight them, I say them because I don't associate myself with people who act like that with children, we also need security, group of people, volviendo a vivir, jornaleros, don't know what the word security does, but it does something versus having a little girl, We need security, we need to be prepared, we need our own group, and this people, I also think that if we were a group

of Hispanics who went to Scottsdale and started making noise and block a sidewalk, we would be arrested, I'm sorry, we will everytime these white people think they can just abuse us, its ridiculous, it makes me angry, very angry, just because we live in this state and we are hispanics

Liana-I hear you on gray areas, but there was no sort of equal access to that space, their activity infringed on our rights to be there, equally, our rights were not protected in that situation, I hear what you are saying, its not working, its not working for us or them

Roberto- we need to desperately have to have non-violence training, we had a couple of our people who interacted with a Latina from their group, she is extremely violent, in her language, we need to consider getting training on nonviolence response...

Irene-aclu, can give us that training, let's get a restraining order

Raquel can you tell her what you did

Vieja puta!

Le dije putas las que cobran oiga

If I had gone to a white person and insulted them that way I would have heard from their lawyer

Alfredo- I am not raining on this parade, I am not, everytime we have a demonstration, we are doing the same thing, we are protesting and using that right, they showed up when at the demonstration at pruits, we made it difficult for them to let them walk, we use these rights, this is the first amendment, the one thing I heard, we should have cameras, we know this training, did it for march, for april, fact of the matter is that whenever we have an event we have been thoughtful enough, careful enough to prepare for it and be careful. We are saying, that part of what we do tonight is what Roberto is talking tonight, everytime we have an event, we ask people to do that nonviolent training, when in Glendale, llegaron los locos, guy was there they created a line, and those crazy bastards, never got next to innocent people, I am not interested I tell you, in getting a court order against this woman, I think this woman serves an excellent purpose, I think she is wonderful, if she did not exist, we should invent her, every time that spiel goes out of her mouth, she helps us, we have to do what we can, we are okay, Glendale police, they need training, write that down, send them a memo, we should get akemy to implement permanent training, I went to kyls office, I parked a block away, those guys are awful, they wanted to kill me, they are crazy bastards, some of them are armed, I don't know if they have ammuniton, but its wonderful, we should ask akemy and ill work with him, lets get danny, I know he is going to curse me later, but love it anyway...

Danny-alfredo said it well, bottom line, there needs to be accountability though, we need to see it, filming training is good, let me tell you something about the police too, but we need to film police too, if they are letting something go, then god dammit let's get them on film too, and show their bosses what they are doing because they are afraid of grey area, film them too...

Hector- I think we need to have men filming those cameras, I'm sorry Irene, let's get those puppies charged,

Bryant- we cant film, we have been asking, but we cant film those situations, because you are not committing a crime, we are restricted, you however, you are not the government, go for it, I was appalled, I was not ready for it, the counter folks, they are stepping up, I was shocked, stunned, the very next morning, I went to work early, we went to our bosses, and discussed with attorneys, it does not work, evolving into something we haven't seen before, we are going to have a lengthy conversation to discuss what we can do, I left with broken heart also, channel 33 got a lot, they were at quite a distant,

Danny-we need to get it

Cynthia-ill get it

Bryant-we cant see everything, danny something very brilliant and smart, he's a lawyer, distance is critical, words are critical, I've been there before, people saying he pushed me first, etc. if on film, we can do something, we will partner with you anytime, any place, any day, there are techniques, but I got to run, but I thank you, tomorrows meeting we are going to be there...but to discuss other things, but let's talk, al if I call you is because we are in trouble...

Danny-was anyone observers or had opportunity to be legal observers at border? They have an excellent training, they have a packet, etc.

Yturalde-we need a group of young men, I don't want any women there, im sorry, except for Raquel (bullshit-- too much sexism in somos)

Liana-prayer vigil

Eduardo-Martial arts

Hector- i got emotional, im sorry,

Raquel-it was exhausting, we felt it more because it was a small group..

Hector-couple arrested at frys Mercado, who can give us an update on that?

Liana- sentencing hearing, this morning it happened, state came back with a recommendation of another thirty days of jail time, leaving restitution open, judge said time served, plus probation, community service, reyna's was less community service, magdaleno more, also anger management, they will not be released because ICE has a hold on it, will be deported, charge that they plead guilty, if they cant fulfill their probation, it will turn into felony, it's a yey boo, I went with Magdalena to visit henry, what a treasure, oh so cute, being cared for by other family member, not a lot of evidence, but some, that in itself is sinful, the meeting tomorrow is to have a conversation with Kendra drulle, the public relations person at frys who said she will not meet with us until, you meet with the police

Hector-why would you put a non-spanish speaking police officer at Mercado at frys, another thing I wanted to say, is that I know we all received all the initial emails, magdalena called him for three days, he never responded, we went to consul flores, Jorge did not get involved in this case, he had not gotten involved until consul pulled him in and told him do something about this,

What I understand from consul was that they tried to offer a lawyer and they did not take it

Roberto-hector keep in mind she was physically burned, when held over heat of car, she was burnt...

Hector- we need to confirm the information, one way or another...

Planning to avoid confrontation and action

Hector- also have white month, I hope you are not talking about white people month right,

Akemy-small presentation, group of students, we are asking that people download letters to give to congressmen, mccain, asking somos member to volunteer to send a letter each day...why white month

Hector-any announcements:

Propuesta del pueblo inmigrante sobre las fiestas patrias, este ano, el pueblo se siente agredido....see attached que ya no sigan las fiestas patrias, hasta que no haiga respuesta a nuestro pueblo, no hay que participar, que no se presente a dar grito de libertad, porque nosotros no somos libres, y nosotros merecemos el respeto

Cynthia- primero que todo respeto su propuesta, es la primera vez que una organizacion como la union de mi gente apoya las fiestas patrias, la gente tiene mucho miedo, y no podemos privar a nuestra gente de celebrar, eso es una, segundo estaba pensado tener

otro foro de inmigracion para informar a nuestra gente, tenemos que usar lo que tenemos, usar la idea de que la gente esta hay para informarlos, y organizarnos para el futuro, el tema es celebrar el pasado, y organizar para nuestro futuro, tener booths para der informacion

-no se trata de estar encontra de los impuestos, la organizacion debe hablar con el pueblo, y si ellos deciden ir entonces que vallan, llo vengo aqui a ver si ustedes quieren participar, si somos america, quiere preguntarle al pueblo

polo-i agree with the statement, the question is what do you about it, so i am going to show them and quit my job, i find what Cynthia was saying to be very convincing, we should take advantage and try to organize people,

rosita- llo comprendo mucho su sentir, y respetable lo que ustedes pueden hacer, y si toman la oportunidad, de tener una feria de recursos, la mayoría, que se benefician los negocios pequenos

entiendo pero mire, el pueblo debe decidir si ellos quieren ir, que vayan,

martin - tenemos que tener cuidado en que acciones podemos apoyar, y lo que no queremos apoyar, ojala que el boycott trabaje como trabaje, menos de tres semanas, y decir ya no vamos a participar...horita no van a cambiar la ley, la gobernadora lla firmo, el presidente lla mando la ley no match letters, por los siguientes dos anos tenemos este problema, un juez federal es el que puede, queremos organizarnos para ser mas grandes despues hacer otras cosas

motion that somos follows this kind of pursuit...

still have a lot of money left, but not make public, asking if you know anyone, who went to school, tuition hike, contact hector Yturralde, important, crow bent over backwards, today, he showed up by himself, first meeting had twenty people, showed up by himself, shown true self, man doing everything he can to help latino students stay in school, community college, there are pell grants, will pay tuition, crow said you have to be a us citizen, you have to be a resident...lots of money, whatever you need, whatever tuition they pay difference after 300, I know a young man, asu foundation, if you know anybody, please encourage it, made it possible, gateway, 80,000, direct line nancy Jordan...if under 6 credits, 90 dollars

for first time new superintendent, humane borders, previous superintendent...delegation sept 29, same day as humane borders, sorry im first, Hispanic community,

Miguel angel- ticket got to go to court, will you deport them, those guys get a ticket they don't want to go to court, very scared...

AI-need alfredo to put it on ballot,

License- felony, deported, if pickup a car please don't come with forged documents, that's what is going to take you to jail, good valid Mexican licence,

How do you know if document is real

Let me tell you what we do

We have a computerized system, one thing we do is match the licence with the computer to see if its real...we contact them all the time..if you come up to police department, and if your licence is bad, and you are trying to use false documents, if officer tells you you are under arrest, that is an invalid license, we just don't take your license and tell you that is bad, pickup a phone, this is what I have...

Valid identification, Mexican licence, I guarantee you, we do not have ice title 28, violations,



AGENDA

Tuesday, September 18, 2007

❖ Introductions

❖ Reports:

- Beat the Odds (Sept. 12th)
- Fiestas Patrias (Sept. 15th -16th)

❖ Upcoming Events:

- Vigil (Sept. 18th)-Liana
- Citizenship Fair at Larry C. Kennedy (Sept. 22nd)

Larry C. Kennedy School

2702 East Osborn Road

Phoenix, AZ 85016

- ❖ N-400 Training Thursday Sept. 20th at 6 p.m. as UFCW (2401 N. Central Ave.)

- Volviendo A Vivir (Sept. 29th, 2007)

❖ Announcements:

- Brown is the New American Dream



AGENDA

Tuesday, September 25th, 2007

- ❖ Introductions
- ❖ **ACLU Presentation**
- ❖ **Reports:**
 - Volviendo A Vivir Festival
 - Citizenship Fair (Cynthia)
 - Vigil for fallen officer (Alfredo/Akemy)
 - Congreso Latino
- ❖ **Upcoming Events:**
 - Volviendo A Vivir Festival (Sept. 29th, 2007)
 - 2nd Annual National Latino Congreso Oct. 5th-Oct. 9th, 2007
 - Immigration Forum at Tavan School Oct. 10th, 2007
- ❖ **Announcements:**



AGENDA

Tuesday, October 2nd, 2007

- ❖ Introductions
- ❖ **Reports:**
 - Volviendo A Vivir Festival
 - Congreso Latino
- ❖ **New:**
- ❖ Ginny Montano- Consulado General de Mexico and Phoenix (Semana Binacional de Salud y Actualizacion)
- ❖ Super Bowl Action-Alfredo Gutierrez
- ❖ AZ Democratic Party
- ❖ Sending Letter to Radio Stations who are still sponsoring Bashas'
- ❖ **Upcoming Events:**
 - 2nd Annual National Latino Congreso Oct. 5th-Oct. 9th, 2007
 - Immigration Forum at Tavan School Oct. 10th, 2007
- ❖ **Announcements:**

6:13 pm –meeting started

introductions

does anyone need Spanish translation? lydia

attendance= los abogados

thank you for being here, as you can see we have a full agenda

I just want to put my two cents in regarding the volviendo a vivir festival, martin manteca and myself, I had an apron, with my red chilis, no disturbances, everyone had a good time, I think we had a very good turnout, more and more people as we were leaving, we had a wonderful time, need a little more participation from somos America, I

know sometimes family commitments, more of the somos America faces at this event, who would like to give an update the somos America, 3925.58, 2000 go to booth and other expenses, 1000 dollars or so for volviendo a vivir, quiero agradecer todo los que participaron mucho, marriage chapel, where one was getting married to one of our, volviendo a vivir people did a lot prior to the event, two days of constant calling, on top of it right away, phone center so full, 720 tacos, good, no one got sick hector, hyturralde- you and martin cooked well

Congresso latino-

Lydia- several delegates representing Arizona

Hector – HCF

Irene-ufcw

Martin h – ufcw local 99

Roerto reveles-somos

United latinos-

Cynthia Aragon – HFR

Observers:

Angeles Maldonado

Yesica

Danny Ortega

Maria jose

Karina

Cecilia

Edmundo hidalgo

Alberto esparza

Raquel teran

Angeles-room

Cynthia

Joel

Roberto

Edmundo hidalgo

Immigrantes sin fronteras

One of the things that as soon as we introduced ourselves as from arizona, everyone wanted to ask us what was going on in az,

Linda- I know that is going to try to hook up with you all, wants to tell our stories

Lydia-Martin what did you get out of last year

Martin h-From my experience, the energy that was there, people getting together, that many activists that were there, it was a very good experience, and last year, I agree with hector about people asking what was going on with az, it is difficult, how can we bring up the same emotions from the things that were happening in the state, and now these threats, they really need to hear it from us in a tone of anger and frustration of everything that is going on here, have to be super loud about exposing the truth about az, danny in a good position to express that, other panelists, randy, Steve Gallardo, martin manteca, ben Miranda

Hyturralde-Announcement- we are always trying to scrap for money to accomplish the campaigns we are trying to do that, we want to be as transparent as possible when it comes to somos America detention, we are at the point where we are starting to develop the bylaws, and start accepting money from people that are trying, by invitation to bring people who have experience in these matters, so we can get input from individuals, why didn't we charge a dollar from everyone who marched on april tenth, we would have had 220,000, to do things we want to do without having to use people's credit cards, good

step to have the money to, basis of luncheon is to bring people together, to bring people to be on the executive board to approve and disapprove, concentrated on mission statement of Somos America, and of course voter registration, I just want people aware of this, we did not mean to keep it secret, with who are we consulting with about forming a 501c3, attorney, Berkeley law school, Randy offered to proceed to accomplish that level, very knowledgeable to help us get us to this commercial, we will bring them to the table, if you are interested and willing to participate, we only been in existence for a year, I think that with experience we will

Danny-I mean I've seen other organizations look focus on what they are trying to do in the first place, I happen to believe its not a good idea, when you go to 501c3, you are restricted, I have for 30 years, advised many nonprofits, formed many nonprofits, turned down more, open discussion with the group about the pluses and minus of being a nonprofit if what you are giving up for being a nonprofit, brainstorm, for people can look at pluses and minus, what he is suggesting of think is possible is not something we can do, become what everyone else is becoming, that's not what we want us to do

Danny- you could make us anything you want, c3 and c4, that organization happen here, joel-put it on agenda for next week, when we are well represented lets put on agenda for next week

Martin- we all agree to do something different move Somos to a diff level, not an org that is tied down to anything

Hyturralde- look at who is giving us the money and for what, if someone is giving it to us for what we are doing, that's fine, we don't want to be paid workers for someone else have to founded by ideology

Motion- we move discussion of this issue to oct 16 joel, seconded by Cynthia

I should have asked who was at the meeting

Gynni-semana binacional de salud

Talk about

Hyturralde- i penciled in someone who had asked to be included in agenda, and i forgot

Alfredo-you forgot liana rowe?

You can go to hell for that?

Laughs

Liana= you know that song unforgettable? I am just forgettable

I have a call to barraza to see if shes chosen a date

Danny-I had a call from a gentleman, he's got a hall available on Sundays, holds 400 people

Alfredo has floor-hyturralde

Alfredo- mr. chairman, I think we need to take advantage of all the opptys in east valley

Diff community, gotta get into chandler, follow up with both, we are not going to to be, we agreed to do two immig fairs, if we run into December we are just running into god, we do not want to run into god,

Liana-given the population we should not go into December altogether

Danny-If we get a decision about employer sanctions, we need to hold it whenever, god would want everyone there if there is a decision, timing is everything

Danny-we also heard a decision regarding no-match letters

Very brief comment about no match letters, have an extra ten days

Alfredo

Danny- worst situation than the state,

8 million -alfredo

un gran chingo-alfredo

as we say in grand physics, chicano 101,

Alfredo-get danny to get some dates, and put something together, ceci and the volunteers

I motion to get on it

Cynthia-seconds

Hyturralde-passes unanimously, so its on

Liana-after screaming people attacking us many people said we needed to train ourselves on non-violence training

Why the fuck are we training ourselves to not be violent

Who the fuck was the ones screaming?

Not us...

They need the training

We are always fixing ourselves

Liana-I want to ensure that we fill every possible slot at this training, October 27th

Is that a Saturday? All day? Can you send me something? Broken up into two blocks

Train for a block of time, have lunch and then finish training after lunch

Martin h- Mr. president did we make a motion last week about that?

