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The Boundaries of Belonging

Online Work of Immigration-Related Social Movement Organizations

Bernadette Nadya Jaworsky

Cultural Sociology

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The Boundaries of Belonging

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To the memory of Iwan and Nadja Jaworsky

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Series Editor Preface

The Boundaries of Belonging makes significant contributions empirically and theoretically. Certainly, Jaworsky is the first to document the massive online political discourse currently devoted to American immigration, for and against. The Internet is central to contemporary cultural-political communication, and this pioneering work demonstrates how to study its agenda-setting power. Jaworsky's contributions go beyond merely documenting this virtual contestation. Through massive exposure and creative interpretive readings, she provides a sophisticated hermeneutical reconstruction of this contest's central organizing themes: family, citizenship, and values.

These shared themes point to the theoretical achievements of *The Boundaries of Belonging*. Arguments about family, citizenship, and values revolve around the kind of sacred-versus-profane conflict that the Strong Program in cultural sociology places at the center of modern life. Jaworsky shows that these binaries provide shared symbolic references for both sides of the immigration fight. The issue is not what sacred values matter, but how continuing immigration undermines or supports them.

For this symbolic contestation to be properly understood, Jaworsky demonstrates, social movement theory must be connected to cultural sociology, and she conceptualizes the synthesis here. She also connects Strong Program ideas about binaries and symbols to the discussion of boundaries in current ethnicity theory. The blurring, crossing, shifting, maintaining and solidifying social-cum-legal boundaries that sociologists of ethnicity have revealed, Jaworsky demonstrates, can occur only in relation to binary symbolic structures that define the morally sacred and the immorally profane.

This exciting book will have a wide audience among social scientists specializing in immigration and social movements, as well as among cultural sociologists and generalists concerned with sociological theory.

Jeffrey C. Alexander

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Writing a book is hardly a solitary effort. I have been nurtured and supported by many individuals along this journey. From the moment I first visited the website of the Center for Cultural Sociology at Yale University, I have known that being a *cultural* sociologist would be the "calling" for my midlife career change. I have been fortunate enough to have Jeffrey C. Alexander as a mentor and a friend to help me navigate the shift to academic life. I am very grateful for his continued support, from his sage guidance as my dissertation adviser to his strong encouragement in the process of actualizing this book. Other influences at Yale, including those of Ron Eyerman and Philip Smith, along with my colleagues at the Center, have contributed to my development as a scholar and researcher.

At Masaryk University, I have been able to further develop as a cultural sociologist. The heads of the sociology department, first Radim Marada and then Csaba Szalo, have been incredibly supportive, both practically, in adjusting to life in the Czech Republic, and collegially, in allowing me tremendous academic freedom in teaching and research. A very generous postdoc grant under the program "Employment of Newly Graduated Doctors of Science for Scientific Excellence" (grant number CZ.1.07/2.3.00/30.0009), co-financed from European Social Fund and the state budget of the Czech Republic, has provided me the opportunity to research and write this book. And my heartfelt thanks go out to one colleague in particular here at the department. Werner Binder has endured my constant questions about cultural sociology and its application to "real life." He undertook a

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Finally, my theoretical interest in the "boundaries of belonging" reaches back to my childhood. As the daughter of immigrants raised in an ethnoreligious community, I grew up constantly pondering what it meant to be an "American" at the same time that I was a Ukrainian Catholic. I only wish my parents, Iwan and Nadja Jaworsky, were here to witness the outcome of all that contemplation. Their spirit is forever with me.

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List of Organizational Acronyms

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)
American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF)
Americans for Immigration Control, Inc. (AIC)
Americans for Legal Immigration PAC (ALIPAC)
America's Voice (AV)
Center for Immigration Studies (CIS)
Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA)
Dream Action Coalition (DAC)
Evangelical Immigration Table (EIT)
Fair Immigration Reform Movement (FIRM)
Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR)
Justice for Immigrants (JFI)
League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)
Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS)
Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF)
National Council of La Raza (NCLR)
National Day Labor Organizing Network (NDLON)
National Immigrant Youth Alliance (NIYA)
National Immigration Forum (NIF)
National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR)
Negative Population Growth (NPG)
Numbers USA (NUSA)

People Improving Communities through Organizing's Campaign for Citizenship (PICO)
Progressives for Immigration Reform (PFIR)
Reform Immigration for America (RIFA)
Service Employees International Union (SEIU)
Tea Party Patriots (TPP)
United We Dream (UWD)

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CHAPTER 1

Debating Immigration

As I complete this book, immigration to the United States is in the limelight, catapulted onto center stage by presidential hopeful Donald Trump's remarks announcing his candidacy on June 16, 2015: "When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they are bringing those problems to us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people" ("Trump" 2015). These harsh words have peppered the headlines all summer, and his popularity has hardly waned as a result. In fact, the cornerstone of Donald Trump's plan for immigration reform, which promises to "make America great again," receives the support of a majority of US voters. When asked about building a wall on the US-Mexico border, 51 percent of likely voters feel the United States should do so (37 percent disagree and 12 percent are not sure); the number surges to 70 percent among Republicans (Rasmussen 2015b). Indeed, voters overwhelmingly find that "illegal immigration" poses a challenge to their country, with 80 percent rating it a "serious problem" (Rasmussen 2015c).

The words of Pope Francis, uttered a few months later during a visit to the United States, reflect an entirely different positioning:

> On this continent, too, thousands of persons are led to travel north in search of a better life for themselves and for their loved ones, in search of greater opportunities. Is this not what we want for our own children? We must not be taken aback by their numbers, but rather view them as persons, seeing their

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> faces and listening to their stories, trying to respond as best we can to their situation. To respond in a way which is always humane, just and fraternal. ("Address of the Holy Father" 2015)

The pope, who calls for welcoming those that cross the southern border of the United States, is wildly popular among US Catholics and non-Catholics alike. A *Washington Post*-ABC News poll finds, "Nearly 3 in 4 Catholics hold a strongly favorable view of the pope… Even among Americans with strongly unfavorable views of the Catholic Church, Francis is seen positively by 50 percent of them" (Rosenwald et al. 2015). And even though people worry about border security and "illegal immigration," support for the pope's compassionate stance seems strong. When asked by various pollsters about whether those in the country illegally should be granted legal status, strong majorities (about two-thirds or more) are in favor of such a plan (Jones 2015b; Meckler 2015; PEW 2015a). Moreover, immigrants are seen as a "good thing" for the country by 73 percent of US adults (Dugan 2015). Ambivalence and contradictions prevail among polls on immigrants and immigration issues.

Even if the US public seems to have mixed feelings about immigration, especially when it comes to so-called "illegal" immigrants, those who engage in immigration-related activism have a clear and strong vision about the issue. Immigrant rights activists laud the pope, believing that he has encapsulated the very ideals of the country. As Frank Sharry, executive director of America's Voice (AV), puts it: "He captured the essence of our nation and the *core values* of our society in a way that challenges our leaders to transcend the political polarization of the moment and build a better future for the quiet, hardworking and dispossessed among us" (emphasis mine).[1] The Fair Immigration Reform Movement (FIRM) statement on the pope's address offers a legal answer (a path to citizenship) to a moral problem (deportation and detention): "We stand with the Pope in the call for humanity and cooperation in such a way to make the conditions of immigrants more humane. This includes an end to unjust deportations and detention and the recognition of our humanity by way of comprehensive immigration reform that provides a clear path to citizenship and family unity."[2] Like Donald Trump, these activists seek "immigration reform," but they see his recommendations as "one of the most disturbing and costly policy plans ever released by a Republican or Democrat."[3] As with their response to the pope, they again appropriate the nation's principles: "His plan is offensive to America's *core values* of family, fairness and inclusion"

(emphasis mine).[4] United We Dream (UWD) intertwines issues of legality with concerns about morality: "His position, the mass-deportation of people like me and my parents and millions more immigrants across the country, is morally wrong and goes against the values of this county."[5] It seems that considerations about the legal status of immigrants are never far away from thoughts about right and wrong.

Activists who would limit the number of immigrants coming into the country take the pope to task. Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) President, Dan Stein, declares: "While the pope's exhortation that we 'treat others with the same passion and compassion with which we want to be treated,' should be universally embraced, his assertion that 'We must not be taken aback by their numbers,' is problematic."[6] Stein also offers a legal solution to a moral problem, but the locus of concern is entirely different: "Numbers do matter. They matter greatly. Immigration does not just affect immigrants. Immigration deeply affects the receiving countries and the settled populations of those countries. That is precisely why the United States and virtually every nation on earth has immigration laws and sets limits on the number of people who are accepted for admission."[7] In this case, the "settled populations" of the United States, presumably citizens and legal immigrants, must be protected by the law. And apparently, such populations feel strongly about being "deeply affected" by immigration, as Bob Dane, also from FAIR, explains: "Trump's statement reflects the outrage and powerlessness the public feels about an issue that is spiraling out of control which the other candidates are dancing around. When Americans speak freely about immigration they're often ignored, marginalized and demonized. Trump's statements—while not delicate or entirely factual—tapped into that raw emotion."[8] The moral implication is clear: "Americans" are being treated unfairly and unjustly by being "ignored, marginalized and demonized." Furthermore, the lack of concern for the laws that protect the nation's borders opens the door to dangerous consequences: "Most are not drug smugglers, or rapists. But the same open borders that have allowed millions of people to enter illegally in search of jobs, incontrovertibly allow dangerous criminals to enter as well."[9] In short, both sides are concerned with law and morality, even as their discourses on immigrants and immigration diverge so drastically.

Clearly, it is more complex than saying there are two respective movements that are "pro" and "anti" immigrant. Looking at the ways in which activists make meanings and share them with their audiences reveals that they actually draw upon similar conceptions of what role law and morality should

play in a democratic nation state. What they *are* polarized about, however, is how immigrants fit into the picture, in particular unauthorized[10] immigrants. So it indeed appears that there are two antagonistic movements, even if they rarely address each other directly. The fact that the unauthorized population is represented so differently—"undocumented immigrants" versus "illegal aliens"—speaks volumes about how each movement thinks they should be treated. Solutions range from recognizing rights and granting a path toward formal belonging (citizenship) to mandating removal from US soil, whether through deportation or attrition that results in voluntary departure. In this book, I explore the ways in which organizations within these two factions, which I will refer to as the immigrant rights (IR) and the immigration control (IC) movements, represent immigration issues in "American" society.[11] More precisely, I am interested in how these organizations engage in symbolic boundary work, which includes *blurring*, *crossing*, *maintaining*, *solidifying*, and *shifting*. I look at the ways in which moral and legal criteria interact in these processes along three dimensions—family, citizenship, and values. Although scholars have looked at morality and legality as aspects of symbolic boundary work, there is little work, if any, that looks at how they interact in the process.

Increasingly, one of the strategies employed by both IR and IC activists is the use of Internet websites and social media to spread their messages and solicit calls for action. Both seek the help of potential participants, from signing online petitions or contacting legislators to engaging in offline activities. The former may be seeking to assist a single immigrant about to be deported and the latter may be campaigning to "defund" the entire project of Obama's 2014 "amnesty." In either case, according to some of the activists responsible for such pleas, the virtual reach may extend into the millions for their audiences. Even as physical participation remains crucial, as Earl and Kimport (2011) assert, with the advent of virtual technologies, more collective action takes place without co-presence than ever before. In this book, I develop a cultural sociological analysis of the online materials deployed by social movement organizations (SMOs) debating immigration in the United States. Utilizing data collected from 29 national-level SMOs in 2014, I explore the ways in which online texts and visual symbols contribute to the movements' boundary work.

The Research Context: A Nation of Immigrants and Immigration-Related Activism

Looking at the online work of immigration-related SMOs is an important undertaking in a country where immigration is part of the fabric of its national identity. The United States has long had a reputation as a "nation of immigrants," but boundaries have been drawn between the foreign born and the native born, solidifying and loosening at various points in the country's history. In order to provide the context for the contemporary boundary work I will elaborate in this book, this section provides a brief overview of immigration trends and the historical development behind the immigration-related activism that is the focus of this study.

The United States is home to a large number of immigrants, a total of 42.4 million in 2014, representing 13.3 percent of the population (US Census Bureau 2015). This percentage nearly mirrors that at the turn of the twentieth century, which, at its peak in 1890, reached approximately 15 percent (Zong and Batalova 2015a). The country-of-origin composition has varied considerably, with European-origin immigrants comprising the vast majority until 1965, when restrictive legislation enacted in the 1920s was reversed. Since the Hart-Cellar Act of 1965, which lifted national-origin quotas, immigrants have arrived increasingly from Latin America and Asia. For decades, Mexico has been the top sending country, but in 2013, after 10 years of decline in Mexican immigration, China has surpassed Mexico. The 1,201,000 arriving immigrants for 2013 include 147,000 from China, 129,000 from India, and 125,000 from Mexico; Korea, the Philippines, and Japan were also top sending countries that year (Jensen 2015).

A substantial proportion of immigrants in the United States are unauthorized, estimated at 11.3 million, or about 28 percent of all foreign-born residents (Passel et al. 2014). The vast majority (71 percent) comes from Mexico or Central America; another 14 percent are from Asia (Rosenblum and Ruiz Soto 2015). Sixty percent of the unauthorized population lives in just six states—California, Texas, Florida, New York, New Jersey, and Illinois—and while the numbers are increasing along the East Coast, in Western states, they are declining (Krogstad and Passel 2015). Unauthorized adults have been in the country for a median time of nearly 13 years; as of 2012, about one-fifth had been present for 20 years or more. Consequently, many—about four million—are parents of US-citizen children (Passel et al. 2014).

The United States has had, to varying degrees and at varying times, an ambivalent, love-hate relationship with immigrants and immigration (Hoenig 2001; Sohoni and Mendez 2014). One the one hand, there is a strong legacy as a "nation of immigrants." As Bonnie Hoenig (2001) argues, immigrants have served as agents of founding and renewal, not least because America is a "consent-based" regime. The "supercitizen immigrant" is an object of identification and "outright adoration": "He works harder than we do, he values family and community more actively than we do, and he also fulfills our liberal fantasy of membership by way of consent" (ibid. 2001, 77–78). On the other hand, immigrants, especially the unauthorized, have been long been constructed as a threat to the nation, most notably after major immigration restrictions in the 1920s contributed to the creation of the "illegal alien" (Ngai 2004; see also Chavez 2013). Today, this "threat" wears a largely Latino face; for 2013, 46 percent of the total legal immigrant population reports Latino or Hispanic origin (Zong and Batalova 2015a) and an estimated 77 percent of unauthorized immigrants come from Latin American countries (Rosenblum and Ruiz Soto 2015). Public opinion confirms what Chavez (2013) calls the "Latino Threat Narrative." Utilizing data from a series of nationally representative, survey experiments among white, non-Hispanic Americans, Hartman, Newman and Bell find that "transgressions such as remaining in the country without legal documentation, working without paying taxes, and failing to support traditional symbols of American culture and identity, are considered more offensive if committed by Hispanic than non-Hispanic immigrants" (2014, 145).[12] And a plurality (37 percent) of US adults surveyed say that the impact of immigrants from Latin America is negative, as compared with just 9 and 11 percent for immigrants from Europe and Asia (PEW 2015b, 55).

It is only recently, over the past 30 years, that there has been organized mobilization specifically to give voice to this marginalized group and advocate for its rights. Many of the roots of the current activism lie in the "sanctuary" movement of the 1980s, in which religious and faith-based groups worked to protect asylum seekers from Central America that were being denied refuge.[13] Hundreds of congregations participated in the movement, with some offering physical sanctuary as well as legal advice to those in danger of being deported (Chinchilla et al. 2009). At the same time, activists were also tasked with helping immigrants navigate the bureaucracy of the 1986 amnesty[14] of approximately three million unauthorized individuals; the term "immigrant rights" then entered the

lexicon (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Salas 2008). In 1994, there were large mobilizations in California, against the passage of Proposition 187, which sought to ban unauthorized immigrants from public services such as health care, social services, and public schools (the law, although passed, was later declared unconstitutional). This period saw the formation of coalitions and collaborations among labor, community organizations, and different ethnic/racial groups, which presaged their cooperation in the massive mobilization in the spring of 2006 (Flores-González and Gutiérrez 2010, 10). A number of marches and other collective actions, such as Coordinadora 96, the first national demonstration for immigrant rights held in Washington, DC, occurred over the next decade, along with the formation of the National Coalition for Dignity and Amnesty, a grassroots coalition dedicated to obtaining amnesty for the unauthorized population (ibid., 13–17). The 2003 Immigrant Workers' Freedom Ride (IWFR), a coordinated group of buses filled with union members and supporters traveling from multiple cities to Washington, DC, helped lead to the creation of an immigrant rights "counterpublic,"[15] not only through the development of organizational infrastructure but also through the continued activism of many of the Riders (Sziarto and Leitner 2010). Labor unions had only recently signed on to the cause of immigrant rights, spearheaded by the AFL-CIO's 2000 reversal of its prior restrictionist position (Milkman 2011).

In 2006, immigrants and their supporters hit the streets in unprecedented numbers. The passage of the Sensenbrenner bill (HR4437) by the House of Representatives in December 2005 had set off waves of panic. The bill would have made it a criminal felony to live in the United States illegally and criminalized those who provided aid to unauthorized immigrants, such as family members or health and social service workers. The response represented one of the largest mobilizations to date in US history, with massive marches taking place in March, April, and May of 2006. An estimated 3.5–5.1 million participated in actions taking place across the entire country (Bada et al. 2006, 36). Shaw describes it as "arguably the most politically significant use of nationwide direct action in U.S. history" (2013, 210). Not surprisingly, in 2006, a large number of IR coalitions, from the local to the national level, were established; Jiménez (2011, 283) cites 49 new coalitions. In addition to the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) and the emergence of anti-immigrant legislation like HR4437, Jiménez (2011, 274–8) notes several other factors that help explain the rise of IR coalitions: local law enforcement

collaboration with the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency, ICE raids, and an increase of Latino immigrants in nontraditional settlement states.

Although the tremendous momentum of the 2006 marches waned, there has been a steady increase in the mobilization and advocacy on behalf of immigrants. Overwhelmingly, the primary concern has been comprehensive immigration reform that would legalize as much of the unauthorized population as possible, preferably through citizenship. Various iterations of such reform have been introduced in Congress in the 2000s but none has successfully been passed into law. The election of Barack Obama gave hope to many, since he committed to undertake immigration reform in his first year in office, a promise quickly overshadowed by the healthcare policy debate. The DREAM (Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors) Act was passed by the House of Representatives in 2010 but failed to bypass a filibuster in the Senate.[16] In 2012, however, the movement saw a substantial victory, when the Obama administration announced the DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) program, which provided temporary deportation relief to DREAMers who qualified.[17] One year later, in June 2013, the Senate passed an immigration reform bill that encompassed many of the demands within the IR movement, but it languished in the House. Finally, in November 2014, Obama announced further deportation relief, expected to benefit more than four million unauthorized immigrants. As of the completion of this book, the expanded DACA and new DAPA (Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents)[18] programs are on hold, due to a temporary injunction issued in February 2015 by a federal district court judge in Texas and upheld by a federal appeals court in May 2015. A hearing on the appeal was held in July 2015, with the three-judge panel finally ruling in November against the administration, making the next step the US Supreme Court.

Efforts to control or restrict immigration have emerged at different times in US history, from the nativist "Know-Nothing" Party in the 1850s[19] and the eugenicists at the turn of the twentieth century to those concerned with overpopulation in the 1970s. Two of the SMOs in my sample emerged at this time, Negative Population Growth (NPG), established in 1972, and FAIR, established in 1979. They were among the foundational organizations in the contemporary movement to restrict immigration, which began to flourish in the 1980s, reaching a peak in the mid-1990s and again in the mid-2000s. But such groups have been concerned with more than overpopulation and its consequences; Nevins (2002, 95) has noted the focus on

the threat to the cultural homogeneity of the United States among the early groups within the contemporary movement. But overwhelmingly, economic considerations have come to predominate among restrictionist arguments on immigration (Gleeson 2015).

As Feagin (1997) has pointed out, contemporary IC activists have enjoyed important legislative victories, starting with the employer sanctions mandated by IRCA in 1986. Eight years later, Proposition 187 in California passed with a substantial majority—60 percent (Jacobson 2008, 88). Even though it was never implemented, the significance of its success cannot be underestimated. In 1996, federal welfare reform legislation, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, restricted access to public benefits by legal and unauthorized immigrants. Proponents, opponents, and scholars alike have noted that the inclusion of the provisions for limiting welfare to immigrants was in no small part due to the impact of Proposition 187 (ibid., 87). Calavita has proposed that the passage of Proposition 187 heralded "renewed nativism, the intensity of which has not been seen since the beginning of the century" (1996, 300).

The more recent upsurge in the IC movement in the mid-2000s came about partially as a result of 9/11(Massey and Sánchez R. 2010), within a policy context of increased border fortification and interior enforcement, immigration restrictions, and the surveillance of immigrant populations (Rodriguez 2008). Cook (2010, 153–154) has argued that nativists defined the debates on immigration in the early to mid-2000s, through website appeals, talk radio, and television "news"; what made their voices so powerful was a combination of economic, security, and legal arguments that stir anxiety and build on insecurities. But the 2006 marches may also have played a role, contributing to increased recruitment by citizen militia groups like the Minuteman Project[20] and the emergence of local efforts to counter the growing political engagement of immigrants (Steil and Vasi 2014, 1109). Perhaps the most well-known success for the movement at that time was initiated by NumbersUSA (one of the organizations in my sample) in June 2007, in response to a major immigration reform proposal before Congress. In what the Southern Poverty Law Center's Heidi Beirich (2007) called a "stunning victory," the onslaught of e-mails, phone calls, and more than 400,000 faxes shut down the Senate's phone system (Sessions 2012), effectively killing the bill's chances. In addition, various groups have spearheaded hundreds of pieces of legislation at the state and local level, from Hazleton, Pennsylvania's Illegal Immigration Relief Act in 2006 to Arizona's "Show Me Your Papers" law in 2010.[21]

Since reaching a zenith in the mid-2000s, the IC movement has arguably experienced a shift. Burghart and Zeskind (2012) have charted a decline in what they call the "Nativist Establishment" and a rise in "anti-immigrant" activism among Tea Party organizations. In their report for the Institute for Research on Education & Human Rights, they reported that FAIR's membership fell by 58 percent from its high in 2007 to a new low in 2011, and that "active local anti-immigrant groups" and Minuteman organizations fell by more than half from 2010 to 2011 (ibid., 2).[22] A "measurable number" of the leaders of such groups, they asserted, had moved over to Tea Party groups, fostering the emergence of a heightened nativism. They also predicted that "anti-immigrant" activism would likely flourish as a result because the Tea Party movement is "larger and more significant that the Nativist Establishment ever was, even at its height" (ibid., 2). The most recent impulse toward immigration control has come from the arena of electoral politics, with Republican candidates for president in 2016 taking hardened stances on limiting the number of immigrants and strengthening enforcement.

Even though they are often labeled as part of the "new nativism" (see, e.g., Perea 1997; Jacobson 2008), many groups within the IC movement have strived to shed nativist or "anti-immigrant" associations. For example, FAIR, which was designated a hate group in 2007 by the Southern Poverty Law Center (Beirich 2007), emphasizes, "Most importantly, FAIR has, from its founding, stood for the proposition that there should be no immigration policy based on favoritism toward, or discrimination against any person on the basis of race, creed, color, religion, gender or nationality."[23] NumbersUSA (NUSA), perhaps the most important player in the movement, dedicates an entire webpage to say "No" to "immigrant bashing."[24] A number of the groups highlight the diversity of their membership, such as Americans for Immigration Control, Inc. (AIC), which presents itself as an "American, non-partisan grassroots organization with more than a quarter of a million members—citizens of all races, creeds and colors."[25] I have purposefully refrained from casting judgment on the organizations in my sample by referring to them as part of an "anti-immigrant" movement. But they indeed represent a "movement." Although they vary in their ideologies or viewpoints on immigrants, following Roxanne Doty, I believe that "in terms of their agendas and goals, a sufficient degree of commonality exists so as to justify using the term 'movement'" (Doty 2009, 43; cf. Ward 2014). I see them as organizations

in the immigration *control* movement, based on what I view as their primary mission.

Methodology: Studying the Immigrant Rights and Immigration Control Movements

For this study, I utilized qualitative methodology, which would allow me to reconstruct in detail the structures of meaning within my data. In addition to the formal coding procedure described below, I performed multiple close interpretive readings of the data to reveal meaning-making patterns and culture structures, or collective representations in the Durkheimian sense. Initially following the inductive logic of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967)[26] or a "bottom-up" approach, I looked for patterns that emerged from the data, such as the representation of immigrants as "hard workers" by the IR movement or "job stealers" by the IC movement. I then moved on to abductive analysis, an approach that "rests on the cultivation of anomalous and surprising empirical findings against a background of multiple existing sociological theories and through systematic methodological analysis" (Timmermans and Tavory 2012, 169).[27] I moved from the "surprises" within the patterns I had located toward hypotheses about their broader meaning. At that point, I submerged myself in theories about symbolic boundaries because they seemed to provide a framework that would best "fit" my discoveries. For example, I had expected to find that IC activists worried a great deal about the threat immigrants' purported lack of assimilation posed to American culture, since previous literature had found this to be the case. Instead, I found that legality was the primary concern. But legality was constantly refracted through moral lenses—it simply wasn't fair to break the law. By bringing in theory and understanding their meaning-making processes as a form of boundary work involving both legal and moral criteria, I was able to explain the anomaly and hypothesize why legality, and not assimilation, was such an important condition for symbolic inclusion as a "good" immigrant.

Data Collection

The bulk of the data collection occurred in two phases. First, January 2014 was the collection point for the website and social media materials I analyzed from the IR movement, including home pages, "About Us" and

"Frequently Asked Questions" pages, statements about comprehensive immigration reform, selected press releases and blog posts, and photographs. I then looked at their Facebook and Twitter pages for all of 2013 (and further back depending on the level of activity) to get a sense for the type of posts each organization generated and how often they engaged in social networking. I also watched YouTube videos for those groups that had a channel. For approximately the next five months (January through mid-May 2014), I followed the organizations' Facebook and Twitter accounts daily to collect additional material, focusing primarily on photos and graphics. A strong focus on visual symbols is intentional. As Sztompka (2012) has pointed out, we live in a society of icons, and every sociologist must develop a visual imagination. In an age of rapid surfing and clicking, the visual offers a chance to attract the online viewer quickly, capturing her attention to hopefully engage and participate in some sort of action, whether signing an online petition or committing to offline involvement.

I coded the materials simultaneously with data collection, utilizing Atlas TI qualitative analysis software, adding data from the five-month monitoring of social media and occasional revisits of the websites, until reaching theoretical saturation (Glaser 1978). Beginning with a round of open, descriptive coding, I moved on to developing conceptual categories as various analytical themes emerged. Writing analytical memos along the way helped me to increase the level of abstraction and crystallize the structures of meaning within the data. In total, I analyzed 160 primary documents and 581 photos/graphics from the IR movement.

The second wave of data collection occurred after I decided to expand the study to include the IC movement. This decision came on the heels of a massive increase in the number of unaccompanied child migrants in mid-2014, mostly from Central America. There was an upsurge in activity from this movement in response to the transport of the children from the border to different parts of the country. Activists across the country rallied and even stood in front of buses, the type of direct action I was unaccustomed to seeing from this side of the debate. I then chose to enlarge the scope of my inquiry to include those who were representing immigrants and the issue of immigration reform in ways diametrically opposed to the IR movement (even if they don't necessarily address each other directly). In October 2014, I collected website and social media data in the same manner as I did with the IR movement, monitoring their activity until the end of February 2015. Altogether, I coded and analyzed 122 primary documents and 97 photos. Although the number of organizations in the sample was

less than half that for the IR movement (9 vs. 20), there were nearly as many primary documents because some of the websites were extremely active. The number of visuals, however, was drastically lower than among the IR SMOs, and they were more homogenous, with certain themes (e.g., the border) repeating constantly through only slightly different photos.[28]

I also decided to capture data for both movements at significant moments after my initial collection, either when something occurred to prompt increased debate and online activity, such as the period immediately following President Obama's November 2014 announcement of the DAPA and extended DACA programs, or when immigration issues came to the forefront of mass media, such as the European "migrant crisis." I collected the immediate social media responses from each organization in the sample and then monitored the daily activity for a period of approximately one month to see if anything appeared on the websites.

The Organizations

I triangulated several methods to choose my purposive samples of SMOs[29] for this study: Internet search engines, hyperlinks from their websites (snowball sampling), and a search of news media and scholarly work on the topic. In addition, I called upon my own knowledge of the most important groups at the national level, since I had followed both movements since 2005. Focusing on the national level allowed me to obtain breadth and reconstruct the various strands of the debates about immigration. I chose to focus on SMOs because they possess a (relatively) stable presence online, they make claims on behalf of their constituents, and collectively, they can both represent and shape the preferences and subpreferences of a social movement (on the latter point, see McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1218–19). At the same time, I was cognizant of the fact that, as Leitner and Strunk (2014) point out about the IR movement, "[a]lthough such national organizations tend to speak for immigrants during immigration reform debates, the base of the immigrant advocacy movement is the plethora of sometimes highly localized, but networked, nonprofit, religious, and civic organizations and groups" (2014, 351; cf. Costanza-Chock 2014).[30] Moreover, I was also aware that the online face of the IR and the IC movements is certainly broader than just the materials produced by SMOs. As Jennifer Earl (2013) put it, "[A]nyone sampling online material based on an organizational frame needs to be very clear in their findings, discussion, and conclusion that the findings can only speak to

what organizations do online, not to what a movement in general looks like online." Nevertheless, I believed that what SMOs "do online" represents an important aspect of the contemporary movements related to immigration, warranting cultural sociological attention precisely because they do tend to speak for their constituents in national-level contexts.

The Immigrant Rights Organizations What does the IR movement in the United States look like? It is a loose coalition of various types of groups: national, state, and city-level advocacy and civil rights organizations, trade unions and labor organizations, churches and faith-based organizations, and alliances of youth. The groups in my sample mirror this coalition, but with a focus on national-level organizations. For this study, I sort the SMOs into analytical categories based on their primary purpose (see Table 1.1). Their actions may overlap; a group that lobbies legislators may also engage in protest or civil disobedience and vice versa. Nevertheless, I utilize these types as heuristics to see if there is an association between the type of organization and its online materials. There are some (mostly slight) differences in the SMOs' production of cultural structures; overall, I find considerable convergence in the meanings.

Lobby and lawsuit organizations utilize existing channels for social change, lobbying legislators to enact immigration reform or challenging existing laws through the judicial system. They also disseminate facts and figures and other types of information, producing tool kits for action, fact sheets concerning immigration "myths," special reports, and public opinion polls. The groups I have categorized under Direct Action seek more immediate change, for example, appealing to President Obama to use his executive powers and provide deportation relief for unauthorized immigrants. Their members are active participants in the public sphere, whether engaging in civil disobedience like blocking the buses taking people into detention, or organizing sit-ins at the offices of legislators and hunger strikes. The Call to Faith organizations are comprised of faith-based activists of both liberal and conservative leanings.

The Immigration Control Organizations The IC movement in the United States is similar to the IR movement in that it is a coalition of national, state, and local groups. However, it is much more homogenous with regard to the type of organization. Most groups are organized around the principle of reducing or controlling immigration; this was the case for

Table 1.1 Immigrant Rights SMOs, by type

Name, abbreviation, and URL	*Encapsulating statement*
Lobby and lawsuit	
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) https://www.aclu.org/issues/immigrants-rights	The ACLU Immigrants' Rights Project is dedicated to expanding and enforcing the civil liberties and civil rights of immigrants and to combating public and private discrimination against them.
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) http://www.aflcio.org/Issues/Immigration	[T]he AFL-CIO supports a comprehensive, worker-centered approach as part of a commonsense immigration process.
America's Voice (AV) http://americasvoice.org/	The mission of America's Voice (AV) and America's Voice Education Fund (AVEF) is to harness the power of American voices and American values to enact policy change that guarantees full labor, civil and political rights for immigrants and their families.
League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) http://lulac.org/programs/immigration/	The Mission of the League of United Latin American Citizens is to advance the economic condition, educational attainment, political influence, housing, health and civil rights of the Hispanic population of the United States.
Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) http://www.maldef.org/immigration/index.html	MALDEF is at the forefront of the battle to create and preserve the rights of those in search of economic opportunity and personal freedoms in America.
National Council of La Raza (NCLR) http://www.nclr.org/issues/immigration/	We believe in fighting for our community and for an America where economic, political, and social advancement is a reality for all Latinos.
National Immigration Forum (NIF) http://immigrationforum.org/	The National Immigration Forum is one of the leading immigrant advocacy organizations in the country, with a mission to advocate for the value of immigrants and immigration to the nation.
National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR) http://www.nnirr.org/drupal/	The National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR) works to defend and expand the rights of all immigrants and refugees, regardless of immigration status.
Reform Immigration for America (RIFA) http://reformimmigrationforamerica.org/	Reform Immigration for America is the online component of a united national effort organized under the banner of the "Alliance for Citizenship" that brings together individuals and grassroots organizations with the mission to build widespread support for workable, humane, comprehensive immigration reform.

(*continued*)

Table 1.1 (continued)

Name, abbreviation, and URL	*Encapsulating statement*
Service Employees International Union (SEIU) http://www.seiu.org/immigration/	SEIU believes in a society that values the contributions of aspiring citizens and recognizes the integral role that new Americans play in our past, present and future.
Direct action	
Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA) http://www.chirla.org/	The Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA) was formed in 1986 to advance the human and civil rights of immigrants and refugees in Los Angeles; promote harmonious multiethnic and multiracial human relations; and through coalition-building, advocacy, community education and organizing, empower immigrants and their allies to build a more just society.
Dream Action Coalition (DAC) http://drmactioncoalition.org/	It is the mission of the Dream Action Coalition (DRM) to advocate for just immigration policies by confronting decision-makers and empowering and educating our immigrant communities and allies across the country.
Fair Immigration Reform Movement (FIRM) http://www.fairimmigration.org/	The Fair Immigration Reform Movement is a national coalition of grassroots organizations fighting for immigrant rights at the local, state and federal level.
National Day Labor Organizing Network (NDLON) http://www.ndlon.org/en/	NDLON aspires to live in a world of diverse communities where day laborers live with full rights and responsibilities in an environment of mutual respect, peace, harmony and justice.
National Immigrant Youth Alliance (NIYA) http://theniya.org/	The National Immigrant Youth Alliance (NIYA) is an undocumented youth-LED network of grassroots organizations, campus-based student groups and individuals committed to achieving equality for all immigrants, regardless of their legal status.
United We Dream (UWD) http://unitedwedream.org/	We seek to address the inequities and obstacles faced by immigrant youth and believe that by empowering immigrant youth, we can advance the cause of the entire community—justice for all immigrants.
Call to faith	
Evangelical Immigration Table (EIT) http://evangelicalimmigrationtable.com/	The Evangelical Immigration Table is a broad coalition of evangelical organizations and leaders advocating for immigration reform consistent with biblical values.

(*continued*)

Table 1.1 (continued)

Name, abbreviation, and URL	*Encapsulating statement*
Justice for Immigrants (JFI) http://www.justiceforimmigrants.org/index.shtml	[T]he U.S. Catholic bishops' Justice for Immigrants: A Journey of Hope campaign is designed to unite and mobilize a growing network of Catholic institutions, individuals, and other persons of good faith in support of a broad legalization program and comprehensive immigration reform.
Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS) http://lirs.org/	Witnessing to God's love for all people, we stand with and advocate for migrants and refugees, transforming communities through ministries of service and justice.
People Improving Communities through Organizing's Campaign for Citizenship (PICO) http://www.campaignforcitizenship.org/	The Campaign for Citizenship, a project of PICO National Network, represents immigrant families and people of faith who are working together to win citizenship for 11 million aspiring Americans who are our family members, friends and neighbors.

seven of the nine groups in my sample. Negative Population Growth, as its name implies, is concerned primarily with the effects of overpopulation, and the Tea Party has a broad political agenda, which ranges from getting rid of "Obamacare" (if not Obama entirely) to overhauling the tax code and limiting what it sees as "big government." Unlike the IR movement, IC SMOs do not engage in online calls to action that go much beyond asking for Facebook likes or retweets; occasionally, there are pleas to call legislators or sign online petitions. The organization of rallies, marches, and lobbying efforts presumably takes place at a more local level.[31] Accordingly, I sort the national-level SMOs in the IC movement a bit differently. Rather than group them according to their pragmatic purpose, I divide them into two categories of ideological purpose: Expressiveness and Information Sharing (see Table 1.2).

The SMOs I have grouped under Expressiveness seek above all to make their positions known. Certainly, they also engage in information sharing (especially with sensationalist statistics) but this is not their primary purpose. They articulate and justify their positions in a way that reveals their need to be heard. Information Sharing groups are truly powerhouses of information, surpassing many within the IR movement in terms of the production

Table 1.2 Immigration Control SMOs, by type

Name, abbreviation, and URL	*Encapsulating statement*
Expressiveness	
American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF) http://www.aicfoundation.com/	AIC Foundation, founded in 1983, is one of the nation's oldest immigration reform organizations.
Americans for Immigration Control, Inc. (AIC)[a] http://www.immigrationcontrol.com/	AIC, founded in 1983, is an American nonpartisan grassroots activist organization with more than a quarter of a million members—citizens of all races, creeds, and colors.
Americans for Legal Immigration PAC (ALIPAC) http://www.alipac.us/	Our mission at ALIPAC is [to] unify Americans of every race, party, and walk of life against illegal immigration and amnesty in an effort to save every single job, taxpayer resource, election, and life we can from the negative impacts of this corporate sponsored invasion.
Negative Population Growth (NPG) http://www.npg.org/	NPG (negative population growth) is the ideal of a turnaround in U.S. and world population growth until we approach less destructive and more tolerable levels, perhaps at numbers that were passed two or more generations ago.
Progressives for Immigration Reform (PFIR) www.progressivesforimmigrationreform.org	Progressives for Immigration Reform exists to protect low-skill, low wage American workers from unemployment and wage suppression caused by unfair labor and trade practices, including importation of large numbers of low wage foreign workers who are subject to exploitation by foreign and domestic corporations working in the United States.
Tea Party Patriots (TPP) http://www.teapartypatriots.org/issues/immigration/	We envision a nation where personal freedom is cherished and where all Americans are treated equally, assuring our ability to pursue the American Dream.
Information sharing	
Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) http://www.cis.org/	Since our founding in 1985, we have pursued a single mission—providing immigration policymakers, the academic community, news media, and concerned citizens with reliable information about the social, economic, environmental, security, and fiscal consequences of legal and illegal immigration into the United States.

(*continued*)

Table 1.2 (continued)

Name, abbreviation, and URL	*Encapsulating statement*
Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) http://www.fairus.org/	The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) is a national, nonprofit, public-interest, membership organization of concerned citizens who share a common belief that our nation's immigration policies must be reformed to serve the national interest.
NumbersUSA (NUSA) https://www.numbersusa.com/	NumbersUSA Education & Research Foundation provides a civil forum for Americans of all political and ethnic backgrounds to focus on a single issue, the numerical level of U.S. immigration.

[a]This organization appears to be closely related to the American Immigration Control Foundation. Because it maintains a separate website presence, I have decided not to lump them together

of reports and statistics. These organizations can also be noted for their Expressiveness, as will be evident throughout the rest of this book, but their overarching *stated* goal is the dissemination of accurate and truthful information about immigration to multiple audiences. As the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) puts it, "[W]e have pursued a single mission—providing immigration policymakers, the academic community, news media, and concerned citizens with reliable information about the social, economic, environmental, security, and fiscal consequences of legal and illegal immigration into the United States."[32] The Information Sharing SMOs are routinely cited within news media, and some even boast members that have provided testimony before Congress. There is an important difference between the IC and the IR SMOs with regard to their categorization: I find much more convergence in the type of discourse among the former. It is as if the Information Sharing groups have Expressiveness as their base, with the information-sharing mission layered on top of that.

What's also notable about the IC movement is its reputation as "anti-immigrant," racist, nativist, xenophobic, or bigoted. One of the SMOs in my sample (FAIR) has even been designated as a "hate group" by the Southern Poverty Law Center (Beirich 2007), and others (Americans for Legal Immigration PAC, American Immigration Control Foundation, NumbersUSA) fall on its list of "anti-immigrant groups" (SPLC 2015).[33] I have decided not to label either movement as "anti" or "pro" immigrant.

My goal in this study is to reveal the culture structures that organizations within both movements put forth, not to pass judgment on them.[34] There is a body of scholarship that undertakes this task, exposing very well the racism and nativism within the IC movement (see, among others, Sohoni 2006; Jacobson 2008; Hayden 2010; Flores-Yeffal et al. 2011; Bloch 2014; Gemignani and Hernandez-Albujar 2015). I have, however, omitted from my sample organizations that are overtly and blatantly anti-immigrant, such as VDare and The Social Contract Press. These extremist voices no longer seem to be regular contributors to the national-level conversation, as they may have been in the past.[35]

Road Map to the Book

The next chapter outlines the theoretical basis for this study. The primary goal of Chap. 2 is to bring cultural sociology into conversation with social movement scholarship. After a brief look at how the role of culture has evolved in social movement studies, I look at the ways in which scholars of the IR and IC movements in particular have conceptualized culture. I then turn to the literature on the moral and legal dimensions of symbolic boundaries, highlighting how I build upon and contribute to such scholarship. Finally, I introduce the concept of boundary work, looking at the processes of blurring, crossing, and shifting, as well maintaining and solidifying. The theoretical novelty of this study lies in its focus on the interaction of moral and legal criteria in the boundary work of immigration-related SMOs. The chapter closes with a discussion of the online context for such boundary work.

In the following three chapters, I elaborate the symbolic boundary work performed online by national-level SMOs in the IR and IC movements. For each of its three dimensions—family, citizenship, and values—I utilize a point-counterpoint structure in which I introduce a theme from the IR movement and detail its cultural structure, and follow with the corresponding theme from the IC movement. I do not weave the two sets of findings together because even if they address the same issues, the two groups of SMOs don't address each other directly. The concluding chapter, which speculates on the potential implications of the SMOs' boundary work, does integrate the findings by placing the movements in potential conversation with each other.

In Chap. 3, I look at boundary work having to do with families. I elaborate two culture structures, "family unity" and "family separation,"

which are represented mainly through children. "Standing in" as political actors in their own right, children are the central focus of family-based discourses in both movements. For the IR SMOs, children act as representatives of the whole movement; most of the visual representations of actions such as marches, rallies, and protests highlight the youngest participants in the quest to maintain family unity. Children also represent the fate of separated families, which have been "torn" or "ripped apart." The boundary work consists of blurring as well as crossing. By invalidating the act of family separation altogether, through moral criteria, the legal boundary is dissipated. But in the meanwhile, individuals should be allowed to cross, through preventing their deportation or detention. For the IC SMOs, children are potentially dangerous social agents, the pawns of their parents. Not only do US-born "anchor babies" qualify undeserving families for public assistance, they also grow up to be political agents that vote and affect the political fate of the country. The boundary work around this issue reveals the desire to solidify inadequate closure around the nation, through elimination of birthright citizenship. And although in moral terms, family unity is important—in fact one of the only reasons to allow (legal) immigration, sometimes separation is warranted. Through enforcement, the nation can protect the sanctity of its border and maintain a firm legal boundary around the American family. The SMOs of both movements indict politicians for their lack of action when it comes to protecting families.

Chapter 4 addresses the institution of citizenship, which is the most talked-about topic in all of the discourse. From the IR side, the culture structure "civic-economic participation" (Jaworsky 2015) justifies formal belonging for unauthorized immigrants. Because they work hard and contribute, these deserving de facto Americans have succeeded in crossing a symbolic boundary. But it is not enough for only certain individuals to have earned a "path" toward citizenship; the boundary needs to shift to accommodate all of the unauthorized and grant them legal status. The IC side believes there is no way to earn formal belonging except through legality. Maintaining a firm boundary around citizenship will help prevent the problems "illegal aliens" bring. The culture structure "consequences of amnesty" is constructed through constant itemization of all the "costs" of "illegal" immigration. Because citizenship has a "price" that is largely economic, both sides marshal statistics to buttress their arguments for and against granting it to unauthorized immigrants. The true bottom line,

however, is that citizenship must be earned—alongside its legal aspects, it is a profoundly moral category of belonging.

In Chap. 5, I look at the values espoused by the SMOs, which can be (analytically) separated into two levels of articulation: the national and the universal. The culture structure "American values" consists of the same trio for both the IR and the IC SMOs—freedom, fairness, and opportunity. The nation itself is also represented through talk of American values. The IR side celebrates the country's legacy as a "nation of immigrants," blurring its symbolic boundary to accommodate everyone. The IC side reveres the very idea of nationhood, which must be protected by maintaining its boundaries. The boundary work of the IR SMOs reveals another culture structure—"universal values," which encompasses justice, equality, dignity, and respect, and embodies conceptualizations of human and other rights. The arena of religion is also important to a number of the IR groups, offering the culture structure "welcoming the stranger." At the end of the chapter, I discuss how American and universal values come into play when discussing refugees, a topic that surfaced only occasionally at the time I collected data, but which has gained significance as I complete this book. Not surprisingly, along the dimension of values, the work of maintaining boundaries by the IC SMOs and blurring boundaries by the IR SMOs calls upon morality, which is both explicitly and implicitly expressed.

To conclude, Chap. 6 offers a look at the potential implications of all the boundary work taking place around immigration and highlights the contribution of the Strong Program in studying this issue. As I summarize the findings, I note the similar ideas that underlie the justifications of both sides, even as their boundary work differs so drastically. I also demonstrate how the three dimensions of family, citizenship, and values, separable only analytically, actually interact within the discourse of the SMOs. Although the reception of this discourse is not the primary focus of this study, I feel it is important to speculate on social movement "success," even if it is notoriously difficult to measure. Looking at the political outcomes and cultural consequences of mobilization reveals a complex landscape of "results." Both sides can claim victories, the intensity of which ebbs and flows. This situation warrants future research, not least because the stakes are so high. More than 11 million immigrants live in a social limbo, in which the boundaries of belonging are closed to them, and tens of millions of Latinos live their lives marked as a "threat" (Chavez 2013), whether they are immigrants or not. At the same time, many Americans have fears or worries about immigration, and believe it should be decreased. Such fears and

worries can result in ugliness and violence against immigrants or people assumed to be immigrants. For meaningful social and political change to occur, meaning itself needs to be at the center of the academic scholarship addressing the movements that seek to affect it.

Notes

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10. I use the term "unauthorized" rather than "undocumented," as the latter is something of a misnomer—only about half have crossed the border illegally—the remainder have documents such as expired visas or border cards.
11. While acutely aware that the United States is not the whole of the American hemisphere, for the remainder of the text, I generally dispense with quotation marks around the term "American," using it in the vernacular to refer to the United States.
12. Even though the terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" encompass different groups, they are often used interchangeably in the United States.
13. At the time, Central American asylum seekers were caught in the net of Cold War politics; thus, Salvadorans fleeing a right-wing regime had a difficult time achieving refugee status, while those fleeing the Marxist-inspired Sandinista government in Nicaragua did not.
14. Besides its legalization provisions, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 criminalized employers that knowingly hired or recruited the unauthorized, requiring them to verify a worker's immigration status, and increased enforcement at the US-Mexico border.
15. Sziarto and Leitner (2010) build upon Nancy Fraser's (1990) concept of "subaltern counterpublic," or the alternative publics comprised of subordinated social groups such as women, workers, peoples of color, and gays and lesbians. They define a subaltern counterpublic as "a political space—simultaneous and perhaps interacting with, but separate and somewhat autonomous from the hegemonic public sphere—that allows individuals to come together

to voice their grievances, needs, and desires within particular venues" (Sziarto and Leitner 2010, 83).

16. The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, which in some version has been before Congress repeatedly since it was first introduced in 2001, targets unauthorized youth brought to the United States as young children for legalization of status. The various qualifications for a path to permanent residence have included an age cap (35 in the 2010 version), having come to the United States at a young age (15 or under in the 2010 version) and resided in the country for five years or more, possessing a high school diploma or GED, and demonstrating good moral character (Congress.gov n.d.). Those who would qualify have come to be known as "DREAMers," with the implication that because they have grown up in the United States, they are American in every way except legal status. And according to Chávez and Anguiano, they truly naturalize the myth of the American Dream, by conjoining the two disparate identities of DREAMer and American (2011, 89). I discuss this group further in Chap. 4.
17. According to the USCIS (2015c) website, the following guidelines determine qualification for the program. They read, "You may request DACA if you:

    1. Were under the age of 31 as of June 15, 2012;
    2. Came to the United States before reaching your 16th birthday;
    3. Have continuously resided in the United States since June 15, 2007, up to the present time;
    4. Were physically present in the United States on June 15, 2012, and at the time of making your request for consideration of deferred action with USCIS;
    5. Had no lawful status on June 15, 2012;
    6. Are currently in school, have graduated or obtained a certificate of completion from high school, have obtained a general education development (GED) certificate, or are an honorably discharged veteran of the Coast Guard or Armed Forces of the United States; and
    7. Have not been convicted of a felony, significant misdemeanor, or three or more other misdemeanors, and do not otherwise pose a threat to national security or public safety."

18. President Obama's executive order expanded DACA by removing the age cap and extending its period for work authorization from two to three years. It also created the DAPA program, which allows parents of US citizens or legal permanent residents to request deferred action and obtain work authorization as long as they had been in the country continuously since January 1, 2010, passed background checks, and were not an enforcement priority (USCIS 2015b).
19. This American political party, first organized as the "Republican American Party," then as the "Native American Party," and in 1855 as simply the "American Party," came to be known for its virulent anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic sentiments. The largely middle-class, male Protestant members were popularly called the "Know-Nothings" because they answered, "I know nothing" when asked about their clandestine meetings and plans. One thing they did publicize was their position on immigration—they wanted a 21-year waiting period for citizenship and a requirement that US citizens must be Protestant. Their extremism was short-lived, waning already in the late 1850s, but not until they had gained a remarkable amount of political clout—taking the governorship of 6 states and 75 congressional seats.
20. The Minuteman Project was established in 2004 by Jim Gilchrist and Chris Simcox to organize groups of individuals that would patrol the US-Mexico border, supposedly only to report any unauthorized border crossings, but sometimes engaging with crossers. (The Minutemen connection refers back to the Massachusetts militia active in the American Revolution.) It is part of a movement that has variously been referred to as consisting of "vigilante," "anti-immigrant," "neighborhood watch," or "citizen border" groups. In the mid- to late 2000s, such groups attracted tremendous media attention, especially when Shawna Forde, once a member of a group called the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, was convicted in 2009 along with two others of the murder of Raul Flores and his nine-year-old daughter. After a period of explosive growth, the number of Minuteman groups declined rapidly, from 310 in 2010 to 38 in 2012 (Neiwert 2013). Although the Minuteman Project maintains an active website, I chose not to include it in my sample, as it is not an SMO that is relevant to the national

conversation on immigration control. Furthermore, it is on the extremist fringe, which is not the subject of this book.

21. Both of these are explained in more detail in Chap. 6.
22. Prior to this, the growth had been explosive, according to Larsen (2007), who reports that the number of state and local "anti-immigration" groups in the United States had grown by 600 percent in the two years prior to her article: "In 2005, there were fewer than 40 groups; today, there are more than 250."
23. "FAQ." n.d. Federation for American Immigration Reform website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.fairus.org/faq.
24. Beck, Roy. n.d. "'No' to Immigrant Bashing." NumbersUSA website. Accessed October 26, 2014. https://www.numbersusa.com/about/no-immigrant-bashing.
25. "About AIC." n.d. Americans for Immigration Control, Inc. website, Accessed October 25, 2014. http://www.immigrationcontrol.com/.
26. As a scholar of immigration, I did not enter the data collection and analysis "theoretically blind," inevitably drawing from existing theories related to my topic but remaining reflexive about how such theory might affect my analytical process (Suddaby 2006).
27. Timmermans and Tavory (2012, 168–9) have argued that in truly abductive analysis, abduction should come first, both temporally and analytically, but I found that starting with a purely inductive approach worked to actually locate the surprising or anomalous findings within the data.
28. On a pragmatic level, it may be that there are fewer photos used online by the IC SMOs because the average age of their largely conservative activists is higher. Thus, they may be less inclined overall toward utilizing Internet technology or carrying smartphones to capture and parallel the myriad of photos from marches and rallies present in the IR SMOs' online materials. On a cultural level, it may be about how each side approaches its mission. Through the use of large numbers of photos that feature close-ups of individuals, the IR SMOs personalize the cause—the fates of individual immigrants and families become real and compelling, as do the many faces of politicians that hold the fates of these individuals in their hands. In contrast, the IC SMOs abstract their cause, for example, by portraying the nation's border or simply its flag. When people are shown, they are depersonalized, shown in large

groups or at a distance, often with their individual faces indistinguishable.

29. McCarthy and Zald (1977, 1218) define an SMO as "a complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals." See also Zald and Ash (1966).
30. The organizations in my sample that are comprised largely of youth (UWD, DAC, NIYA), represent a more grassroots, decentralized organizing model.
31. It is entirely possible that, as with photo usage, there are fewer calls to action online, and on social media in particular, because the average age of activists is higher.
32. "About the Center for Immigration Studies." n.d. Center for Immigration Studies website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://cis.org/About.
33. In Sohoni's (2006, 842) study of modern-day nativism on the Web, he finds that the level of nativist language is "none" among four organizations that overlap with my sample (FAIR, CIS, NPG, NUSA); however, Americans for Immigration Control, Inc. (AIC) exhibited "overt" nativism.
34. I also wish to avoid the stereotyping Shapira warns about in his rather unique study of the Minutemen, which moves beyond simply calling them "right-wing" and unpacks the complexity of their discourses on immigration: "When scholars discuss the men and women who cross the border illegally, they are careful to reflect on the influence of larger social structures. Their depictions of Minutemen however, slide all too easily toward distorted stereotypes" (2013, 15).
35. The question may well arise about leaving more radical IR SMOs out of the sample. While I imagine there exists some extremist discourse within the IR movement, I did not locate any among the national-level organizations I considered for inclusion in my sample (even though some IC SMOs refer to certain groups as "radical," for example, The National Council of La Raza).

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CHAPTER 2

The Boundaries of Belonging

Putting Cultural Sociology into Closer Conversation with Social Movement Scholarship

The theoretical goal of this book is to put a cultural sociological perspective at the forefront when studying social movement organizations (SMOs). To do so, I rely on the premises of the Strong Program in cultural sociology, as formulated by Alexander and Smith (2003, 2010). The first and most crucial is the recognition of the analytical autonomy of culture, the "bracketing out" of cultural structures from other social structures through the reconstruction of pure cultural text (Alexander and Smith 2003, 13–14; see also Kane 1991). The second is a commitment to "thick" description, a detailed reconstruction of meaning that is "analytically informed and culturally contextualized" (Alexander 2008, 159; see also Geertz 1973). And the third is a dedication to causal specificity: "[W]e suggest that a strong program tries to anchor causality in proximate actors and agencies, specifying in detail just how culture interferes with and directs what really happens" (Alexander and Smith 2003, 14). Because this is a study of the discourse produced by immigration activists, rather than its reception, I do not speak to causality explicitly. However, in the conclusion, I speculate on the political and cultural consequences of such discourse by focusing on some of the recent successes of the two movements.

I also utilize the theoretical lens of boundary work (Gieryn 1983) to frame my findings. In particular, I elaborate the ways in which activists variously work to *maintain*, *cross*, *blur*, and *shift* the symbolic boundaries

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of belonging through calling upon legal and moral criteria. I follow Lamont and Molnar (2002, 168–69; cf. Alexander 2007) in distinguishing social and symbolic boundaries:

> Symbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality... Social boundaries are objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities... Only when symbolic boundaries are widely agreed upon can they take on a constraining character and pattern social interaction in important ways... But both are equally real: The former exist at the intersubjective level whereas the latter manifest themselves as groupings of individuals.

In the United States, there are clear social boundaries between many foreign-born groups and the native born; for example, immigrants often experience race-, religion-, and class-based inequalities. Immigrant rights (IR) activists work to dismantle or shift these social boundaries by first blurring the symbolic boundaries. Immigration control (IC) activists, in contrast, work to maintain symbolic boundaries, or even shift them in a more exclusionary direction. It is crucial to recognize the relative autonomy of meaning structures such as symbolic boundaries. As Alexander explains, "The imposition of inequality, and struggles over justice, inclusion, and distribution, are culturally mediated. Both the creation and maintenance of inequality and the struggle against it are fundamentally involved in meaning-construction, both for good and for ill. This means they are oriented to 'boundaries' of a symbolic kind" (2007, 25).

With regard to immigrants, most academic work on social and/or symbolic boundaries employs the conceptual apparatus of ethnic or racial boundaries. This type of scholarship tells us a great deal about solidarity, and the ways in which immigrants have adjusted to life in a new context. In the past, regardless of how they were initially perceived or treated, most (voluntary, European) immigrants eventually became "white" Americans. As social agents, they challenged existing boundaries by emulating and following the mainstream—succeeding economically; adopting the language, customs, and ethos of their native-born counterparts; and obtaining citizenship—though not necessarily in any particular order. The native born did their part by re-conceptualizing and loosening the boundaries between

white/not white, and structures of the political economy, education, family, and culture informed and guided these boundary processes (Alba 2009). With the post-1965 immigration, however, racial boundaries have been re-activated and strengthened at both the individual and the institutional levels (Ong 1999; Inda 2006). So race and, by default, ethnicity remain crucial distinctions. But my data point to another distinct pattern of meaning-making concerning boundaries often taken as given—those of "legality." Social scientists, including culturally minded ones, invoke legal texts and codes regularly, but often without interrogating what "legal" or the "rule of law" actually mean to people. I take this interrogation a step further by placing the boundary between legal and illegal in relation to the one that defines the moral line between right and wrong. It is thus the *interaction* of legal and moral boundary work that is at the center of this study.