Lydia- there was some presentation that aclu offered

Large events, all these people unfamiliar with the police officers, if I was one of those immigrants, and I saw all these people, when those 120 + individuals, al and I had water bottles, nothing happened because we had those individuals were there, yellow security shirts, speaking Spanish, im worried that my blue suit guys have that kind of misunderstanding about our relationship,

Non-violence

can liana send an email to hector and hector can send it to ceci

or liana can just send it directly to me

laughs

-lydia-a lot of folks that don't attend meetings regularly but are the ones that actually do the training

mr. chairman

superbowl

action very quickly

marches extraordinarily expensive, insurance very expensive,

second question of what precisely to do, within the community much discussion of different actions, having confrontational

why are we having this discussion in front of police

a week of activities

our discussion with al with Gerald about route

get with danny, word has it we have screwed up with permit

file a permit

we can withdraw permit if this organization feels otherwise or modify it

begin discussions with all parties who want to join or oppose us, tomorrow morning at 730 am all are invited, to continue this conversation in a formal way continue this conversation tomorrow morning, get everyone out by 9, understand people have other commitments, want to encourage other organizations to involve with us,

mr. chairman I make that motion-start an organized effort to plan a protest Sunday and Saturday of superbowl weekend, planning take place tomorrow morning

joel seconds

any discussion of this?

Irene- define two things protest, confrontation, what do you mean

Let me define what I mean, think the discussion is by something more aggressive than this, by protest- I mean we have appeared like applicants, white shirts American flags, now we

want protest governor and others who want to play in a national raise, intends to go before legislature ask for a three part license and funding half million bucks to make basic pilot a state program assure that one of the legal arguments

Remove language before discrimination how one makes a complaint so anyone can make a complaint about anything

Two items that people can face to fix it in other words to make it implementable if she perceives this in January acting like that in two weeks protesting those actions, our goal is to embarrass her, if she wants to be perceived in this way, then every Hispanic and Mexican and latino should know, second we should embarrass the legislature, including hispanos, who feel they can act with impunity, etc, the answer is that what can you do, vote for republican, including the democrats, third protest is the sheriff, reasons to try as best we can to show this country we have a clown as sheriff, advertising nationally for racist cops, saying if you are a police officer who is not allowed to be racist, to quit and come here

There are individuals who want a more aggressive action, if somebody volunteers to be deported, very careful, I can't go any further than that

You are trying to do something nationally- isn't happening, didn't happen with people protesting the war, what is plan in that area, because if that's your intent, have to get a lot of planning to get media

Hyturralde- media there

Alfredo- fact we are not walkin gout with white tshirts and flags

Humor, creativity, embarrassment

Randy- how do we expose what is going on

Are we going to let them be comfortable, subject of escalation, so people who are at different places can participate, ongoing, it will continue tomorrow

Joel-word confrontation scares me, I don't know if its necessary, to make sure that whatever somos endorses is always non-violent, make sure that everything that we do is always non-violent

The other thing that scares me is that the world is watching, and we need to take that into account

Martin h- I like what im hearing, im not sure on everything how it will work out, I know we have some mean intended politicians out there, im not sure if it's a good idea to start throwing things at governor that at one point have been our allies, not sure that we can separate ourselves from people we can count on, I don't disagree that we have a lot of bad things, and we should be doing something aobut it, but I recommend this body that we really think about it, and decide with who we want to ally ourselves with, I like the action, I like to call the action, lets bring the, it can be very successful,

Hyturralde-again tomorrow discussing other discussions

Danny-my only concern is that we are endorsing something that has not been planned, I am not for attacking the governor, I agree with the legislature and arpaio, but just as an individual opinion, to vote yes, with the presentration as vast, is not good enough

Alfredo- I think that what I talked about is not what will be hammered out, whatever happens in committee will be brought back here, no one is, im not asking anyone for a blank action, that is to get permit, in order to ensure we have time to plan it correctly, the permit is withdrawable and we don't go forward without any action, discussion is tomorrow, w

Why would I want to do an action that this body wouldn't endorse, if we cant even get concensus

Start discussion, no concensus,

Passess unanimously

So danny you are doing the permit

Visitor form az democratic party

I know I didn't get to comment on what was happening, just first

I don't think anything is going to happen

Ayensa-presentation

Get involve

Don't come just to one meeting, then you are doing what politicians do, dem party supported *volviendo a vivir*, I do want to say, I am here because I do believe in our community in, a hey we need to feel pressure, response from the democratic party, and their response has not been what was promised there has to be a promise if the Hispanic community, we are not going to see what we did see from employers ancitions etc, and *politicana,s*, follow thru, why should we as latinos support party, this is why I came up with this plan, its about giving us a voice, should keep elected officials, accountable, we don't have any reprimands, who is the democratic party, there has to be an organization called the democratic party, has to be an office, democratic party office, people in there who have leadership in this party, who are feeling that why are we having, we make the party I think we already talked about this enough, support you, and thank you, let me just pass this down whoever, has needs to be registered,

Ceci-five minutes till 8, yuou are up for veat the odds, there's a beat the odds forum this Thursday from 530 to 730, volunteers are needed with facilitating and recording, due to people leaving out of town for congresso, and whatever, there is just not enough volunteers, if you haven't been to one of these beat the oodss, forums, I really encourage you to go, we are not getting ten or fifteen parents, its really pretty exciting to me, one of the things that we do, come out and see what they are doing, two other school seasons, a lot of regular volunteers wont be there. . .

Tony- so I move to send letter to radio stations that are advertising bashas and food city

Alfredo- one of the reasons they are in, stations they are not advertising before, now they are in amor and recuerdo because they are not in *campesina*, send letter and keep pressure, passes unanimously,

All radio stations currently using food city commercials

Rarely see anything that supports justice for immigrants message

Notre dame connections-

There's a bunch of youngsters who have come to meetings who are part of *aguila* and write to us from time to time, we don't need an alumn mr. president, danny knows,

Im talking about reaching into the community,

Joel-notre dame

I don't know how effective this letter is be, I think delivering in person is better

Mr. president, do we need to amend our motion,

Friendly amendment, that in the letter we include, sarah will fix it,

Its five after eight let's get out of here.



AGENDA

Tuesday, October 16th, 2007

- ❖ Introductions
- ❖ **Reports:**
 - Pruitt's Protest (Video)
 - Bylaws & 501c
 - Superbowl Committee
 - Non-Violence Training
- ❖ **New Topics:**
 - Mi Familia Vota
 - Voter Scam/Fraud- Linda Brown
- ❖ **Upcoming Events:**
 - Maricopa County Board of Supervisors Meeting Oct. 31st, 2007 @ 9 a.m.
 - 201 W. Jefferson in the Supervisor's Auditorium
 - Pruitt's Protest November 2nd, 2007 at 11 a.m.
 - Pruitt's Sidewalk (35th St. & Thomas Rd.) Park across the street
- ❖ **Announcements:**



AGENDA

Tuesday, October 30th, 2007

- ❖ Introductions
- ❖ **Reports:**
 - Pruitt's Protest (Video) & Next Steps:
 - County Board Meeting Tomorrow (Wed. 10.31)
 - Saturday Protests (Ongoing)
 - Superbowl Committee
 - Non-Violence Training
 - Bylaws & 501c 3
- ❖ **Upcoming Events:**
 - Maricopa County Board of Supervisors Meeting Oct. 31st, 2007 @ 9 a.m.
 - 201 W. Jefferson in the Supervisor's Auditorium
 - Pruitt's Protest November 2nd, 2007 at 11 a.m.
 - Pruitt's Sidewalk (35th St. & Thomas Rd.) Park across the street
 - ELECTIONS November 6th, 2007
 - Beat the Odds
 - Parent Meeting at Larry C. Kennedy November 14th, 2007
 - Peralta Immigration Forum November 14th, 2007
 - Crockett Elementary Immigration Forum November 17th, 2007
 - "Teachers Speed Date" November 21st, 2007

PRESS ADVISORY

April 3rd, 2006

Contacts: Joel Foster, 602-326-8748; Lydia Hernandez, 602-908-2832

Undocumented immigrants and others directly affected by the possible impacts of immigration legislation will tell their stories.

What: Real stories about how proposed Congressional legislation will affect immigrants and individuals that work with immigrants in Arizona.

Where: State Capital Lawn

When: Tuesday, April 4th, at 1 pm

Who: Undocumented immigrants, documented immigrants, human service providers, religious leaders, and others will speak.

We are meeting on Tuesday, April 4th, 2006 at 5:00pm sharp.

Place of meeting: 3145 N. 33rd Ave, Phoenix, AZ 85017 location place- 602.455.4500

Committee involved: civic participation, Security, Donation, Publicity, Logistics and legal adviser.

Propuses: Each committee will provide advances gained, what is pending, what is needed, and what are the procedures to reach our goals for the rally of April 10th.

Such report must be presented at the Coalition Coodinator meeting on 6:30 same day.

Is you have question in regard please call me

PRESS RELEASE

April 3rd, 2006

Contacts: Joel Foster, 602-326-8748; Lydia Hernandez, 602-908-2832

Proponents of “A Path To Citizenship” announce rally and march for April 10th.

Organizers announced today that they are planning a rally and march for immigrants and citizens who support a path to citizenship for hardworking, taxpaying immigrants. The march will begin at 11 am on Monday, April 10th, at the Veterans Memorial Coliseum, 19th Ave. and McDowell.

“We expect thousands of men and women, immigrants and citizens, Latinos, African Americans, Caucasians, and others to come out on April 10th and support a path to citizenship for immigrants living in the United States, who work hard, pay taxes and want to become citizens,” said Lydia Hernandez, one of the march organizers.

Hundreds of organizers have been working for weeks to plan the rally and march. The organizers come from dozens of organizations and small businesses.

“America needs a path to citizenship for immigrants to strengthen national security and continue to stimulate our economy,” said Joel Foster, another march organizer. “A path to citizenship will identify all of the hardworking immigrants and allow law enforcement to use its resources on the small number of criminals that prey on immigrant communities.”

“Immigrants are a huge benefit to our economy,” said Hernandez.

“Undocumented immigrants contribute nearly 300 billion dollars to the US economy every single year and, in 2001, generated a fiscal surplus of \$106 million in just the state of Arizona.”

The specific march route has not yet been determined, but organizers will update the media as more details are finalized.

PRESS RELEASE

May 18th, 2006

Joel Foster, 602-326-8748

We Are America” responds to the President’s Arizona visit

The coalition that organized the 200,000 person April 10th March tells Bush to “continue to fight for a path to citizenship.”

President Bush is touring the Arizona border today and is being joined by Rep. JD Hayworth who, according to his website, will encourage the President to “adopt an enforcement first approach to deal with the problem” of immigration.

“JD Hayworth, Jon Kyl, and the state legislature are on the extreme end of this issue,” said Hector Yturralde, the treasurer of We Are America. “The President called for ‘comprehensive reform’ in his speech on Monday and Americans want to solve the immigration problem all at once. They support the President in his calls for a guest worker program for people that want, but aren’t able, to come here legally. Americans support a path to citizenship for immigrants that work hard everyday.”

Calls by some state legislators and members of Congress for an enforcement only policy seem to contradict the President’s statements made on Monday night. In his speech, the President called for comprehensive reform when he said “all elements of this problem must be addressed together or none of them will be solved at all.”

“While he is talking to Rep. Hayworth and our Arizona legislators that refuse to address all of the issues surrounding immigration, we urge President Bush to continue to fight for a path to citizenship,” said Lydia Guzman, one of the organizers of the April 10th march. “We urge the President to continue to fight for comprehensive reform.”

“We must also remember that it was millions of people that forced this issue onto the national agenda,” said Carlos Garcia, another organizer of the April 10th march. “The 200,000 people that peacefully marched here in Phoenix should know that they are ones that are really making all of this happen. Their peaceful voices demonstrate how extreme the anti-immigrant organizations and elected officials really are.”

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We Are America/Somos America

June 10, 2006

Agenda

1. Meeting objectives:
 - a. Plan activities to promote federal immigration reform legislation.
 - b. Support citizenship classes, civic involvement, voter registration.
2. Introductions.
3. Update on immigration reform legislation.
 - a. Senate proposal. Pros and cons.
 - b. Chicago meeting, We Are America Alliance.

Consensus to continue efforts to improve legislative proposal but review proposal that emerges from Senate-House conference committee before deciding whether to support or oppose passage.
4. Identify and prioritize activities to promote reform legislation, citizenship classes, civic involvement and voter registration.
5. Assign responsibility for detailed design, budget and timetable for each activity.
6. Consider outreach for additional organizations.
7. Schedule next meeting. Adjourn.

We are meeting on Tuesday, April 4th, 2006 at 5:00pm sharp.

Place of meeting: 3145 N. 33rd Ave, Phoenix, AZ 85017 location place- 602.455.4500

Committee involved: civic participation, Security, Donation, Publicity, Logistics and legal adviser.

Propuses: Each committee will provide advances gained, what is pending, what is needed, and what are the procedures to reach our goals for the rally of April 10th.

Such report must be presented at the Coalition Coodinator meeting on 6:30 same day.

Is you have question in regard please call me

Clarification: Saturday's planning meeting is to focus on actions/activities to consider in the continuing campaign for immigration reform and in pursuing other goals, such as citizenship/civic involvement, voter registration, etc.

Reminder: Saturday, June 10, 2:00 pm, UFCW meeting hall, 2401 N. Central Avenue, Phoenix.

One person per organization.

Call me if you have any questions or suggestions. Roberto Reveles

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Date: April 3rd, 2006

Contact: Rodolfo Reveles-480-983-8611

Mayra Nieves/602-433-6245 mayra.nieves@newradioventure.com

**Join La Buena Onda- KNUV 1190 AM News/Talk Radio
for a**

***Live Broadcast and Unity Information Community Forum
at Faith Lutheran Church with Arizona's Hispanic Leaders***

Phoenix, AZ-April 4th, 2006-Join Spanish News/Talk Radio Station-KNUV 1190 AM La Buena Onda tomorrow for a LIVE Radio Broadcast at Faith Lutheran church, at 5:00 pm, located at 7th Street and Camelback. The Unity Information Community Forum will be broadcast live and bring together Arizona organizations from throughout the valley and Hispanic Community leaders to preview last week's Immigration March and the upcoming National Labor Board strike scheduled to take place on April 10th in Phoenix.

The panelists scheduled to be present and speak on behalf of the Latino Community include: Democratic Representative Ben Miranda, ex-legislator Alfredo Gutierrez, (Imigrantes Sin Fronteras) Magdalena Schwratz, (Mano Amano Unidos En Arizona) Rodolfo Reveles, and (de Unidos En Arizona) Elizabeth Cruz, representing various religious organizations.

The issues that will be discussed will be the flag issue, the call for action for the April 10th March, and the call for duty with the Hispanic Community.

When: Tuesday, April 4th, 2006 at 5:00pm

Where: The Faith Lutheran Church , Camelback and 7th Street

Why: To discuss immigration issues and the call to action from the Hispanic Community on April 10th, 2006 in Phoenix .

For more información on La Buena Onda 1190 AM News/Talk stations and the Unity Information Form live broadcast contact Mayra Nieves/602-433-6245 mayra.nieves@newradioventure.com.

Information de Prensa

Abril 3, 2006

Contacto: Rodolfo Reveles & Mayra Nieves

FORO INFORMATIVO DE LA UNIDAD

ORGANIZACIONES PROMIGRANTES DE ARIZONA SE REUNEN EN UN FORO PREVIO A LA MARCHA (PARO LABORAL NACIONAL), DEL LUNES 10 DE ABRIL QUE SE REALIZA EN PHOENIX.

ENTRE LOS PANELISTAS QUE ESTARAN PRESENTES EN EL FORO INFORMATIVO FIGURAN EL LEGISLADOR *BEN MIRANDA*, (DIPUTADO DEMOCRATA), *ALFREDO GUTIERREZ*, (EX LEGISLADOR Y ACTIVISTA), *MAGDALENA SCHWUARTZ*, (INMIGRANTES SIN FRONTERAS), *OSVALDO MAGDALENO*, (MANO A MANO UNIDOS EN ARIZONA), *RODOLFO REVELES* (DE UNIDOS EN ARIZONA) Y *ELIZABETH CRUZ*, REPRESENTANTE DE ORGANIZACIONES CRISTIANAS.

***CUANDO*: MARTES 4 DE ABRIL A LAS 5 DE LA TARDE.**

***DONDE*: IGLESIA LUTERANA DE LA FE, EN CALLE 7 Y CAMELBACK (EN LA ESQUINA SURESTE).**

***OBJETIVO*: DAR LOS DETALLES DE LO QUE SERA LA MANIFESTACION DEL 10 DE ABRIL; SE DISCUTIRAN TEMAS COMO LA SEGURIDAD, PLANEACION, USOS DE BANDERAS, ASPECTOS LEGALES Y MENSAJES DE LOS LIDERES QUE CONVOCAN A LA MARCHA, ASI COMO VENTILAR LAS DUDAS DE LA COMUNIDAD EN UNA SESION DE PREGUNTAS Y RESPUESTAS.**

EL FORO INFORMATIVO DE LA UNIDAD ES PATROCINADO POR LA IGLESIA LUTERANA DE LA FE Y RADIOEMISORA "LA BUENA ONDA 1190".