My work on symbolic boundaries brings cultural sociology into conversation with social movement scholarship. It contributes not only to the growing body of work that has utilized a Strong Program perspective to study social movements (Alexander 2006a; Eyerman 2006; Kane 2011; Egan 2014; Fuist 2014; Ostertag and Ortiz 2014)[1] but also to the literature on boundaries and social movements (see, for example, Gamson 1997; Silver 1997; Cherry 2010; Gallo-Cruz 2012). Second, this study joins the body of work that looks at the IR and the IC movements using a cultural paradigm. Finally, there is also a contribution to the wide-ranging study of symbolic boundaries and boundary work, since there is little, if any, scholarship that examines the interaction of moral and legal boundaries. I answer the call of Pachucki et al. (2007, 344–45) for future research on "conceptualizing multiple, interacting boundaries." In the remainder of this section, I outline the major contributions in each of these areas, highlighting the lacunae that I hope to fill.

Culture in the Study of Social Movements: A Brief Introduction

For nearly a century, scholars had theorized collective action such as revolutions as the exploits of irrational, sometimes violent, crowds. It was pathological or, at the very least, socially deviant. Collective behavior stood outside of conventional behavior and was seen as "ontologically different from individual action" (Travaglino 2014, 3). Even as collective behavior theories grew more sophisticated in the 1950s and 1960s, and focused on "fragmented social structures" rather than "pathological

individuals," they nevertheless employed the crowd concept (Jasper 2010, 62). Once the study of social movements moved away from this tradition, which had accorded a role to culture in the form of a "generalized belief" that protest would actually produce change (Smelser 1962, cited in Polletta 2008), the approaches developed in response were largely structural, at least in the US context. The two dominant strains of theorizing focused on "resource mobilization" and "political opportunity structures." The former stressed the role of formal organizations and micro-level processes and considered material resources and tactics as essential to the success of a movement (McCarthy and Zald 1977). The latter spoke to a more macro level, focusing on the opportunities within a given political context (Eisinger 1973; see McAdam 1982 on the "political process" model). For both, the underlying premise was rational choice, assuming a social actor focused on the costs and benefits of participation in a movement.

Thus, until the 1980s, culture had played a subservient role for many of those who studied the "new" social movements emerging in the 1960s. As Polletta puts it, "Thirty years ago, social movement scholars treated culture as just so much noise in structuralist theories of mobilization" (2008, 78). One of the first stirrings in response to the structural determinism of prevailing theories emerges in Europe, with Touraine's culturally sensitive "sociological interventions" (1981) and a focus on collective identity by Melucci (1989). And the first breaks in the structuralist stronghold in the United States appear when social movement scholars begin to utilize the Goffmanian conceptual apparatus of "frames," or the mental lenses through which social actors actively and interactively filter meanings (Goffman 1974). In engaging in this "signifying work," activists "frame, or assign meaning to and interpret relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists" (Snow and Benford 1988, 198; see also Benford and Snow 2000). The scholarship on framing points to the importance of the meaning-making process among social actors but the perspective is largely cognitive (Goodwin et al. 2001; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Ullrich et al. 2014); the affective and moral dimensions are underplayed (Jasper 1997). And all too often, frames simply exist as a strategic resource right alongside the other, more material resources for mobilization (Jasper 2010); there is no room for the analytical autonomy of culture (Kane 1997; Alexander 2006a).

Ullrich and his colleagues (2014, 1) make a crucial point about the re-emergence of culture in the study of social movements—culture has

often been an addition to existing models rather than an approach in its own right. For example, McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald bring together opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing processes into what they call a "synthetic, comparative perspective on social movements" (1996, 1). They lament the lack of systemic work on the cultural dimensions of social movements but they only consider its strategic dimension, purposefully defining framing narrowly as the "conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action" (ibid., 6). In a similar vein, Koopmans and Statham (1999) build upon the political opportunity model by introducing "discursive opportunity structures," or the ideas in the wider public discourse that allow political claims to achieve visibility, resonance, and legitimacy. The aim is to create a bridge between the political opportunity model and the framing approach, which is limited in its ability to explain why some frames are more successful than others (Koopmans et al. 2005). Treating culture as a "soft concept" in this way, as a residual category, obscures its importance in explaining social action; instead, a truly cultural paradigm "aims at analysing the dependency of all social practices and artefacts on a contingent symbolic order" (Ullrich et al. 2014, 6).

As the interpretive turn in social movement studies continues to unfold, some scholars have begun to privilege such a cultural sociological paradigm. Even as framing approaches have held sway, those employing narrative (Polletta 2006, 2009) and performance (Eyerman 2006; Johnston 2009; Egan 2014; Fuist 2014) have begun to surface alongside. Some of the latest and most cutting-edge cultural work in social movement scholarship looks at the role of emotions (for a review, see Jasper 2011). As Jasper argues, cognition, emotions, and morality are "inseparable components of culture, distinguishable only analytically" (2010, 80). His concept of "moral shock" (Jasper 1997), or the visceral indignation that can push people to act, has proven fruitful, helping to explain participation in movements.

Most germane to my study is the literature on culture in social movements that incorporates symbolic boundaries and boundary work. Some of this work addresses the formation of the collective identity of a movement. Exploring what "social change" means to the members of an activist grant-making organization, Silver (1997) seeks to integrate structural and cultural approaches to social movements, using Hunt, Benford, and Snow's concept of "boundary framing," or the strategic efforts by social movements to distinguish themselves and their ideology from non-movement actors

(1994, 193–194, cited in Silver 1997). Gamson (1997) examines the "boundary negotiation" occurring during internal disputes within two sex and gender movements in the early 1990s. Through the analysis of media, government, and movement documents, he elaborates the communicative environment of the inclusion/exclusion processes in the drawing of symbolic boundaries around group membership, concluding that such environment and processes are necessarily gendered. Both studies elaborate structures of meaning in a rich and persuasive way, even if they do not highlight or name them as such.

Other, more recent, scholarship moves beyond a focus on collective identity and looks at the role of boundary work in achieving broader goals, such as cultural change, and this emphasis intersects with my goals in this study. Cherry (2010) demonstrates the ways in which animal-rights activists in France and the United States work to shift the symbolic boundaries between animals and humans, as well as between farm animals and companion animals. She considers symbolic boundaries "real" structures (ibid., 451) that underlie beliefs, noting that boundary work is both a strategy and a goal for activists seeking to combat social problems and inequality. For the activists in my sample, the ways in which the symbolic boundaries between the native born and the foreign born are structured reflect the social boundaries that reproduce inequality between the two groups. As Lamont and Molnar note, both types of boundaries are equally "real" (2002, 168–9).

Gallo-Cruz (2012, 26) brings together the concepts of boundary negotiation ("the discursive effort to define a contested social object as existing within collectively held boundaries") and counterframing (attempts to "rebut, undermine, or neutralize a person or group's myths, versions of reality, or interpretive frameworks" [Benford 1987, 75, cited in Gallo-Cruz 2012]) in a study of the movement to close the School of the Americas (now known as the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security and Cooperation, or WHINSEC). She highlights that common cultural materials, such as ideas about morality/immorality, shape both framing and counterframing. In this case, protestors' claims serve as "moral boundaries against which WHINSEC redefines its objectives and programs" (Gallo-Cruz, 22), through negotiating those boundaries and calling upon the same values and goals as its opponents. My findings reveal a similar scenario. Both the IR and the IC groups draw upon similar constructions of the "good immigrant," a civic-economic contributor to society. They both see family unity as an important justification for immigration. And they both call upon similar values, such as freedom,

opportunity, and fairness, to buttress their claims about who ultimately qualifies to be part of the American nation. Only by looking at how the legal and moral criteria interact differently for both sides in their symbolic boundary work can we see just how diametrically opposed their meanings are.

What does this book do differently from so many others that look at the role of culture in social movements? If cultural sociology is about studying the processes of meaning-making (Spillman 2002, 1), then making the internal structure of meaning "visible" is a primary goal. As Alexander explains, "The secret to the compulsive power of social structures is that they have an inside. They are not only external to actors but internal to them. They are meaningful" (2003, 4). He suggests that cultural sociology is a form of "social psychoanalysis" that brings the social unconscious to light. To achieve this goal, I reconstruct through thick description the "culture structures" (Rambo and Chan 1990) within the boundary work among the SMOs in this study. In other words, I map out the relationships between the "parts" of the hermeneutic circle. Rambo and Chan elaborate such a formulation:

> The central problem of hermeneutics is a concern for the parts and wholes of culture. The parts are the discursive behaviors forming a "text" or set of propositions; words, utterances, or gestures that have a sheer physical presence. But what the words say cannot have this material objectivity. Meaning also depends upon the hermeneutical whole. Out of this relationship comes the hermeneutical circle: we need the parts to determine the whole, but without some preconception of the whole, we cannot know the significance of parts. This is the pattern of relationships among parts, what we are calling the culture-structure. In relation to a given text, meaning is the "said"; to the culture at large it is the sayable. (ibid., 647)

But the text does not automatically speak for itself. Just as social actors engage in interpretation as they make meaning (Kane 1997), so does the analyst undertake an interpretive reading of the data. Further, I grant these culture structures analytical autonomy. As Alexander puts it, "Symbolic boundaries are not isomorphic with political and economic boundaries" (2007, 25). In other words, symbolic and social boundaries are analytically independent. In the following section, I look at the literature on the IR and the IC movements that utilizes a cultural perspective, commenting on its cultural sociological potential.

Culture in the Study of the Immigrant Rights and Immigration Control Movements

There is a growing body of social movement scholarship that examines the IR movement (see, for example, Fujiwara 2005; Benjamin-Alvarado et al. 2009; Cantor 2010; Voss and Bloemraad 2011; Eastman 2012; Yukich 2013a, b; Diaz-Edelman 2014; Steil and Vasi 2014; Zamora and Osuji 2014; Vonderlack-Navarro and Sites 2015). Some of this work centers on the DREAMer movement, looking at how members of the 1.5 generation[2] not only mobilize on behalf of themselves but also seek immigration reform or executive action for their parents and other unauthorized immigrants (see, for example, Anguiano 2011; Anguiano and Chávez 2011; Zimmerman 2012; Nicholls 2013, 2014; Piñeros Shields 2014; Enriquez and Saguy 2015; Nicholls and Fiorito 2015). While some authors emphasize the role of culture, elaborating symbols, frames, and/or narratives, few grant it analytical autonomy and delve into reconstruction of the deep culture structures that motivate activists and constituents.

One exception is the work of Diaz-Edelman (2014). Utilizing framing and narrative theories, she elaborates how a "multicultural activist etiquette" functions within an interfaith coalition of 16 IR organizations in San Diego. A human rights framework provides overarching moral guidance, with distinct faith traditions informing the themes of "equal treatment for all people" and "caring for one another" (ibid., 142). Even if she does not refer to them as culture structures, Diaz-Edelman indeed reveals the deep structures of meaning among the groups she studied. Similarly, Yukich (2013a) implicitly addresses cultural sociological concerns, revealing the structures of meaning within the New Sanctuary Movement in the United States.[3] Explicitly, she employs a dramaturgical approach, seeking to build upon framing theory. Her rich ethnographic and interview data demonstrate the ways in which activists in the movement made distinctions between "deserving" immigrants and those less worthy of sanctuary through a type of frame transformation (Snow et al. 1986) she dubs the *model movement strategy*, or "the practice of lifting up 'model' members of a group to transform negative stereotypes associated with the group as a whole" (Yukich 2013a, 303). Although she does not refer to them as such, Yukich utilizes the tools of cultural sociology to reveal the binary structures of meaning underlying the model movement strategy.

Sometimes, cultural materials are heavily highlighted but not given relative analytical autonomy. Piñeros Shields (2014) employs a contentious

politics approach (McAdam et al. 2001; Tilly 2008) to look at how and why an SMO of unauthorized immigrant students in Massachusetts was constituted as a political actor. Narratives provide the cultural "raw materials" from which the students' collective identity emerges and is legitimated by elites within the political establishment. Piñeros Shields refers to narratives as "cultural objects" and emphasizes how social actors use them strategically as part of contentious campaigns in the national and state immigration-policy arenas. To Edwards and McCarthy's (2004, 125–8) typology of resources (material, cultural, socio-organizational, human, and moral), Piñeros Shields adds biographical resources, or "the personal biographical experiences that may be aggregated, self-produced and deployed strategically through various means, including public narratives" (2014, 112). He admits, following Tilly (2006), that repertoires of contention, or the "limited, familiar, historical and culturally created array of possible actions," culturally bound and shape actors' rational choices (Piñeros Shields 2014, 215). Nevertheless, the focus is on the tactical deployment of the biographical resources; actors are seemingly free to pick and choose narratives from a cultural "tool-kit" (Swidler 1986).

A number of scholars have elaborated the frames and counterframes activists within the IR movement deploy. Fujiwara (2005) elaborates the counterframing strategies deployed by IR organizations in response to the construction of an "immigrant welfare problem" at the time of proposed welfare reform legislation in the mid-1990s in the United States. Through case studies of two multi-ethnic SMOs in the Los Angeles area, Zamora and Osuji (2014) look at the framing strategies of those engaged in Latino and African American coalition-building efforts. Although the authors don't discuss culture per se, they do state that they are interested in how grassroots organizers construct meaning. Several of the chapters in the edited volume by Bloemraad et al. (2011) discuss the frames in use during the 2006 protests. Martinez (2011) finds that family reunification was embraced as an "American value," along with hard work and economic contribution. Similarly, Bloemraad, Voss, and Lee suggest that the "more successful framing strategies appealed to the 'bedrock American values' of family and work" (2011, 31). In their chapter on political identification and mobilization among mixed-status families[4] and youth, Pallares and Flores-Gonzalez claim that "ideas about the sanctity of family preservation and the injustice of family separation are being used by movement activists to produce a new collective action frame that explains and justifies these new actors' mobilization" (2011, 161). These authors highlight the importance

of frames in the 2006 protests, but they do not elaborate them in their own right as in-depth meaning structures; there is the sense that they are simply another resource for mobilization. Gleeson (2015), who unpacks the economic rationales in IR advocacy, rightly acknowledges that frames are more than simply a strategic resource for rational actors, and elaborates their context as well as their content.

There is less research on the IC movement among social movement scholars (see, for example, Sohoni 2006; King 2007, 2008; Jacobson 2008; Eastman 2012; Steil and Vasi 2014; Ward 2014), and few embody an explicitly cultural focus. As an exception, Jacobson (2008) desires to overcome what she sees as the "material-culture divide" in social movement theorizing. In her qualitative study based on interviews with the proponents of California's Proposition 187, she seeks to remedy the divide by calling upon a formulation of structure that encompasses both material resources and schemas, the latter of which may be "transposed" from one context to another through the agency of social actors (Sewell 1992), thereby resulting in change. In reconciling the various schemas within a new domain, activists create pathways or "bridges" that connect schemas: "For example, if racialized conceptions of new immigrants are brought to bear on the immigration debate, one needs to reconcile them with the schema that depicts immigrants as the backbone of our nation" (Jacobson 2008, 15). Jacobson navigates the processes through which her respondents build these bridges along four domains of concern in the immigration debate—the law, economics, culture, and population, detailing the relevant culture structures, even if she does not name them as such, and giving them causal power along with material considerations.

King (2007) utilizes the concepts of discursive fields and discursive repertoires to examine how social movement messages produced by immigration-reduction environmentalists are shaped. She notes the limits of a framing perspective as too agent-oriented and focused on strategy, and she believes that the idea of discursive repertoires better captures the dynamic and relational nature of social movement message creation. The focus on meaning-making activities within a discursive field that both enables and constrains is akin to the cultural sociological perspective I employ for this study. King also looks at the "immigration wars" in the Sierra Club to see "what cultural and structural factors allow conflict in a social movement organization to persist over long periods of time" (2008, 45). The debate about the club's position on international migration has persisted since the 1970s, escalating in the 1990s and early 2000s. She finds

that ideology plays a role for some activists, while others base their stance on strategic concerns. As for cultural factors, King works to ascertain the importance of ideology as a relatively fixed and stable system of meaning but leaves that system itself largely unexplored. She is interested in how club members "make sense" of the immigration issue but neglects to fully elaborate the deep structures of meaning they call upon.

Sohoni, who looks at the ways in which "restrictionist" groups construct immigration as a social problem, how such groups are connected, and how they may have an impact on mainstream discussions on the topic (2006, 829), also comes close to a cultural sociological perspective. He finds a variety of discourses that represent the consequences of immigration, including harm to the environment and to national security, and the threat to jobs for the native born. Sohoni clearly understands the importance of discourses in constructing what is undesirable and harmful to a society, citing Alexander and Smith (1993) and invoking Foucault in his discussion. Yet his analysis remains on the surface of the cultural landscape; he reveals numerous structures of meaning but does not provide an in-depth accounting of them. It is precisely this type of lacuna this study contributes to remedying.

Only a handful of studies use a comparative approach to look at both the IR and the IC movements. Eastman (2012) seeks to tell the "border story" from the position of civil society and the media, through the lens of framing theory. She looks at the frames deployed by two Arizona IR organizations, Humane Borders and No More Deaths, and one IC group, the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps. These civil society groups present their frames to the media, which then communicate them to a wider public where they contribute to national discourse and understanding of the immigration issue (ibid., 122). Eastman's study suffers from the weaknesses of framing theory that I have already discussed—the civil society actors are portrayed as rational agents seemingly unaffected by the larger contexts of constraint. A recent study by Steil and Vasi (2014) compares the relative success of the "pro-immigrant" and "anti-immigrant" movements with regard to the passage of legislation at the local level. Their mixed methods study looks at the role of organizations, municipal opportunity structures, structural social changes, and how framing such changes contributes to movement outcomes. Their qualitative results show that the conservative residents instrumental in passing anti-immigrant legislation framed their cause in terms of rhetoric that mirrored the talking points of national anti-immigrant groups, constructing unauthorized immigrants as threats to quality of life,

public safety, and political power (ibid., 1138–39). Although the authors note that framing may be "crucial" (1114) and highlight the "salience of cultural factors as opposed to economic ones" (1147), they do not delve into the deep structures of meaning undoubtedly present in their more than 100 qualitative interviews.

My study builds upon the above-described prior work on the IR and IC movements. Because it employs a Strong Program perspective, it provides a rich accounting of the online face of the two movements, through Geertzian thick description. It allows the words of the activists to demonstrate the ways in which they engage in symbolic boundary work and perform their belonging to the American nation. It is the moral and legal dimensions of this type of boundary work that I wish to highlight in the following section.

Symbolic Boundaries: The Moral and Legal Dimensions

As long as they have been arriving on US shores, immigrants have engendered debates concerning the criteria for symbolic membership in the American nation, in other words *the boundaries of belonging*. Unfortunately, as Wimmer puts it, "Assimilation theory assumes that such acceptance is dependent on degrees of cultural assimilation and social interaction, of 'them' becoming and behaving like 'us.' It thus tends to overlook the social closure that *defines* who is 'us' and who is 'them' in the first place" (Wimmer 2009, 256; emphasis mine). This is precisely what this study looks at—how immigration activists define the boundaries of belonging. And as with migration studies more broadly, what is missing is the central role of culture in this process. To be sure, sociologists of culture and cultural sociologists have both looked at the cultural aspects of "boundary work," or the "process by which individuals define their identity in opposition to that of others by drawing symbolic boundaries" (Lamont 1992, 233, n 5). But they rarely acknowledge the relative autonomy of culture and they neglect its deep structures of meaning (for an important exception, see Voyer 2013). Further, as I noted above, with regard to immigrants, scholars usually focus on ethnic and racial boundaries.[5] I build upon this scholarship by adding moral and legal boundaries into the mix, dimensions that I argue are crucial to understanding the boundaries of belonging as they pertain to the foreign born. The remainder of this section highlights studies that look at moral and legal boundaries, either explicitly or implicitly.

Some scholars that examine boundary construction underscore the importance of morality. Alexander (1992) elaborates the symbolic classification between "citizen/friend" and "enemy" in civil society, which he defines as an analytically (and sometimes empirically) separable sphere of moral solidarity. To determine who is worthy of inclusion within this sphere, social actors draw upon symbolic sets of codes, understood as "democratic" and "counterdemocratic," arranged in binary discourses about motives, relationships, and institutions. Those on the "pure" side of the binary conceive the "polluted" as unworthy and amoral. Alexander reveals the internal structure of the language of this civil coding and stresses its importance as a relatively autonomous symbolic form (ibid., 291). Lamont (1992, 2000) likewise acknowledges the structured nature of the patterns she encountered in the symbolic boundary work among her respondents, "not as essentialized individual or national characteristics, but as culture structures, that is, institutionalized cultural repertoires or publicly available categorization systems" (Lamont 2000, 243), yet she embodies a form of cultural materialism. It is crucial to recognize the relative autonomy of such culture structures. Morality is paramount in the boundary work of Lamont's research participants. In her 1992 study based on interviews with 160 upper-middle-class men in France and the United States, Lamont finds that respondents use cultural, socioeconomic, and moral boundaries to categorize people as "worthy" or "unworthy." Among the lower-middle-class working men from the United States and France depicted in the 2000 study, moral boundaries interact with class and racial boundaries to create a space in which to affirm worth and dignity and to define "us" and "them."

Similarly, Purser (2009) looks at the discourse of two groups of male day laborers who draw gendered moral boundaries in constituting their daily search for work as dignified. She stops short of attributing causality with regard to the cultural meanings she uncovers, stating they may be "related" to the men's calculations about which site will be more likely to yield work for them. She thus calls for future research on the durability and malleability of symbolic boundaries, asking how cultural meanings might shape behavior. In her study of second-generation Mexican youth in the United States and their participation in the IR protests of 2006, Getrich (2008) looks at the ways in which they draw boundaries between "us" (people who contribute to the good of US society) and "them" (criminals, welfare takers, tax evaders). Even if not framed as such, this study reflects the interaction of legal and moral criteria in the teens' construction of symbolic boundaries.

Getrich rightly argues, "Discourse about what exactly constitutes an immigrant—and specifically an 'illegal' or an 'illegal alien'—blurs boundaries between legal-formal immigration categories and takes the discussion about illegality outside the realm of the legal system" (ibid., 540). That realm is a moral one, in which the negotiations about who is a worthy and deserving immigrant take place. What's left is to unearth the ways in which the meanings within the discourse are patterned into culture structures.

In a truly cultural sociological ethnographic study, Voyer (2013) examines the moral underpinnings of the symbolic boundary work among residents of Lewiston, Maine, where considerable numbers of Somalis had settled in the early 2000s. She charts the shift from the view that Somali residents were a "social problem" to their presence becoming part of "life as usual" (ibid., 51–52). Diversity-affirming narratives and tales of "diversity troubles" reflect the meaning-making processes of community members as they negotiate the tensions arising from the incorporation of the newcomers: "The moral boundaries of belonging visible in Lewiston were mobilized retrospectively to embrace diversity and to exile those who failed to demonstrate that acceptance" (ibid., 54). Voyer uncovers the deep structures of meaning, or what she calls the "cultural scaffolding" upon which the people of Lewiston could construct order and solidarity.

No less important than moral boundary work are the ways in which individuals discern and negotiate the difference between "legal" and "illegal." Susan Coutin (2003) looks at the ways in which Salvadoran immigrants in the United States engage in "legalizing strategies," constructing their legal identities by either redefining immigration categories such as "political asylee" and "suspension of deportation" or fashioning life narratives that demonstrate their deservingness to belong to them. Debates over such legal deservingness "entail judgments about the morality and legitimacy of family relationships, the nature of persecution and terrorism, the components of civic responsibility, the meanings of Americanness, and the limits of state authority" (Coutin 2003, 11). It is precisely these types of debates that both the IR and the IC SMOs in this study participate in through their boundary work. Similarly, Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas talk about a "moral economy of illegality," or the "discourse-policy nexus regulating the construction of irregular migrants as more or less illegal" (2012, 246). They describe the ways in which unauthorized migrants practice "being a good illegal" by avoiding crime, ensuring their formal identification and traceability through obtaining whatever "papers" they

can (like proofs of presence), contributing fiscally (paying taxes) and demonstrating economic reliability, for example, through stable employment.

Another body of literature looks specifically at the role of the (nation-) state in the types of boundary construction that destabilize the dichotomy of "citizen" or "member" and stranger/foreigner/"illegal alien." As Cecilia Menjívar (2006) points out, there is no one fixed category of legality—there is a gray area, or "legal liminality," which few realize exist.[6] Legal categories create a stratified system of belonging, labeling immigrants not only as non-nationals but also as deportable[7] and excludable, which affects their ability to assimilate in the socioeconomic, or for that matter, any other realm (ibid., 1006). Even if not explicitly cultural sociological, Menjívar's work is an important step toward interrogating the "givens" of legality. In his analysis of how and why Operation Gatekeeper[8] emerged and was so successfully implemented, Nevins (2002) charts the evolution of the "illegal." He argues that the state is a "primary shaper" of this category through the ways in which its practices have contributed to the construction of geographic and social boundaries, noting "the power of the state in molding the collective mindset of its citizenry to distinguish between 'right' and 'wrong' and to appreciate the almost-sacred nature of its national boundaries" (ibid., 99–100). Culture is important as an explanatory factor: "Material factors always dovetail with political symbolism to produce nativism and, for that reason, we must investigate the dialectical relationship between the 'real' and the 'ideal' to ascertain the specific dimensions of various periods of anti-immigrant sentiment" (ibid., 80). His emphasis on the way the social boundaries that define citizens/Americans and aliens/foreigners interact with territorial ones is related to my focus on how the moral and the legal interact in boundary work, even if I do not posit the "state" in opposition to culture. The work of Jonathan Xavier Inda (2006) approaches the study of the "illegal" immigrant through the Foucauldian lens of governmentality. He explores how the phenomenon of "illegal immigration" has been rendered thinkable, calculable, and manageable in the United States, and further, how it has been constructed as a "problem" to be addressed and corrected. Forms of problematization of "illegal" immigrants include portrayals of them as lawbreakers, public burdens, and job takers. Without a doubt, the state can act as a producer of differences and/or a homogenizer, depending on various political, social, and economic factors. States hold the monopoly of legitimate physical as well as symbolic violence—they are the ones with the "power to name" in Bourdieuian terms (1991, 239). However much the boundaries of belonging may be

state-centric and state-controlled, they are simultaneously cultural. States are not solely legal and political institutions; they also impart cultural or social meaning (Benhabib 2002).

Working the Boundaries

In this book, I examine the symbolic boundary work of IR and IC activists. The idea of "boundary-work" was introduced by Thomas Gieryn (1983), who elaborated the ideological and rhetorical efforts by scientists to demarcate their professional work from non-scientific activities. He defines it as "their [scientists'] attribution of selected characteristics to the institution of science. . .for purposes of constructing a social boundary that distinguishes some intellectual activities as 'non-science'" (ibid., 782). The implication is that boundary work is necessarily ongoing because the boundaries of science are "ambiguous, flexible, historically changing, contextually variable, internally inconsistent, and sometimes disputed" (ibid., 792). The legal and moral boundaries associated with immigration certainly share all of these qualities; in this study, I focus especially on the ways in which they are disputed.

Building on Gieryn's formulation, scholars have nuanced different types of boundaries and boundary work. I wish to highlight those most relevant to the issue of immigration. For example, Zolberg and Woon (1999) explain "why Islam is like Spanish" through a detailed empirical analysis of the ways in which religion (in Europe) and language (in the United States) construct symbolic boundaries of between "us" and "not us."[9] They offer a typology of boundary-related changes: (1) *crossing*, when someone moves from one group to another, without any real change to the boundary itself (unless it happens on a large scale); (2) *blurring*, when the social profile of a boundary has become less distinct and individuals' location with respect to the boundary may be indeterminate; and (3) *shifting*, the relocation of a boundary so that populations once situated on one side are now included on the other. Outsiders are transformed into insiders (for example, Southern and Eastern Europeans once considered inferior are now accepted into the US mainstream), but shifting only occurs after the other two processes (ibid., 1999, 8–9; see also Bauböck 1994 on crossing and blurring). Zolberg and Woon accord culture a starring role, because even if cultural assessments (such as those about the "alien culture" of immigrants) may be specious or ethnocentric, "such beliefs do have consequences" (1999, 8).

Richard Alba (2005, 2009) differentiates between the construction of "bright" and "blurred" boundaries. He examines the institutionalization of the boundaries between "native" and "immigrant" across four domains—citizenship, religion, language, and race—and within three contexts, France, Germany, and the United States. When they are "bright," individuals know at all times which side of the boundary they are on. "Blurred" boundaries involve "zones of self-presentation and social representation that allow for ambiguous locations with respect to the boundary" (Alba 2005, 22). For example, race is a bright boundary in the United States, virtually uncrossable for those with certain phenotypes, but for light-skinned Mexicans, the boundary around the mainstream is blurred (ibid., 35). In contrast, France and Germany tend to maintain bright boundaries around religion—especially Islam, even though, paradoxically, they are "secular" countries (ibid., 31–35). He gives relevant examples of changing culture structures, even if he doesn't identify them as such. All that's left for Alba is to realize the significance of his cultural examples and to go beyond asking *how* it is that a boundary remains bright or becomes blurred and looking into the deep structures of meanings and symbolic codes upon which individuals and institutions draw to solidify or dissipate these fault lines.