PARA MAYOR INFORMACION COMUNICARSE CON EL SENOR REVELES, (480) 983-8611, UNIDOS EN ARIZONA (623) 204-4626.

Dear Somos America members,

Phoenix Copwatch would like to respond to your call for a boycott of our protest against Sheriff Arpaio and County Attorney Andrew Thomas last Friday.

You stated that the protest would not likely lead to any substantial change and would only play into Arpaio's and Thomas's hands. Of course, protests are never likely to change any politician's or judge's mind. But that is rarely the reason for holding a protest in the first place. The main goal of Friday's protest was to raise public awareness about this issue. There has been very little public response to Sheriff Joe's migrant round-ups and use of armed civilian posses, especially in the English-speaking media. We felt that as an organization that is opposed to police misconduct, we had a responsibility to change that lack of response. Protest is one of the few ways that a grassroots organization can achieve such media attention.

We felt that it was urgent to immediately address this issue in a public way. There have already been over 300 migrants arrested under this law and several have pled guilty. Many other people are undoubtedly being harassed, racially profiled, and targeted by the Sheriff's deputies and civilian posse. We decided, based on a genuine concern for migrants and their human rights, that these actions needed to be opposed publicly and loudly.

Before the protest, the vast majority of Phoenix residents probably knew only the Sheriff's side of the issue. Now most have at least heard that there is opposition to it. Since Friday, we have heard from several people who did not know that Arpaio was putting people in jail for "conspiracy to smuggle themselves". Additionally, we have seen a great deal of internet discussion, even among committed conservatives, about the merits and drawbacks of

Sheriff Joe. We count these as successes.

Another purpose of protests, as you rightly pointed out, is to give the participants an emotional boost. In that case, it seems that the best route to take is to speak with the participants and encourage them to channel that emotional energy into further positive action. Instead, you discouraged people from attending in the first place.

You mentioned that we have not been to any Somos America meetings. This is true, and we would certainly be interested in sending a representative to one of your meetings. Please send us information about the next meeting so that we can send a representative.

Phoenix Copwatch is completely independent of all political parties and we do not join coalitions that are directly affiliated with a party, but we are certainly interested in working with any independent group that is opposed to police misconduct, including the misuse of Arizona's anti-smuggling law.

Phoenix Copwatch is not an immigrant rights group, so as an organization we are not likely to have much input on issues that are not directly related to police misconduct. Although we are not an immigrant rights group, we work to ensure that the rights of all people, citizens and non-citizens alike, are not violated by law enforcement agents. For example, we have been asked to monitor the activities of the police at day labor sites around the Valley, and we regularly patrol those areas with videocameras and pass out "know your rights" literature to day laborers. We have held bilingual "know your rights" forums in which criminal defense lawyers educate people about what to do during police encounters. We also patrolled the April 10 marches with cameras to document encounters between police and protesters.

Our stance against racism ensures that there is some

overlap between the fight against police abuse and the immigrant rights struggle. Indeed, several of our members have been involved more directly in the movement. Our members have organized against Prop 200, have marched in immigrant rights protests, have volunteered with No More Deaths, and have legal observed at the border and at Minutemen rallies.

We understand that Somos America members were concerned about the timing and usefulness of this protest. Of course, we welcome any and all constructive criticism. All organizations have the right to endorse an event or not. However, we think it is highly inappropriate to discourage the public from participating in another organization's event. This merely alienates potential allies. Simply sharing your concerns with your membership and allowing them to make up their minds would have sufficed. Again, we think that the best strategy in such situations is to attend the event or contact the participants and encourage them to channel their energy in other ways.

It seems that some of the opposition to Friday's event was based on misinformation about Phoenix Copwatch. I encourage you and your members to visit our website at www.phoenixcopwatch.org or email phoenix_copwatch@yahoo.com and learn about our organization for yourselves. We would also be glad to arrange face-to-face meetings, radio interviews, etc. so that we can clear up some of these misconceptions.

We hope this and further discussion will provide a starting point for future collaboration with individuals and organizations that share Copwatch's vision of a society free from racism and all oppression.

Sincerely,

The members of Phoenix Copwatch

I got a response from Harry Garewal about the PUHSD student walk-outs. However, what you will read below is my response to his response. His response follows. If you would like to see what he said, please read on!

David Rubi

Date: Wed, 29 Mar 2006 08:27:17 -0800 (PST)

From: David Rubi

Subject: Re: I heard you are supporting a crack down on the students. Please respond.

To: Harry Garewal

CC: Bud Hector Yturralde

Harry, I am very glad to hear this. Of course, we must be proactive in this stance. I understand that several community leaders will be talking to radio personalities today to get out the message. Hector Yturralde will be meeting with them. Perhaps you can call him; I think it would be a good idea if you went to talk to the media types.

At this point, many of us are developing a response for the students' actions. We do not want to see them punished for their activities, though I believe that the consensus is that they need to stop leaving school. Their point was made. However, I saw one of your principals, a Chicano, on the news last night. He told the reporter that he has told the kids that they need to stay in school, that if they want to march, they can do so after school. He also said that if they do so, he will help organize them and even march with them, but it has to be done after school. I personally believe that this is the correct course to take. Man-made laws, after all, are man made laws. They can be undone and ignored if the situation warrants. Natural law, however is God-made law. And these students are fighting for their natural law right to be treated as humans and not be turned into criminals. I think their natural law right far outweighs the man made law. Their actions can also be seen as a mode of expression. So, again, their right to free expression on such an enormously critical issue outweighs the man-made laws.

Thank you for your rapid response to this! I hope that I understand that you will show clemency to the students and will use this as an opportunity to teach them how to organize and express themselves constructively as Americans in American society.

David C. Rubi

Harry Garewal <harryg@azhcc.com> wrote:

Dear David, I called upon several key leaders in our community to help stop these walk outs by students for a number of reasons including concern for their safety. Let me make it perfectly clear that I nor did I hear any of the school administrators use the term "crack down." In fact at the press conference held by

the district we collectively said when asked by the media present, that this was a great "teaching moment" opportunity to teach students civics, I even suggested that we ask students to write an essay on this issue. David as we all understand their are consequences to actions that are regulated by man made laws. All of the campus Principals were present at the news confrence and heard the same message. On an ending note let me share that as an elected member of this board I will be monitoring the districts action regarding this issue and how students are addressed. Finally, I had a few media folks who said "we were pretty soft on these kids that demonstrated civil disobedience".

If you need further information or clarification don't hesitate to call me.

Regards
Harry
Sent from Harry's BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----

From: David Rubi
Date: Tue, 28 Mar 2006 22:28:03
To: Harry Garewal
Cc: "H??ctor" Yturalde
Subject: I heard you are supporting a crack down on the students. Please respond.

Dear Harry,

I heard a rumor from a reliable source that you, along with PUHSD superintendent Raj Chopra, are supporting a "crack down" on the students who have been protesting threatened immigration policy by leaving school and marching to the state capitol. Could you please elaborate on this? Could you explain what is going on and what you intend to do as PUHSD board member?

I know some professional people who joined the march. One of them told me that the students were peaceful and behaved admirably. Of course, the students are supposed to be in school, but under the circumstances, I think their right to be heard by the powers that be are more important, especially since so many of them are being threatened by being turned into criminals by a capricious, vicious and mean-spirited act of Congress and the Arizona State Legislature.

This is where I need clarification--do you intend to "crack down" on the students, or was that just a turn of phrase? Instead of cracking down, I would suggest that the PUHS system use this as an opportunity to teach a living civics lesson. Civics in action. the students together, make sure they know what their responsibilities are as students and citizens and then help them organize and act constructively as proactive members of this society.

If you "crack down" on them, all you will do is look like an oppressor who is uninterested in the legitimate problems and fears they are facing.½ They have real issues and it is the schools' duty to help them address them and also teach them to deal with their issues in a constructive and effective manner.

Lastly, many important people in the Hispanic community do not consider your superintendent to be a friend of Hispanics. I do not know why this is so and I don't know if this is fair or not. I just know that this is so. If he is not proactive with this situation and instead is reactionary and oppressive, this certainly will not help his image in our community, will it? And if you continue to support him, it won't help yours either.

Please look for a positive, proactive and educational response to the student walk-outs. Your response here will determine how you are remembered in the future. So, how do you want to be remembered? As an oppressor or as an educator? Please think very clearly about your actions.

I am asking you to respond as an elected official to make your position clear to the community at large. This way there can be no mistake or misinterpretation of your point of view and what you intend to do. Please note that I will be sharing my question and your response--or lack of one--with the larger community. We have a right to know what an elected official intends to do and the rationale behind his intentions.

David C. Rubi

SOMOS AMERICA/WE ARE AMERICA

H,

At tonight's ExComm meeting at El Matador, we brought up the subject of demonstrating or doing something against Arpaio, as well as targeting other social injustice areas, so as not to lose the public leadership we now carry, and is so mysteriously "quiet" lately, to the point that the medias are calling us for any reactions or "what's next ?" search for news.....especially NOW that Bush is coming to Arizona.....the main topic of discussion at tonight's meeting.

We are waiting for a decision from Judge O'Toole on the federal suit filed against him (Arpaio) to cease and desist, based on the unConstitutionality of his actions....as if he cared.

Joel Foster was delegated to write a press release on our position on Bush's speech and his declarations, most especially his dispatching U.S. troops to the Meican border and lack of justification for doing so. Alfredo Gutierrez made some good points about Bush's favorable comments that we can use to divide the racist demons of Arizona (Republicans vs Republicans) who now stand against their own Republican President, who has taken a more favorable stance regarding immigrants and their positive impact and contribution to this nation. We discussed other points of political strategy as welli.e. not come across too villianously against Bush, but YES against the Arizona Legislature....to drive a wedge between the two so that the Arizonans (Rs) DO come across as extremely radical and on their own....isolated from main-stream, moderate Republicans taking Bush's POV.

Foster will write it tonight and email it to all those who attended the meeting. Ask him to send you a copy to keep you informed. We even talked about sending a delegation from WE ARE AMERICA to try to obtain visit with him to lay out our position, as far as Arizona Hispanics is concerned.....but it went nowhere for the lack of knowledge about his itinerary and points of his visits (San Luis, Yuma, points along the border, et al.

Roberto is still in Washington, D.C lobbying there as much as he can.....I talked to him on the phone today, and I am c.c.'ing him this msg. as well. He's going to call me in a couple of days for a resume on developments,again.

Alfredo Gutierrez is also hosting a social this weekend re: Gay Rights

and issues faced by them, and to hold discussion amongst us regarding this subject that is very much held in the closet and needs to be discussed....re: The Catholic Church's stance, as opposed to us liberals who don't agree with their inhumanity on the subject to the point that we don't even talk about it, while it DOES come home to many Hispanic families as well.....like drugs.

We had quite a panoply of discussion points.

Call me for further info, and/or call Alfredo or e-mail him as to his social gathering.

Sin mas, tu bro',

J.J.

Quoting Hyturralde:

- > I will not be able to attend tonight but would also like for someone to
- > bring up the subject of what the community can do about Joe Arpio and his
- > vigilant tactics. Please bring up this subject.
- >
- > Hector Yturralde
- > President
- > Arizona Hispanic Community Forum
- > [_www.azhcf.org](http://www.azhcf.org)
- >

A todos,

Me dicen que la junta para el comité organizador será el JUEVES 7 : 30 DE LA TARDE IBEW HALL, 5818 NORTH 7TH ST. PHOENIX

The final meeting of the organizing committee will be THURSDAY 7 : 30PM IBEW HALL, 5818 NORTH 7TH ST. PHOENIX

We have had a wonderful success by focusing on the march itself and setting aside differences. We have but one organizing meeting let us follow the agenda, move quickly and not be distracted. 100,000 marchers is realistic.

Hemos tenido un éxito fabuloso enfocando solamente en la marcha y no dejando que nuestras diferencias nos distraigan. Tenemos tiempo para solamente un junta. Vamos a seguir la agenda, hacer decisiones rápidamente, y no dejar nada que nos interrumpa. 100,000 participantes es probable.

Por favor estén seguros que todos indicados reciban la noticia de la junta.
Please assure that everyone appropriate gets notice of the meeting.

Kyrsten

We Are America/Somos America planning meeting, this Saturday June 10 from 2 pm, at UFCW hall, 2401 N. Central Avenue. To facilitate discussion and decisions, please limit attendance to one representative per organization. Call if you have any questions.

Roberto Reveles

Following is a brief report on the Somos America meeting held tonight, May 30. The meeting included a candid review of the Senate-passed Immigration Reform legislation led by Emilia Banuelos and Roberto Reveles. The discussion concluded that, under the Senate's proposal very few of the undocumented community would be considered eligible for legalization. It is important that we continue to press both Senate and House members to support legalization of the undocumented without requiring them to return to their country of origin.

Oswaldo Magdaleno reported on the sponsorship of a half-hour program by Mano a Mano Unidos. It is a live call-in program "Dejame Hablar" on Radio Onda, dial 1190 AM, each Friday afternoon from 3:30 to 4:00 pm. Somos America agreed to support the program at 50% of the cost, and committed the amount of \$300 for each of the next two weeks and to consider longer term support at the next meeting to be held June 10.

Another radio program is being sponsored by the SEIU to be carried on the radio station at 1480 AM, starting Sunday, June 4, from 5 to 6:00 pm.

Paco Villagrana described the mural project he is pursuing to get painted on the external walls of homes facing Trevor Browne School. This past Saturday a significant number of neighborhood community people helped clean up the mural area. Paco is seeking financial contributions towards the project. Somos America agreed to contact radio stations in support of getting them to air public service announcements to encourage people to visit the site, 7402 W. Catalina, and to contribute funds to this worthy project. Coach Paco can be reached at 602 373-4442.

Mari Alvarado announced she is a candidate for the Alhambra School District's Governing Board.

Next meeting will be devoted to developing a strategic action plan to guide Somos America through the rest of the year. This meeting will be held at the UFCW hall, 2401 N. Central, Saturday June 10 from 2:00 pm to 6:00 pm. It will be limited to one representative from each organization.

Roberto Reveles

R A REVELES wrote:

Somos America/We Are America is not supportive of this Friday's protest being promoted by Phoenix CopWatch.

This type of protest only plays into the hands of Andrew Thomas and Sheriff Arpaio, and it will do nothing towards changing their enforcement of the coyote conspiracy law.

The law can only be changed by either legal challenge in the courts (which is already being done under lead attorney Peter Schey) or by legislation (which is controlled by the Republican majority in the Legislature and this can only be changed by painstakingly increasing our community's voter registration and election day participation and/or convincing a majority of the Legislature's Republican members to change their Party's previous vote).

We have to think strategically about these issues -- what is the objective and what action will get us there.

The protest march might give participants momentary emotional satisfaction but it will do nothing towards creating an environment for success either in the court or in the Legislature as it is presently constituted.

For these strategic and compelling reasons we urge you not to participate in this Friday event.

Phoenix CopWatch has not been a participant in Somos America's meetings, but we would welcome their engaging us in discussing how everyone can help change the political and legal climate that spawned this horrible coyote conspiracy law.

Adelante y Unidos, Roberto A. Reveles

> ----- Forwarded message -----

>From: Matt

>Date: Jun 12, 2006 10:45 PM

>Subject: 6/16 PROTEST Sheriff Joe & Andrew Thomas w/ Phoenix Copwatc

>

> Could you forward this out to other groups/listservs you might know of

>please?

>

> Please join us in protest against Sheriff Joe's and Andrew Thomas's

>anti-immigrant crusade.

>

>What: Protest against Sheriff Joe and Andrew Thomas

>Where: March from 100 W. Washington St. to 301 W. Jefferson St., Phoenix
 >When: 8:30 am to 10:30 am, Friday, June 16, 2006
 >
 >We are protesting the misuse of local law enforcement and civilian
 >volunteers in
 >the anti-immigrant crusade of County Attorney Andrew Thomas and Sheriff
 >Joe Arpaio. The march will begin at the Sheriff's Office, 100 W.
 >Washington St. in Phoenix at 8:30 am. It will conclude at Andrew
 >Thomas's office, 301 W. Jefferson at 10 am.
 >
 >At the protest, we will present the following demands:
 >1. That Andrew Thomas and Sheriff Arpaio stop misinterpreting the
 >anti-smuggling law to arrest and prosecute suspected undocumented
 >migrants as smuggling "conspirators"
 >2. That all persons arrested under this law be immediately released from
 >custody
 >3. That Sheriff Joe stop using armed civilian volunteers to hunt for
 >migrants
 >
 >Reasonable law enforcement agencies around the country, including the
 >LAPD and Phoenix PD, understand that local police have no business
 >enforcing immigration laws i½ by definition, a federal issue. Local
 >enforcement of immigration will only lead to a chilling effect among
 >immigrant communities, making people less likely to report crimes or ask
 >for help from the police. Do we really want to keep a woman from calling
 >the cops on her abusive husband because she's afraid she will be deported?
 >
 >Now Sheriff Joe is sending armed civilian volunteers out into the desert
 >and the streets of Phoenix to hunt down suspected migrants. Phoenix
 >Copwatch is very concerned that this move will only inflame an already
 >volatile situation and will inevitably lead to racial profiling.
 >
 >Phoenix Copwatch is a civilian group formed to combat abuse by the
 >police in our community. We use a variety of means to fight police abuse
 >including community patrols, videotaping, and community education.
 >Copwatch is completely independent from the police, all other law
 >enforcement agencies, the government, and all political parties. We are
 >always available for comment on stories involving police use of force
 >and misuse of authority. More information about Phoenix Copwatch can be
 >found at our website: www.phoenixcopwatch.org
 >

April 10 road closures

Source: Phoenix Police Department

The Phoenix Police Department reports the estimated timeline for street restrictions/closures is as follows:

11 a.m.: 19th Avenue will be restricted between Thomas Road and Monte Vista to local and event traffic only.

19th Avenue will be closed between Monte Vista and McDowell Road.

12 p.m.: The I-10 off ramp at 19th Avenue will be closed by DPS.

McDowell Road will be closed between 17th Avenue and 19th Avenue

12:30 p.m.: Both I-10 off ramps at Seventh Avenue will be closed by DPS.

12:45 p.m.: Grand Avenue will be closed between 20th Avenue and Seventh Avenue.

1 p.m.: Both I-17 off ramps at Adams/Jefferson will be closed by DPS.

1:15 p.m.: Van Buren Street will be restricted between 19th Avenue and Ninth Avenue

1:15 p.m.: Van Buren Street will be closed between Ninth Avenue and Second Avenue.

1:30 p.m.: Third Avenue will be closed between Fillmore and Jefferson Washington Street will be closed between First Avenue and 19th Avenue.

2 p.m.: Jefferson Street will be closed between 19th Avenue and 15th Avenue.

4:30 p.m.: 19th Avenue will be closed between Madison and Monte Vista.

7:30 p.m.: 19th Avenue will be reopened to traffic, except between McDowell Road and Monte Vista.

8:30 p.m.: 19th Avenue between McDowell Road and Monte Vista will be reopened to traffic.

This entire timeline is subject to change based upon the events of the day and the progress of the March.

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Phoenix police will implement a series of road closures and restrictions along the march route to help keep traffic under control. Those closures will start at 11 a.m., and will involve parts of 19th Avenue, Grand Avenue, Third Avenue and Washington Street, as well as Interstate 10 ramps at Seventh and 19th avenues and Interstate 17 ramps at the Adams-Jefferson exit.

The closures and restrictions are expected cause backups on every major street between the fairgrounds and the Capitol.

Marchers are being asked to take 19th Avenue back to the fairgrounds at the end of the march. That should happen at about 5 p.m. At that point, there will likely be another surge in traffic as demonstrators head home.

Subject: Somos America meeting changed to Wednesday July 19

Date: Thu, 13 Jul 2006 21:31:08 +0000

Because an important event, a discussion on Immigration and Race, scheduled for next Tuesday conflicts with the Somos America meeting, we are re-scheduling the Somos American meeting to the following day, Wednesday, July 19, 6:00 pm, at 2401 North Central Avenue, Phoenix, the UFCW union meeting hall.

Please try to attend the Immigration and Race panel discussion which is scheduled for Tuesday, July 18, from 5 to 7 pm at the Dome Auditorium, Phoenix College, 3110 N. 10th Avenue, Phoenix, at the northeast corner of 11th Avenue and Flower Street.

Also, please make every effort to attend our Somos America meeting next Wednesday. Agenda remains as per previous notice.

Call me if you have any questions, xxxxx

Adelante y Unidos,

Roberto Reveles

Subject: Somos America meeting July 18

Date: Thu, 13 Jul 2006 19:21:51 +0000

Next meeting of We Are America/Somos America: Tuesday, July 18, 6:00 pm, 2401 N. Central Avenue, United Food and Commercial Workers Union meeting hall.

Agenda:

1. Strategic plan, review and consider its adoption.
2. Democracy Summer, voter registration, citizenship classes, civic engagement; review actions underway.
3. Immigration reform congressional field hearings and border community hearings.
4. Ballot initiatives.

5. Other items as requested by participants.

Call me if you have any questions xxxxx

Adelante y Unidos,
Roberto Reveles

Subject: Somos America meeting Thursday July 6

Date: Wed, 05 Jul 2006 23:22:49

Reminder -- We Are America/Somos America meeting this Thursday, July 6, 6:30 pm, at the UCFW union hall, 2400 N. Central, Phoenix.

Among topics to be discussed:

Important developments on immigration reform legislation.

Update on Democracy Summer activities underway.

Mexico's presidential election and possible effects on our community.

Bring your ideas and your energy.

Adelante y Unidos, Roberto Reveles

Martin, I made a correction to the minutes regarding the route, the rest is correct. For the record, La campesina, according to our general meeting session did agree to donate the 2 stages when everyone was against the raising of funds so therefore there were no funds.

My notes do reflect that they want to help in securing the 2 stages. I just put a ?? next to the change. Also, added a conversation that I had left out regarding the clarification on the solicitation of funds and those ground rules decided upon by

the committee.

The minutes are now ready for distribution to the coordinating/exec. committee. Let me know if you want me to do that?

The next meeting is on Tuesday evening at 6:30 at 512 W. Adams. The committee chairs must be present and be prepared to report back.

In Solidarity,

LYDIA HERNANDEZ AZ COALITION FOR MIGRANT RIGHTS

From: "Martin Manteca" <martin.manteca@seiu5az.org>
To: "Lydia Hernandez" <latejana86@hotmail.com>, <ksinema@tmo.blackberry.net>
CC: <Angeles_maldonado1022@yahoo.com>, <Adriedu01@hotmail.com>, <suoficinaexpress@hotmail.com>, <mgr5481@yahoo.com>, <danny@rmgmoinjurylaw.com>, "Joel Foster" <joel.foster@seiu5az.org>
Subject: RE: Coordinating Committee's Meeting Minutes 4-01-06
Date: Mon, 3 Apr 2006 11:32:28 -0400

Just wanted to make a couple of clarifications:

- The route: We start south (form inside of coliseum) to exit onto McDowell, we turn left to proceed east on McDowell up to 7th Avenue, we then turn right to head south until Washington, on Washington we turn right and head west until we arrive at the Capitol.
- The Campesina did not volunteer to donate the stages, they volunteered to secure the stages.

Martin Manteca
SEIU Local 5 AZ
1802 E Thomas Rd., Ste 14
Phoenix, AZ 85044

From: Lydia Hernandez [mailto:latejana86@hotmail.com]
Sent: Mon 4/3/2006 3:27 AM
To: Martin Manteca; ksinema@tmo.blackberry.net
Cc: Angeles_maldonado1022@yahoo.com; Adriedu01@hotmail.com; suoficinaexpress@hotmail.com; mgr5481@yahoo.com; danny@rmgmoinjurylaw.com;
Joel Foster
Subject: Coordinating Committee's Meeting Minutes 4-01-06

Martin and Kyrsten, please see the attached coordinating committee's meeting minutes for Saturday's meeting. We are still working on the Thursday meeting minutes and will have them for you soon.

I don't have an attendance list. We might want to ask Roberto Reveles to see if he picked one up.

In Solidarity,

**LYDIA HERNANDEZ/TERESA CASTRO/MONICA SANDSCHAFFER
AZ COALITION FOR MIGRANT RIGHTS ORGANIZERS**

Subject: FW: STATEWIDE NATURALIZATION FAIRS PLEASE FOWARD

Date: Thu, 29 Jun 2006 20:56:33 +0000

Somos America: Please volunteer for this critically important project.
Roberto Reveles

>Subject: STATEWIDE NATURALIZATION FAIRS PLEASE FOWARD

>Date: Wed, 28 Jun 2006 17:34:50 -0700

>Please distribute the Naturalization flyers to anyone who might be
>interested in attending.

>For Immediate Release: Wednesday, June 28, 2006

>Contacts: Lydia Hernandez 602-246-0653, Monica Sandschafer 602-920-9783

>

>DEMOCRACY SUMMER KICKS OFF ACROSS AMERICA

>

>Arizona Immigrants Transform Mobilizations into Citizenship, Civic
>Education and Voter Registration

>WHEN: Saturday, July 1, 2006 at 9:00 am–1:00 pm

>WHERE: Ed Pastor Elementary School, 2101 W. Alta Vista, Phoenix

>WHAT: Citizenship Fair and Civic Education Workshops

>

>(Phoenix, AZ) Building off the energy of the millions who took to the
>streets in cities nationwide in early spring, immigrant rights advocates
>launch Democracy Summer, a new campaign to register voters, help legal
>permanent residents become citizens and provide civic education to the
>immigrant community, all geared towards the November elections.

>

>The Arizona Coalition for Migrant Rights, a coalition of grassroots
>immigrant rights organizations, in partnership with Washington, DC-based
>Center for Community Change and SEIU's Mi Familia Vota Project will join
>organizations around the country in the July 1st National Citizenship Day
>by organizing a Citizenship Fair in south Phoenix. In addition to receiving

>assistance in filling out their citizenship applications, attendees will
>participate in civic education workshops.
>
>Organizers held their first Citizenship Fair last Sunday, in preparations
>for the July 1st event. "The fair was well-attended, with over 100 people
>filling out their applications for citizenship," said Reyna Polanco, an
>organizer of the event. "We're expecting this fair to be even bigger, given
>the national attention on July 1st as a Day of Citizenship."
>Lydia Hernandez, another organizer of the event, added, "The community's
>response has been tremendous. We're receiving calls all day long from
>interested residents, telling us that they want to become citizens so they
>can vote, so they can weigh in on the immigration debate."

>
>-- more --

>
>These naturalization fairs will aid as many as 5,000 legal permanent
>residents in the state to begin their path to citizenship and civic
>participation. The program will offer more than a dozen of these fairs in
>communities across the state.
>Democracy Summer in Arizona also includes a Citizenship Engagement and
>Leadership Development School, which is providing classes throughout the
>summer and a voter registration campaign.

>
>These series of activities projecting immigrant political power are in
>response to the growing desire of immigrants to make their voices heard in
>upcoming elections. In Arizona alone, there are a half million immigrants
>eligible to naturalize. Organizations in Arizona are committed to bring
>thousands of eligible immigrants into the naturalization process and also
>register 20,000 new voters, making a political shift possible in some
>voting districts.

># # #

>In Solidarity,

>

>LYDIA HERNANDEZ

&n

>ORGANIZER

>COMMUNITY CHANGE

CENTER FOR

Please forward to networks in particular to the students...as far as I have heard the following Upcoming Events: April 3 at capitol is prayer vigil from 10:00-12:00 AIN; April 10 a National Day of Action VARIOUS GROUPS; April 5 CADENA Meeting TBA; April 8 ASU West Conference 2:00 – 4:00, April 18 DREAM ACT Forum at Paradise Valley Community College 6:00 – 8:00 p.m.; April 21-23 SW Regional Youth Leadership Conference. If you need info on any of events, please reply and I will forward you the relevant flyer. Emilia Banuelos

From: Maria Coronado [mailto:marilena@asu.edu]
Sent: Wednesday, March 29, 2006 12:58 PM
To: Saavedra, Maura; Suzie Kwan; Daniel R. Ortega, Jr.; karlox_00@hotmail.com;
Dianna Nanez; Emmanuel Gallardo; alfredo@tequida.com ; emilia@emiliabanuelos.com ;
Michael Ray Nowakowski
Subject: Student Walkouts and Next Steps

Please share with teachers and students that you know! Adelante!

Pass it on!
¡Pasa la voz!

Young people throughout the country have taken a stand on the dignity of immigrant and Latino communities. For a few years, students have been working on the "DREAM Act" and better education. In the last few days, thousands of students have held walkouts in cities all over the country to send the strong message that immigrants are part of the nation and that America is stronger when we come together as one community.

The message is being heard! Student voices have joined community demonstrations held all over, which adds up to more than one million people speaking up. We must continue to exercise leadership – not only on the streets, but in the halls of Congress; not only today, but for the long term.

The energy and commitment demonstrated by young activists all over the country is inspiring – and that energy is needed to continue making progress. The walkouts have caught the attention of the

public and of members of Congress. Now we must build on that attention and turn it into action to build long-term leadership and community strength.

Do not not allow the positive force of the student walkouts to be turned into a negative by our opponents or the media – instead of escalating the battle with school administrators and city officials, let's use that strength to keep the momentum going to win rights for our immigrant brothers and sisters. The other side is inundating Congress with anti-immigrant calls – let's take the power in the streets and turn it into action, like thousands of calls to Congress for immigrant rights and a stronger America .

YOU'VE ALREADY WALKED OUT. NOW LET'S TAKE THE NEXT STEP AND MAKE OUR VOICES HEARD EVERYWHERE!

FIVE THINGS YOU CAN DO RIGHT NOW:

1) Organize after-school community vigils to support comprehensive immigration reform.

2) Check out this [list](#) of planned activities asking for comprehensive immigration reform, and join other local community activists in their efforts.

3) Talk to your school's administrators and ask them to help make sure that all eligible students in your school get registered to vote

4) Contact Congress and the White House!

Call these members and ask them to support comprehensive immigration reform:

- Senator Bill Frist (202) 224-3344
- Senator Arlen Specter (202) 224-4254
- Senator Jon Kyl (202) 224-4521
- Senator Sam Brownback (202) 224-6521
- Senator John Cornyn (202) 224-2934
- Representative Dennis Hastert (202) 225-2976
- Representative John Boehner (202) 225-6205

Send a text message to the White House and tell President Bush to support comprehensive immigration reform:

president@whitehouse.gov.

MESSAGE FOR CALLS AND TEXT MESSAGE:

"We R America . We R the Future. Support Comp Imm Reform!"

5) Volunteer at a local organization to:

- Help immigrants become citizens
- Register people in your community to vote

Up Close with Roberto Reveles, Somos America president

'I think the state legislators ought to lower the heat of their rhetoric'

By Christian Palmer

Growing up in the mining town of Miami, Arizona, gave Roberto Reveles, president of Somos America, a view of blue-collar life. While in high school, a mining accident claimed the life of his step-father. The event helped shape him.

Somos America, a coalition of Latino groups, legal and illegal immigrants and those sympathetic to the desert-crossing masses, is not Mr. Reveles' first venture into politics and activism. Before helping to organize marches for immigrants' rights in Phoenix — in tandem with similar marches in major American cities — he spent 24 years serving several congressmen, most notably Arizona legend Morris Udall.

His first foray into civil rights issues came in 1963 after an assassin gunned down President John F. Kennedy. Lyndon Baines Johnson picked up his slain predecessor's civil rights agenda and soon Mr. Reveles was lobbying to make sure the protections to be granted to blacks by the Civil Rights Act were extended to Hispanics.

It passed and Mr. Reveles held deep respect for Mr. Johnson, who in his eyes had bravely and skillfully used residual emotion from President Kennedy's assassination to overcome Southern opposition to the groundbreaking legislation.

Mr. Reveles left work at the U.S. House of Representatives in 1980. He went on to serve as a liaison for a San Francisco mining company for 12 years.

Since his 1992 retirement, the Gold Canyon resident has kept occupied by sculpting, mentoring young amateur boxers and volunteering at a Guadalupe high school. He has also helped serve water to parched immigrants braving the Sonoran Desert in hopes of reaching El Norte at a Humane Borders water station.