Massey and Sánchez (2010) take Alba's idea of bright boundaries and couple it with "reactive ethnicity," a view that posits identity as the "product of confrontation with an adverse native mainstream and the rise of defensive identities and solidarities to counter it" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 284). They conceive of boundary work as "brokering," in which "immigrants, encountering categorical boundaries that separate them from natives, do whatever they can to challenge, circumvent, or accommodate those divisions to advance their interests" (Massey and Sánchez 2010, 16). The bright categorical boundary that immigrants encounter and must broker is solidified and maintained through anti-immigrant rhetoric and natives' boundary work, resulting in "a rejection of American identity by immigrants who otherwise are disposed to believe and follow the American dream" (ibid., 23). Massey and Sánchez seem to highlight the role of culture in their introduction, suggesting that immigrants and natives both engage in meaning-making processes. They grant social actors a great deal of agency; immigrants pick and choose from a "dynamic tool kit of practices and beliefs" they bring with them from the homeland that helps them learn about the host society and choose cultural elements from the repertoire to help them survive and prosper. Natives in turn make it easier or harder for

immigrants to accumulate resources or cross boundaries (ibid., 24). Structural conditions that might limit this agency are elaborated but culture is hardly mentioned again or taken into account as an autonomous factor.

The "how" of boundary work involves not only blurring, crossing, and shifting but also the processes of maintenance and solidification. At the theoretical level, Schwalbe and his colleagues (2000) utilize interactionist analysis to demonstrate how boundary maintenance is one of the "generic processes" in the reproduction of inequality.[10] The empirical literature on boundary maintenance is rather eclectic, spanning from the emotional work of senior midwives in maintaining intra-occupational boundaries between themselves and junior midwives (Hunter 2005) to the hazing within an online community that allows elite members to consolidate their power and maintain inequality (Honeycutt 2005). As with the social movement literature elaborated above, some researchers have looked at the boundary work that contributes to the building of collective identity. Hunt (2002) looks at how religious doctrine helps to construct collective and individual identity among West African Pentecostals in Britain, highlighting the existence of "purity boundaries" that enact their "differentness" through issues such as personal hygiene or the need to refrain from violence, cruelty, and infidelity in relationships. Conversi (1995) conceives of nationalism as boundary maintenance and creation. Following Barth (1969), he distinguishes between ethnic boundaries and their cultural contents, but like Anthony Smith (1986, 1991, cited in Conversi 1995), he points to the importance of culture in the construction of identity: "[E]ven though identities are often constructed rather than given, they must rely on the pre-existing diffusion of shared symbols and cultural elements as well as on memories of a shared past and myths of a common identity" (Conversi 1995, 82).

Through this study, I contribute to the above bodies of scholarship by elaborating the online boundary work among IR and IC SMOs. The ultimate goal for IR activists is to shift the social boundaries between the native born and the foreign born in a more inclusionary direction, indeed, all encompassing. They do this through blurring the symbolic boundaries, and having individual immigrants cross such boundaries. The IC groups have exactly the opposite goal—they work to maintain both symbolic and social boundaries, or shift them in an exclusionary direction. Both movements use moral as well as legal criteria to achieve their boundary-drawing goals; it is this interaction that is my analytical focus.

Moving the Immigration Debate Online

The material I analyze comes from the Web presence of the SMOs in this study. Even though many of the constituents of one of the movements in this study (unauthorized immigrants) may be on the "wrong side of the digital divide" (Harlow and Guo 2014, 464), the Internet has been very important in IR activism (Yang 2007; Benjamin-Alvarado et al. 2009; Costanza-Chock 2008, 2011, 2014; Anguiano 2011; Gastelum 2011; Corrunker 2012; Nicholls 2013; Harlow and Guo 2014). And although low-wage immigrant workers arguably "have less access to digital media literacy, tools, and skills than any other group in the United States" (Costanza-Chock, 15–16), activists are working to change this, engaging in what Costanza-Chock refers to as a "praxis of critical digital media literacy," not only providing access to computers and teaching skills but also using popular education methods such as workshops.

Increasingly, social movements of all types are utilizing online tools in their mobilization, allowing for collective action at lower cost, on a larger scale, and more quickly than without the Web (Earl and Kimport 2011, 5). Such tools may also help promote collective identity and create a sense of community (such as that among DREAMers; see Zimmerman 2012; Costanza-Chock 2014). Building on Tilly's (1978) concept of a "repertoire of contention," or the tactics activists utilize in their mobilization, scholars have theorized how such tactics might work online. A "repertoire of electronic contention" (Costanza-Chock 2003 cited in Harlow and Guo 2014) or a "digital repertoire of contention" (Earl and Kimport 2011) represents a set of practices growing in importance; technologies such as e-mail, websites, social media, and text messaging certainly play a substantial role in contemporary activism. Regardless of the position one takes with regard to the significance of the Internet for social movements, whether one sides with Gladwell (2010) that the "revolution will not be tweeted" or with Castells (2012, 15) that "the networked social movements of the digital age represent a new species of social movement," it is clear that movements in the current global protest cycle maintain a presence both in tweets and in the streets (Costanza-Chock 2014, 6–9; see also Gerbaudo 2012).

The two movements I studied have well-established and active electronic repertoires. Prior work on the online activism of the IR movement reveals the importance of digital tools, especially from the 2006 protests forward. Yang (2007) highlights the importance of Myspace and its "fast organizing" potential for the mobilization of students in the March 2006 walkouts in the

San Francisco area. Benjamin-Alvarado, DeSipio, and Montoya discuss how organizations across the country coordinated and promoted events using digital tools, linking local organizations and networks "in a way previously unseen" (2009, 724–5). Gastelum (2011) reports that a group of "pro-immigrant" bloggers and organizers started to organize around 2005; at the time he wrote the article in 2011, one private Google group of bloggers had 1000 active members. Further, the rapid rise of social media in the mid-late 2000s has brought together activists and constituents in new ways. DREAMers could post anonymously, sharing their stories and learning that there were so many others out there with similar experiences (Anguiano 2011). They could also mobilize others to help prevent a deportation (Gastelum 2011). Nicholls discusses the importance of the Internet for producing and maintaining social networks among DREAMers, transmitting useful information, disseminating messages and talking points, coordinating meetings, and providing opportunities to discuss the arguments, messages, and symbols produced by leading activists (2013, 68–69; see also Costanza-Chock 2008; Corrunker 2012). Perhaps the most extensive work on the use of the Internet within the IR movement is by Costanza-Chock, who elaborates what he calls its "transmedia organizing," the "strategic practice of cross-platform, participatory media making for social movement ends" (2014, 131; see also Costanza-Chock 2008, 2011). He notes that transmedia organizing has moved from the margins to the mainstream of the movement, with a central focus on storytelling by unauthorized immigrants that operates across various platforms (ibid., 156).

With regard to the IC movement, most of the scholarly work concerns the content of its online presence, rather than the actual mobilization. Several authors, however, briefly discuss the movement's online practices. Roxanne Doty notes that the Internet is a "key tool for border vigilante and anti-immigrant groups" (2009, 72–75). She also describes the hyperlinking that occurs among various groups within the movement, a phenomenon noted by several other researchers. Costley (2014) points out that nativist discourses may look the same, just as virulent as in the past, but they operate in novel ways because of the strategic use of hyperlinks. Sohoni (2006) elaborates similar findings in his analysis of nativist discourses on the Web, demonstrating that the groups with the highest levels of nativist language have the most links to other restrictionist groups and those who do not employ nativist language are careful not to link to those that do. In their analysis of how a "Latino cyber-moral panic" has developed on the Internet, Flores-Yeffal et al. elaborate how "moral entrepreneurs" create what they

call a "Recycling Factory": "In this original process, each organization creates statistical reports and recycles them continuously to the other organizations. Each cites the other, and almost all of the sites used the reports to support their unsubstantiated statements" (2011, 578).

What the above studies demonstrate is that the Internet is an important site for mobilization within both the IR and the IC movements. Although they have made important strides in researching the movements' online mobilization, much remains to be known about the potential and usefulness of information and communications technologies for online activism (Harlow and Guo 2014, 463). That is not the direct focus of this book, however. I am interested in the *content* of the discursive production that takes place online. My primary goal in the next three chapters is to reconstruct the boundary-drawing processes of the two movements and reveal the collective representations sustaining them. I am also interested in their causal power; accordingly, in the concluding chapter, I look at some of the potential consequences of the movements' online cultural work.

Notes

1. Although some of the authors listed here don't necessarily cite the Strong Program explicitly, they utilize at least one of its four basic frameworks for analysis: (1) a semiotic system of binary codes outlining the discourses of liberty, repression, and a democratic civil society (Alexander and Smith 1993; Alexander 2006a); (2) narratives, which may be tragic, progressive, or occasionally ironic, and can operate along a continuum from apocalyptic to "low-mimetic," or mundane and routine (Jacobs and Smith 1997; Smith 2005); (3) cultural pragmatics, a theory describing the fusion of six elements that make up social performances (Alexander 2006b; Alexander et al. 2006); and (4) a theory of cultural trauma construction (Alexander et al. 2004).
2. The 1.5 or "one-and-a-half" generation is a term coined by Rumbaut and Ima (1988) to describe children who migrate at a young age.
3. The New Sanctuary Movement, established in May 2007, seeks to help immigrants slated for deportation by providing them support and sometimes, like the sanctuary movement in the 1980s, physical sanctuary. Yukich (2013a, 306) reports that by 2009 these interfaith

coalitions were present in about 30 cities across the United States, but later, the movement waned.

4. Mixed-status families are generally referred to as those with at least one unauthorized immigrant member; in this case, they are those with a parent in deportation proceedings.
5. See, for example, the work of Barth (1969), Sanders (2002), Alba (2005, 2009), Wimmer (2009, 2013), and Massey and Sanchez (2010). For perspectives comparing racial and religious boundaries among immigrants, see Zolberg and Woon (1999) and Foner (2015).
6. Menjívar's (2006) work focuses on Central American migrants from Guatemala and El Salvador, who often have "Temporary Protected Status," which gives individuals unable to return to their country of origin temporarily because of ongoing armed conflict, an environmental disaster or epidemic, or other extraordinary conditions permission to stay in the country (USCIS 2015d).
7. De Genova describes the condition of "deportability," asserting that "an apparatus for the everyday production of migrant 'illegality' is never simply intended to achieve the putative goal of deportation. It is deportability, and not deportation per se, that has historically rendered undocumented migrant labor a distinctly disposable commodity" (2002, 438; see also De Genova and Peutz 2010).
8. Operation Gatekeeper was launched in late 1994 by the Clinton administration, perhaps to steal the immigration limelight from the Republicans in the wake of Proposition 187 (Maxwell 2003). The program, aimed at controlling unauthorized immigration, increased funding for enforcement in the San Diego sector of the US-Mexico border, drastically expanding the number of Border Patrol agents and the amount of fencing/walls. For a detailed and compelling analysis of the program and its implications, see Joseph Nevins's *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Making of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary* (2002).
9. Zolberg and Woon prefer "not us" to "them" because it highlights the ethnocentricity of self-definition (1999, 32, n 11).
10. The remaining processes include othering, subordinate adaptation, and emotion management.

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CHAPTER 3

Family Matters

The sphere of the family is a primary arena for the symbolic boundary work of the social movement organizations (SMOs) in this study. Family-related themes represent 25.3 percent of the text-based codes for the IR SMOs and 28.2 percent of all visuals. (See the Appendix for a table of the main thematic coding categories.) For these groups, family unity is a priority; the separation of families is fundamentally problematic and morally unacceptable. Although less represented (13.2 percent of the total codes) among the IC SMOs, the immigrant family implies a threat. Family reunification for extended family members, or what many of the groups refer to as "chain migration," is a means to bring more workers that take American jobs and cause a host of other problems, including overpopulation, environmental degradation, urban sprawl, and increased crime. "Anchor babies," the citizen children born to unauthorized immigrants on US soil, are problematic because they allow families to receive welfare on their behalf, they can eventually petition for the legal status of their relatives, and perhaps most importantly, they will grow up to be potential voters. These themes of family reunification and US-citizen children comprise about half of the category "entitlements," or the unfair "rewards" unauthorized immigrants receive while in the United States. Both sides work hard to convince politicians of their respective positions on the family; codes related to politics represent 11.8 and 8.1 percent of the total text-based codes and 24.4 and 19.7 of the visually based codes for the IR and IC SMOs respectively. The frequent calls to action by the IR groups often involve pleas for constituents to contact their senators or congressional members on behalf

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of immigrant families. They enthusiastically embrace the National Council of La Raza president Janet Murguía's characterization of Obama as "deporter-in-chief."[1] Many graphics represent the April 2014 milestone of reaching two million deportations during Obama's tenure. But the IC SMOs believe Obama isn't doing enough with regard to enforcement; they want the president to do his job and enforce immigration law, not only at the border but also and especially in the interior. In the discourse of both movements, politicians from both political parties are taken to task for the state of affairs with regard to immigration.

In terms of their boundary work, the IR SMOs present the break-up of families as an immoral action that should be illegal—the interaction of legal and moral criteria is strong. There is widespread consensus about the sacredness of the family among the different types of organizations. They work to *blur* the legal boundary separating the unauthorized and present deportation as an invalid response to their lack of legal status. Families simply shouldn't be "torn" or "ripped" apart by an immigration system that is "broken." In contrast, the IC SMOs seek to *maintain* a clear legal boundary. The United States shouldn't be responsible for the poor decisions that caused families to be separated in the first place. And they wish to take matters a step further, by advocating legislative change that would eliminate birthright citizenship. *Solidifying* this legal boundary would exclude the US-born children of unauthorized immigrants from the polity. Thus, it's seemingly all about legality. Moral considerations become activated, however, when the organizations talk about fairness, or the lack thereof. It's simply not fair for the children of unauthorized immigrants to become citizens. For the IR SMOs, in contrast, all families are deserving of membership in the broader American family; thus, immigrant families should be able to *cross* the boundary based on moral criteria and avoid deportation. Indeed, shared values about family are what make immigrants like the native born, *blurring* any legal distinction that threatens family unity. The bottom line is that families belong together, no matter what. And children are the frequent carriers of this message, standing in as de facto representatives of the movement.

After introducing these young social actors that portray family unity for IR SMOs and discussing the ways in which they are invalidated and excluded by the IC SMOs, I move on to the twin issues of deportation and enforcement. In both cases, I elaborate how boundary work is performed by the respective social movements, focusing on two culture structures—"family unity" and "family separation." To conclude, I bring in

the role that politics, especially certain politicians, plays when it comes to the family. The theme of government inefficiency unites the movements, but they diverge on just how to fix what they both see as nothing short of a disaster.

Family Unity: Children as Stand-ins

Family unity is paramount to the IR SMOs in this study.[2] It is also important to the IC SMOs; in fact, for at least half of the groups, it is one of the only reasons to allow (legal) immigration at all—to unite members of a nuclear family.[3] But the legal boundary encompassing such members is clearly defined, as containing only *bona fide*[4] spouses and minor children. NumbersUSA (NUSA) warns of the dangers in allowing the "ill-conceived notion" of the "chain migration" of extended family members: "[I]t is one of the chief culprits in America's current record-breaking population boom and all the attendant sprawl, congestion, and school overcrowding that damage Americans' quality of life." It further claims that such migration is actually responsible for the breakdown of family unity: "The claim that chain migration is about 'family reunification' ignores the fact that each U.S. immigrant 'disunites' another family by leaving relatives behind."[5] Not to mention the threat to the job prospects for American workers, who must support their "struggling families." The narrative of chain migration is truly an apocalyptic one, with the United States facing a complete disaster.[6]

Children are often the social agents that represent the importance of family unity. For the IR groups, they stand in for the whole movement (see also Pallares 2010; Pallares and Flores-González 2011), as activists in their own right, either implicitly (carrying signs and flags at marches and rallies or simply by being a US-citizen subject) or explicitly (participating in direct action events such as meeting with legislators). They are also a target for empathy when they are potentially going to be left without a parent or parents due to deportation, pulling at the heartstrings and activating moral criteria in boundary work. The consequences of such separation extend to a broader level, as the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) laments: "Many such deportations result in families being ripped apart, leaving U.S. citizen children and entire communities traumatized and vulnerable."[7] In contrast, for IC groups, the consequences are dire when children are used as an "anchor" for parents wanting to settle in the United States. These US-born citizen children qualify for receipt of welfare benefits and, eventually, for the legalization

of their parents. Moreover, they become political actors because they are eventual voters. Unauthorized immigrant children are also problematic because they represent a burden on the welfare state, for example, through paying for their schooling. As regards deportation, separating children from their parents is one of the "unfortunate" costs of enforcement. In a rare moment when one movement addresses the other, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) presents a graphic to accompany a link to a Breitbart news article that lambastes the IR movement for using children as political actors. Against a background of a child's hand holding an adult's, the graphic reads, "Whenever laws are enforced, there are inevitably negative consequences for their families. In every other circumstance we hold the people who break the law responsible for those unfortunate consequences, not the law itself. Children are not human shields to be used to protect people from the consequences of their illegal behavior."[8]

"Don't Deport My Dad/Mom": Children as Political Actors

Virtually every IR group chooses to represent the rallies, marches, and other actions in which they participate through visuals that feature children (about 14 percent of all visuals). They are often held aloft by parents but they nearly always carry messages of their own, even if it's simply an identity-affirming US flag.[9] A Facebook photo from Reform Immigration for America (RIFA)[10] highlights children in this role as activists. They wear their message on T-shirts reading, "Don't Deport My Dad" or "Don't Deport My Mom," and they carry US flags; some also wear flag-patterned neckerchiefs. The caption urges the viewer to call the four Republican senators from the "gang of eight" that created S-744 (the comprehensive reform bill passed by the Senate in June 2013) to plead for their support of the "Little DREAMer" amendment.[11] These children stand on their own, giving them agency as political actors that blur the legal boundary around the unauthorized. By referring to them as "little DREAMers," they are brought into the same collective as older unauthorized youth. This finding dovetails with prior work on the IR movement. In a case study of a Chicago organization that engages in anti-deportation activism, Pallares (2010: 222–3) found that "one of the group's key strategies for gaining public support has been to highlight children, who have become local, national and international spokespersons for the cause." Gálvez (2014) discusses the ways in which DREAMers may have learned their activism through their parents, who took them to marches, rallies, and meetings.

Children sometimes take a role in direct action, such as approaching legislators, and these efforts are represented as especially poignant. The following account from a blog post by FIRM describes such an encounter, related to an action where families visited House Republicans in December 2013.

> [N]o group was disrespected more than the group of children that attempted to visit Speaker of the House John Boehner's office. Kids came to the office bearing homemade Christmas cards, singing, "We pray for Speaker Boehner, we pray for Speaker Boehner, we pray for Speaker Boehner, bring a vote for reform." Two Capitol police officers break into the group, yelling, "This is getting old real fast. This is a place of business and we do not tolerate singing in the hallway, comprende?" The officer's harsh words were met with terrified stares from the small children. . .After the encounter, Gabriel, the seven-year-old boy in the "Keeping My Family Together" t-shirt, said to organizer Mehrdad Azemun, "We did not see that man's good side today."[12]

The children are active agents in this scenario. The seven-year-old boy acts as a moral arbiter, in his assessment of the character of the police officer, which did not reflect his "good side." The author of the blog also sees the children as embodying agency. The opening sentence of the blog post reads, "This week, kids from around the country *descended* on Washington to *demand* action on immigration reform" (emphasis mine). The children are staking a political claim, pleading a case for inclusiveness within the nation's boundaries. Similarly, RIFA features a series of photos on its Facebook page, with children carrying their own posters and US flags, and exhorts constituents to call President Obama: "Today 25 children who's [*sic*] lives have been impacted by our broken immigration system traveled from Florida to Washington, DC to tell President Obama: #NoMoreDelays. If you agree with them, call 1-866-473-5915 FREE to take action NOW!"[13] Again, the children are political actors in their own right.

As Pallares (2010; see also Pallares and Flores-González 2011) elaborates, some children in particular belong within the boundaries of the American nation by virtue of their citizenship, making them a different sort of political agent. The US-born children of unauthorized immigrants are the bearers of rights associated with their citizenship, which they will not be able to exercise if they are deported with their parents. The emphasis is often on their already-existing feelings of belonging as well as the

opportunities they will miss if they return with their parents to the homeland, such as educational and eventual career prospects. Not least is the fact that they may not speak the native language of the homeland. Even worse of a scenario, as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) points out, is when US-citizen children are left behind, without parents and often in foster care.[14] As Yukich (2013a, 309) points out, these mixed-status families often qualify as more deserving than single immigrants or those with families that reside elsewhere. Like several other organizations, the ACLU cites statistics to convey just how widespread the phenomenon of US-citizen children with at least one parent deported actually is: "In fiscal year 2011, ICE [Immigration and Customs Enforcement] deported nearly 400,000 people. Many of them were long-time residents with no serious criminal history, and one out of every five was the parent of a U.S. citizen child. As a result, more than 5,000 American children were sent to foster care in 2011."[15]

Thus, even though children can embody political agency, they are at the same time potential victims that activate a strong moral response. As a rejoinder to a proposed amendment up for vote in the Senate that would deny the Child Tax Credit to an estimated one million unauthorized children, National Immigration Forum (NIF) Executive Director Ali Noorani makes the following statement:

> This amendment targets the most vulnerable among us—young, undocumented children from low-income families. If we are to realize any immigration changes this year, they must be compassionate and broad efforts to better the lives of all who call our nation home, strengthen our economy and live up to our history as a nation of immigrants. Today's amendment does none of those things. Rather, it's a punitive measure that could endanger close to 1 million immigrant children. At its most basic level, our movement is about the future, and the children this amendment would harm are an important part of that future.[16]

By invoking a collective future, Noorani presents children as the social glue that unites everyone within the confines of a moral boundary. He also makes an appeal for inclusiveness based on immigrants' economic contribution and the country's legacy as a nation of immigrants, both themes that will appear in the next chapters. Put simply, there is no legal boundary, in this case in the form of legislation, which should separate unauthorized children from the rest of the nation.

"Anchor Babies": Children as Pawns

The material put forth by the IC SMOs in this study also contains discourse on children, primarily concerning those born in the United States who automatically become US citizens. Even if most of the groups eschew the pejorative term "anchor babies" (only three of the nine organizations used this term—Americans for Legal Immigration PAC [ALIPAC], FAIR, and Negative Population Growth [NPG]), they agree that birthright citizenship is problematic (see also Jacobson 2006; Romero 2008; Oliviero 2011; Costley 2014; Franz 2015).[17] Some point out that most nations in the world, especially the "developed" world, do not allow birthright citizenship. They are seeking to shift a legal boundary by advocating for legislation that would challenge the application of the Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution to the children of unauthorized immigrants. The reasons for this are manifold.

First, as the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) points out in a report entirely devoted to the topic of birthright citizenship, there are three major impacts in the form of benefits. The US-born children of unauthorized immigrants are eligible for food assistance and other forms of state-sponsored welfare. Moreover, birthright citizenship serves as a long-term investment for obtaining legal status for family members. When the child is 21 years old, she can legalize parents and foreign-born siblings, who can then sponsor additional relatives, generating what the CIS sees as "a virtually never-ending and always-expanding migration chain."[18] There is also a direct political effect—as US citizens, when these children come of age, they become potential (and most likely Democratic) voters. In this sense, the IC SMOs also see children as political agents. Further, there is a temporal element to the concern over the US-born children of unauthorized immigrants, as highlighted by the president of a group whose explicit concern is population growth (NPG): "With over 80% of U.S. population growth now due to immigration—legal, illegal, and the American-born children of immigrants—we must act now. We must take action to slow, halt, and eventually reverse our population growth before it is too late."[19] Again, an apocalyptic narrative about the future has surfaced. And NUSA makes a moral judgment, eliciting alarm about the timing of "pregnancy tourism": "This practice has created a magnet for foreign nationals who want their children to have U.S. citizenship and spawned creation of a cottage industry devoted to helping pregnant 'tourists' illicitly enter this country for the purpose of giving birth."[20] Finally, and not least, there is a potential threat

to the nation, as NUSA points out, "There is also a national-security component to the issue, as illustrated by the case of one child in this category: Anwar al-Awlaki, the American-born cleric who became one of al-Qaeda's top operational planners of terrorism."[21] CIS offers an expedited solution to reinforce what it sees as a valid legal boundary: "Some eminent scholars and jurists have concluded that it is within the power of Congress to define the scope of the Citizenship Clause through legislation and that birthright citizenship for the children of temporary visitors and illegal aliens could likely be abolished by statute without amending the Constitution."[22] Regardless of how it happens, the organizations agree, the legal boundary must solidify.

Moral boundaries are activated in the discourse on children with talk of fairness, or lack thereof, to the American people. ALIPAC condemns what it sees as the use of children to obtain benefits, the cost of which shouldn't be shouldered by Americans:

> The Open Borders Lobby are using children and anchor babies as human shields to obtain benefits such as in-state tuition grants for illegal aliens. No American should be forced to pay for services for foreign nationals. Each state and federal elected official must know that illegal aliens should not be given licenses, in-state tuition, mortgages, bank accounts, welfare, or any other benefit short of emergency medical care and law enforcement accommodations before they are deported.[23]

As is typical for an organization that I have categorized as focused on Expressiveness, ALIPAC is making a proclamation that evokes morality, in this case about fairness to Americans. Further, the materialization of children in this way, as "anchors" or "human shields," acts to dehumanize them.[24] In her study of the group Mothers against Illegal Aliens, Romero (2008) discusses the dehumanization of unauthorized immigrant women and their children through the use of animal metaphors such as "breeders" that procreate only to bear US-citizen children. I rarely find such extreme discourse about mothers among the groups I studied; instead, children are the target, as in the above quote, in which dehumanized offspring are portrayed as stand-ins for "illegal aliens" as a whole. Jacobson (2006, 2008) argues that in the 1990s restrictionist activism, race played a central role in the mobilization to eliminate birthright citizenship, with the "problem" immigrant characterized as Mexican, female, dependent, and hyper-reproductive.[25] It may be that by the 2000s, mainstream IC activists like the

groups in this study have learned to move away from racialized images of unauthorized immigrants.[26] De Oliver (2011) argues that in neoliberalism's postmodernity, race/ethnicity no longer provides a suitable metanarrative to justify exclusionary policies or to stigmatize the other. Instead, territorial citizenship and the attendant focus on legality are the "last bastion of discrete exceptionality upon which citizens of the developed West can readily assert claims of privilege in the neoliberal world economy" (ibid., 991–2). I would add that the moral intersects with such a focus on legality, making boundary work more complex and multifaceted.

Unauthorized children bring to the fore similar moral concerns, especially with regard to their education. In a sample speech against amnesty provided in a "Community Action Kit" from the American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF), the user is provided statistics on the cost of educating unauthorized children—"$13 billion annually" based on a per-student expenditure of "roughly $10,000"—and is given a straightforward talking point: "Why should America's taxpayers have to cover the education costs of foreign nationals illegally in the U.S.?"[27] It is again a matter of pointing to the issue of fairness or, perhaps more accurately, justice, as Progressives for Immigration Reform (PFIR) defines it in its guiding principles for immigration policy: "By justice we mean even-handed and equitable treatment for all those involved," a collective in which it includes current or would-be legal immigrants, American workers, and future Americans.[28] Unauthorized children are sometimes pitted against those of immigrants with legal status, as in a CIS publication on immigrant welfare use: "We estimate that 52 percent of households with children headed by legal immigrants used at least one welfare program in 2009, compared to 71 percent for illegal immigrant households with children."[29] And not surprisingly, the reports also compare immigrant households to native ones: "In 2009 (based on data collected in 2010), 57 percent of households headed by an immigrant (legal and illegal) with children (under 18) used at least one welfare program, compared to 39 percent for native households with children." This type of move by an Information Sharing SMO leaves it to the reader to cast judgment, whereas the Expressive ALIPAC portrays the situation as inherently unfair: "All across America, our suffering citizens are standing in lines in grocery stores trying to make ends meet and barely able to feed their children while watching illegal immigrants use food stamps and welfare to benefit their families ahead of us."[30] The moral boundary is drawn around "suffering citizens" that have

been victimized by unauthorized immigrants, who should never benefit ahead of "us" (cf. Romero 2008).

Family Separation: The Peril and Promise of Deportation and Enforcement

The other side of family unity is family separation, through enforcement actions such as detention and deportation. The IR SMOs seek to blur the legal boundary that makes families separable. They do so through invoking moral standards; there is no justification, legal or moral, that warrants "tearing" or "ripping" apart families. In short, there is no boundary that should separate a family. Fathers and mothers simply shouldn't be deported. For some groups, the family even trumps considerations of the "model" immigrant/proto-citizen I describe in Chap. 4 (see also Yukich 2013a). For the IC SMOs, even though families are important, family separation is a necessary consequence of breaking the law. Preserving the legal boundary surrounding the territory of the United States is crucial and so is the border security that sometimes breaks up families. A moral boundary is drawn around the "American" family and maintaining it through border security and interior enforcement is the "right thing to do." It's not an extremist desire to protect the nation and those who rightfully belong to it.