Spurred on by what he sees as "anti-Latino legislation" coming from the Arizona Legislature and the failure of older generations of Latinos to teach their young the importance of the contributions of figures like Cesar Chavez, Mr. Reveles has taken a front-line role in the immigration debate. The march on April 10 he helped organize flooded the Capitol and downtown Phoenix with approximately 100,000 people in support of immigration reform.

He recently sat down with the *Arizona Capitol Times* to discuss in detail today's topics surrounding the immigration debate — speaking English, amnesty, labor, boycotts and

the Minutemen.

What is the purpose of Somos America?

It is essentially to give form to the various organizations that are Latino serving in our community and that have had an interest in doing something about immigration problems. We're attempting through that organization to allow them a positive outlet.

What is the best outcome that you could imagine?

The best outcome would be to create a viable coalition of organizations that can work beyond the issue of immigration reform and empower people at the local level to deal with public policy issues of all sorts — getting into education, health care and the like.

What is the worst outcome?

The worst outcome would be that people would feel unfulfilled, that it's not worth doing, that it can't be done, that a long-term coalition isn't possible to put together.

Are the marches that have been put together by Somos America the first in a series?

They're the first of what we felt were necessary but we're not anticipating, don't have a long-term plan for marches as such. But certainly to create opportunities for people to remain engaged in public policy debates, the marches have served to coalesce the community groups and to call the public's attention to the major concerns we have with the ongoing bankrupt immigration policy.

What would you like to see happen with immigration policy?

Well, I'd like to see the immigration policy designed to first of all, recognize the existence of the 11 or 12 million people that are here and who are here for a good purpose — not to do harm to our country — to legalize their status to avoid the disruption of family life, the division of family units and to provide a lawful and safe way for immigrants, willing workers to come to a legal port of entry and avoid risking their lives crossing illegally through the desert.

You were quoted in reference to the first march in Phoenix, "What occurred on March 24 is a consequence of the people being tired of the treatment we are receiving." What should Americans understand about illegal immigration and those coming across the border?

I think what they should understand is that they are coming because of need. Need on their side for need of a sustainable wage and need on our side for a dependable source of labor. I think that it is a useful accommodation that will meet those needs if we can come together with a comprehensive reform package that covers the issues as I have previously described them.

The Mexican government has been very vocal — they have opposed building a wall between the two countries and even threatened lawsuits if the National Guard detains undocumented people illegally crossing into the United States. Does their participation help your cause or harm it?

I think any discussion helps, whether it's the belligerent voice of a bigoted person hiding

behind the mask of the Minutemen, or whether it is an enlightened legislator or foreign official. I think open discussion is good. I'd much rather be talking with an opponent of mine than having that opponent working in the shadows against my better interest. I think that people need to talk whether they agree or disagree and start to build a basis of confidence so that hopefully we can break down the walls of what I see as prejudice, quite frankly.

The boycott was scheduled on May 1, the international workers' day, a day associated with socialist or Marxist connotations.

That's correct.

Why was this done on this day?

Because it is also the day of Saint Joseph, the patron saint of the worker. And to us Latinos, St. Joseph is a model worker and that was his day, May 1. While recognized universally, with the exception of United States possibly, May 1 has been celebrated both in the socialist and non-socialist countries.

Is your movement affiliated or involved with American labor unions?

We have had American labor unions that have helped us, yes. So affiliation to the extent that they are helping us, yes. And I welcome them.

In what capacity are they helping?

They have helped by allowing us to use their meeting halls, for example. They have also personally participated as individuals, and again, we welcome them.

The immigration movement, as reported by many media sources, was torn between support for the May 1st boycott, you supported it. How come?

Because like I said, it was a day to honor the workers and to honor them by helping them do what they wanted to do. We had many workers who expressed an interest in sacrificing a day's wages and to stay away from their places of employment. We urged them to try to work out an agreement with their employers by trying to make up the time by working extra or on the weekends, but to try to do it with recognizing that the employer's well-being also reflects on the well-being of the worker. If an employer makes money, the worker shares in that successful business. So, yes, we agreed to work with our immigrant community to say, 'yes, we want to stay away from work to demonstrate our increasing interest in letting the public and the Congress know that we desperately need reform of the immigration law.'

Do you think the marches are going to politically help the undocumented community or harden attitudes against them?

Undoubtedly there will be a hardening of people who are looking for an excuse to oppose immigration reform anyway. But I think that it was a useful demonstration in more ways than one. For example, this is a community that had been on the receiving end of a campaign of vilification as far as I'm concerned. As Latinos we're all being painted with the brush of criminality and lack of civic pride. Well I think the demonstrations demonstrated that despite the historically large numbers, there was absolutely no violence, no arrests and we cleaned up after ourselves. I think that is a pretty good way to refute the allegations that have been thrown around very loosely at our community.

Do private citizens of the U.S. have the right to patrol the deserts if they believe their governments have failed to protect the border?

I think private citizens have the right to travel freely wherever they go so long as it's within safe conditions. I would not want to travel to Barry Goldwater Bombing Range for example, but I think American people have the right to freely travel within our country, including the border.

And the Minutemen?

Yes, they're U.S. citizens. They have every right to do so.

It's estimated that 40 percent of Mexican Americans in Arizona voted for Prop. 200, which requires that legal identification be required to apply for public benefits among the issues. How does your group view Mexican Americans that are not on board with the agenda of Somos America?

Our community is not a monolithic community. It's very much like any other community. We have differences of opinion as we find in any other ethnic group. I have personally talked with groups that have admitted that they voted for Prop. 200 because they had not anticipated what the consequences would be — that it would be a way of further burdening the Latino community and the immigrant community.

Should English be the official language?

I think English is, in fact, accepted as the language of choice for all of us. I think what is interesting about that issue is that you talk to any Latino who is wishing to succeed here; they are looking for adult classes. And yet we have a Legislature that says, 'learn to speak English, but, by the way, you will not be eligible to go to adult English classes and we will not fund them'— which is what the latest so-called comprehensive bill by (Rep.) Russell Pearce, (R-18), would do.

What would you like legislators crafting immigration bills to keep in mind?

I think there should be recognition that this is a federal issue and that the federal government should not abrogate its responsibilities to put together and administer a fair immigration policy. At the state level, we clearly have problems but the legislators should look at what it is that's within the state's jurisdiction, and to do it with a point of view that recognizes these people are coming not to do harm, but to provide for their families and to fill a role that our economy desperately needs. We're almost at full employment actually in this country and there is a growing need for an influx of workers. These are people that have a work ethic that is unbeatable. I think the state legislators ought to lower the heat of their rhetoric and focus on how to accommodate our need for workers with the supply of willing workers.

Do you think the supply of workers is exceeding the demand?

Thus far, I think the fact that you see ads for workers as you go through construction sites and see help wanted signs. I don't think the supply is exceeding the demand. Unfortunately, I think that the bankrupt immigration policy we have right now throws obstacles in the way of the willing employer from hooking up with willing workers.

Many people have difficulty discerning the difference between comprehensive

immigration reform and amnesty. To you, what's the difference?

Amnesty is you've done something wrong and you're totally forgiven without any penalties attached. What we are talking about in terms of comprehensive immigration reform requires the payment of back taxes, the payment of fines, the learning of English and several other requirements, so I don't see that (as amnesty). It doesn't help the debate to throw out terms that don't reflect reality. If we want to resolve the issue let's recognize they need to pay a fine, pay back taxes and get to the back of the line of those who did file lawfully. To me, that does not represent amnesty.

How would they get to the back of the line if they are already here?

Well, when they are legalized, in the process, their number starts after those who filed previous to them in a lawful way. They get to the back of the line, behind the people who have lawfully applied for admission.

Thank you very much.

You're welcome.

APRIL 10TH MARCH FOR IMMIGRANT RIGHTS

We Need Volunteers!

The Civic Participation Committee needs volunteers for voter registration and mobilization efforts on Sunday, April 9th and the day of the event, Monday, April 10th.

If you can donate your time we need help!

On Sunday, April 9th at 2pm we will be putting together packets and on Monday, April 10th volunteers will need to show up at 8:00 am for training and supplies. Contact Debbie at 602-370-2977 or email debslopez@msn.com.

Somos America/We Are America
April 10 Arizona Mobilization
Executive Committee

April 1, 2006

Report on Major Subjects Discussed, Voted and Approved

1. Committee meetings closed to members of the press.

Discussed need to maintain environment for candid exchange of ideas. The presence of members of the press would inhibit discussion on sensitive issues. It was understood that the press will be kept informed on a timely basis of decisions reached by the Executive Committee. It was agreed that the restriction applies to all members of the press.

2. Time and route of march.

Marchers will be asked to assemble at 11:00 a.m. at the Arizona Veterans Memorial Coliseum parking area within the State Fairgrounds.

The march will begin at 1:00 p.m.

March will proceed south on Grand Avenue to 7th Avenue.

South on 7th Avenue to Washington Street.

West on Washington Street to Wesley Bolin Memorial Park across from the State Capitol.

3. **Staging** will be provided both at the assembling area at the State Fairgrounds and at the destination area near the State Capitol.
4. Dan Ortega is handling **liability insurance**.
5. **Budget.** A preliminary budget of \$60,000 is contemplated to cover costs of staging, insurance, plus water, snacks and sanitary needs. An assessment of \$1,000 for each participating organization is expected to cover a major portion of the expenses. Student organizations are exempted from this assessment.
6. **Flags.** Only the U.S. flag will be allowed.
7. **White shirts.** All marchers are encourage to wear white t-shirts or white tops.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Executive Committee, Roberto A. Reveles

Messaging team

Equipo encargado del mensaje

Talking Points for April 10th Rally and Press Announcements:

Los puntos a hablar en la manifestación del 10 de abril y en los anuncios a la prensa:

We are America- a nation of immigrants

- Today we march, tomorrow we vote
- Remember, the Statue of Liberty says, “Bring us your tired, your poor, your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free.”

Somos America –una nación de inmigrantes.

- **Hoy marchamos, mañana votamos**
- **Recuerden lo que dice la Estatua de la Libertad: Tráenos tus cansados, tus pobres, tus masas apiñadas que anhelan respirar en libertad.**

Our movement is...

- Diverse and multicultural (*This has to be demonstrated by our choice of media spokespeople and rally speakers or it will ring hollow.*)
 - o We are new immigrants from all backgrounds.
 - o We are new Latino citizens
 - o We are Latino citizens whose families have been here for generations.
 - o We are citizens who have other immigrant backgrounds.

Nuestro movimiento es...

- **Diverso y multicultural (*Hay que mostrar eso con hechos, al escoger las personas voceras ante los medios de comunicación y las personas que hablen en la manifestación, para que no suenen vacías nuestras palabras*)**
 - o **Somos nuevos inmigrantes de todas partes del mundo**

- **Somos latinos y recién ciudadanos**
- **Somos latinos y ciudadanos de muchas generaciones**
- **Somos ciudadanos de otras generaciones de inmigrantes.**

We want...

- A path to citizenship for immigrants who live in the US, who work hard and pay taxes, and who want to become American citizens.

Queremos...

- **Un camino hacia la ciudadanía para inmigrantes que viven en USA, quienes trabajan duro, pagan impuestos y quieren hacerse ciudadanos de esta gran nación.**

We want a path to citizenship for three reasons...

- Economics
 - There are already millions of immigrants who work hard and pay taxes in this country just like American citizens.
 - Undocumented immigrants already contribute \$300 billion to the US economy every year and each new immigrant to this country adds roughly \$1800 to the economy.
 - Between 1998 and 2022, immigrants will contribute nearly \$500 billion to Social Security.

Queremos un camino hacia la ciudadanía por tres razones:

- **Economía:**
 - **Hay millones de inmigrantes que trabajan duro y pagan impuestos a este país tal como lo hacen los ciudadanos.**
 - **Los inmigrantes indocumentados ya contribuyen a esta economía con \$300 billones cada año y cada nuevo inmigrante añade aproximadamente \$1800 a la economía.**
 - **Entre 1998 y 2022, la contribución al sistema de Seguro Social de los inmigrantes será cerca de \$500 billones.**
- Security
 - A path to citizenship will ID all of the hardworking immigrants and allow law enforcement to use its resources on the small number of criminals preying on the immigrant communities.

- More than 60,000 immigrants are currently on active duty in the US Armed Forces protecting our country.
- **Seguridad**
 - **Un camino hacia la ciudadanía va a identificar a todos los inmigrantes que trabajan duro, permitiendo a las fuerzas de seguridad utilizar sus recursos en aquellos pocos criminales reales que mantienen presa a nuestras comunidades de inmigrantes.**
 - **Más de 60,000 inmigrantes están actualmente activos en las fuerzas armadas de Estados Unidos protegiendo a nuestro país.**
- Compassion
 - Honest compassion leads us to clothe the naked, feed the hungry, and welcome immigrants.
 - Anti-immigrant bills would literally outlaw compassion.
- **Compasión**
 - **Una compasión honesta nos lleva a vestir al desnudo, dar comida al hambriento y dar techo al inmigrante.**
 - **Las leyes anti-inmigrantes literalmente convierten en crimen a la compasión.**

❖ Announcements:

APPENDIX E
VBOC ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES

VBOC Statement of Principles

Human Rights

Our organization strongly believes in the importance and respect for the rights of all humans. These basic human rights should not be compromised in any way, shape or form by any private person or governmental entity. Specifically, we emphasize that:

- we support freedom of movement with the belief that migration and self-determination/self-autonomy is a human right;
- racism and discrimination in any form is wrong and we denounce it; *(weak) WE DENOUNCE*
- we respect the basic Constitutional rights of all people, particularly the 1st Amendment Freedom of Speech.

Working Conditions

Our organization understands that the target of many discriminatory and oppressive actions have been members of the working class.

- We believe that every *PERSON* worker deserves decent wages and working conditions and the right to organize and join a union, regardless of their immigration status.

U.S. Immigration Laws/other federal, state laws, or international treaties:

Our government's official treatment of immigrants through legislation passed at all levels is unacceptable. We support comprehensive reform instead of a piecemeal approach to amending fundamentally bad laws and policies.

- The immigration laws currently in place were founded on a history of acceptance of an ideology based on racism and colonialism. As such, they are unjust and should be resisted by all people of conscience. *(We believe an entirely different approach is necessary that is based on human rights and dignity.)* *vague?*
- Specifically, we oppose such programs as NAFTA and such proposals as the *OPERATION CANTONMENT* implication of a *any* new guest worker program.

Civil Disobedience/Political Actions:

Our organization believes that direct action and civil disobedience are legitimate and viable strategies, and therefore unjust laws should not be obeyed, they should be resisted and cooperation with the government is no longer an option.

- We are fighting alongside people, not for people. We do not believe in taking a paternalistic stance toward our relationship with the community.
- We are unapologetic for using forceful and TRUTHFUL language. We will not compromise our principles for the sake of appealing to any particular audience or for the purpose of producing a politically correct message. Our strategically planned actions will be genuine and will only be framed upon our principles.
- We are non-violent, but non-violence does not mean non-resistance and extreme acts of civil-disobedience will be distinguished from acts of non-violence.

Politically, we believe that negotiation with certain entities and political individuals is no longer productive. Those individuals should be removed from office.

- We will engage in actions to politically discredit and eventually defeat politicians that blatantly disregard the Constitutional and human rights of all people by introducing, supporting, or refusing to take a stance against irrational, hate-based propaganda, statutes, ordinances and rules, including, but not limited to:
 - Governor Janet Napolitano
 - Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio
 - State Representative Russell Pearce

Specific Actions:

We will strategically plan specific actions of civil disobedience including but not limited to:

- Supporting the transport of undocumented workers from Nogales, Sonora to the U.S. Midwest. *Supporting movement of people across borders*

Network:

Our organization does not seek the permission, approval or blessings of any other community organizations but we do seek to network with any organization and any individual that shares similar principles and goals and desires to engage in or support similar types of direct action.

Self-Governance:

- Our principles are not inflexible and can be modified with a 2/3 vote of our membership.

APPENDIX F

FLYERS

Uphold Police Operations Order 1.4

Walk for Civil Rights!
Walk for Justice!

Wednesday, Dec. 19, 2007
9 AM
 Protest & Walk
**From 35 St. & Thomas
 To City Hall**

*THEY CALLED ME THE KKK
 THINK IT'S AN HONOR RIGHT?
 Sheriff Joe Arpaio on Lou Dobbs Tonight*

Sheriffs, get out of Pruitt's! Stop the Raids!
Stop the Racism!

For More Information:
 602-423-5129

Don't buy Racism!