Fighting Deportation and Enforcement: Families Without Borders

For the IR SMOs, there is frequently a sense of urgency directly related to the theme of family separation, since they are often calling for immediate help to prevent time-sensitive deportations. There are pleas to website visitors, Facebook fans, and Twitter followers that ask for action, whether in the form of signing a petition or making a phone call to ICE or to a legislator, to help stop a deportation (see also Gastelum 2011).[31] While virtually all groups ask that constituents call legislators to tell them to pass immigration reform, several have dedicated campaigns to prevent the individual deportations that separate families. The National Day Labor Organizing Network (NDLON) offers an "Anti-Deportations Toolkit" with a step-by-step guide for waging a public campaign, because "public support and strategic campaigns can be the difference between a family staying together, and a family being broken up."[32] The National Immigrant Youth Alliance (NIYA) has partnered with the Asian Law Caucus,

Educators for Fair Consideration, and DreamActivist.org in their Education Not Deportation project, producing a 63-page guide for undocumented youth in removal proceedings. In a sample case, the potential consequences of family separation are highlighted: "If deported, Pedro would be returned to a country where he has no family or friends."[33]

Other campaigns focus on narrating such consequences. The America's Voice (AV) "Human Cost of Inaction" page collects the stories of families in which there has been either a victory or a deportation. The following success story illustrates the ways in which AV emphasizes the moral character of the nevertheless deportable immigrant and stresses her family ties.

> Can you imagine being torn from your home and family after just trying to pay a ticket? It could have happened to Marinela if we hadn't stepped in to help. She was just trying to do the right thing by paying her fee, but instead she was arrested and detained by immigration officials. Marinela shouldn't have been a priority for deportation. She has three U.S. citizen children, has lived in Ohio for over ten years, and doesn't even have a criminal record. She's exactly the kind of immigrant we should be welcoming with open arms, not expelling! Marinela could have qualified for the deportation relief President Obama has been considering, but is now delaying because of political games. If Marinela had been deported, she would've been forced to uproot her children from their own country! Her entire family was hanging in the balance, so we put out a call for help from you. You flooded ICE with thousands of messages telling them Marinela and her family deserve to stay, and thanks to this pressure from you, she's won a one-year stay of deportation. Marinela and her children are so happy to be home![34]

This story provides a counternarrative to the IC SMOs' depiction of unauthorized immigrants as unlawful. Marinela is portrayed as simply "trying to do the right thing," to follow the rules even at great personal risk. She is "exactly the kind of immigrant" to welcome into the American family, yet her own family suffers, "hanging in the balance" because she has been "torn" from them. She is connected to the country by her US-citizen children and her longevity as a resident. In the end, activists have been able to blur the legal boundary just a little by pressuring ICE to give Marinela's case due consideration and delay deportation, at least for one year.

Family separation through deportation or detention is often represented through statistics, with certain numbers taking on an iconic status. As many of the groups point out, the United States deports approximately 1100

individuals every day (Simanski and Sapp 2013).[35] But the ways in which this figure is actually represented sacralize the family. For example, a stark, gray-tone graphic from United We Dream (UWD) featuring a single young child with his head bowed states, "1,100 families will be separated today."[36] RIFA's call to mobilize for an end to the "legislative fight" in Congress on immigration reform highlights the tragedy of family separation: "We will fight to put an end to the senseless and devastating deportation policy that tears apart 1,100 families every single day—individuals who would benefit from the passage of immigration reform that Speaker Boehner has obstructed."[37] Another iconic statistic is the total number of immigrants deported under the Obama administration, reaching two million in April 2014. This number is referenced much earlier than that, however. Already in December 2013, UWD had posted a photo on its Facebook page with a young girl and an American flag in the background, with the caption: "As President Obama spends the holidays with his family, he will have torn apart almost 2 million others."[38] In a press release on its website, it combines the portrayal of the deported immigrant as a family member with that of a worker: "President Obama's administration is responsible for almost 2 million deportations and the inhumane separation of countless families. More than any other president before him, he has aggressively detained and deported hard-working immigrants and members of our communities."[39] As I elaborate in Chap. 4, immigrants are ubiquitously portrayed as hard workers that contribute to the nation. This portrayal is often inseparable from their status as providers for their families. In an open letter addressed to the IR movement, Dream Action Coalition (DAC) brings a statistic to life by narrating the ways in which immigrants are separated from their families:

> Despite all the hard work that we did last year, we cannot ignore that we did not win a legislative policy change. In the same year we lived through close to 370,000 undocumented immigrants being deported by the Obama administration. We saw toddlers carry signs asking for their parents to be released from detention; we saw families taken in the middle of the night after a simple knock at the door; we saw ICE taking parents while working, and then labeling them as felons. Their only crime was to work to provide food for their family.[40]

By depicting these deported immigrants as family members *and* workers, DAC works to blur the legal boundary that excludes the unauthorized. The

"only crime" of providing for the family is not a valid criterion for the enforcement activities of ICE, which eerily resemble the techniques of a totalitarian regime—"taken in the middle of the night after a simple knock at the door." This narrative of innocence reveals the suffering of families whose breadwinners should not be criminalized for being unauthorized. By putting into question the definition of a "crime," the boundary between legal and illegal becomes blurred.

The threat of family separation through the maintenance of a legal boundary (i.e., enforcement) creates a drama in which families, and entire communities, live in constant fear and experience trauma. Diaz-Edelman highlights the role of children in such narratives: "The stories about fear of deportation are well-known among the activist community and especially powerful when they remind hearers about the effects on children" (2014, 91). The RIFA blog offers "Shanell's Story" with the headline, "Every single day families are being ripped apart because of ruthless, discriminatory laws." This mother of two narrates her fear: "When I say worry try to imagine not being able to sleep at night when your husband is working late because you don't know if he's still there or if ICE took him. Every time he leaves the house I'm terrified that he won't come back and I won't know how to find him." RIFA suggests expanding the legal boundary of citizenship as a solution to the traumatization of Shanell's children: "Reform with a path to citizenship would mean that Shanell, her husband, and their two young boys can sleep easily at night knowing they can stay together."[41] Indeed, entire families suffer the effects of enforcement. FIRM, in the caption of a Facebook photo of a two-parent, two-child family, pleads for immigrant families to experience "peace": "It is unreasonable and cruel to believe that a family will not undergo extreme hardship without the head of household present. It is imperative that you look into passing a family unity law ... so that the millions of families that have already been separated or may be separated by immigration, can finally live in peace."[42] The goal is to shift the legal boundary to accommodate all families by creating a new law that would protect the unauthorized from having their families separated.

And morality is always intertwined with such boundary work. Morally infused statements come, unsurprisingly, from the Call to Faith organizations; for example, People Improving Communities through Organizing's Campaign for Citizenship (PICO) declares, "It is morally unacceptable that millions of immigrant families live in fear of separation and cannot fully live out their God-given gifts."[43] But the calls for legal inclusion from the other types of organizations often carry moral judgments alongside. In a YouTube

video from UWD, an activist asserts, "We will fight for the ultimate protection from deportation for our families through full access to citizenship... We will fight to end this *cruel and inhuman* enforcement system that is ripping apart millions of families" (emphasis mine).[44] The goal of the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR) "100 Stories Project," part of its HURRICANE (The Human Rights Immigrant Community Action Network) initiative, is "putting a *human* face to the tragic consequences of the U.S. government's enforcement policies" (emphasis mine).[45] In a press release announcing a new phase of escalation entitled "Stop Separating Families," FIRM describes the tragic circumstances of families with unauthorized members: "The family-separation crisis is a very real and terrifying burden to a generation of parents and children who either live in crippling fear or continue to be tragically torn from one another...Together, they've [President Obama and Republicans] manufactured a painful moral crisis in our communities."[46] Calling the situation a "crisis" twice in one short paragraph points to its severity and referring to an entire "generation" speaks to its scope.

In a sense, the scope of the tragedy of family separation extends to all types of families, whether they are comprised of immigrants or not. On a webpage dedicated to asking for action, by signing a petition asking President Obama to halt deportations or by donating money to help a family in which the father/breadwinner was deported, PICO narrates tragic circumstances:

> Despite having lived in the U.S. for 16 years, on January 31, Erik and Nayelly's dad, Josue, was deported under the cover of darkness. This faithful father was not given proper access to his lawyer, wasn't allowed to say goodbye to his wife and children, and was left across a highly dangerous border in Mexico with nothing more than the clothes on his back and his wedding ring.[47]

Again, echoes of totalitarianism are invoked through a setting described as taking place "under the cover of darkness" with no access to legal representation. Such treatment cannot be forgiven, for Josue is emblematic of all breadwinners, not just the unauthorized. The graphic accompanying the text (see Fig. 3.1) works as a universalizing representation, declaring, "I am Josue." PICO asks and answers this question of collective identity:

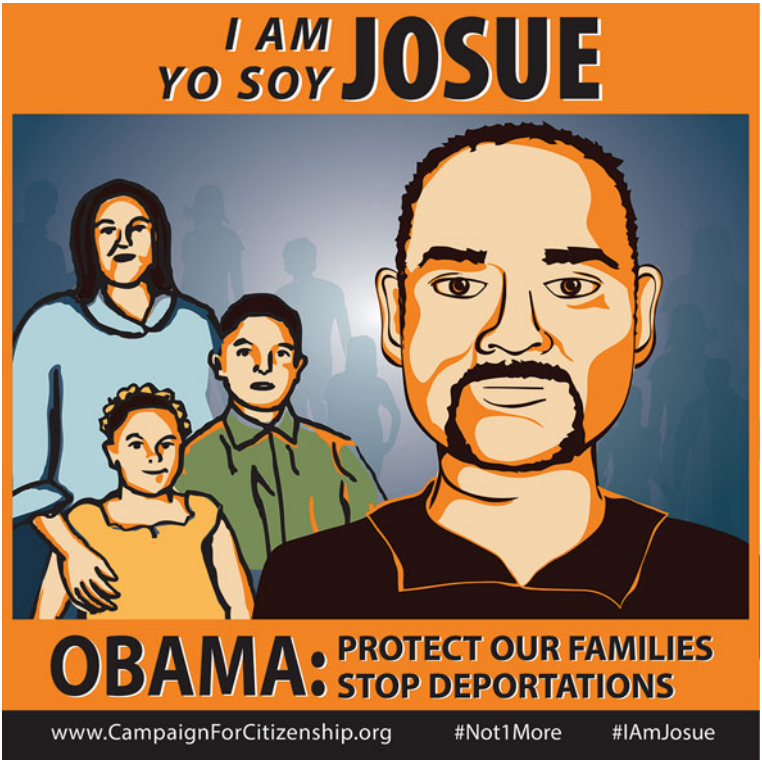

Fig. 3.1 Graphic © Campaign for Citizenship, PICO National Network, used with permission

Who Is Josue?

Josue Sandoval's story is like so many of ours—one of seeking to create a better future for his family, of deep investment in his community and in his congregation. Unfortunately, Josue's story is also like that of nearly two million families torn apart by deportation under the Obama administration, many of whom would qualify for legal status under legislation being considered by Congress.

Like Josue, we want to be full participants in our families, communities and countries. **We are all Josue.**

Josue is in the foreground, featured as a "full participant" at multiple levels—creating a better future for his family, investing in the community

and in the country. The remaining three family members are literally standing behind him, as are the shadowy figures behind them, representing countless other potential victims.

In addition to the many representations of heteronormative families, there are also calls by some of the SMOs to support LGBTQ families, perhaps the most at risk for separation. As Pallares (2010, 227–8) has noted, an emphasis on the family can be both inclusionary and exclusionary since it often relies on such a traditional model. And as Chávez explains in her work on how LGBTQ and IR activists enact cultural citizenship through "differential belonging":[48] "Migrants and queers challenge conventional belonging because they are both figured as strangers and threats to how the nation sees itself now, and, more importantly, how it hopes to see itself in the future" (2010, 150). About half of the lobby and lawsuit organizations and most of the Direct Action groups advocate LGBTQ rights through emphasizing family unity. The most common way this advocacy occurs is through the groups' frameworks and principles for reform, which call for treating LGBTQ immigrants petitioning for their partners "just like any other family," as UWD puts it.[49] FIRM takes its recommendation a step further and calls upon moral criteria; immigration reform should "Reunite ALL Families and Reduce Immigration Backlogs—The separation of families is not only morally unacceptable, immigration reform cannot be successful until we synchronize public policy with one of the main factors driving migration: family unity for all families, including LGBT families."[50] A few of the SMOs have dedicated programs to advance the cause of LGBTQ rights. NIYA engages in what it calls "intersectional organizing" through its UndocuQueer project, which is slated to launch a book "in which undocumented and queer immigrants share their stories about the uniqueness of these two identities intersecting": "The book will empower those who find themselves in the intersection of being undocumented and queer and help them discover that their identity does not need to be split into two parallel, non-intersecting movements."[51] UWD, which pledges in a YouTube video to "fight for the rights of LGBT" in the same breath as it declares, "We will fight for the basic rights for families to stay united,"[52] launched its QUIP (Queer Undocumented Immigrant Project) No More Closets Campaign on National Coming Out Day in 2013. The strategy of "coming out" has been borrowed from the LGBTQ rights community by unauthorized immigrant youth, in conjunction with the theme introduced among DREAMer activists in the spring of 2010: "undocumented and unafraid" (Anguiano 2011; Nicholls 2013; see also

Rivera-Silber 2013; Costanza-Chock 2014; Enriquez and Saguy 2015; Terriquez 2015).[53]

The Other Side of Deportation and Enforcement: Families Within Borders

While the IR SMOs are intent on protecting all families, whether authorized or not, the IC SMOs specifically seek to shield families legally within the borders of the country from the dangers that unchecked immigration brings. IC groups, Expressive and Information Sharing alike, call for protecting the nation and its citizens through enforcement, both at the border and in the interior of the country (see also Doty 2009; Griffith 2013). Multiple forms of harm await American families if the border is not secured, including economic, personal, and environmental damage, as well as threats to national security. What's more, Americans overwhelmingly want to be protected, purportedly supporting enforcement en masse. And it's not a partisan or ideological issue; it's simply a matter of right and wrong to want the rule of law to prevail. This is where moral considerations enter into the picture. Maintaining or shifting a legal boundary is the most important consideration but this goal rests on moral criteria to uphold it.

Border security and enforcement are vital to protecting Americans, which should be a primary consideration when seeking solutions to the immigrant "problem." One such solution for Americans for Immigration Control, Inc. (AIC) is to "cut foreign aid and deployment of U.S. troops abroad to fund immigration enforcement," because, "Our first duty is to protect our own nation and its people."[54] In lamenting the fact that the interests of the American people have been "ignored," FAIR reinforces the idea that Americans should come first: "Protecting the interests of Americans is the reason our immigration laws exist. Excessive immigration harms American workers, taxpayers, and our most vulnerable citizens. That's why we have to set and enforce limits."[55] NUSA is careful to include immigrants (presumably those with legal status) among the "vulnerable" American families subject to the harm of unconstrained immigration: "With tens of millions of Americans—native and foreign-born—currently unable to support a family at even lower-middle-class standards, should the federal government continue to import hundreds of thousands of new foreign workers to compete with the most vulnerable of our countrymen and women?"[56] ALIPAC sums up the various forms of potential damage: "There are many problems associated with illegal immigration and illegal immigrants, which is why

America has existing immigration and border laws designed to protect our citizens. The main problems caused by illegal immigration are lost jobs, depreciated wages, stolen taxpayer resources, and increased numbers of crimes and domestic terrorism. Each of these problems harms Americans in many ways."[57] In this case, Americans are equated with citizens, leaving nonnaturalized immigrants in the country legally out of the picture. They are made invisible by the focus on illegality.

Presumably, Americans are in favor of being protected from all the harm that immigration can bring. On a webpage announcing a Department of Homeland Security report with "new facts" about immigration, Tea Party Patriots (TPP) claims, "Americans want the federal government to step up and for once, get serious about securing our borders and enforcing the rule of law when it comes to immigration. Recent polls back that up."[58] However, some extrapolation is required; the one poll TPP cites simply finds that Americans are now more likely to trust Republicans when it comes to handling immigration. The same poll (Meckler 2014a) also finds that even if the level is waning, a majority of Americans still support legislation with a pathway to citizenship for unauthorized immigrants, especially if they are given detail about the requirements such immigrants would have to meet. ALIPAC dispenses with any citation at all: "Broad consensus exists for these [enforcement] measures, as multiple, national and local polls show over 80+% support for each one. From these multiple examples of support, we can see that the American public not only supports these measures, but American citizens are dismayed to discover that each facet has been compromised by an influential political minority."[59] NPG offers a simple proclamation, "The concern of Americans about a porous, disorderly border runs deep,"[60] and elsewhere its president refers to the desire for immigration law being the "will of the American people."[61] Whether there really is such broad support for stricter enforcement and a more secure border is not the issue. What is revealed is the presence of a cultural structure about public opinion that is deeply rooted in assumptions about the nature of the border.

The physical border is constructed as fragile and permeable, open to untold dangers, narrated in detail by several of the IC groups. Michael Cutler, in writing a policy brief entitled "The Liberal Case for Effective Immigration Law Enforcement" for PFIR, sums up the threats:

> Of course, as borders are made more porous, criminals, terrorists, contraband and foreign competitors are able to more easily transit our borders and enter

> the United States. This undermines national security, public safety, public health, and the well-being of America and Americans. In fact, U.S. borders are our first and last line of defense against international terrorists, transnational criminals, and aliens with dangerous communicable diseases who would otherwise undermine national security, public safety, and the well-being of the nation.[62]

Cutler repeats the main concerns—national security, public safety and the well-being of America—in two consecutive sentences, drawing the reader's attention to the crucial importance of borders in protecting the nation and its people. But because the border is "porous," those who would do the nation harm can easily enter its territory. TPP's 2014 film, *The Border States of America*, offers a dire warning and a promise of "truth":

> An unprecedented wave of illegal immigration is washing over America, threatening the fabric of our nation. But the Obama Administration refuses to enforce our immigration laws, resulting in tens of thousands of people illegally entering the US. Now, our new film reveals the full scope of this crisis.
>
> The Border States of America takes viewers from the Rio Grande Valley to towns across the country, telling the story of human smugglers and drug cartels who profit from Obama's policies; of American citizens whose lives are put at risk; and the social and economic toll on our communities. We cut through the fog to bring you the truth about what is really happening with the border crisis.[63]

The opening sentence utilizes powerful imagery in the form of a water metaphor, with a "wave" of immigrants "washing" over the country. Ono and Sloop (2002, 54–55) describe this type of "invasion" theme used by proponents of Proposition 187 in California. In his analysis of *Los Angeles Times* articles on immigration, Santa Ana (1999) suggests that the metonym of "dangerous water" is linked to a metaphor of the nation as a "house" that is being threatened by the arrival of immigrants. I find water metaphors employed by a majority (6 of 9) of the IC groups in my sample, both Expressive and Information Sharing. In the passage above, the "wave" has created a full-blown "crisis," with the lives of American citizens at risk of social and economic effects. The goal of the film is to "cut through the fog" and reveal the scope of such a border crisis.

Many of the IC groups' photos (12.9 percent) depict the border, usually with an indictment of Obama for not securing it or for rewarding or granting amnesty to "illegals" or "illegal aliens." The consequential dangers

of an unsecured border may arrive from far away. NUSA overlays a Facebook photo of putative terrorists with the warning, "ISIS has already or will soon slip across our porous southern border."[64] A TPP graphic offers a similar warning. The text reads "Like if you Agree" across the top and "OBAMA MUST SECURE THE BORDER" along the bottom, with OBAMA in the largest letters. The photo depicts what appear to be soldiers marching and carrying banners and flags in Arabic.[65] In an aerial photo of a fence in a bleak landscape, FAIR asks, "Is the Border Crisis Coming to your Town?"[66] It guides the viewer to its website, where it provides a map of the places throughout the country where immigrants are sent for detention. Water-based metaphors are employed to demonstrate the ubiquity of the threat: "While the *surge* of illegal aliens into the U.S. is happening primarily in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, the ramifications that Obama's policies have created are causing a *ripple effect* that is only starting to be felt by communities throughout the country" (emphasis mine).[67] In both the textual and visual discourses, what is "the" border is rarely specified. There is an assumption that the only border that matters is the US-Mexican border. Nevins (2002, 2) talks about the rising level of official and public concern in the 1990s about an "out of control" southern "boundary."[68] According to Rodriguez, the representation and social construction of an out-of-control border take place at various levels: through border visits by government officials, political candidates, commissions, and so on, in which a crisis is declared and promised to be resolved; through state and local officials and restrictionist organizations that highlight the fiscal costs of unauthorized immigrants crossing the border; and through organizations and think tanks that promote a view that the country is overrun by immigrants (1997, 228–30). Chavez notes that the US-Mexico border has been a "key location" in the discourse of the Latino Threat Narrative and it is where the "battle" takes place in a "war on illegal immigration" (2013, 135–6).

The IC SMOs offer two solutions for dealing with a porous and dangerous border—to maintain the legal boundary around the nation by enforcing already-existing laws and to solidify and shift it through increased border security. The former is much more emphasized but they often appear side by side. The exclamatory rationale behind ALIPAC's "FOUR POINT PLATFORM" is straightforward: "Simply enforce our existing immigration laws!" The four pillars of the platform call for action across different realms:

1. Secure Our Borders.
2. Crack down on employers that intentionally hire illegals.
3. Remove incentives and rewards to illegals such as licenses, welfare, and other taxpayer benefits.
4. Enforce our existing laws and deport illegal aliens when convicted of crimes or detected during routine law enforcement activities.[69]

Similarly, NPG's president invokes nostalgia for an immigration system that may not have ever existed in reality: "As a nation, it is not too late for us to return to a functioning immigration system where our borders are secure, the laws are enforced, and the will of the American people on this issue is respected—not ignored."[70] Arguments that are a bit more sophisticated reference the principle of attrition—unauthorized immigrants will simply leave the country if it is made too difficult for them to stay. Of course, creating such conditions is far from simple, as FAIR's list of demands demonstrates: "We must enforce our existing immigration laws, eliminate fraud throughout the system, and prohibit the adoption of policies by state/local governments that encourage illegal immigration or provide benefits to illegal aliens. Enforcement doesn't require mass deportation. If we enforce our laws and remove the incentives to remain here, many illegal aliens will go home on their own."[71] In keeping with the tendency to try to offer rational evidence to justify an argument, a publication from AIC makes a sensationalist claim about attrition: "This [attrition] is indeed what happened in 1954 when the Eisenhower Administration cracked down on illegal immigration. For each person deported, as many as ten others went home on their own."[72] Doty argues that this type of enforcement strategy represents "a contemporary example of what a society looks like as it becomes structured along the lines of 'the exception' " (2009, 83) and implicates border vigilantes and the "anti-immigrant movement" in this exceptionalism.[73]

While the many arguments for protecting Americans seem to be all about legality and reinforcing a boundary that has become blurred through lax enforcement, moral considerations seep through. One way this moral boundary construction occurs is through claims that it is *not* a partisan or ideological issue to want unauthorized immigrants to be controlled through border security and enforcement. As ALIPAC puts it, "It is not hateful or mean spirited in any way to want illegal immigrants to go home and to want our borders and immigration laws enforced." However, the "illegal immigrants" webpage containing this assertion also has a photo

portraying dark-skinned men (presumably Latino immigrants) in a derogatory fashion.[74] Michael Cutler, speaking for PFIR, makes an assumption about what is "reasonable": "It is incomprehensible that a reasonable American of any political orientation would disagree that our government must protect Americans from the specter of terrorism and threats posed by transnational criminals."[75] Later in the same publication, Cutler makes a moral judgment outright: "The point is that when it comes to immigration, the public is constantly bombarded with the notion that immigration enforcement is only a concern for extreme political conservatives, racists, nativists, or the intolerant. . . however, immigration is not at all about 'left' or 'right,' but about right or wrong." NPG's Lindsey Grant puts it a bit differently, in discussing the "debate between those who argue that the United States should welcome mass immigration and those who point out that we must limit immigration if we are to protect U.S. job opportunities and, eventually, stop U.S. population growth," proclaiming: "The immigration debate is not simply a debate between good and evil. It is in part a conflict between moral but irreconcilable beliefs."[76] Grant pits two polarized (moral) positions against each other, creating a zero-sum situation. One is either for "mass immigration" or concerned with the welfare of the country. There is no way to reconcile these stances.

Bringing in Politics: The Family as a Justification for Action

Politics permeates discussions of the family, especially for the IR SMOs, who constantly call upon politicians to support comprehensive immigration reform. One of the most common references they make is to government inefficiency, usually with regard to a "broken" immigration system and how it harms immigrant families. Because the current system does not function correctly, the legal boundary excluding the unauthorized is invalidated. What the IR groups want to see is a shift in the legal boundary to encompass all immigrants by putting the unauthorized on a path to citizenship, a desire I will elaborate in Chap. 4. The IC SMOs also think the system doesn't work, but they rarely apply the term "broken." Instead, they talk a great deal about Obama's lack of willingness to enforce immigration law. In short, the IC SMOs seek to maintain what they consider a perfectly valid legal boundary that mandates the departure of unauthorized immigrants. Both sides justify their political position with moral criteria.

Immigration Reform Is for Families

For the IR SMOs, the theme of politics is almost always related to comprehensive immigration reform, which in turn is overwhelmingly related to the theme of families. In a YouTube video posted shortly after the 2014 State of the Union address by President Obama, UWD elaborates the "State of the Dream," declaring its intentions to "fight" to end an enforcement system that is "ripping apart millions of families." The speaker directly exhorts President Obama and Speaker Boehner: "The state of the dream has one real clear message for you—stop separating our families this year and show us your bills. Get it together."[77] Among the Call to Faith organizations in particular, family is the primary political concern. PICO makes it a black-and-white issue: "We hope that as [House] leaders in Congress they will listen to their constituents, who overwhelmingly support reform with a pathway to citizenship. We will not stop fighting for our families. *Voters will remember in November who stood with immigrant families and who stood against them* (emphasis mine)."[78] In a letter addressed to the House of Representatives, the Evangelical Immigration Table (EIT) emphasizes the "suffering" of immigrant families *and* workers, reflecting the duality with which immigrants are often portrayed. They are not only family members (as opposed to lone, dangerous men) but also active contributors to society as workers.[79]

> As you continue to work towards a complete legislative solution for immigration reform, you and your staff are in our prayers. We appreciate the complexity of designing a system that meets our country's needs and that can meet with broad public acceptance. Through Bible reading, prayer, and public education campaigns we have mobilized a broad base of evangelical support for immigration reform. But while Congress debates reform proposals, *immigrant families and workers continue to suffer under our broken system.* Now it is time to finish the job. Please prioritize work to finalize immigration reform legislation this year (emphasis mine).[80]

There is both a note of thanks and a warning. Congress is given credit for continuing to work on immigration reform, but it is also beseeched to "finish the job" of fixing a "broken system." There is an implicit caveat in the statement that notes "a broad base of evangelical support" for immigration reform, implying that immigration reform may be an issue in the decision to support a particular politician at election time.

Indeed, comprehensive immigration reform is such a pressing issue because the current system is "broken" and thus the legal boundary is invalidated. Regardless of the type of IR organization, and how it frames the issue, the emphasis is on how the broken system affects families. The Call to Faith groups see immigration reform primarily through moral lenses. For example, PICO's self-description of "Who We Are" heralds family as a core national value: "The Campaign for Citizenship represents Americans of faith and aspiring Americans who believe that full citizenship rights for 11 million aspiring Americans is the only response to our broken patchwork of immigration laws consistent with the American values of freedom, fairness and family."[81] The lobby and lawsuit organizations draw attention to the plight of unauthorized immigrant families, which evokes shared moral concerns. In a photo posted on its Facebook page of a mother who "hasn't been able to see her 3 children in El Salvador for 20 Mother's Days," the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) makes the personal political: "No family should be torn apart by a broken immigration system. Let's make this the *last* Mother's Day where forced separation takes mothers away from their children and loved ones."[82] And Direct Action groups are more likely to address politicians directly. The Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles executive director specifically chastises Republicans for falling short in their immigration reform principles announced in January 2014, "Months after an immigration reform bill passed in the Senate, the House GOP leadership issues principles to fix our broken immigration system. Having learned little from their recent mistakes, Republicans once again wield a strong fist against family unity and reunification. . ."[83]

Fixing the broken system is not just the responsibility of recalcitrant Republicans. An op-ed by UWD's founder puts the needs of families up front and accuses both parties of irresponsibility when it comes to their welfare: "Our families desperately need relief and for the constant shadow of deportation to be lifted. We will continue to hold politicians accountable for their lack of leadership and the ways in which both political parties have played games with our lives. That need for immediate relief is our number one priority."[84] The Obama administration is singled out for the record number of deportations carried out under its watch.[85] An NCLR graphic highlights with a statistic the ways in which the administration breaks up families and calls upon its constituents to take action. Entitled, "IMMIGRATION REFORM REALITY CHECK," it depicts a young girl with her arms encircling her father. The main text reads: "REPUBLICANS SAY

THE PRESIDENT CAN'T BE TRUSTED TO ENFORCE THE LAW BUT. . .IN REALITY, THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION DEPORTED 204,000+ PARENTS OF U.S. CITIZENS. At the very bottom, the viewer is provided a phone number and asked to call her representative: "TELL THEM TO STOP MAKING EXCUSES AND FIX OUR BROKEN IMMIGRATION SYSTEM."[86] A petition by AV addressed to President Obama pleads for relief through executive action and indicts both sides of the political fence: "Our families have been the ones paying for the cost of their [Republicans'] inaction. That's 1,010 families who will lose a mother, father, son, or daughter today because leaders can't do their jobs. That's why we're demanding President Obama help our families and stop deporting eligible immigrants today as we continue to pile the pressure on House Republicans."[87]

The Politics of Enforcement

The IC SMOs are also disillusioned with politicians, and as with the IR groups, President Obama is the chief target (see also Gemignani and Hernandez-Albujar 2015). Under the Obama administration, immigration laws simply aren't being enforced and America's families are left unprotected. Perhaps none puts it as bluntly as ALIPAC, on its webpage devoted entirely to Obama and the issue of illegal immigration:

> Barack Obama has been the worst President in US History on the issue of illegal immigration and border security. George Bush was horrible on this issue and he left our borders open and our immigration laws unenforced during a time of war, but Obama is worse because he actually supports illegal immigration, amnesty for illegal immigrants, and the destruction of the borders of the United States.[88]

For this transgression, ALIPAC asserts, Congress should be enforcing consequences upon the president, in the form of impeachment and charges of treason. The president is also accused of asserting that he is tough on enforcement but acting otherwise, to the detriment of public safety. In its analysis of an ICE document detailing the release of 36,000 "criminal aliens" in 2013, CIS condemns Obama's policies: "[D]espite professions of a focus on removal of criminal aliens, Obama administration policies frequently have allowed political considerations to trump public safety factors."[89] In its "National No Amnesty Petition," TPP charges the

president with plunging American families into danger: "Whereas, his policies have created a border crisis that is endangering tens of thousands of families on our southern border."[90]

Not surprisingly, Democrats are also singled out by some of the IC groups, for ostensibly having an ulterior motive in granting "amnesty,"[91] understood as any form of legalization for unauthorized immigrants. The rationale is that immigrants allowed to become citizens will become a powerful Democratic voting bloc of "unassimilated and easily-manipulated voters," as AIC puts it.[92] Announcing a publication on the topic entitled "Exposed: The Real Reason for Amnesty," AICF exposes the true motivation of a dangerous coalition led by "Democrat Party strategists":

> For years the advocates of open borders–in and out of government–have sanctimoniously declared their cause to be one based on compassion and tolerance. They have smeared their opponents–those who favor tighter immigration controls–as racists, bigots, and xenophobes. In this no-holds-barred article, we expose the truth behind their goals: it is not a simple humanitarian concern for the welfare of illegal aliens. Instead, what these liberals, as well as some "conservatives," seek is raw political power.[93]

AICF debunks the humanitarian values put forth by "open borders" advocates and in the process, defends those favoring immigration controls, who are being "smeared" with name-calling. The publication also alleges a "carefully plotted strategy" that will "reduce the political clout of the native white middle class, which generally votes conservatively in national elections, while enlarging and enhancing the voting strength of constituencies that tend to vote for left-wing candidates." The next paragraph, however, reveals a different sort of threat: "If the plan succeeds, America's ethnic composition and cultural and political character will be changed forever."[94] What is really at issue is the risk of losing a mainstream core that is largely white and Euro-American.

At times, both parties are held equally responsible for the problems that immigration brings. In his policy brief for PFIR, Michael Cutler seeks to nuance the blame game:

> It is often stated that Republicans view large numbers of foreign workers (both legal and illegal), as a source of cheap labor for their wealthy contributors, while Democrats view illegal entrants as potential voters. This is an extremely simplistic view, but does have some merit. The point is that the leadership of both political parties see huge gains to be had when large

> numbers of aliens are allowed to enter the United States. This is why when the leadership of the Democrat and Republican parties fight over immigration and border security, their "battles" are as staged as were the battles waged by the wrestling teams we watched as youngsters. For the most part, the outcomes of the fights were predetermined and the actual battle was as scripted as a carefully choreographed ballet.
>
> Just as leaders from both political parties ponder the potential gains when dismantling our borders and undermining the integrity of the immigration system, Americans from all political perspectives are suffering the negative consequences of these willful actions. If there is one issue where all Americans can and should agree, it is the absolute necessity of securing our borders against the illegal entry of people and contraband.[95]

Cutler acknowledges that both Republicans and Democrats have an agenda when it comes to immigration, both legal and illegal. Using a military metaphor, he points out the staged and scripted nature of what he sees as nothing less than political theater. "Americans from all political perspectives" are the ones that suffer as a result, and they must wake up as a united audience to the fact that the borders must be secured. In a related vein, TPP traces back such party cooperation several political generations: "In 1986, a Republican President Ronald Reagan and a Democratic-controlled Congress agreed to grant amnesty to illegal immigrants in return for securing the borders and enforcing the law. Congress failed to secure and enforce, and now Washington wants to repeat history. The result will be the same."[96] Oliviero (2011) refers to such rhetoric as part of an effort to portray "apocalyptic future memory," in which a catastrophe is imminent if nothing is done about current levels of immigration. She explains how, in calling upon the figure of the child, groups such as the Minutemen she studied transfer the vulnerability inherent in such a future to abstracted ideals of the nation and work to ensure a "heroic" one instead: "They bemoan the loss of a homogenous America, blaming its corruption on immigration, a powerful fetish concealing that this paradise was always already absent. Protecting the legacy of the nation for generations to come becomes a way of ensuring this future" (ibid., 689). Blame is heaped upon the government and its "moral failure to protect its citizenry" (ibid., 682; see also Dechaine 2009; Hayden 2010). The nation is vulnerable because politicians aren't doing their job.

In the eyes of the IC SMOs, what politicians should be focusing on instead is acting in the best interests of the nation and maintaining the perfectly valid legal boundary around it. Only a few of the organizations see

a need for comprehensive reform to existing immigration policy. But it should be done with the American people's interests in mind, as FAIR puts it in its recommendation for "true" immigration reform: "Everyone agrees that our dysfunctional immigration system must be fixed, but efforts by our lawmakers have ultimately failed for one simple reason: the interests of the American people have been consistently ignored."[97] Not only partisanship is to blame but also politicians' putting "special interests" ahead of the needs of American families (see also Reimers 1998). In PFIR's proposal for "comprehensive immigration reform," one of the five core principles guiding immigration policy should be "furthering the national interest," which means that "immigration policy needs to be made with the interests of all Americans in mind—particularly those with less wealth or power, who tend to get overlooked. Not just the wealthy few or the big corporations, who have had great success driving down wages and lowering incomes for American workers in recent decades, and who do not need any more help in this endeavor from politicians."[98] The concern for the American worker is up front when CIS asks, "Are you with the American people or the post-American plutocrats?" and states, "[P]oliticians must back up their words with pro-American immigration actions. The political party that wants to attract the vast majority of potential votes across the nation for its candidates in the 2016 presidential and congressional elections and beyond must demonstrate convincingly that it is the party of the would-be working American."[99] This concern is not only about legality; it is an explicitly moral one: "I believe that this is more than a great political message; this is the truly compassionate, moral, and honorable position."

* * *

Both the IR and the IC SMOs in this study value family and employ it as a collective representation in their symbolic boundary work. Its omnipresence as a theme among IR groups speaks to the ways in which they endeavor to *blur* the legal boundary that separates the unauthorized from "Americans." The family is in fact a boundaryless construction that answers first and foremost to moral concerns. While waiting for legislation that will reflect such a position by allowing unauthorized families to legally join the larger American family, individuals should be allowed to *cross* the boundary rather than be deported and separated from their families. The value of family unity, often depicted through children as stand-ins who represent the movement as a whole, is the cornerstone upon which the IR movement

justifies its opposition to enforcement processes such as detention and deportation. Families belong together, regardless of legal status. Appeals to politicians reference the "broken" system that prevents the unauthorized from attaining legal status that will keep families intact.

Among the IC SMOs, the legal boundary surrounding the nation must be *maintained*, or even *solidified*. The US-born children of unauthorized immigrants should not automatically become citizens because morally speaking, it simply isn't just or fair to Americans (both "true" citizens and legal immigrants) to grant these children and their families such an advantage. Allowing them the ability to benefit from welfare, to eventually legalize their parents and other relatives, and to become voters actually puts "them" ahead of "us." Of course, the issue of birthright citizenship wouldn't be such a problem if the legal boundary were maintained in the first place. Enforcement is necessary to protect "American" families and put their interests first, even if it results in the separation of immigrant families. The concern with separating families should have been a consideration before migration even occurred. Politicians need to make enforcement a priority and uphold the rule of law, which is in place to protect a fragile and permeable border.

Equally as important as the sphere of family in contemporary debates about immigration is the domain of formal legal belonging. Citizenship is the ultimate prize for immigrants when it comes to legal status for immigrant families. But, according to both movements, such status must be earned. The IR groups envision a "path" along which the unauthorized can traverse to cross this formidable legal boundary; the IC groups see this trek as the road to disaster, perceiving it as a dangerous "amnesty." The following chapter unpacks the ways in which organizations in both movements reflect a vision of immigrants (both those with legal status and the unauthorized) as economic actors in the quest for citizenship.

Notes

1. The term "deporter-in-chief" originated among local activists in August 2011, traveling through local activist networks at the periphery of the IR movement and rising to national prominence when Murguía used it in March 2014 (Nicholls et al. 2016, 1050–51).
2. This strong focus on the family is largely the result of the efforts of a 2005 campaign by NALACC (National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities) entitled "Keep Our Families

Together." NALACC describes itself as "a pioneer organization in emphasizing the importance of family unification as a key strategic position for immigration advocacy" ("Our Work," n.d., National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities website, accessed April 15, 2015. http://www.nalacc.org/our-work/#sthash.zZVUJ9PL.dpuf).

My findings with regard to family unity mirror prior work on the IR movement. Diaz-Edelman argues that "the preservation of family unity is one of the most sacredly held rights sought after in the IRM [immigrant rights movement]" (2014, 104). Sziarto and Leitner (2010, 387) describe how riders in the 2003 Immigrant Workers' Freedom Ride, immigrants from different countries as well as non-immigrants, used the notion of family to interpret each other's experiences. Pallares finds in her study of LFLU (*La Familia Latina Unida*) that "the unity and continuity of family is in and of itself a value that must be preserved and pursued above the laws of the state" (2010, 229–30). And even as far back as 1998, Reimers suggests that adding the idea of families to the powerful appeal of the immigration story would create a "nearly unbeatable combination" for pro-immigration forces (1998, 146).

3. The other two reasons usually stated are for specialized work categories ("immigrants with truly extraordinary skills in the national interest") and "our fair share" of refugees ("About Us," n.d., NumbersUSA website, accessed October 27, 2014, https://www.numbersusa.com/about). But these categories are often interpreted very narrowly. For examples, NUSA challenges claims that refugees may have kinship ties: "But if blood ties cannot be verified, how do U.S. immigration officials know that people claiming to be 'family' are not simply attempting to pull off a scam?" ("Reduce Refugee and Visa Fraud," n.d., NumbersUSA website, accessed October 27, 2014. https://www.numbersusa.org/solutions/reduce-refugee-and-visa-fraud). And some groups specify how many legal immigrants should be allowed into the country annually. FAIR believes in cutting to "traditional levels" of about 300,000 ("7 Principles of True Comprehensive Immigration Reform," n. d., accessed November 15, 2015, http://www.fairus.org/about/7-principles-of-true-comprehensive-immigration-reform) and NPG wants to cut the numbers by "four-fifths," allowing only 200,000 (David Simcox and Tracy Canada, 2014, "Toward Negative Population

Growth: Cutting Legal Immigration by Four-Fifths," Negative Population Growth website, accessed November 15, 2015, http://www.npg.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/TowardNPG-CuttingIllegalImmigration.pdf). Reimers charts the emergence of the idea among restrictionists that a "breathing space" of low or no immigration is again required, as in the period from the 1920s to 1965, when restrictive laws severely limited immigration (1998, 115–6).

4. "Frequently Asked Questions." n.d. Center for Immigration Studies website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://cis.org/Immigration-Policy-Frequently-Asked-Questions-FAQ.
5. "End Chain Migration." n.d. NumbersUSA website. Accessed October 27, 2014. https://www.numbersusa.com/solutions/end-chain-migration.
6. In his analysis of the narratives that justify war, Philip Smith elaborates the ways in which apocalyptic narratives operate to portray a situation as dire: "[E]vents are seen as unequivocally world-historical, and as in need of heroic interventions, for the object of struggle is the future destiny of the planet or civilization" (2005, 27). Among the IC SMOs, uncontrolled immigration, propelled by "chain migration," threatens the fate of the country, unleashing dangerous consequences.
7. "Seven Immigration Myths and Facts." n.d. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations website. Accessed November 15, 2015. www.aflcio.org/content/download/3138/.../immigration_myths_facts.pdf.
8. Federation for American Immigration Reform Facebook page news feed, July 22, 2015. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/FAIRImmigration/photos/a.95826454473.85681.21559454473/10153616726649474/?type=1&theater. The Breitbart report concerns an occasion in which an unauthorized immigrant family confronted Wisconsin governor (and then Republican presidential hopeful) Scott Walker on the campaign trail. Its emphasis is on how the mainstream media reportage of the event doesn't reveal the family's sponsorship by *Voces de la Frontera*, a group the author calls "a leftist, anti-war, anti-deportation, pro-sanctuary, pro-driver's licenses for illegal immigrants group," which engages in "day-to-day tactical warfare against immigration enforcement in the United State [*sic*]" (Stranahan 2015).

9. Within the IR movement, the US flag serves as a powerful symbol in two ways—through flying and "flagging." First, there is the proudly flying flag featured in photos of participants at protests and marches. Second, there is the unwaved flag that Billig describes as so crucial an item of "banal nationalism": "Daily, the nation is indicated, or 'flagged,' in the lives of its citizenry" (1995, 6). This flag is the background for many of the visuals the SMOs produce online, such as Facebook cover photos and graphics. It was the third most popular single representation (after children/families and politics), appearing in 12.4 percent of the photos and graphics in my sample.
10. Reform Immigration for America Facebook page, June 19, 2013. Accessed November 15, 2105. https://www.facebook.com/reformimmigrationforamerica/photos/pb.84258068778.-2207520000.1443186871./10151472288643779/?type=3&theater.
11. The Senate bill S-744 had proposed a path to legal status and eventual citizenship for most of the unauthorized immigrants in the country, contingent on the implementation of increased border security and interior enforcement. The "Little Dreamer" amendment had called for children too young to qualify for the same 5-year path to citizenship as older DREAMers to be given the same consideration, instead of having to wait up to 13 years.
12. Webmaster. "Capitol Police Yell at Small Children, Threaten Arrest." 2013. Fair Immigration Reform Movement website, December 5. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.fairimmigration.org/2013/12/05/capitol-police-yell-at-small-children-threaten-arrest/.
13. Reform Immigration for America Facebook Page, September 8, 2014. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/reformimmigrationforamerica/posts/10152338340118779.
14. "ACLU Framework for Immigration Reform, Protecting Civil Liberties in Federal Immigration Reform Legislation." 2013. American Civil Liberties Union website, May. Accessed January 6, 2014. https://www.aclu.org/immigrants-rights/aclu-framework-immigration-reform.
15. "Immigration Enforcement." n.d. American Civil Liberties Union website. Accessed January 6, 2014. https://www.aclu.org/immigrants-rights/immigration-enforcement.
16. "Additional Child Tax Credit Vote Could Harm One Million Undocumented Youth." 2014. National Immigration Forum

website, February 11. Accessed March 13, 2015. http://immigrationforum.org/media/additonal-child-tax-credit-vote-could-harm-one-million-undocumented-youth.

17. As I complete this book, the debate over birthright citizenship is in the spotlight, among Republican presidential contenders as well as news media. The debate seems to have gathered momentum after Donald Trump (n.d., 4) declared birthright citizenship "the biggest magnet for illegal immigration." Like the trend in unauthorized immigration overall, the number of babies born to unauthorized immigrant parents has actually declined, from a peak in 2007 (Passel and Cohn 2015). Nevertheless, the IC SMOs in my sample have seized upon this moment to highlight the detrimental effects of such births. For example, NUSA has released a "Birthright Citizenship Fact Sheet" elaborating the population impact and the costs to US taxpayers ("Birthright Citizenship Fact Sheet," 2015, NumbersUSA website, October 19, accessed November 15, 2015, https://www.numbersusa.com/resource-article/birthright-citizenship-fact-sheet).
18. Feere, Jon. 2010. "Birthright Citizenship in the United States: A Global Comparison." Center for Immigration Studies website, August. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.cis.org/sites/cis.org/files/articles/2010/birthright.pdf.
19. NPG. 2014. "NPG Releases New President's Column in Response to Influx of Central American Immigration." Negative Population Growth website, July 17. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.npg.org/library/press-releases/5922.html.
20. "Reform Birthright Citizenship." n.d. NumbersUSA website. Accessed October 27, 2014. https://www.numbersusa.com/solutions/reform-birthright-citizenship.
21. "Reform Birthright Citizenship." n.d. NumbersUSA website. Accessed October 27, 2014. https://www.numbersusa.com/solutions/reform-birthright-citizenship.
22. Feere, Jon. 2010. "Birthright Citizenship in the United States: A Global Comparison." Center for Immigration Studies website, August. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.cis.org/sites/cis.org/files/articles/2010/birthright.pdf.
23. Gheen, William. 2006. "How to Reverse Illegal Immigration in America." Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website, March 16. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.alipac.us/f31/how-reverse-illegal-immigration-america-17164/.

24. One could also argue that the IC SMOs are actually critiquing what they see as the dehumanization and instrumentalization of children by the IR movement.
25. On the portrayal of unauthorized immigrant women, especially Mexicans or Latinas, as hyper-reproductive, see also Chavez (2013).
26. I am certainly not implying that racialization of unauthorized immigrants is completely absent among the groups I studied. It is simply that they seem to have worked very hard to distance themselves from such discourse, which is still prevalent among the more extremist and overtly anti-immigrant groups active today.
27. "Sample Speech: The Case Against Amnesty." n.d. American Immigration Control Foundation website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.aicfoundation.com/books/ActionKitSampleSpeechAmnesty.pdf.
28. "A Proposal for Comprehensive Immigration Reform." n.d. Progressives for Immigration Reform website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.progressivesforimmigrationreform.org/a-proposal-for-comprehensive-immigration-reform/.
29. Camarota, Steven A. 2011. "Welfare Use by Immigrant Households with Children: A Look at Cash, Medicaid, Housing, and Food Programs." Center for Immigration Studies website, April. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.cis.org/sites/cis.org/files/articles/2011/immigrant-welfare-use-4-11.pdf.
30. "Problems with Illegal Immigration." n.d. Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.alipac.us/problems_with_illegal_immigration/.
31. Calls to action among the IR SMOs appear in 10.5 percent of the photos and graphics and 5.6 percent of the text.
32. "Anti-Deportations Toolkit." 2013. National Day Labor Organizing Network website, April 4. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.notonemoredeportation.com/2013/04/04/anti-deportations-toolkit/.
33. Asian Law Caucus, Educators for Fair Consideration, DreamActivist.org and National Immigrant Youth Alliance. n.d. "Education Not Deportation: A Guide for Undocumented Youth in Removal Proceedings." Educators for Fair Consideration website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.e4fc.org/images/E4FC_DeportationGuide.pdf.

34. "Human Cost of Inaction." n.d. America's Voice website. Accessed March 13, 2015. http://americasvoice.org/relief/.
35. More current data, for 2013, put the number at 1,200 ("Yearbook" n.d.).
36. United We Dream Facebook Page, November 19, 2013. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/UnitedWeDream/photos/a.131112820283215.20800.130234313704399/598979353496557/?type=1.
37. "This Is Not Over Until We Say It's Over." n.d. Reform Immigration for America website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://reformimmigrationforamerica.org/this-is-not-over-until-we-say-it-s-over/.
38. United We Dream Facebook page, December 13, 2013. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/UnitedWeDream/photos/a.131112820283215.20800.130234313704399/611888168872342/?type=1.
39. "UWD Outraged at Speaker Boehner's Lack of Leadership: Stop Playing Political Games with our Lives." n.d. United We Dream website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://unitedwedream.org/press-releases/uwd-outraged-speaker-boehners-lack-leadership-stop-playing-political-games-lives/.
40. "Open Letter to the Immigrant Rights Movement: Our Families Can't Wait." n.d. Dream Action Coalition website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://ymlp.com/xgjuhqsygmguj.
41. "Shanell's Story: Every Single Day Families Are Being Ripped Apart Because of Ruthless, Discriminatory Laws." n.d. Reform Immigration for America website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://reformimmigrationforamerica.org/shanells-story/.
42. Fair Immigration Reform Movement Facebook page, October 14, 2013. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/fair.immigration.reform.movement/photos/a.122570351159519.30327.111427015607186/534333099983240/?type=1&theater.
43. "About PICO's Campaign for Citizenship." n.d. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.campaignforcitizenship.org/about-us/.
44. United We Dream. 2014. "United We Dream State of the Dream." YouTube website, February 10. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q1i-DXcBGEI.

45. "Hurricane: The Human Rights Immigrant Community Action Network." n.d. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.nnirr.org/drupal/programs/immigrant-justice-rights/hurricane.
46. Webmaster. 2014. "Stop Separating Families: New Phase of Escalation and Deadline in Push for Reform and Relief for Families." Fair Immigration Reform Movement website, April 14. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.fairimmigration.org/2014/04/22/stop-separating-families-new-phase-of-escalation-and-deadline-in-push-for-reform-and-relief-for-families/.
47. "I am Josue: Yo Soy Josue." n.d. People Improving Communities through Organizing's Campaign for Citizenship website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.campaignforcitizenship.org/i-am-josue/.
48. Chávez is calling upon Aimee Carillo Rowe's (2005; 2008, as cited in Chávez 2010) conception of "differential belonging," an "alternative mode of cultural citizenship" that she believes can challenge the perception of queers and migrants as threats to family values and the "good citizen": "Instead of bargaining, compromising, or representing the interests of few, differential modes function by coalescing differently-situated groups and demanding that policy address the deep causes of interlocking oppressions" (Chávez 2010, 137).
49. "United We Dream's Principles For Reform." 2013. United We Dream website, February 6. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://unitedwedream.org/principles/.
50. Webmaster. 2014. "Fair Immigration Reform Movement Principles." Fair Immigration Reform Movement website, January 22. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.fairimmigration.org/2014/01/22/fair-immigration-reform-movement-principles/.
51. "Our Work: Undocuqueer." n.d. National Immigrant Youth Alliance website. Accessed February 20, 2014. http://theniya.org/our-work/undocuqueer/.
52. United We Dream. 2014. "United We Dream State of the Dream." YouTube website, February 10. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q1i-DXcBGEI.
53. Two of the Direct Action groups in my sample, NIYA and UWD, use the term "undocumented and unafraid," primarily in conjunction with soliciting the stories of DREAMers. On its "About Us"

page, NIYA discusses the implications of the term under the "core value" of "Empower":

> We are undocumented and unafraid. We realize that our greatest power comes from accepting ourselves and realizing that we, as the people most affected, are the ones that need to be at the forefront of our movement. We are committed to making sure that all undocumented youth realize the potential and power they have as undocumented youth, to embrace their identity and to demand nothing less than equality ("About Us," n.d., National Immigrant Youth Alliance website, accessed February 20, 2014, http://theniya.org/aboutus/index.htm).

54. "History Policy." n.d. Americans for Immigration Control, Inc. website. Accessed October 26, 2014. http://www.immigrationcontrol.com/?page_id=583.
55. "TRUE Immigration Reform: A Policy that Serves the Interests of the American People." n.d. Federation for American Immigration Reform website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.fairus.org/DocServer/FAIR_True_Immigration_Reform_12-6-13.pdf.
56. "For the American Wage Earner." n.d. NumbersUSA website. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.numbersusa.org/pages/american-wage-earner.
57. "Problems with Illegal Immigration." n.d. Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.alipac.us/problems_with_illegal_immigration/.
58. "New Facts on Illegal Immigrants in America." 2014. Tea Party Patriots website, October 16. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.teapartypatriots.org/news/new-facts-on-illegal-immigrants-in-america/.
59. Gheen, William. 2006. "How to Reverse Illegal Immigration in America." Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website, March 16. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.alipac.us/f31/how-reverse-illegal-immigration-america-17164/.
60. Simcox, David. 2013. "Senate Comprehensive Immigration Reform Bill: An NPG Footnote." Negative Population Growth website, April. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://npg.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/SenateComprehensiveImmigrationReformBill.pdf.

61. NPG. 2014. "NPG Denounces President's Determination to Dictate New Immigration Policy." Negative Population Growth website, September 16. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.npg.org/library/press-releases/npg-denounces-presidents-determination-dictate-new-immigration-policy.html.
62. Cutler, Michael W." 2014. "The Liberal Case for Effective Immigration Law Enforcement." Progressives for Immigration Reform website, October. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.progressivesforimmigrationreform.org/pdf/Cutler_Policy_Brief_14-2.pdf.
63. "The Border States Documentary." n.d. Tea Party Patriots website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.teapartypatriots.org/theborderstates/.
64. NumbersUSA Facebook page news feed, September 26, 2014. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/numbersusa/photos/a.179875468735823.47226.129255907131113/784941081562589/?type=1&permPage=1, accessed November 15, 2015.
65. Tea Party Patriots Facebook page news feed, September 16, 2014. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/teapartypatriots/photos/pb.93228695778.-2207520000.1437397788./10152309649445779/?type=3&theater.
66. Federation for Immigration Reform Facebook page news feed, July 11, 2014. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/FAIRImmigration/photos/pb.21559454473.-2207520000.1437398340./10152631850264474/?type=3&theater.
67. Guest Opinion. 2014. "Is the Border Crisis Coming to Your Community?" ImmigrationReform.com website, July 10. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://immigrationreform.com/2014/07/10/is-the-border-crisis-coming-to-your-community/.
68. Nevins differentiates between the terms "boundary," "frontier," and "border": "I employ a classification that treats a *boundary* as a strict line of separation between two (at least theoretically) distinct territories, a *frontier* as a forward zone of contact with the uncontrolled or sparsely settled, and a *border* as an area of interaction and gradual division between two separate political entities" (2002, 7; emphasis in original).
69. "Alipac's Platform." n.d. Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.alipac.us/ourplatform/.

70. NPG. 2014. "NPG Denounces President's Determination to Dictate New Immigration Policy." Negative Population Growth website, September 16. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.npg.org/library/press-releases/npg-denounces-presidents-determination-dictate-new-immigration-policy.html.
71. "Principled Immigration Reform Puts Americans First." 2014. Federation for American Immigration Reform website, January 15. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.fairus.org/news/principled-immigration-reform-puts-americans-first.
72. Vinson, John. 2010. "Amnesty for Illegal Immigrants: A Policy of False Compassion." American Immigration Control Foundation website, Fall. Accessed October 26, 2014. http://www.immigrationcontrol.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/33727_Immigration_Brochure.pdf.
73. Calling upon Carl Schmitt and Giorgio Agamben, Doty defines exceptionalism as "those political situations in which individuals and groups are turned into an *exception* by the exercise of sovereign power, resulting in their exclusion from basic rights as guaranteed by the law of the constitution" (2009, 10, emphasis in original). She implicates the politics of exceptionalism in the demonization of non-citizens, arguing that it is not just the state that engages in such politics, but also non-state actors such as the civilian border groups she studied.
74. "Illegal Immigrants." n.d. Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.alipac.us/illegal_immigrants/. In the photo, one of the men is grabbing his crotch and another is putting up his middle finger, perhaps in response to some provocation on the part of the photographer. Flores-Yeffal et al. (2011) find that this type of derogatory or exaggerated photos are recycled, reproduced, and transmitted through the Internet, not only by the elites of the "anti-immigration" movement but also by audiences, contributing to what they call the "Latino cyber-moral panic." I found these types of photos the exception rather than the norm within my sample.
75. Cutler, Michael W." 2014. "The Liberal Case for Effective Immigration Law Enforcement." Progressives for Immigration Reform website, October. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.progressivesforimmigrationreform.org/pdf/Cutler_Policy_Brief_14-2.pdf.