Protest Against Pruitt's & Sheriff Arpaio

**This Saturday
 11 AM - 2 PM**
Pruitt's 35 St. & Thomas

Protest Against Pruitt's & Sheriff Arpaio

For More Information:
 602-423-5129

Don't Buy Pruitt's!
 Join us in this fight for workers rights!

**Protesta los Abusos
 del Sheriff Joe Arpaio**

¡Alto a las Redadas!
¡Romper los 287 (g)'s!
¡Desterrar Arpaio!

Acompáñanos sábado 28 de Febrero
 7:00am en Steele Indian School Park
 Entrada sur (3 Calle e Indian School).

La protesta parara en-

- Departamento de inmigración
- Oficina de Arpaio
- Corte Federal

Justicia para las familias y los estudiantes ¡pero ya!

La educación es un derecho, no un privilegio de los ricos.

ARIZONA, el centro de un remolino de legislación anti-inmigrante, ahora está atacando a la juventud. Con la aprobación de la cruel Proposición 208, a los y las jóvenes inmigrantes que fueron forzados en las escuelas primarias y secundarias de Arizona se les está eliminando de la educación superior por medio del alto costo. La proposición tiene la intención de requerirlos a los estudiantes indocumentados, quienes son residentes de Arizona, que paguen la matrícula como si no fueran residentes del estado—cerca de \$15,000 dólares al año. Los ataques anti-inmigrantes son de manera abierta una injusticia—cruel y anti-americano en espíritu.

¡Por favor unámonos a nosotros en la búsqueda por la justicia americana el 8 de enero del 2007! ¡AHORA más que nunca: que se apruebe la Dream Act o Acta del Sueño Americano para evitar la pesadilla de nacional!

¡No más leyes que dañan a la mera gente que nutre a América!
WE ARE AMERICA! ¡SOMOS AMERICA!

¡Todavía podemos soñar! ¡Qué aprueben la Dream Act!

Lunes, 8 de enero del 2007.
 Lugar será y pronto fijado.

Para más información, favor de llamar a 520-240-1697 ¡SOMOS AMERICA! WE ARE AMERICA (UNA COALICIÓN DE MIEMBROS DE LA COMUNIDAD, OBREROS, ESTUDIANTES, SINDICATOS, ESTUDIANTES Y ORGANIZACIONES UNIDOS PARA UNA REFORMA MIGRATORIA)

¡Defiende nuestro
¡Nuestros Hijos y nuestras Familias
Están Bajo Ataque!

- Únete al movimiento contra la proposición 300, y en el apoyo de nuestra solución el DREAM Act.

El DREAM Act daría una vía a la ciudadanía a cualquier estudiante que se haya portado bien y valla en rumbo a una carrera universitaria.

Nos reuniremos a las 10am en
 8024 W Camelback (80th ave & Camelback)

El día 8 de Enero, 2007

VALLEY & STATE

MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, 2007 THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC NEWS.AZCENTRAL.COM SECTION

NEWS UPDATE

Authorities ID man hit, killed by Mesa police DUI vehicle

Police have identified the man struck and killed this weekend by a Mesa police van as Barry John Nelson.

Nelson, 45, of Mesa, had stopped his vehicle on the shoulder of approximately U.S. 60 near Lindsay Road about 8:30 a.m. Saturday when he stopped into oncoming traffic, the Arizona Department of Public Safety reported.

That's when a Mesa police DUI van, a modified recreational vehicle, struck Nelson, a Mesa police spokesman said. Nelson was pronounced dead at the scene.

DPS investigators think Nelson's vehicle was disabled when he stopped on the freeway. It was unclear why he stepped into traffic, DPS reported.

— Eric C. Arnold

Go to www.azcentral.com for updates to this and other breaking news stories.

TODAY'S TALKER

500th human-smuggling defendant is prosecuted

The Maricopa County Attorney's Office has successfully prosecuted its 500th case under Arizona's human-smuggling law, top prosecutor Andrew Thomas said at a press conference Sunday.

"A lot of the old smuggling groups have been dismantled, and that requires copes to adjust their techniques," he

Test run for train drivers

By John Fabery
THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

Today, for the first time, Valley drivers set what is really going to be commencing with train running.

Sometime around morning, trains will start on the tracks along Lindsay Street between Street and Priest Drive.

Trains have previously been on the track, but had the police have also there to stop traffic, intersections to make body crossed in front.

Not anymore.

Now it will be that tell of a "train."

It will be green, tell people when it

PHOTO BY JACK KURTZ/THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

Illegal-immigration protesters and counterprotesters gather Saturday at 35th Street and Thomas Road near Pruitt's furniture store in Phoenix. Sheriff's deputies arrested eight people nearby suspected of being undocumented immigrants.

Under pressure

\$50 m
neede
mus

APPENDIX G
LETTERS TO ARPAIO

June 19, 2008

Sheriff Joe
MCSO
100 W Washington #1900
Phoenix AZ 85003

Dear Sheriff Joe:

I just wanted to say THANK YOU for all you are doing for Phoenix/Maricopa County! You are the only one who cares enough to uphold our laws. The rest of the agencies are embarrassed for not holding up to their responsibilities whereas you are. That is the only reason for their outspoken behavior against you. I wont be saying anything in this letter that you don't already know, but I want you to know that I support you 150% ! I will vote for you as long as you are in office!

I often wonder why the planet was created with borders. It's the way this world works. Why then does Mexico expect Arizona and other US states to just remove the borders to accommodate them? They have the nerve to come here and DEMAND we change our laws to accommodate them. If we don't, we are racist? It seems that the 'race' card is constantly pulled when they are not accommodated to their liking. Can you imagine if we went to China or Russia and DEMANDED they accommodate us the way we want? What do you think they would do? Give us a 1way ticket back to where we came from, or worse! Why do we have no backbone to protect our culture, our state and our well-being? We all know the Feds have failed miserably and we have no other choice but to take it into our own hands to protect our county/state. We cant even take care of our own citizens as it is and we are spending millions of dollars to accommodate illegals ! How does this make sense? We have so many homeless, war vets, elderly and children that we kick to the curb because the money isn't there? It probably would be if weren't spending a ridiculous amount of money to support illegals! We don't owe illegals ANYTHING! They are felons as soon as they cross that border! They come into this country, they pay coyotes to get here, some end up dead and the relatives want to sue the state!(that makes a lot of sense). As long as I can remember, there are consequences for breaking the law! They arrive here with nothing, so they, steal from hard working Arizona State citizens. They use stolen social security numbers belonging to you and I, they steal identities, credit card numbers, they commit numerous crimes to profit off of the innocent. Our citizens are victims of illegal immigration. Then, they have the nerve to say we are racial profiling! Please! It is

To
BRIAN'S
HAVE SOME
ONE HANDS
THAT
cc SHM (2)
Dmt
6-24-08

EXHIBIT NO. 12
11/16/10
Arpaio

Melendres
MCSO 069086

what it is! If you have dark skin, then you have dark skin! Unfortunately, that is the look of the Mexican illegal who are here ILLEGALLY! I have dark hair and a tan, if Im pulled over, I have nothing to worry about, I am LEGAL and I would be more than happy to comply knowing SOMEONE is doing their job out there!! If a serial killer was 6'0, red hair and freckles, they can count on people that are 6'0,red hair and freckles getting stopped! Again, it is what it is! Too bad! They have nerve marching on OUR street and making demands! They bring their unclean, disrespectful, integrity-less, law breaking selves here. They don't care about our laws, they do as they please. They fire gunshots in the air and play their loud obnoxious noise they call music which disrupts the LEGAL LAW ABIDING citizens. They have no laws against this in Mexico, so they feel the laws shouldn't apply to them here either. I, for one, resent them coming into our neighborhoods and forcing their culture on me! If I wanted to live in that manner, I would move to Mexico! I am proud of living in the US and in Arizona and want to be able to live in peace and I expect our laws to be abided by! I am so sick and tired of being the 'bad' guy because we DON'T want illegals in our state. We need to stop supporting them! No more giving them a free ride on our services which is draining our resources severely. The rest of us foot their bills !

20yrs ago, this was a beautiful city to live in. I've lived in my condo for 15yrs. Why should I move? Now, this whole area has gone to crap because of the illegals! I am begging you to come over to the 29th St/Greenway Pkwy area and round them all up! This is my neighborhood and they have destroyed my piece of mind! They crawl around here all day and night, Im always hearing gunshots fired from the complex they all live in. Im sure there is plenty probably cause to stop them to begin with. PLEASE,PLEASE come over to this area and help us!

Enough ranting and raving, I could go on for pages! I just wanted to basically vent my frustrations! I am so thankful for you making a difference and I respect you greatly for having the courage and backbone to enforce the law while the others just sit back and watch! Thank you for not backing down and being true to the oath to enforce the law!

Gina M [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Phoenix AZ 85032
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Melendres
MCSO 069087

August 1, 2008

Sheriff Joe Arpaio
100 W. Washington
Suite 1900
Phoenix, AZ 85003

RE: Want to check out Sun City?

Dear Sheriff Joe,

As a retiree in Sun City, formerly from Minnesota, I am a fan of yours and what you are doing to rid the area of illegal immigrants. Those "public servants" and self-serving pro-illegals organizations who are against you are just jealous and want their "15 minutes of fame" in the media spotlight.

Anyway, when I was in the McDonalds at Bell Road and Boswell, (next to the Chase Bank) this noon, there was not an employee in sight, or within hearing, who spoke English as a first language – to my dismay. From the staff at the registers to the staff back in the kitchen area, all I heard was Spanish – except when they haltingly spoke to a customer.

You might want to check this out.

Yours,

Gail v [REDACTED]

Gail v [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

*Letter
Thank you
for info
will look
into it
cc Brian
(for our
operation)
cc Shuff
8-5-08*

imsteno.com EXHIBIT NO. 20
11/16/10
Arpaio

Melendres
MCSO 076091

V
GOVERN
FROM THE DESK OF
REDACTED
JACKS
Jack
Saturday, May 24, 2008

Dear Sherrif Joe:
I have been an...admirer and fan...for many years!!!
Many years ago...I wrote to you...when you were "getting some
flack"...from both...the "New Times" and Arizona Republic"
regarding the MCSO chain gangs...both men and women.
* I wrote to... "applaud"...both you and your officers for
these efforts.
-Criminals...man or woman...put 'em to work cleaning/keeping
up our highways, sidewalks, streets and trash.
-GREAT WORK ON YOUR PART!!! Some of the local media had a
much different view...as you know...at that time.
Question: I do not see the chain gangs of late(some years
now)on the streets like I used to...what happened?

You kindly responded to my letter...with one of you own(some-
where in my files I still have it), your letterhead...thanking
me for my compliments, comments and thoughts.
I do deliver work(automobiles, flowers, trucks)all over the
Valley(N. E. W. S.)and..."SEE"...alot!!!

The illegals have returned...8-10...I observed...May 5-12...
to Guadalupe.
DO THE MESA, AZ SWEEPI!!! IT NEEDS IT TERRIBLY!!!
* Yes...the Mesa, AZ, police chief drags his feet and stalls
enforcing... "THAT WHICH THE MAJORITY VOTE and some of the
POLITICIANS...PUT INTO STATE and FEDERAL LAW"!!!
-Add the fact...that the head of Mesa's police union is a
Hispanic... "This is what you get from Mesa"!!!
I spoke with one of your MCSO officers(daytime...working yours)
in the area(s) of; Nortor's Corner as to why he did not nor
was not arresting...the 304 illegals that were on all four
corners...He said(quote)... "I can't just because they are
standing there". I told hm(quote)...I was going to write to
you and complain about his action(s)...actually...lack of!!!

EXHIBIT KC
13
11/15/10 Sands
PHOENIX 800-651-4668

He was of Hispanic origin(I was close enough to see his name
badge).
* As you may well know...Chandler(female police chief...yes?)
follows Mesa's "lead"...on the lack of effort "fighting the
illegal immigrant" issues...that are LAH!!!"
-S.E. Chandler...is RIFE...with illegals(I see them EVERY DAY)
EVERYWHERE; Ag and New Construction areas of...Nortons Corner
-Gilbert Road -South; Gilbert/Pecos, Gilbert/Queen Creek,
Gilbert/Ocotillo, Gilbert/Chandler Heights.
-Val Vista-South...SAME CROSS ROADS.
-Highly-South...
-Power Road-South... - - -

The "LOW/LACK" of MCSO presense...has allowed the illegals to
"settle in"... "Drop houses, apartments, shacks, hidden camps".
* The "LOW/LACK" of Chandler law enforcement...has allowed the
illegals to "survive" in the S.E. Valley!
* Small...Mid-size building contractors(brick layers, cement
workers, general labor, landscapers and some "ag" businesses
HAVE NO FEAR OF HIRING ILLEGALS!!!...because...NO enforcemen
from Chandler/Mesa PD and the "LOW/LACK" of MCSO officers...
(budget cuts, State cutbacks, federal cutbacks, etc.)...IS
VERY, VERY LOW...TO ALMOST NON-EXISTANT!!! I see it everyday

Sherrif Joe...SWEEP MESA, SWEEP CHANDLER, SWEEP S.E. CHANDLER,
SWEEP GUADALUPE(again), SWEEP CAVE CREEK(and the
church HIDING THEM), SWEEP EVERYWHERE!!!

You have my support...and...VOTE...come election day!!!!!!!!!!!!

Sincerely,
d.s.
John E. "Jack" S

PS: YOU WILL "WIN"...the absurd "New Times" lawsuit.
-Tell Mayor Phil Gordon... "Enforce the law...or...take a
hike"!!! Isn't there a re-call, in process, on him? If not
...should be...Phoenix voters said... "No illegals"!

*** I was going to give this to you...Book Signing...05/24
and your presense...was absent...due to cancellation.

-See you...*04/21*
Melendres
MCSO 076195

APPENDIX H
INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

Interviewer: Okay we're here with ***** to do an interview. I don't know the date but *[laughter]* we'd like to ask you a couple of questions about your background. Can you tell me a little bit about where you born and how long you've lived in Arizona?

Interviewee: I was born in Mexico and the border crossed me when I was seven years old.

Interviewer: Go ahead, *[laughter]* just be yourself...

[Laughter]

Interviewee: Okay, I was born in **La Piedad Michoacan**, Mexico. That is the southern state of Mexico and my parents brought me to Phoenix, Arizona when I was seven years old. I started second grade at Emerson Elementary and I continued my elementary, middle school education here in the state as well.

Interviewer: Why Phoenix?

Interviewee: Phoenix, this is the only place that I know outside of the place where I was born at. My parents never moved anywhere else so this is where so this is where we stayed.

Interviewer: How did they know to move here? Did you have other family here?

Interviewee: My dad had been in the United States before I was even born. He would travel back and forth and in '92 he decided to bring us to the US, but he had been in California and Arizona and we had family here too so this is where we decided to come.

Interviewer: Do you have a large family?

Interviewee: I have four brothers and a sister. They were all born in Mexico, except for the youngest one that was born here eight years ago.

Interviewer: Okay, and how old are you?

Interviewee: I am 25.

Interviewer: OK, can you tell me what a typical day is like for you? From the moment you wake up to the evening?

Interviewee: My days are I try to make myself busy. I wake up, sometimes I visit my niece and then I leave the house to go to a coffee shop, use the internet and work on some stuff. I just come back home and that's my day.

Interviewer: Okay, what kind of stuff do you work on?

Interviewee: Right now I'm working on a project trying to start a business with a friend of mine. I've been working on a website, on business cards, on menus because we're trying to start a catering business. That's what takes my time.

Interviewer: Okay can you tell me a little bit about how you got involved in the immigrant rights movement?

Interviewee: I got involved in the fall of 2006 after Prop 300 passed. I heard about a group of students that were organizing a huge rally in Glendale. Someone from MySpace 03:43 had gone to the same high school that I went to told me about the meetings at Union Hall and invited me into there.

She invited me to the meeting so I decided to go to see what was going on and then I found out that they were organizing this rally against Prop 300 even though it had passed already. I decided to get involved because I couldn't sit around and do nothing about it. I wanted to occupy myself in something and fight for my education. Which at the time was gonna be out of state tuition.

Interviewer: Can you tell me more about Prop 300 or what it does?

Interviewee: Prop 300 would charge out of state tuition to undocumented students that grew up in the state, that went through the whole school system in the state. They were gonna charge out of state tuition where before we paying what \$70 per credit and now we were gonna pay more than \$100 a credit. We can only take less than seven credits before they charge us the out of state tuition.