76. Grant, Lindsey. 2012. Two White Hats: An NPG Footnote." Negative Population Growth website, February. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://npg.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/Two_White_Hats.pdf.
77. United We Dream. 2014. "United We Dream State of the Dream." YouTube website, February 10. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q1i-DXcBGEI.
78. "PICO National Network Awaits Sign of Good Faith from GOP." 2014. People Improving Communities through Organizing's Campaign for Citizenship website, January 27. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.piconetwork.org/news-media/releases/pico-national-network-awaits-sign-of-good-faith-from-gop.
79. See Chap. 4 for an in-depth discussion of immigrants as workers and contributors to society.
80. Fitzsimmons, Guthrie. 2013. "Letter to House of Representatives: 'The Time Has Come to Fix Our Broken Immigration System.'" Evangelical Immigration Table website, October 22. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://evangelicalimmigrationtable.com/letter-to-house-of-representatives-the-time-has-come-to-fix-our-broken-immigration-system/.
81. "Issues & Results: Campaign for Citizenship." n.d. People Improving Communities through Organizing's Campaign for Citizenship website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.piconetwork.org/issues/campaign-for-citizenship.
82. Service Employees International Union Facebook page news feed, May 13, 2013. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/SEIU/photos/a.401685982679.184527.19972147679/10151377929977680/?type=1.
83. "Statement: CHIRLA Reacts to GOP Immigration Principles." n.d. Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.chirla.org/node/276.
84. Garibey, Julieta. 2014. "Remove the Shadow of Deportation." The Hill website, February 3. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/foreign-policy/197122-remove-the-shadow-of-deportation.
85. The IC SMOs contest this assertion, arguing that the Obama administration has actually deported fewer immigrants than in prior years. As CIS alleges, because the administration is counting

"removals" (rather than "returns," which are generally Canadians or Mexicans turned back at the border) in its tally, the number looks as if it is very high. This is because since 2011, removals, unlike in the past, now include Border Patrol cases transferred to ICE. Thus, the number is "artificially padded." In reality, the CIS report states, total deportations (which include returns and removals) for 2011 were at the lowest level since 1973 (Jessica Vaughan, 2013, "Deportation Numbers Unwrapped," Center for Immigration Studies website, October, accessed November 15, 2015, http://cis.org/ICE-Illegal-Immigrant-Deportations).

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CHAPTER 4

The Price of Citizenship

As with the discourse on families, talk of citizenship is ubiquitous for both the immigrant rights (IR) and the immigration control (IC) social movement organizations (SMOs) in this study. It represents 23.5 percent of the discourse among the IR groups and 14.6 percent among the IC groups. Overwhelmingly, for both movements, formal belonging is tied to economic considerations. For the IR SMOs, the culture structure I call "civic-economic participation" (Jaworsky 2015) is a guiding principle for justifying a "path" to citizenship for unauthorized immigrants through comprehensive immigration reform.[1] Immigrants' economic contributions to the American nation qualify them as members of the polity. These contributions are a form of the "substantive citizenship" found among Susan Bibler Coutin's (2003) Salvadoran activist respondents. Working, paying taxes, and obeying the law provide a basis for membership (ibid., 159; see also Getrich 2008; Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas 2012, 2014; Gálvez 2013; Leitner and Strunk 2014). There are several subthemes in the discourse that defines civic-economic participation for the IR SMOs. Of primary importance is hard work. Second, there is much talk about inclusiveness and community. Finally, some organizations focus on a particularly deserving group of immigrants, the DREAMers, whose potential contributions are vast.

For the IC groups, the primary discourses are about preventing unauthorized immigrants from gaining formal belonging through "amnesty." This term applies to any program of legalization, from a legislated path to citizenship to executive actions deferring deportation and

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granting temporary legal status. And as with the IR groups, economic considerations weigh heavily, whether for Expressiveness or Information Sharing SMOs. The economic cost of sustaining an immigrant population (especially the unauthorized) is simply too high, especially with regard to "stolen jobs" that should rightfully belong to unemployed Americans. Other "consequences of amnesty" include overpopulation, degradation of the environment, the costs of providing schooling and other public services, and the threat to human welfare and security through crime and terrorism.

Both sides utilize statistics to make their case for or against citizenship or legal status for unauthorized immigrants. Among the IR groups, 3.4 percent of all the textual codes are numerical representations. That figure is doubled for the IC groups (6.8 percent), who very often pepper their arguments with data. Indeed, NumbersUSA (NUSA) in its very mission is devoted to providing its constituents with immigration figures of all types. My findings reveal three primary arenas in which both movements marshal statistical evidence to show that immigrants are worthy or unworthy of formal belonging through citizenship or legal status: overall economic effects, outcomes for native-born workers, and the costs of benefits versus taxes paid. Each side provides compelling statistical justifications for its boundary work.

The symbolic boundary surrounding citizenship would ostensibly be based primarily on legal criteria. But as Coutin and Chock (1996, 124) argue, "Legal categories shape discourses about personhood, while social categories help define legal notions such as 'citizenship.'" Their use of the term "social categories" corresponds to the symbolic boundaries I highlight in this study. It is the interaction of the legal and the moral that configures the boundary work of both movements. The IR groups seek to have immigrants *cross* the citizenship boundary through their civic-economic participation. Ultimately, they strive to *shift* the boundary, so that all immigrants can obtain formal belonging, not just the individuals that succeed in crossing. For the IC groups, it's about *maintaining* a strong boundary around this sacred institution. According to their discourse, crossing the formal boundary of belonging can take place only through legal channels that have been earned. Citizenship is thus a moral category. Both sides feel it should be earned but they differ as to how this achievement should occur.

In the following section, I discuss the civic-economic participation of "aspiring" Americans, focusing on their contributions and hard work that should put them on a "path to citizenship" and the American Dream.

I move on to examine the connection between contribution and community and then look at a group of particularly deserving immigrants—DREAMers. Shifting to the discourse of the IC SMOs, I first discuss how they conceive of legality, which is closely related to their constant rallying against citizenship for unauthorized immigrants. I then elaborate the economic and other "consequences" of granting "amnesty," also noting how the IC groups claim to speak on behalf of "ordinary" Americans. I close the chapter by presenting the ways in which both movements call upon statistics to make their case.

Performing Citizenship as Civic-Economic Participation

The cultural structure I call "civic-economic participation" (Jaworsky 2015) may be seen as a "tradition" of American political culture, in the terms conceived by Smith (1993) and later investigated by Schildkraut (2007). Smith's "multiple traditions" perspective posits that "American political culture is better understood as the often conflictual and contradictory product of multiple political traditions, than as the expression of hegemonic liberal or democratic political traditions" (1993, 549). Schildkraut (2007, 599–601) argues that there are four sets of norms widely shared (albeit to varying degrees) by Americans, regardless of their background. She describes *liberalism* as a tradition that highlights economic and political freedoms, equality of opportunity, minimal government intervention in private life, and pursuit of the American dream. *Ethnoculturalism* emphasizes the ascriptive characteristics of the nation, with Americans identified as white, English-speaking Protestants of northern European ancestry (see also Smith 1997, cited in Schildkraut 2007). Such a perspective has been challenged by the increasingly valued tradition of *incorporationism*, or America as a "nation of immigrants" that work hard to overcome adversity. Finally, the tradition of *civic republicanism* stresses the responsibilities of citizenship and one's duty to contribute to the common good of the national community.

My findings point to the importance of these four sets of norms. The culture structure "American values" that I elaborate in Chap. 5 falls squarely under the liberalist and incorporationalist traditions. The importance placed on learning English reflects the ethnocultural tradition, and the value of voting speaks to civic republicanism. However, among the IR SMOs, civic duties are primarily about economic contribution to the nation. As with civic republicanism, the community is important, but fulfilling the

obligation to the public good takes place through economic participation: "Immigrants are *de facto* Americans because they contribute to the fiscal wellbeing of the country, increasingly a way to signal legitimate belonging" (Jaworsky 2015, 583). In the same vein, Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas argue that "in neoliberal times, gainful employment, self-sufficiency and the performance of reliability within precarious labor markets, are also framed as key civic duties, for citizens as well as non-citizens" (2014, 427; see also Baker-Cristales 2009; Gálvez 2013; Leitner and Strunk 2014; Gleeson 2015). Below, I elaborate this tradition of civic-economic participation, demonstrating the ways in which IR activists deploy it to justify citizenship for unauthorized immigrants and demonstrate their deservingness.[2]

The First Step: A Path for Aspiring Americans

The single most prevalent code among all the written texts of the IR SMOs concerns the acquisition of citizenship for unauthorized immigrants. All but two of the 20 groups (the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund [MALDEF] and the National Immigrant Youth Alliance [NIYA]) talk about comprehensive immigration reform with a "path" (and occasionally a "road" or "road map") to citizenship. While some groups had turned to pressing President Obama for immediate relief from deportation, they nevertheless privilege citizenship as the ultimate goal.[3] A handful of the organizations mention conditions immigrants should fulfill (e.g., learning English, paying back taxes and/or fines, and demonstrating good moral character); more often, there is an expressed desire for the road to citizenship to be smooth and free of onerous prerequisites. The National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights sums up this sentiment: "[The] path should be inclusive, fair, and safe, without obstacles, undue burdens and lengthy waiting periods,"[4] and the president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) puts it even more straightforwardly: "We don't want a bunch of useless hurdles to citizenship. We want a simple system that works, a wide path that leaves nobody behind."[5] And a system that works well "serves the national interest" as the Evangelical Immigration Table (EIT) puts it, pointing out the benefits of immigrant naturalization: "Those who commit to citizenship voluntarily enrich the meaning of citizenship for all of us."[6] Indeed, citizenship must be a priority because, as the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles asserts, it is "a foundation of our democracy"[7] and it preserves the nation. Justice for Immigrants (JFI) cites Bishop Elizondo,

chair of the US Conference of Catholic Bishops Committee on Migration and a fervent supporter of immigrant rights: "While we are pleased that there is a willingness to extend legal protection to those without status, we are concerned that most would be unable to achieve citizenship, leaving them as a permanent underclass—a minority without the same rights and protections of the majority. This would establish a troubling precedent that is inconsistent with our nation's founding principles."[8] In his eyes, unauthorized immigrants deserve the benefits afforded by full citizenship, as experienced by the "majority," rather than existing as an "underclass." The nation's "founding principles" represent the values that should guide such a mandate (see Chap. 5 for the elaboration of such values).

Citizenship is what "aspiring" Americans/citizens have earned, because of their "enormous contributions to American life," according to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).[9] People Improving Communities through Organizing's Campaign for Citizenship (PICO) makes this terminology part of its "dos" and "don'ts" for writing op-eds:

DO SAY:	Aspiring Citizens, New Americans, New American Immigrants
DON'T SAY:	Illegal Aliens, Illegal Immigrants, Undocumented Workers[10]

Similarly, the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS) Holiday Season for Immigrant Justice Toolkit issues a call to action on behalf of aspiring Americans: "This is a critical moment for all of us to educate our fellow congregants on the important contributions immigrants make to our country, to let them know what citizenship would mean to aspiring Americans, to bear witness to God's love for all people, and to contact our elected leaders in the House of Representative and urge them to advance immigration reform legislation."[11] The president of the AFL-CIO points out that such would-be Americans are already full participants:

> Right now, today, the United States of America has 11 million aspiring citizens who rent or own homes, who raise families and buy groceries, who work hard, who pay taxes, and do their fair share right here in Chicago, and in thousands of cities and towns all across this country—but who live here as second-class citizens, and something has to be done about it![12]

Implicit is the fact that this condition is simply unfair to unauthorized immigrants, since they already fulfill the responsibilities of citizenship.

Such moral criteria underwrite the justification to transform these aspirants into citizens. Their contributions create their deservingness.

"Work Connects Us All": Immigrants' Contributions

For the IR SMOs, the primary way in which unauthorized immigrants qualify for a path to citizenship is through their civic-economic participation. A statement from the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) puts the focus on the economic realm: "America has always been a nation of immigrants, and throughout the nation's history, immigrants from around the globe have kept our workforce vibrant, our businesses on the cutting edge, and helped to build the greatest economic engine in the world."[13] This quote opens a page entitled "Immigration Facts," which announces a report from the President's National Economic Council, the Domestic Policy Council, the Office of Management and Budget, and the Council of Economic Advisers on the economic benefits of immigration reform. The page continues by offering statistical evidence for "Key Benefits of the U.S. Economy," including the realms of GDP, productivity, wages, federal deficit, and debt reduction, among others. This type of discourse posits a "nation of immigrants" as a collectivity of economic actors working for the fiscal well-being of the nation. Ali Noorani, executive director of the National Immigration Forum (NIF), similarly prioritizes economic considerations in his call for legislative reform: "Our nation needs immigration reform because of moral, security and political reasons to be sure. But we need it more than ever in these tough economic times because it's the right thing to do for our national and state economies."[14] Both are making an appeal to justify the inclusion of immigrants based on their economic contributions.[15]

Civic-economic participation is largely performed through work (see also Jaworsky 2015). All three types of IR SMOs talk about "hardworking" immigrants and their deservingness to earn citizenship (see also Gleeson 2015). As Julieta Garibay, co-founder of United We Dream (UWD), sums it up:

> My community—the nannies and housekeepers who have given their lives to other families, the workers in the fields slaving over crops that fill American kitchens with fruits and vegetables, the construction workers who have literally built America, the hardworking students whose ideas and intellect will shape our country's future, the undocumented immigrants who have poured

> their blood, sweat, and tears into this land—deserve legal permanent residency and an opportunity to become citizens.[16]

Her accounting of deservingness is emblematic of immigrants' self-narratives. De Genova and Ramos-Zayas (2003, 53) elaborate the ways in which Mexican migrants construct themselves as "hardworking," in contrast to the ways in which they are perceived as being lazy and dependent on welfare. In a similar vein, the immigrants Pallares interviewed describe themselves as model citizens who "were law abiding, paid their taxes, worked to support their families, did not receive welfare and were not a burden on the state" (2010, 226). This "discourse of morality and responsibility" is reminiscent of the texts I examined: "[T]he illegality of their unlawful entry is outweighed (and at times outright questioned) not only by their moral standing and law-abiding behaviour but also by their social responsibility as workers who support society" (ibid.). Baker-Cristales looks at the ways in which the Spanish-language media that were so instrumental in getting people to march in 2006 reinforced these types of models of citizenship, which conform to neoliberal discourses of belonging, a "post-9/11 model of ideal citizenship, the self-disciplining citizen worker" (2009, 71). The Call to Faith organizations put it a little differently, calling for recognizing the various contributions of immigrants and their "God-given gifts"[17] (PICO) and "God-given skills and talents" (JFI).[18] And they often place, as PICO does, the economic alongside a softer, more human representation: "They are workers essential to our economy *and* neighbors with whom we live, go to school and worship" (emphasis mine).[19] For Rev. Gabriel Salguero, President of the National Latino Evangelical Coalition, speaking at an EIT event, "commonsense immigration reform" not only "benefits the economy," but it is also "the right thing to do."[20] It is the interaction of the moral and the legal that motivates all these pleas.

For the IR SMOs, work is the social glue that bridges the boundary between immigrants and natives. As the graphic from the AFL-CIO[21] heralds, "Work connects us all" (see Fig. 4.1); consequently, so should citizenship. The figures in the graphic come from a range of occupational classes and racial representations. Citizenship is thus extended equally to a diversity of individuals. It is a grouping of putative citizens as a nation of immigrants from a multiplicity of backgrounds—no two figures have quite the same skin tone. Subtler is the inclusion of the family as a symbolic representation. As I discussed in Chap. 3, children are brought in as political actors. The sign held up by one of the figures carrying the citizenship banner

Fig. 4.1 Graphic © AFL-CIO, used with permission

exhorts, "Don't deport my mom." In other words, families are units composed of workers. Ultimately, the boundary between immigrants and the native born is blurred, with "worker" as a unifying category.

Sometimes, there is a moral boundary drawn between the "good" worker and the undesirable immigrant, reflecting the contradictory ways in which immigrants are sometimes perceived. In her study on the imagery, stories, and symbolism in the immigration policymaking process, Newton argues that the word "immigrant" serves as a condensation symbol, standing for economic uncertainty, poverty, and immorality as well as "hard work, social mobility, remaking the self and the embodiment of the American dream" (2006, 19). The NIF's boundary work pits hardworking immigrants against various "bad guys": "Border and enforcement resources

are wasted in pursuit of immigrant workers, when they could be better spent if focused on criminals, violent drug smugglers, national security threats, and unscrupulous employers taking advantage of an exploitable workforce."[22] While some of the Direct Action groups see this type of conceptualization as problematic,[23] most of the SMOs reinforce this boundary. The narratives presented by many of the groups depict a typically hard worker that exemplifies the need for comprehensive immigration reform. For example, the "Do Your Jobs" campaign by America's Voice (AV) features immigrant workers who "work every day to contribute to our country," exhorting Congress to "take action, and pass real immigration reform for the 11 million":

> Fidel Silva works 14 to 16 hours a day harvesting potatoes. Fidel is a potato farm worker in Idaho. In the winter, Fidel works in freezing temperatures to plant the potatoes for the following year's harvest. During the summer, he and other potato workers irrigate the fields in 100 degree heat. "We need immigration reform for people like me who work hard all year to support our families. We are working so that essential foods like potatoes are on the holiday table. Without the ability to work, what will happen to our families?" Fidel works hard at his job. Congress, why aren't you doing yours? It's time to give Fidel a vote.[24]

This portrayal exemplifies the moral aspects of the relationship between hard work and citizenship. As Lamont puts it, "Hard work is the basis for a producer democracy in which the demands of citizenship, economic contributions, and social utility go hand in hand" (2000, 26). For the working-class men she studied, work is central to how they demonstrate their moral character: "[O]ne belongs because one is a hard worker" (ibid., 202). IR groups capitalize upon this value: Yukich (2013a) cites a "good work record" as a criterion for immigrants to qualify for protection by the New Sanctuary Movement. Bloemraad et al. (2011, 32) highlight a "deep seated theme" within the strategic frames deployed by the IR movement that promotes the idea of membership through one's ability to work. Even those in extremist IC groups like the Minutemen may acknowledge the immigrant as a hard worker (Shapira 2013, 14). Work thus represents an important moral criterion that allows unauthorized immigrants to cross the boundary of formal belonging.

The civic-economic participation that qualifies unauthorized immigrants for citizenship is also what allows them to share in the realization of the

American Dream, available to all that work hard for it. As Hoenig puts it, "The capitalist immigrant helps keep the American Dream alive, upholding popular beliefs in a meritocratic economy in good times and bad" (2001, 80). IR activists seize upon these ideals. For example, Martinez describes the dominant frames of the May 1, 2006, protests in Colorado, which portrayed immigrants as "a powerful economic force and who, through hard work and respect for the country, are working for the American Dream" (2011, 132). The narratives of Latino/a DREAMers on an Internet portal reveal the ways in which they uphold the myth of the American Dream (Anguiano and Chávez 2011). The president of the AFL-CIO reinforces such a vision: "That's the American Dream, sisters and brothers, fair rewards for hard work. And America remains a beacon to the world with that ideal today."[25] By introducing fairness, he has made an implicit moral value judgment. But legality is also implicated in the ideology of the American Dream; one must not only work hard but also play by the rules. Unauthorized immigrants may have broken the rules, but as contributors to American society, they have demonstrated their commitment to the system. A number of the IR SMOs talk explicitly about the "rule of law," citing it as an important aspect of immigration reform. The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FIRM) calls for "a common-sense solution to our broken immigration system that strengthens equal opportunity *and* the rule of law, treats hardworking immigrant families with respect and dignity, and moves all communities and families in America forward together" (emphasis mine).[26] At the same time that it asks for respect for "hardworking" immigrants, it offers respect for this sacred American value.

Contributions Build Community: We Are All Citizens

Like civic republicanism, the tradition of civic-economic participation emphasizes the notion of a community of citizens working toward the public good (Jaworsky 2015; see also Patler and Gonzales 2015). Through their participation, the unauthorized have earned the right to cross the legal boundary of formal belonging and become a part of this community. Parents or spouses of US citizens are especially deserving. On the most basic level, they are responsible for the well-being of their citizen-member families, but at the same time, they contribute in a larger sense. In one of its many stories about families experiencing the threat of deportation, AV exposes these multiple levels of belonging:

> Juana is a mother of four wonderful children and a grandmother of two beautiful girls. Her husband Carlos, a US citizen, calls her the "glue of their family," and his soulmate. Juana has called the US her home for nearly two decades, yet immigration officials threatened to tear this family apart by deporting her. Had the administration gone through with Juana's deportation, it would have been devastating to her both her family and community. Not only is Juana the primary caregiver of her children—two of them U.S. citizens—but since 1994 she's steadily worked to help her community by paying her taxes, working as an usher in her church, and even providing financial contributions to local missionaries.[27]

Juana is portrayed above all through her connections to US citizens—her husband and two of her children. Her husband's endorsement of her worth calls upon her as the cause of the family's intergenerational solidarity. But alongside these representations, she is revealed to be an economic asset to "her community" because she performs one of the primary tasks of civic-economic participation—paying her taxes. Several of the organizations cite the fact that immigrants contribute more in taxes than they "consume" in public benefits, as the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) puts it in its webpage devoted to "Debunking Immigration Myths"[28]; they are givers and not takers.

For parents such as Juana, children, especially US-citizen children, often provide a vehicle for creating a sense of shared community between the unauthorized and native-born citizens. They also imply a sense of collective social responsibility. On a press call organized by the EIT, Pastor Mike McClenahan brings the unauthorized into the fold: "Children living in fear are not 'their children' but 'our children.' I believe lasting and comprehensive immigration reform grounded in biblical values will give children and adults the opportunity to move out of the fearful shadows, eventually earn citizenship and contribute to our society with their God-given potential."[29] He refers to the unauthorized not by their category of status but simply as "children" and "adults," thus including them as part of a greater community. At the same time, however, he inserts the idea of contribution, as a condition for earning citizenship. The implication is clear; individuals in "our society" are those that contribute. Mary Kay Henry, president of the SEIU, makes it a matter of shared values, "I am inspired by the hundreds of aspiring Americans I have met over the years who have shared stories that, at their core, reflect the same desires of most Americans: to work hard and provide a better future for their children."[30] Working hard for the selfless

pursuit of taking care of children is the element that binds aspiring Americans to those that already possess the status.

Regardless of the type of organization, this sense of inclusiveness based on civic-economic participation permeates the talk of citizenship and community; immigrants are members of "our" community because they contribute. FIRM puts immigrants squarely in the midst of American society, while at the same time stressing their contribution to the welfare of the nation: "Immigrants are more than just workers. Immigrants are neighbors, family members, students, members of *our* society, and an essential part of the future of the United States" (emphasis mine).[31] Similarly, NIF believes that "America needs a just solution for the undocumented immigrants who are currently living *here*, contributing to the progress and wellbeing of *our* communities" (emphasis mine).[32] And PICO highlights their humanity, "We're talking about real people who live, work and worship in *our* communities" (emphasis mine).[33] In all three types of organizations, it is a matter of the "small words" such as "our," "we," "this," and "here" doing major interpretive work. As Michael Billig (1995, 93) states, "Small words, rather than grand memorable phrases, offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making 'our' national identity unforgettable." Not only political leaders engage in this type of "banal nationalism" but also social movement actors as they articulate their social and political claims.

Ultimately, it is the "broken system" I discussed in Chap. 3 that not only destroys communities but also thwarts the nation's economic success. As the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) laments: "The country's immigration system is severely outdated. Lack of reform is depriving the country of economic benefits and, combined with record-setting deportations, is having devastating effects on the social fabric of communities."[34] And as SEIU points out, deportation has serious fiscal and social costs to the community: "Estimated to cost well over $200 billion, it is neither desirable nor feasible to deport 12 million people living and working in our communities. These costly policies just breed fear and misery, devastate local communities and distract us from the larger goal of finding a comprehensive and practical solution to immigration reform."[35] What's more, it is the will of the public for unauthorized immigrants to join the American community, as Ali Noorani, executive director of NIF, stresses: "Republicans and Democrats alike are following the lead of the American people, who recognize that hardworking immigrants should have a

roadmap to citizenship so they can become fully participating Americans. Poll after poll shows strong support for a road to citizenship, among Americans of all political stripes."[36]

DREAMers: The Most Deserving of All?

Two of the groups in the IR sample (Dream Action Coalition [DAC], UWD) identify primarily as DREAMers,[37] and others refer to DREAMers in their discourse. Since the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act (DREAM Act) was first proposed in 2001, an increasing number of IR activists have begun to advocate this group, especially through highlighting the individual stories of unauthorized immigrants brought to the United States as children. There is a growing body of scholarship that looks at the process of creating such narratives (Anguiano 2011; Anguiano and Chávez 2011; Nicholls 2013; Enriquez and Saguy 2015; Nicholls and Fiorito 2015; Lauby 2016). Nicholls, in his account about how the DREAMers achieved a legitimate "public" voice, describes the ways in which the IR groups have taken advantage of "niche openings" created by the legal, economic, and moral ambiguities about the deservingness of some groups of unauthorized immigrants:

> They construct a representation of the group focused narrowly on the attributes that match the existing niche opening . . . In addition to demonstrating their fit in a narrow opening, they must also demonstrate their fit in the country. . . Well-placed immigrants, like undocumented youths, must demonstrate that they are not free riders, unassimilated, culpable for their illegality, or irreducibly foreign. It also helps to be able to demonstrate both conformity to national values and the ways they stand to make an important contribution to the country. Their hard work ethic, love of family, and civic engagement build on core national values and reinvigorate the moral and economic life of the nation (2013, 11–12; see also Hoenig 2001).

The ACLU speaks directly to the importance of such a construction in moving public opinion about immigration reform:

> Every movement needs a face— someone whose story transcends traditional dividing lines and has the capacity to change hearts and minds. For immigration reform, it's not just one story, but rather the collective stories of DREAMers, undocumented youth who came to the U.S. as children. By sharing their powerful stories of how they are American in all but paperwork,

> DREAMers have shifted public opinion in a way that wouldn't have seemed possible a few short years ago.[38]

Shifting public opinion is an important step in boundary work. The stories of DREAMers appear to have resonated with the American public; polls show that support for the DREAM Act increased from 58 percent in 2004 to 70 percent in 2010, when the bill was again brought before Congress (First Focus 2010). The AFL-CIO continues to reproduce the stereotypical DREAMer, highlighting contributions to the country:

> Some of America's best and brightest students—the sons and daughters of undocumented workers—will have the opportunity to realize dreams and contribute to all of us as teachers, doctors, lawyers, scientists and soldiers. Immigration reform that incorporates the DREAM Act initiative and puts young immigrant students who were brought to this country by their parents, raised in our neighborhoods and educated in our schools on a path to citizenship, will help put some of the best and the brightest young workers into our labor force.[39]

The emphasis is on the potentiality of DREAMers to contribute in such a way that "all of us" benefit, through working in professional occupations or serving in the armed forces. Highlighting twice the fact that these are the "best and the brightest" justifies their civic-economic participation, which in turn justifies putting DREAMers on a path to citizenship. They are already de facto members of society by having been "raised in our neighborhoods" and "educated in our schools." All that's left is to grant them formal belonging in the form of citizenship.

Painting a portrait of the DREAMer as the exceptional immigrant has presented activists with an important dilemma, however. By engaging in moral boundary work and asserting that DREAMers are in the country illegally through no fault of their own, fault is implicitly assigned to the parents that created this condition.[40] This discursive technique creates a boundary between deserving immigrants and those undeserving of legalization, such as the "unassimilated, recent arrivals, adults, the poor and low-skilled and 'criminals'" (Nicholls 2013, 56). Even as media and politicians (and some IR groups) reinforce the image of the "good immigrant," DREAM activists have made an effort to address such a dilemma (ibid., 55–59; see also Anguiano 2011; Unzueta Carrasco and Seif 2014; Costanza-Chock 2014; Nicholls and Fiorito 2015; Lauby 2016). Those in my sample did this by

emphasizing that their work was directed at immigration reform for all 11 million unauthorized immigrants. For example, the stories of deportation cases featured by UWD include narratives about all types of members of the unauthorized community, not just DREAMers. And its mission statement reflects a commitment to its entirety: "We seek to address the inequities and obstacles faced by immigrant youth and believe that by empowering immigrant youth, we can advance the cause of the entire community—justice for all immigrants."[41] The phrase "justice for all" invokes the Pledge of Allegiance and its egalitarian promise. Nevertheless, unauthorized immigrants' civic-economic participation is stressed not only in the deportation stories but also in the group's "Principles For Reform": "Because of the integral role that 11 million undocumented immigrants play in the economy, culture, and communities of the United States, we must reform our immigration system to create a fair and reasonable pathway to citizenship for members of our community." In contrast, NIYA's inclusiveness reaches out unconditionally:

> Through our deportation work we not only serve DREAM Act eligible individuals but rather anyone who we feel meets the discretion criteria for remaining in the United States. Through our END [Education Not Deportation] program we have engaged in countless cases involving non-DREAM eligible individuals, including parents or people with criminal convictions. We firmly believe it is important to recognize that not everyone in our community is a star student and that it is not just the star students we need to fight for. Our strategy on END differs from other organizations because we work on criminal cases with the intent of not just winning them, but in an effort to create precedent for who is actually a "good immigrant" and who deserves to stay in the United States.[42]

Such a discursive strategy reflects boundary work that contributes to blurring, and eventually shifting the legal boundary surrounding citizenship (cf. Unzueta Carrasco and Seif 2014). It is not just the crossing of "star students" that matters, but belonging for all. Anguiano discusses this shift in the DREAMers' rhetorical approach, from one that did not "dispute the norms, values, or exclusionary nature of citizenship" (2011, 107; see also Nicholls 2013; Nicholls and Fiorito 2015; Lauby 2016) to one of an "unapologetic" DREAMer who increasingly engages in riskier mobilization strategies such as civil disobedience. This realignment of goals and strategies would lead to a more pronounced rift between some DREAMer activists

and those in the mainstream of the IR movement (Costanza-Chock 2014; Nicholls and Fiorito 2015).[43]

Preventing "Amnesty": A Path Away from Citizenship

The IC SMOs envision citizenship rather differently from the IR groups. It is something sacred to be protected from those who did not earn it legally. They occasionally speak of a path to citizenship but it is usually to denigrate it as a "euphemism" for "amnesty."[44] Several types of actions fall under the umbrella of amnesty—enacting legislation granting any kind of legal status (but especially citizenship) for unauthorized immigrants, taking executive action to grant deportation relief, and creating guest worker programs.