Out of state tuition right now is like \$100 bucks per credit if I take less than seven credits. If I take more than seven, it goes up to \$200, \$300 per credit. I would basically end up paying around \$3,500 for a semester when before I used to pay \$700.

A lot of us can't afford that because we can't get a job and therefore we can't go to school. That's Prop 300. *[Laughter]*

Interviewer: You were going to school at the time?

Interviewee: I was a full-time student. I was working full time too. I was paying my own way as well. After Prop 300 passed I had to go part time. Then I lost my job and I couldn't afford to go to school anymore.

Interviewer: How did you feel?

Interviewee: How did I feel? I felt that at that moment everything that I had worked for to come here, my parents brought me here for a better life. At one point I had a stable job and I was going to school full time and on my way to graduating. All of a sudden someone pulled the brakes on you and tells you okay you can't do this anymore. I felt very—

Interviewer: You can say it in Spanish.

[Laughter]

Interviewee: Very powerless, desperate at times because I wanted to continue my education and money was the one that was holding me from continuing and graduating.

Interviewer: Okay, so you said that somebody invited you to a meeting at a Union Hall. Can you describe what those meetings were like or what got you to go to that meeting? You felt you could do something there or—

Interviewee: Yeah, these meetings at Union Hall there were a lot of students in there that I guess felt the same way that I felt and wanted to do something about it. When I met every single one of them they encouraged me to stand up for the injustice that was approved in the ballot at that moment. It was a bunch of high school students, college students, some of them are citizens here and they had nothing to do with—like Prop 300 didn't affect them at all. They had friends and family members that it would affect too. They wanted to do something about it.

Since Prop 300 affected me I wanted to do something about it too and this group of students just encouraged me to fight for

what we had just lost. These students I don't think they have ever an experience of protest. I had never been to a protest myself. I had never organized an event or rally or anything. That's just something that they don't teach in school.

It was something new to me because we organized a rally, we had a press conference, we had to do flyers, we had to go out and invite people to join us for this rally. Throughout that time I got to meet a lot of interesting people and that taught me a lot and that I became friends with.

Interviewer: What kind of environment was it or what is it that you learned while you were there?

Interviewee: What is it that I learned? I learned to stand up for what was right or what we believed in. To just stick up for any injustice that was going on. Like Martin Luther King said [Cole 10:05](#), "Injustice—" what is it?

Interviewer: Anywhere.

Interviewee: "Injustice anywhere is injustice—

Interviewer: Is a threat to justice?

Interviewee: Yeah, that's supposed to be my favorite quote and I can't even quote it. Injustice—

Interviewer: Anywhere.

Interviewee: Anywhere is the threat to justice—

Interviewer: Everywhere.

Interviewee: Everywhere. That's basically what I learned at the time. We had to do something about it so we organized this huge rally in Glendale where the organizers were the students. We were trying to protest the colligate football team in Glendale at the Cardinal's stadium. They were spending all kinds of money in sports while they were raising our out of state tuition to someone that was raised in Arizona, this is the only place that they know, they call it a home and they're gonna have to be paying out of state tuition.

Interviewer: Did you feel that you had no other options? That's kind of a leading question, but did you feel like this was the only option you had to protest? Why not just get another job?

Interviewee: It was not the only option. I could have chose then not to do anything and just sit around. Thanks to that moment that I decided to go to that meeting. It opened my eyes to a completely different world.

Interviewer: Okay, can you say more about that?

Interviewee: It opened my eyes to different world in a sense that we only hear about protests and rallies against injustices in the history books. That's something that we never did in school like I said. It's something that I guess you learn and experience at the moment. That's something that a book can't teach you.

It opened my eyes to another world because after that proposition passed a whole other chain of anti-immigrant bills were coming along. That's something we had to fight for too or fight against.

Interviewer: Okay, can you describe what a typical day was like at that time for you once you were involved or you could say that this new world had opened up?

Interviewee: Well there's a couple of different things that I have throughout my whole experience. At the beginning I would wake up and then at some point in the day I was looking forward actually to go to these meetings and organize this event. Then we also did this on the weekends as the day got closer.

After the rally ended I still wanted to get involved and I did it with [Somos America 14:05](#). [Somos America](#), a lot of the members from [Somos America](#) helped us with the rally in Glendale. I started attending their meetings.

Interviewer: Is it an organization or?

Interviewee: [Somos America](#) is an organization of student groups, unions, community organizers fighting for immigrant's rights. My days at that moment I would look to Tuesday night to go to the [Somos](#) meetings to see what was going on, to hear about what [Russell Pearce 14:55](#) was cooking against us. I started

volunteering with Somos doing citizenship fairs and then eventually I got in it because I felt so passionate about it. That was my world.

I would wake up, go to work, we would organize the protest, we would organize the citizenship fair, a demonstration here, a demonstration there. That was my whole world.

Interviewer: What did you hope to achieve with these protests?

Interviewee: I hoped to open the liberal's eyes to see some sort of way, the human side on the immigration movement. They all say that we are here to use welfare, resources. That we come here to use their welfare, to use the taxpayers money, but that's not true because I was working. I was paying taxes. I was paying my own way through school, I was not on financial aid. Everything that they said was not true in my case.

What I wanted to achieve in that is opening everyone else's eyes. If they were in my same shoes, in the same situation they could get involved and make a difference. Not just sit there and cry about it.

Interviewer: Did you think that the protests were successful?

Interviewee: They were successful in an organizer's eyes, but in the long run I think they only affected us even more.

Interviewer: Okay, could you describe what the protests looked like?

Interviewee: A proven protest?

Interviewer: Just previous protests.

Interviewee: The main ones, so the Pruitt's Protest.

Interviewer: Do you remember what you first saw or smelled?

[Laughter]

Interviewer: Any sounds that stick in your mind?

Interviewee: The first protest that there was I didn't go. I didn't attend because the sheriff was in the area and at the moment I did feel afraid of going there. The next week I had to be there because I

had to see it with my own eyes. It's like an adrenaline rush that I needed that **drug 18:15**. I needed the **drug** because I was so used to it. The second Pruitt's Protest that I went to, it was my first one, it was around October of 2007.

The first thing that I saw was an empty parking lot at Pruitt's Furniture Store. A bunch of trucks blocking the view and the sidewalk and the first thing that I smelled I think it was cow manure.

[Laughter]

Interviewer: Cow manure?

Interviewee: Because the owners of the store they were going do gardening near the sidewalk which is public. They thought if they were going to be doing that the smell of cow manure was gonna keep us away from protesting every single weekend.

Interviewer: Can you back up and tell me a little bit about why you were protesting there?

Interviewee: We were protesting the furniture store because they hired a sheriff to patrol the area and specifically to act as security at their store because supposedly there were day laborers in the parking lot littering, asking for work. That was not true because Home Depot's like two blocks away and that's where the day laborers were at.

By Pruitt's hiring the sheriffs they were patrolling the complete neighborhood and they were intimidating people that live in the neighborhood, people that shopped in the area. They were like scaring them. That's why we decided to protest, because Pruitt's had brought the sheriffs into the area.

Interviewer: Okay, what area was this?

Interviewee: That was the 36th Street and Thomas.

Interviewer: In the Thomas area?

Interviewee: Mm-hmm.

Interviewer: They were patrolling that area, what else were they doing? Going after who?

Interviewee: They were going basically after brown people. They would pull over anyone that looked Mexican, Hispanic, Latino for any reason. If they found a cracked windshield, they would pull them over and then they would find out that person was here undocumented or not. They would take them in and get them deported.

Interviewer: How did that make you feel? Were you angry, afraid?

Interviewee: I was angry because I had a lot of friends and family that might be in the area just driving on a regular day going either shopping or whatever. All of a sudden they might be pulled over by a sheriff that might be asking them for their documentation if they're legal here or not. By us protesting I felt that they would go away. Because there was a lot of families in the area that might have been undocumented and they were pulled over. Their dad and that family lost a dad, lost a mom and the kids were gonna be left alone.

Interviewer: Okay, so once you started protesting are there any particular incidents that you remember when you were at the protest, anything that stuck out in your mind?

Interviewee: I remember that one day I got there, there were a bunch of Minutemen. At first it was just us but then the minute men heard about the protesters at Pruitt and they were gonna go. They went and offered their support. They made it every single weekend to the protest a bunch of bikers just yelling out us.

Interviewer: What are Minutemen?

Interviewee: The Minutemen, I don't know what—

Interviewer: Who were these people that were protesting?

Interviewee: These people are just like anti-immigrant people that protest.

Interviewer: How would you describe them visually, philosophically?

Interviewee: I think they're just like angry old veterans because that's all I've seen. Old veterans and their bikes, I don't know bitter about life and they take it out on undocumented people.

Interviewer: If you look up the definition of a Minuteman, a Minuteman is a member of teams of selected men from American Colonial Militia during the American Revolutionary War. What do you mean when you say Minutemen?

Interviewee: I guess they're trying to protect their country by patrolling the border with guns and if they find people that are crossing the border they take them into the border patrol. These people are armed, they have guns, they walk around with guns. Can you imagine a protest with Minutemen walking around with their guns? A protest at any moment could of turned into a massacre because they had guns and we didn't.

You also have your—what do they call it?

Interviewer: A skin head?

Interviewee: The skin head with their Nazi signs. They look very mean. They could of come up to any one of the protestors and started a fight and that would have been ugly.

Interviewer: You're saying at the protest there was two groups of people?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: One of them was these Minutemen, skin heads and then the other was you guys? How would you describe both groups? What were each doing?

Interviewee: The group I was in the protestors protesting Pruitt's, we were there to protest the sheriffs. The sheriffs [*speaking Spanish 26:44*] the sheriff's presence in the area. Then you have the other side, the Minutemen, the skin heads they're supporting the sheriff. Like I said at any moment a fight could of broken off in either part, but we were there peacefully. We were not armed. The other side was there yelling, screaming at the top of their lungs with guns.

Interviewer: What were some examples of things that they would yell?

Interviewee: They would yell, “Illegals go home”, “anchor babies.” What else? They would call us communists. I’m trying to think.

Interviewer: What else?

Interviewee: [Laughter] I’m trying to find it closer 28:19. I can’t think right now.

Interviewer: What were you thinking at the time?

Interviewee: What was I thinking at the time?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I had a camera. I was documenting everything. I documented everything in case something ever happened. They had signs saying, “Way to go, Sherriff Joe.” “No amnesty”, “A nation at war closes its borders”, and a lot of American flags.

Interviewer: How did that make you feel? What was your reaction? What were you thinking when you saw these signs?

Interviewee: Every time that I see these signs they make me feel that I’m not wanted here. I’m not wanted just because in their own mind I’m here to take advantage of their social services, take their tax dollars. Every time I see even a regular person in a leather jacket and a motorcycle with an American flag I admit that I think that they’re Minutemen. I guess that’s something that they do too every time they see a brown person they think they’re here, they’re illegal, they’re undocumented.

Interviewer: What was something personally going on in your life then if anything?

Interviewee: My life, the moment I was not working. Because I had a lot of time I dedicated a lot to organizing these protests. I was not working so I lived on my own. I had moved out of my parent’s house months ago. I was without a job, I had to pay bills. I don’t think I was attending school at the time because I couldn’t afford it. That was my life at that moment.

Interviewer: How would you describe how you viewed the immigration debate before the protest happened? How if at all has your view of protesting changed? What did you think of the

immigration debate before these Pruitt Protests and did they change after the Pruitt's Protest or if they didn't what is your view on immigration?

Interviewee:

I felt that by protesting and raising our voices someone in DC would hear the cry that we were doing here in Arizona, which is the most anti-immigrant state in the country. I thought it would help, it would call their attention and at some points I'm pretty sure everything that's happening here in Arizona has spread out and they know about it in Washington.

At the moment I wanted to raise my voice so they would hear us and then the protest ended and we were back to our regular life here in Arizona and nothing in regards to immigration was being done. Then after the protest I took on campaigning for Obama because he was the hope we were waiting for. He might be able to do something about immigration.

Eventually pass an immigration reform, but now that he's been in office for a year he hasn't done anything. I don't know, I still have my hopes up in Obama.

[Laughter]

Interviewer:

What are some important lessons from the protest or things you liked or didn't like or things you would of done differently.

Interviewee:

I don't think I would of done anything differently. Like I said this activist world opened my eyes to a lot of other things. I enjoyed being an activist and doing protests and getting civically engaged either to get out the vote, calling people and asking them to get out and vote regardless of their party. I felt that if I did that people were gonna go out and vote regardless of their party but of course me being an activist, a liberal *[laughter]* I thought that a lot of Democrats would vote for Obama and he would be able to bring us immigration reform.

Now that I see a lot of people getting involved again like I did. I'm glad that they're there because I'm not involved anymore. I have to focus on myself now. I have to go back to school. Figure out a way to go back to school since I can't get a job right now. I'm gonna leave the protesting and everything else to people that have the time to do it.

Not because I don't have the time, I just don't want to get involved anymore because it consumes your life.

[Laughter]

Interviewer: Okay, did you feel that you gained something from it?

Interviewee: I gained a lot of—how do I say this? I got to meet a lot of people. I got to enjoy the activism world. I got to learn a lot of things. I got civically engaged and I can't even vote. *[Laughter]*

Interviewer: What did you learn about yourself?

Interviewee: What I learned about myself? What did I learn about myself?

Interviewer: It sounds like you're at a crossroads.

[Laughter]

Interviewee: I don't know what I learned about myself.

Interviewer: Does it make you sad to talk about it?

Interviewee: I guess.

[Laughter]

Interviewee: I guess because I got to do a lot in a short period. I think I've done a lot more in those two years than I've ever done in my life. That's what I feel.

Interviewer: Why step away from it? Why step away?

Interviewee: Because like I said it consumes your life. You're basically an activist 24/7. If you have a personal life, you have to put that aside and make this your life because you're so passionate about it. I decided to step aside now because I feel there are more people involved now. It's like I passed down the—what do you call it?

Interviewer: *[Laughter]* I know what you mean, but I don't know what it's called.

[Laughter]

Interviewer: Like you felt like you raised your voice already and now it's some other people's turn?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: What do you think about everything that's going on? It seems like you think things have gotten worse or?

Interviewee: I think they got worse because at one point we were there to protest the sheriff to take 'em out of a certain neighborhood but now he's all over the state. That only triggered him in going and doing even more crime suppression sweeps. That's what he calls them but it's the immigration roundup that he does.

Every time that he does one of these he goes out and pulls people over for meaningless things like a broken taillight, you don't have a light in your license plate. That's an excuse to pull you over and if you are Hispanic, undocumented or not. If you're undocumented, you're gonna be deported. He's racially profiling.

I think the protests triggered him into going out in other neighborhoods and doing the same thing he was doing there. Also we were there at the crime suppression sweeps monitoring every single stop. People with cameras, with a clip board taking notes about what was going on. One thing is documenting, another thing is protesting at the site where he's at.

I don't think he should get the attention. We already gave him the attention and every time that he does the crime suppression sweeps there's two parts of it. One is a headquarters for people send out patrols to patrol.

[Laughter]

Interviewee: Record everything that's going on and every time people get pulled over then another one is protestors protesting the command center. I think if the sheriff wants to do the crime suppression sweeps, okay well let him do it. We shouldn't go out and protest every single fight. We can do our own monitoring on the side because that just gives him more attention.

Every protest turns into a circus. I forgot what I was going to say.

Interviewer: When things have got worse.

Interviewee: Oh yeah, so that's how I seen that things have gotten worse.

Interviewer: That they've turned into just like you guys are just observing, watching what he's doing or parading around?

Interviewee: We should just do the observing, not the protesting. That's another reason that I don't go out and do the command post.

Interviewer: You think that there's other ways to protest or what is your—

Interviewee: Yes, I think the observations is a way of protesting because we are recording everything that he's doing. At some point he might be tangled in his own web because he might pull over a citizen and they might not have an ID and they're brown and he's gonna arrest them. There's another one of the many lawsuits that he has against. That's another way of protesting. Not just like giving him the attention he asks for every time he does a crime suppression sweep.

Interviewer: Okay, let me go back to the part where you were talking about the two groups of protesters. What were some of the signs that you guys held when you guys were protesting, your group? Do you remember? Just like what kinds of things were you guys chanting or saying?

Interviewee: There was one specifically that sticks out, it said, "Arizona is the" I'm thinking about Birmingham, Alabama. "Arizona is the next Birmingham, Alabama" because people were being racially profiled. Another one was like, "We are not criminals" and I can't remember any other.

Interviewer: Basically you've seen ones with what? You were just to protest [aurtoro 43:50](#).

Interviewee: We were protest—the signs—

Interviewer: What did you want people who saw you to think? Or was it about them? Was it about just being there for your own sake or was it about the people that drove by or was it for the sheriff? Who was the audience?

Interviewee: The audience was the people driving by. Letting them know that the sheriff in the area and it was not safe for them to be driving because they might get pulled over and ask for their documentation. I said that we were there protesting the sheriff. We were protesting his presence in the area.

Interviewer: Were you trying to tell the sheriff you're not welcome here?

Interviewee: Yeah, because I guess the sheriff's area is the whole county, but in the outer city limits. We have a Phoenix Police Department for the city and they don't even do that. The police does not go around pulling people over for random things, asking them for their documentation.

Interviewer: Okay. *[Laughter]* Let's see we talked about the protest, we talked about where you're from. What does education mean to you?

Interviewee: I just feel pursuing an education or when I have the money I take one or two classes, but it is important for me to finish college because I am the first one—

Interviewer: To go to college?

Interviewee: To pursue a higher education in my family. In my family out of all my siblings there's only two that graduated high school and one of them. I'm the first one to go to college. It is very important for me to graduate, I don't care how long it takes. Just to show my parents that their, how do you say?

Interviewer: Their effort?

Interviewee: Their efforts to bring us here for a better life were worth it.

Interviewer: What are some things that have influenced you to think this way?

Interviewee: In regards to education?

Interviewer: Mm-hmm, you said your parents—

Interviewee: My parents have elementary school education and since they risked our lives getting us across the border I don't think me stopping and giving up in school doesn't feel right.

Interviewer:

Yeah. How would you define who you are? Do you consider yourself American or Mexican or how do you define your identity?

Interviewee:

I guess I became Americanized until a point in my life that I realized that I was Mexican. Because I grew up celebrating, no celebrating but we celebrate the Fourth of July but it's not like a huge barbeque or anything. We don't even celebrate the Mexican Independence Day.

I became Americanized in middle school and high school listening to all of this English pop. The music, the radio, the TV shows, Thanksgiving, but now that I'm grown I guess I am Mexican. I am not American. I mean I am American in the sense that Mexico is in North America, but not because I live in the United States that does not make me an American. I am Mexican.

Interviewer:

Do you give the word American a negative connotation or?

Interviewee:

I don't because I don't why they even they call it the United States of America, why not the United States of Mexico? I mean the United States of Mexico in America or something like that. Because Canada, the United States and Mexico are all part of North America so for every single European we are Americans regardless of we're from the United States.

It's not a negative connotation per say but I guess I don't know why the Minutemen are the Republicans, anti-immigrants say that we are not American. They are Americans because like I said it's North America. I guess I am an American too because of North America, but I am Mexican.

Interviewer:

You're just proud of who you are.

Interviewee:

Yes.

Interviewer:

Okay, one question. Who is it that you are? Who are you?
[Laughter]

Interviewee:

I am ***** from ***** Mexico and I'm just Mexican. I'm just someone that's struggling to I guess accomplish that American dream.

Interviewer: Okay.

[Laughter]

Interviewer: Okay, thank you.

[End of Audio]

APPENDIX I

ARPAIO'S SAMPLE TESTIMONY EXCERPTS FROM ORTEGA

MELENDRES V. ARPAIO

Q. Now, you told Lou Dobbs that being called KKK means you're doing something. What you were referring to includes your saturation patrol activities, correct?

A. No.

Q. Includes your creation of the HSU?

A. No.

Q. Your call-in line?

A. No.

Q. You think it's proper to consider the fact, in devising your policies, that illegal immigrants in the overwhelming majority in Maricopa County come from Mexico, is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. You think that 99 percent of them come from Mexico, is that right?

A. I don't have the statistics.

MR. YOUNG: Let's play another video, PX 357, from

October 22, 2009, an NBC 12 story about you.

(Video clip played as follows:)

"SHERIFF ARPAIO: It's not politically correct to say

this. Where do you think 99 percent of the people come from? We happen to be next to the border. I mean, I would love – we did catch four Chinese people."

"QUESTION: In your experience, by and large, do the Mexicans, the illegal immigrants who come into Arizona have brown skin?

"ANSWER: Well, if you are talking about the Hispanics, as a rule how they get here, yes, they do have certain appearances.

"QUESTION: And those appearances are readily observable, skin color?

"ANSWER: Yeah."

Q. In fact, your office believes that you can figure out who

an illegal immigrant is by their speech and the clothes they

wear, is that right?

A. There's other criteria. If you're talking about the people being smuggled into the -- Maricopa County from Mexico, they're illegally crossing the border.

Q. But you can tell, at least in part, from their appearance, their speech, and the clothes they wear, that they're illegal immigrants, in your view, is that right?

A. These are criteria that the ICE, federal government, has.

Q. You were interviewed by John Sanchez on CNN back in 2009,

is that right?

A. Yes.

MR. YOUNG: I'm going to play PX 410A for you. Please

take a look.

(Video clip played as follows:)

"JOHN SANCHEZ: But you just said you detain people who haven't committed a crime. How do you prove that they're not illegal? "SHERIFF ARPAIO: It has to do with their conduct, what type of clothes they're wearing, their speech. They admit it. They -- they have phony ID's. A lot of variables involved.

"JOHN SANCHEZ: You judge people and arrest them based on their speech and the clothes that they're wearing, sir?

"SHERIFF ARPAIO: Well, when they're in a vehicle with someone that has committed a crime, we have the right to talk to those people. When they admit they are here illegally, we

take action.

"JOHN SANCHEZ: But you just told me -- let's go back here. You just told me that you arrest a people and turn them over to the feds even if they haven't committed a crime.

"SHERIFF ARPAIO: The federal -- no, they did commit a crime. They are here illegally.

"JOHN SANCHEZ: But how did you know they were here illegally? And then you went on to tell me it's because of the clothes they wore.

"SHERIFF ARPAIO: Well, you look at the federal law. The federal law specifies it's the speech, the clothes, the environment, the erratic behavior. It's right in the law." (Tr. at 362:4-363:2)

(Video clip played as follows:)

"GLENN BECK: I'm trying to understand this. They said that you can't enforce the federal law, so how are you going to enforce it and still be a man of your word?

"SHERIFF ARPAIO: Because I'm going to enforce the state laws, and there is a federal law that they don't seem to understand is there --

"GLENN BECK: Which is?

"SHERIFF ARPAIO: -- that I will enforce also.

"GLENN BECK: Which is what?

"SHERIFF ARPAIO: Which is if local law enforcement comes across some people that have a erratic or scared or whatever --

"GLENN BECK: Demeanor?

"SHERIFF ARPAIO: They're worried --

"GLENN BECK: Yeah.

"SHERIFF ARPAIO: -- and that they have their speech, what they look like, if they just look like they came from another country, we can take care of that situation. But I don't need that anyway, Glenn.

"GLENN BECK: Wait. Wait. Wait. Hang on. Hang on.

"SHERIFF ARPAIO: I can still do the job.

"GLENN BECK: When was that -- when was that law written? Because all I hear about is that sounds like profiling, and the government is saying --

"SHERIFF ARPAIO: Well --

"GLENN BECK: -- you can't profile anybody.

"SHERIFF ARPAIO: Well, that law in 1996, part of the -- the comprehensive law that was passed, it's in there." (Tr. at 363:23-364:25) As trial testimony further demonstrated, MCSO officers believe that unauthorized aliens are Mexicans, Hispanics, or Latinos. (Tr. at 359:11-14, 991:23-992:4.) As Defendants acknowledged at the summary judgment stage and in their post-trial briefing, many MCSO officers—as well as Sheriff Arpaio—testified at their depositions that most of the unauthorized immigrants they have observed in Maricopa County are originally from Mexico or Central or South America.⁶ (Doc. 453 at 150, 151 ¶¶ 28-30, 36.)

"SHERIFF ARPAIO: And certain criteria, there's no identification, look like just came from Mexico, and they admit it, so that's enough."

BY MR. YOUNG:

Q. Sheriff, that's also you, correct?

A. Yes.

ARPAIO SAMPLE TESTIMONY EXCERPTS

ON LETTERS FROM CONSTITUENTS & SATURATION PATROLS

A. You know, I delegate these operations to my staff and my officers. I don't get involved in their activities. They make the decision on how to pursue and enforce these and other laws.

When I send this -- these letters, doesn't mean that I agree with them or have anybody take action. I just send this information to my subordinates so they can look at it. So I don't agree with every letter that I receive.

"What right does he have to investigate people based on the color of their skin, or the accent or the way they look," said Phoenix attorney Antonio Bustamante. Profiling? Give me a break. During World War II my little Italian mother was en route to Tucson by train to marry my father. There was rumor about an Italian Mata Hari on the train. Mommy, Vye Del Duca, was pulled off the train and interrogated along with all the other Italian women on board. While she said it was frightening, she believed it was the right thing to do.

Q. The first paragraph of that letter, 241, says, quote: The United States federal government has totally failed the American people by not controlling the southern borders for 50 years. All Anglo-Americans are in danger of losing our entire way of life, end quote.

A. Yes.

Q. And you sent the author of that letter a thank you note, correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Let's go to PX 26 --

A. Doesn't mean I agree with the contents.

Q. The second paragraph says, as for being a racist against Mexicans, this is the most ridiculous thing we have heard. Stopping Mexicans to make sure they are legal is not racist, because our state is a border state to Mexico.

Q. Now, we discussed Chief Sands, who runs your enforcement activities, and who also oversees your saturation patrols and other illegal immigration operations, is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, there's an e-mail that is there which is part of what you forwarded to Chief Sands from Dr. J. It says: Hi Captain, here are some pics from the latest protest, 11-17-07, across the street from Pruitt's. You recall there being some issues about day laborers congregating near Pruitt's furniture store.

A. About criminal activity, yes.

Q. Well, there were day laborers there, correct?

A. The information we received, yes.

Q. And the second sentence of the e-mail says: Note the --and referring to the pictures - - note the unpermit mariachi band that no one would tell to move or leave, even though they did not have a permit. And then it says: These illegal activists are putting on a freak show and getting away with it.

BY MR. YOUNG:

Q. So you see the language about the freak show there, Sheriff?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, you subsequently did some major crime suppression and saturation patrol operations in the area that's discussed in this e-mail?

Q. Well, I'm just referring to the area, and the area around Pruitt's furniture store, in that general vicinity, you did do a number of major operations, correct?

A. Yes.

Q. This is a press release dated January 18, 2008, about a crime suppression operation in Central Phoenix. And it focuses on the area between 16th and 40th Streets and Indian School and McDowell Roads. This relates to the same issue that existed near Pruitt's furniture store, correct?

A. Yes.

Q. That letter that you received from business owners in the area, you gave it to Chief Sands and you asked him to take care of it, is that right?

Q. You gave that letter to Chief Sands and asked him to take care of it?

A. I may have. I'm sure if I did distribute it, it went to him.

Q. And he did take care of it, right?

A. I believe he did.

Q. Well, let's -- let's not do that. Let's look at what's written there. And that last sentence says: The posse volunteers and deputy sheriffs will not racially profile anyone in this operation.

And then the quote from you continues: Still, I anticipate that many illegal immigrants will be arrested as this Central Phoenix neighborhood remains a popular spot for day laborers.

You see that?

A. Yes.

Q. You're aware that Chief Sands cannot think of an instance where the MCSO arrested a day laborer who was not Hispanic? And I'll -- I'll tell you in fairness that your attorneys and ours have stipulated to that fact in the pretrial order, paragraph 84.

Are you aware of that fact, that Chief Sands cannot think of an instance where the MCSO has arrested a day laborer who was not Hispanic?

A. No.

Q. Were you aware that Deputy DiPietro, Deputy Rangel, and Chief Sands and Lieutenant Sousa all believe that most day laborers in Maricopa County are Hispanic? And that's, again, paragraph 82 of the pretrial order. Were you aware of that?

Q. Now, you did another sweep in this same area later in the spring on March 21 to 22, 2008?

I think this is also known as 36th Street and Thomas. Do you recall that?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, a week after that you did another sweep at Cave Creek and Bell Roads, is that right, on March 27 to 28, 2008?

A. I don't have the dates in front of me, but if you say it's so, I'll take that.

Q. You've heard of the group United for a Sovereign America?

A. I'm not too familiar with that group.

Q. But you've heard of it, correct?

A. I believe recently.

Q. You're briefly familiar with United for a Sovereign America as a group that's against illegal immigration, correct?

A. I'm not sure what their whole programs or philosophy is, but I did learn that they wanted to do something about illegal immigration.

Q. Now, there were some people from United for a Sovereign America at the Sunnyslope VFW where you spoke the night before you publicly announced your Bell Road operation, is that right?

A. I don't know who was in the audience. I don't check everybody out when I give a speech, or ask for their identification.

Q. Well, you also told the people at that gathering that the good news is that all these people are leaving, and they're going to other states or back to Mexico.

Did you say that --

A. I may have.

Q. -- that evening? You may have?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, I'll tell you there was a news story written by Stephen Lemons, who wrote that you were asked that question at that time, and that you said you had no problem because you

talk to everybody. Does that refresh your memory?

A. I may have said --You talking about Lemons of the New Times?

Q. Yes.

A. I did -- I may have said I do talk to everybody. That's my philosophy.

Q. Now, Mr. Lemons did a news story where he said that at the meeting at the VFW, there were people there from the group United for a Sovereign America. Does that

refresh your memory? Do you deny what he says? A. No, I don't know who was at that VFW. I mean, I'm speaking

before the VFW. I said before, I don't ask everybody who they are, where they're from. I speak to everybody.

Q. Okay, that -- that's good. I'm sure that people appreciate

Q. Now, you did some sweeps in -- in Mesa, too, correct?

A. Suppression operations.

Q. Now, I'll tell you that your attorneys and we have agreed that you did major operations in Mesa on June 26 and 27 and July 14, 2008.

Q. I'll do it again, and I apologize if I've been unclear.

There's this comment that you put a mark next to that says: Nobody gets all the Mexicans hanging out on Mesa Drive. And that's from a call that came in on September 20, 2007. Do you see that?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, in June and July 2008 you did some major operations in Mesa, correct?

A. About nine months later, you're talking about?

Q. I haven't counted.

You're the final decision maker at the MCSO, correct?

A. Yes.

Q. If you issue your instructions, those instructions are the final word at MCSO on whatever it is that you've instructed on, is that right?

A. I delegate to my staff. They carry out my mission, usually on an independent basis.

Q. But if you issue instructions, those instructions are the final word at MCSO, is that right?

A. I establish the policy, and it's up to my staff, employees, to carry it out.

Q. Sheriff, you gave your deposition on December 16, 2009, in this case. At page 66 you testified as follows, starting at line 2: "In other words, as the final decision-maker if you issued instructions, your instructions would be the final word at MCSO?"

"ANSWER: Yes."

Q. Now, on page 2, Jack asks you to -- where it says Sheriff Joe in all capitals, it says, Sweep a whole bunch of places, Mesa, Chandler, southeast Chandler, Guadalupe, Cave Creek, sweep everywhere. Do you see that?

A. Yes.

Q. You in fact had saturation patrol operations in those areas, didn't you?

A. I don't think we went into Chandler.

Q. Okay. But as to the others you think you did go?

A. Guadalupe and Cave Creek, yes, and Mesa.

Q. Now, you sent Jack here a thank you letter in which you said that you shared his concern about issues relating to illegal immigration, is that correct?

A. I say that -- that's a basic letter that I write to everybody.

Q. Well, in your note on this letter, though, you say that you will be going into Mesa.

A. That's my note.

Q. And in fact, you did go into Mesa, didn't you?

A. I think we'd been there before 2008, and I'm sure we'd been there three, four times.

Q. Well, as we discussed -- well, first of all this letter's dated May 24, 2008. You went into Mesa about a month later in late June, and then you did another operation in July 2008. Do you remember that?

A. If those are the dates.

Q. I'll tell you those are the dates. You personally attended one or more of those operations in Mesa, correct?

A. I wasn't involved in the operation, but I was there, I believe.

APPENDIX J
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

To: Mary Romero
WILSN

From: Mark Roosa, Chair
Soc Beh IRB

Date: 08/12/2009

Committee Action: Exemption Granted

IRB Action Date: 08/12/2009

IRB Protocol #: 0808004213

Study Title: Immigration Raids Under the 287G Agreements and Activism Opposing

Immigration Law Enforcement

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) (4) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.