There are numerous problems associated with amnesty. The first is that more immigration will follow and the US population will spiral out of control. In turn, there are serious costs, economic and otherwise. The single largest category of codes among the IC groups encompasses the various consequences of unchecked immigration (20.2 percent). Economic considerations are dominant, especially with regard to the jobs immigrants take that should rightfully belong to unemployed Americans. Immigrants' welfare use, often fraudulently, is also a concern. Beyond the economic realm are the consequences directly related to overpopulation, such as the environment and urban sprawl. Finally, a considerable amount of discourse is dedicated to issues of human welfare and security, including crime and terrorism. Discourses about legality, or more accurately, about illegality, are second only to those concerning the consequences of immigration, and they account for 14.9 percent of the text-based codes (and 21.9 percent of all visuals). I first discuss this issue of legality/illegality because it is crucial to the ways in which the IC groups portray unauthorized immigrants as undeserving of citizenship.

What Part of "Illegal" Don't You Understand? Don't Reward Lawbreakers

For the IC SMOs, the rule of law is one of the primary justifications for maintaining a strong legal boundary around the nation. As Nevins points out, "the law" is a powerful "ideological construct dividing good from evil in the contemporary United States" (2002, 100). A suggested sample speech about amnesty from the American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF) Community Action Kit puts it bluntly, "First and foremost, amnesty

and the path-to-citizenship turn the rule of law on its head."[45] Rewarding lawbreakers (unauthorized immigrants) devalues the institution that grants formal belonging—citizenship.[46] The speech continues by elaborating the consequences of this degradation of citizenship:

> Amnesty makes legal immigrants who have played by the rules look foolish for having complied with those rules. Amnesty followed by a path-to-citizenship also undermines the worth and significance of citizenship by granting it to people whose first act in coming here was to show contempt for Americans by breaking their laws. Governments that reward foreign lawbreakers while requiring others to hew to the law risk losing the loyalty and respect of their own citizens.

American citizens and legal immigrants (those who "hew to the law") are both the victims in this scenario. Citizens will no longer honor an institution that rewards the lawbreakers who demonstrate contempt for Americans and their system of laws.[47] And legal immigrants that follow the rules aren't rewarded for doing so. Similarly, Tea Party Patriots (TPP) activates a moral boundary as it draws an analogy:

> It's a slap in the face to America's legal immigrants, who waited in line to immigrate to America legally, to even talk about flinging open our borders to illegals and rewarding them for cutting in line and breaking the law. If someone cut in line in front of you at a movie, would you reward him, or would you speak up? Well, this is not a movie, folks—this is our country. And it's time for us to speak up.[48]

This passage demonstrates perfectly the interaction of the legal and the moral in the boundary work of the IC SMOs. The words "legal" and "illegal" dominate but at the same time immigrants that presumably waited "in line" receive a "slap in the face." Although the word "fairness" isn't employed, it is implicit—it's simply not fair to cut in line and break the law. And the rule of law is what provides for equal treatment and fairness in America (Jacobson 2008, 53; cf. Hayden 2010).

The IC groups thus construct the law in a very Durkheimian way. Morality is the basis of law and a criminal offense threatens social solidarity because it offends the collective conscience, or "the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to *average citizens* of the same society [which] forms a determinate system which has its own life" (Durkheim 1964[1933], 79, emphasis mine). According to TPP in the passage above, it is time for

"average citizens" (which can be understood as generously encompassing both citizens and legal immigrants) to "speak up," a phrase that is highlighted twice. The people must be satisfied because their morality has been offended. In Durkheimian terms, what the IC groups are asking for hearkens back to the legal system in the time of mechanical solidarity, a simpler preindustrial time when society was homogenous and traditional.[49] Breaking immigration laws should be treated as a criminal offense, rather than the civil offense it currently is in the United States. Only the repressive sanctions found in a system of penal law will satisfy the "average citizens" that have been offended by an "outrage to morality" (ibid., 89). In line with the need for retribution, a strong symbolic boundary must be maintained against criminal lawbreakers like unauthorized immigrants. They definitely cannot "aspire" to be Americans, as the IR groups would have it. The Americans for Legal Immigration PAC (ALIPAC) carefully distinguishes the rights of the unauthorized: "Illegal immigrants are people like us in many ways, and while they have human rights they do not have American civil rights because they are criminals who have broken our laws and disrespected our nation and citizens."[50] By framing the issue as a matter of respect, ALIPAC brings moral criteria into its boundary-drawing work, which places the unauthorized outside of the nation.

That unauthorized immigrants are at their very core lawbreakers is emphasized at every turn by the pervasive use of the word "illegal." As Nevins (2002) points out, this term has become ubiquitous in describing unauthorized immigrants. It is often employed with the noun "alien" following. Such terminology emphasizes the fact that the unauthorized are people "outside of society," in Mehan's (1997, 258) terms, and invokes images of "foreign, repulsive, threatening, even extra-terrestrial beings." The term "alien" is technically a way to identify immigrants in US legal parlance and many of the groups point this out.[51] However, the ways in which it is used belies moral judgments, in Chavez's words, describing "the morally questionable Other" (2001, 44; see also Rodríguez 1997; Romero 2008; Dechaine 2009).[52] And it is also telling that the term "alien" isn't used to identify legal immigrants (e.g., "resident alien," an immigrant with permission to live in the United States). A Progressives for Immigration Reform (PFIR) policy brief that promises to expose the "lies, myths, and accusations often propagated by many open-borders advocates" offers a discussion of the word:

> The term "alien" has been all but expunged from the American vernacular where immigration is concerned. This bit of Orwellian newspeak began with President Jimmy Carter who ordered that employees of the former Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) discontinue use of the term "illegal alien" to describe aliens illegally present in the United States. It was strongly recommended that INS employees use the term "undocumented worker" to describe such illegal aliens. Reporters working for newspapers, radio, and television stations also eschew use of the word "alien."[53]

There are only five instances of the word "undocumented" in the discourse of the IC SMOs, four of which were to explain why it is not valid terminology (in the fifth, PFIR uses the term "undocumented alien"[54]). As a Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) report dedicated to "identity theft, document fraud and illegal employment" explains, "undocumented" is not the correct term for unauthorized immigrants: "Illegal immigrants are not 'undocumented.' They have fraudulent documents such as counterfeit Social Security cards, forged drivers licenses, fake 'green cards,' and phony birth certificates. Experts suggest that approximately 75 percent of working-age illegal aliens use fraudulent Social Security cards to obtain employment."[55] The sensationalist statistic is attributed to "experts" but there is no citation to support it; normally, the Information Sharing CIS is careful to provide evidence for its claims. Various forms of fraud are discussed by five of the nine organizations (of both types) in the sample, as one of the consequences of allowing so many potential lawbreakers into the country. It is an example of continued offense to the American collective conscience through blatant disrespect for the rule of law, a moral transgression that reinforces the need to maintain a focus on illegality.

Amnesty's Fallout: The Consequences of Unchecked Immigration

For the IC SMOs, the main consequence of granting citizenship to "illegal immigrants" through "amnesty" is that more unauthorized immigration will ensue (see also Steil and Vasi 2014). Looking back in history seems to confirm this phenomenon. The 1986 amnesty granted by the Reagan administration has demonstrated that amnesties simply don't work as intended. In its very logo[56] (see Fig. 4.2), NUSA incorporates this lesson: "The chart above, which is now part of the iconic NumbersUSA logo, projects the population growth from 1970 through 2050. The green area depicts the growth from existing US population levels in 1970. The red

Fig. 4.2 Graphic © NumbersUSA, used with permission

area, which literally explodes off the chart, illustrates the impact of increased immigration levels as a result of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act and subsequent Congressional immigration actions."[57] The AICF narrates a dangerous path, leading all the way to anarchy:

> We can be sure from the experience of the past 27 years that the Obama amnesty would encourage new waves of illegal immigration, just as the previous amnesty was followed by increased illegal immigration in the 1990s. . . . Continuation of this charade is the path to anarchy, and the erosion of nationhood. Resounding defeat of the Obama amnesty is not an option for patriotic Americans; it's a necessity.[58]

This passage moves beyond a statement about repeating history, into a dire, apocalyptic warning. The very nation is at stake and Americans devoted to its future are called to action. Any "reasonable observer" would simply not comprehend or support a push for amnesty; accordingly, the AICF has provided a five-page, single-spaced sample speech against it in its Community Action Toolkit.

The subsequent consequences of unchecked immigration are manifold.[59] ALIPAC enumerates some of the most crucial: "The main problems caused by illegal immigration are lost jobs, depreciated wages, stolen taxpayer resources, and increased numbers of crimes and domestic terrorism." It then goes on to list a total of 57 different "problems associated with illegal immigration," including some very obscure issues, such as "animal abuse increase" and "food poisoning." The vast majority, however, are economic considerations. As for the IR SMOs, citizenship is tied to the US economy,

but rather than resulting in benefits, in this case, the costs of a potential amnesty are seemingly astronomical. In its publication "Immigration 101: A Primer on Immigration and the Need for Reform," the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) cites CIS figures (as is common for most of the groups in the sample) about the 1986 amnesty: "According to a study by the Center for Immigration Studies, the total net cost of the amnesty (the direct and indirect costs of services and benefits to the ex–illegal aliens, minus their tax contributions) after ten years came to over $78 billion."[60] Sometimes the figures are hardly believable and in fact have no formal citation: "ALIPAC estimates that illegal immigrants are stealing over 125 Billion dollars worth of American taxpayer resources each year."[61]

When it comes to breaking down the "costs" of amnesty or unrestricted immigration (both legal and unauthorized—the boundary often becomes blurry here), the most common way for the IC groups to represent the economic consequences is through "lost" or "stolen" jobs (see also Sohoni 2006). In a YouTube video entitled "American Jobs Are Being Lost Every Day," FAIR narrates a tragic situation for American workers:

> Another American has lost his job; another breadwinner going home with the bad news. Fourteen million Americans are now out of work, high-tech, construction, and autoworkers, engineers. Yet with millions jobless, our government is still bringing in more than one million legal immigrants and temporary foreign workers a year, to take American jobs. Could your job be next? Find out how you can help save jobs for American workers. Visit fairchanceatjobs.com.[62]

The video features an elevator slowly filling up with workers of different occupations (wearing various uniforms and suits) carrying boxes of their belongings. They are heading home because presumably their jobs are being taken by (legal) immigrants. Many of the IC groups apply similar logic to refute the perception that the country needs more immigrant workers. The CIS provides evidence against the mantra that immigrants take the "jobs Americans won't do": "Of the 465 civilian occupations, only four are majority immigrant. These four occupations account for less than 1 percent of the total U.S. workforce. Moreover, native-born Americans comprise 47 percent of workers in these occupations."[63] According to AICF (and others), politicians and special interests collude to ensure a steady stream of cheap labor and deceive the public about it: "The forces trying to prevent common sense discussion of immigration issues are rich

and powerful. Left-wingers in politics, journalism, and academia have joined forces with wealthy corporate elites in pursuit of cheap labor to keep Americans in the dark about mass immigration."[64] Instead, as NUSA suggests, employers that utilize such cheap labor should be held accountable for the legality of workers: "With soaring unemployment rates nationwide, the best thing any smart, practical, law-abiding, civic-minded and patriotic American businesses can do is begin using E-Verify to ensure that all new hires are legal to work in the United States."[65]

Another important economic consequence is the use of welfare and other forms of public services.[66] Although unauthorized immigrants are not eligible for welfare benefits, in mixed-status families, their US-citizen children are. And legal immigrants, after a five-year waiting period, can qualify. Finally, as FAIR points out, some of the unauthorized use fraudulent documents to obtain benefits: "In many cities, false documents can be bought on the street for as little as $40. With false documents, an illegal alien's eligibility for work or welfare goes unquestioned."[67] The concern with fraud echoes political and policymaking discourse. Yoo (2008) finds that in the congressional hearings about the 1996 welfare reform law the dominant frame about older immigrant SSI (Supplemental Security Income) recipients upheld the belief that they had fraudulently obtained benefits. She elaborates four constructions that feed the dominant frame of fraud: "1) immigrants come to the U.S. to obtain SSI, 2) immigrants families do not play by the rules, 3) elderly immigrants are non-contributing members of U.S. society, and 4) continued growth in immigrant numbers impacts U.S. taxpayers" (ibid., 494–495). These types of concerns are reflected in the discourse of the IC SMOs in this study.

Comparisons about welfare use abound, not only between immigrants and the native born but also between legal and unauthorized immigrants. A CIS report provides examples: "In 2009 (based on data collected in 2010), 57 percent of households headed by an immigrant (legal and illegal) with children (under 18) used at least one welfare program, compared to 39 percent for native households with children. . . . We estimate that 52 percent of households with children headed by legal immigrants used at least one welfare program in 2009, compared to 71 percent for illegal immigrant households with children."[68] The same report opens with a seemingly innocuous assertion: "Thirteen years after welfare reform, the share of immigrant-headed households (legal and illegal) with a child (under age 18) using at least one welfare program continues to be very high. This is partly due to the large share of immigrants with low levels of education and their resulting low

incomes—not their legal status or an unwillingness to work." CIS is trying to distance itself from the implication that immigrants are on welfare because they are lazy or simply because they are "illegal"; readers of the report are left to make their own moral judgments. Other organizations are blunter, and as with so many issues for the IC SMOs, it's a matter of fairness. In a forum thread entitled "How to Reverse Illegal Immigration in America," ALIPAC declares: "No American should be forced to pay for services for foreign nationals."[69] Finally, any benefits immigrants may bring are always outweighed by the social welfare costs incurred, as AICF explains: "The labor that is cheap to employers is not really so cheap for consumers in general. Whatever gains in lower food prices is offset in varying degrees by higher taxes paid to provide the public services, welfare, and other costs incurred by illegal immigrants."[70] In short, immigrants, both legal and unauthorized, drain the coffers of the US economy.

Beyond the economic effects of amnesty or immigration more broadly speaking, there are other important consequences, primarily coming as the result of overpopulation. Here, the boundaries of legal or unauthorized immigration are again blurred. Most of the SMOs in the sample worry about overall levels of immigration, regardless of legality. Negative Population Growth (NPG), whose very name belies its goal, cites immigration as one of the main drivers of population growth. In an open letter to President Obama asking him to put "vital long-term values of conservation, environmental stability, and quality of life ahead of short-term political fixes," it explains the problem and provides a warning: "The Census Bureau now projects that by 2060 America's population will reach 420 million—an increase of nearly 105 million, with more growth still ahead. Immigration, as it is now managed, will account for the vast majority of that future population growth. Such surging growth is perilous and unsustainable."[71] Americans for Immigration Control, Inc. (AIC) puts the problem in what it sees as its proper historical context:

> Many millions of people have come to our shores since 1492 when Columbus discovered this vast undeveloped, uncivilized, and virtually empty land. They, and their offspring, have filled the land with more than 311 million people, causing present-day patriots to question how many more this land can absorb and support with its diminishing natural resources, urban blight, overcrowded schools, and undereducated children.[72]

This passage is indicative of the not-so-veiled racism that does take place among some of the SMOs in my sample. AIC implies that the Native Americans present 500 years ago were somehow "uncivilized," and their very presence is negated by referring to an "empty" land. In the present day, there are instead "patriots," presumably white Euro-Americans. In fact, later in the same paragraph, the "explorers and settlers" of the "empty land" are identified and credited with creating an "English-speaking nation with free institutions based upon Anglo-Saxon culture and English common law": "The government and society they created came from their own Northern and West European cultural and political background." In short, it is the duty of "patriots" to question the arrival on "our" shores of an unspecified mass of "people" that degrade the no longer "empty" land.

Environmental concerns resulting from such overpopulation are at the forefront for virtually every group in the sample (except ALIPAC and TPP) and are often presented as a zero-sum situation.[73] PFIR issues an ultimatum:

> American environmentalists face a choice. Ultimately, our environmental goals can only be accomplished if the population of the United States stops growing. This will only occur if immigration is substantially reduced, preferably by bringing immigration numbers in line with emigration numbers. *We must choose* between sustainability and continued population growth. We cannot have both (emphasis mine).[74]

NPG also wants to reduce net immigration, by a specific amount—75 to 80 percent. It presents a choice between concern for the environment and a desire to see the country succeed in economic terms, warning, "Pursuit of perpetual economic growth is a dangerous and ultimately self-destructive folly." It also links the environment with the country's "social health."[75] In enumerating "What We Are For,"[76] NUSA makes it a matter of "quality of life":

> An integral part of the standard American ideal of a quality life is tied to the tradition of quick access to open spaces.
>
> After the massive population growth of the last 50 years, the homes of most Americans now are in large urban areas. Each year, because of continued population growth, open spaces get farther and farther out of reach. It takes longer and longer for the average American to get to open spaces for hiking, fishing, birding, swimming, hunting, bicycling, camping, picnicking, boating and even gazing at the night sky.

> Increasingly Americans find the "open spaces" so congested they fail to receive the psychological and spiritual refreshment they had sought.
>
> Americans are FOR a continued link with the natural world for all citizens, not just for the wealthy who can buy their own retreats. But Congress forces endless urban sprawl that traps more and more Americans in urban congestion without daily—or even weekly—access to open spaces.[77]

There is a class line drawn between the "average American" or "all citizens" and "the wealthy," who can conceivably avoid "endless urban sprawl." In addition, Congress is explicitly blamed for "trapping" Americans in a situation in which they cannot receive the "psychological and spiritual refreshment" they need. This universalization of the need for open spaces makes environmental consequences a threat to a "standard American ideal" and a "tradition," and thus puts immigrants in the position of destroying not only natural resources but also transcendent values.

Finally, but far from least, comes the danger to human welfare and security. At the individual level, there is (supposedly) an increase in violent crime (see also Jacobson 2008; Winders 2011; Steil and Vasi 2014; Gemignani and Hernandez-Albujar 2015). Although research shows that crime rates are lower among immigrants than among the native born,[78] some IC groups tend to focus in on particular crimes, such as those committed by immigrant gangs or by unauthorized immigrant drunk drivers (see also Bloch 2014; Costley 2014; Griffith 2013).[79] Such dangerous criminals are everywhere and often undetectable, as a CIS backgrounder report on crime cautions: "Immigrant gang members rarely make a living as gangsters. They typically work by day in construction, auto repair, farming, landscaping, and other low-skill occupations where employers are less vigilant checking status, often using false documents."[80] In other words, any immigrant worker could be in reality a criminal. And for some, there is an inherent propensity among unauthorized immigrants for criminality.[81] For example, ALIPAC explains:

> Illegal immigrants come from lawless third world countries where the gangs rule, not laws or Constitutions or elected officials. Many of them retain that "rape and pillage" mentality once they enter the US, and to make the problem worse, our own government shows illegal immigrants that they can violate our laws and get away with it! That is why many illegals also drive drunk, burglarize homes and cars, molest children, join violent gangs, deal drugs, etc.[82]

Others are careful to point out that such stereotyping is unacceptable. On a webpage entitled "'No' to Immigrant Bashing," NUSA exhorts:

> None of this is to suggest that no immigrants are scoundrels or contribute to problems of immigration because of their bad personal behavior. It is not unfair, nor does it constitute immigrant bashing, to criticize the behavior of specific immigrants who violate our laws or otherwise behave in a manner unworthy of guests who have been invited into this country.
>
> It IS immigrant bashing, however, to ascribe those bad characteristics to whole groups of people based on their ethnicity or foreign-born status. All of us should be careful of the language we use so as not to inadvertently appear to be making such negative generalizations.

The interaction of legal and moral criteria in NUSA's boundary work is evident. It is not only important that immigrants not violate the law; it is also essential that they prove their worth as invited guests. The boundary stands between insiders (members of "this country") and outsiders ("guests"). Several scholars have discussed the ways in which IC groups invoke legality to set themselves apart from accusations of racism or nativism. Hayden finds that border protection activists find any racist language unacceptable, preferring instead to focus on illegality, which "obfuscates racially biased effect and the racist underpinnings of nativism by reference to other values" (2010, 161). In her study of ALIPAC, Bloch (2014) describes how its discussion forum participants use the rhetoric of legality to downplay race. And Jacobson highlights the ways in which proponents of Proposition 187 in California "answered accusations of racism or of being anti-immigrant by focusing on the distinction between legal and illegal immigration" (2008, 49). I suspect that in all these studies, digging deep into the cultural structures would also reveal the moral aspects that I argue are inseparable from concerns about legality.

At the collective level, there exists the specter of terrorism and the threat to national security and identity. Most of the IC groups refer back in history to 9/11 to make their case. Oboler (2006) notes the rise since then in a connection between national security and immigration, with immigrants increasingly portrayed as potential terrorists (see also Sohoni 2006; Jacobson 2008; Griffith 2013; Gemignani and Hernandez-Albujar 2015). ALIPAC, which was founded on 9/11/2004 "in honor of the victims," is among those who emphasize the fact that the perpetrators were foreign born and entered the country with permission. Perhaps more terrifying,

however, is the potential for future terrorism. The fourth of FAIR's seven principles for "True Comprehensive Immigration Reform" calls for a "Major Upgrade in Interior Enforcement, Led by Strong Employers Penalties," which will, as a bonus, help avoid tragic consequences: "The measures needed to identify and remove illegal aliens will also remove the ability of potential terrorists to operate freely in our country as they plot the next catastrophic attack on our people."[83] And such a catastrophe looms large in TPP's opinion:

> If tens of thousands of immigrants are able to sneak across the border, why wouldn't ISIS terrorists believe they could get away with it too? It's a grim question to be sure, but one that must be asked. Border security should be one of our government's top priorities. Instead, the Obama Administration and Democrats in Congress dismiss the idea. Instead, their top priority is rewarding illegal immigrants with executive amnesty while whistling past the graveyard regarding terrorism.[84]

Both quotes conflate immigrants as a general category with potential terrorists, who may "operate freely" to plan harm to the nation. But such harm is not simply physical. Doty connects concerns about national security and terrorism with societal insecurity and ultimately, with national identity: "[T]his is evident in the concern with terrorism and arguments that 'terrorist love open borders,' which is ostensibly a national security issue but quickly becomes an instance of societal security when specific groups/peoples are presumed to be connected or at least potentially connected to terrorism and thus deemed potential threats to 'our way of life' and 'our identity as a nation'" (2009, 14). Such fears concerning the loss of an American "way of life" have escalated since 9/11. As Sohoni argues, "Perhaps more than any single recent event, 9/11 refocused American attention on conceptions of national identity" (2006, 830). As I will elaborate in Chap. 5, nationhood itself is an important value for the IC SMOs in this study.

Just Say No to Amnesty: Ordinary Americans Speak

Finally, one of the important justifications against amnesty is the fact that most "Americans" don't want it. TPP puts this desire to maintain a firm boundary and avoid any shifts in it succinctly, "Americans are clear on their position with regards to amnesty. At rate of nearly 2-to-1, Americans believe that anyone entering the United States illegally should not be granted

amnesty on the grounds that it is neither fair nor equal treatment under the law."[85] Unfortunately, it provides no evidence to support such a statement, even though other assertions on the same webpage have citations. In a passage that exemplifies its Expressiveness, even at the same it tries to engage in Information Sharing, ALIPAC explains why evidence isn't necessarily warranted:

> We could easily list 101 reasons why Americans are upset about illegal immigration. Most are concerned about the 4,000+ preventable deaths of Americans by the criminal acts of illegal aliens on our soil each year. No corporate propaganda will change the fact that most Americans do not want to surrender or capitulate to the lawless masses rushing into our nation.
>
> No poll or politicized source is needed to prove this point because the decision is based upon our nation's successful history and basic common sense. The answer is based on something that every judge, lawmaker, and even street thug knows. The penalties must outweigh the benefits if you want to deter any action.[86]

ALIPAC does its best to debunk what it sees as "corporate propaganda" that tries to suppress the true wishes of "most Americans." Its "Amnesty Supporters" list reveals "lawmakers, activists, media pundits, and organization leaders who support amnesty for illegal aliens and thus encourage the costly and deadly illegal immigrant invasion of America" and who are "the reason millions of illegal aliens are in America stealing your jobs, your elections, your taxpayer resources, and sometimes the very lives of your loved ones."[87] With accusations of "stealing," it has placed the moral alongside legal considerations. Similarly, NPG's president laments the machinations of mainstream media to deceive the American public:

> However, far too many of our fellow citizens and elected leaders still don't fully understand how the irresponsible tactics of several recent White House administrations have put America's future at great risk. I blame the mainstream media's almost total embrace of amnesty/citizenship—and its simultaneous failure to responsibly present the pros and cons of increasing population and immigration—for bringing our nation to this point. For more than a decade, the press has abdicated its responsibility to present the unbiased facts regarding the political machinations, mishaps, and disasters that have defined U.S. immigration policy.[88]

In this case, the culprits are "mainstream media," for being biased in their reporting on immigration. They are even responsible for affecting not only "fellow citizens" but also "elected leaders." And as PFIR explains, it is these "regular" Americans that are being manipulated: "Business and labor elites support higher immigration levels for their own selfish reasons. That's why they're spending millions to force amnesty on the American people. Politicians in Washington must stand with regular, working-class Americans and say, 'No!' to amnesty."[89]

Dueling Statistics: Numerical Narratives of (Un) Worthiness

As Reimers already noted in 1998, the rising sophistication of economic debates about immigrants has increasingly marshaled statistical evidence from economists and sociologists. But the more important point he makes is that "even though the debates have become more scholarly, there remains an intensity of emotion that distorts the issues" (1998, 88). Indeed, debates about immigration in the United States often engender passionate responses, even when they are seemingly about the "numbers." Throughout this book, I have provided some of the statistical justifications offered by both sides of the immigration debate. In this section, I wish to highlight how interpreting such evidence can be a tricky endeavor. Looking at the data provided by each side about the economic effects of unauthorized immigration reveals a confusing picture. The IR SMOs convincingly elaborate the economic benefits of granting citizenship to the unauthorized, while the IC groups just as persuasively present the costs of "amnesty." A primary arena for dueling statistics is the overall economic effects of immigration, perhaps because the numbers are so impressive, reaching trillions of dollars. Second, there are the outcomes for workers. Unemployment, according to the IC SMOs, is so high because (mostly unauthorized) immigrants have taken all the jobs. But the IR groups insist that comprehensive immigration reform will actually create jobs and benefit all workers. Finally, there is the question of whether immigrants are takers or givers—do they cost more in benefits than they contribute to the system? It is not the accuracy that matters for the purpose of this analysis[90] but rather the collective representations such statistics evoke, such as the idea that immigrants are worthy or unworthy of formal belonging. For the IR SMOs, statistics help buttress the case for immigrants' boundary crossing to

become citizens and an eventual shift in the boundary itself through legislation. The IC SMOs present a case for maintaining the existing legal boundary around the nation.

A Path to Citizenship: Benefits for All

About one-quarter of the IR SMOs utilize statistics to convey the economic worthiness of immigrants. All are lobby and lawsuit groups except for LIRS. (Most of the remainder, especially Direct Action groups, also provide many statistics, but they mainly concern deportation and detention.) Often, groups cite "official" statistics to lend legitimacy to their statements. LULAC utilizes a government report to highlight a bright future based on the contributions of immigrants: "The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimated that enacting the [proposed] Senate immigration reform bill will increase real GDP relative to current law projections by 3.3 percent in 2023 and 5.4 percent in 2033—an increase of roughly $700 billion in 2023 and $1.4 trillion in 2033 in today's dollars."[91] It also places a value judgment on a proposed path to citizenship, calling for "commonsense" immigration reform and listing the ways the US economy benefits: "A larger labor force; higher productivity and investment; and stronger technology, tourism, hospitality, agriculture, and housing industries are just some of the key ways that immigration reform strengthens the U.S. economy." NCLR also references the same CBO report and notes the ways in which reforming the country's "outdated" immigration system is important. All such ways involve the citation of statistics, along with evaluations like the following: "Reform will be a boom to the economy, bringing greater stability and predictability to labor markets. Reform will help take politics out of determining immigration levels, and put enforcement and immigration flows on a more manageable footing."[92] Such discourse reassures the reader, with terms such as "stability," "predictability," and "manageable" and a promise for less "politics."

Many of the statistics utilized by the IR SMOs highlight the ways in which immigrants' economic participation and contributions benefit *all* workers. The most basic mechanism for this societal benefit works not only at the level of increased workers' rights but also in terms of an economic bottom line—higher wages as well as job creation. The AFL-CIO frames it as an answer to the "myth" that comprehensive immigration reform would "hurt the economy at a moment when *our* economy can least afford it" (emphasis mine): "[B]y eliminating the undocumented

underclass of workers that employers use to undercut wages and drive down standards, comprehensive immigration reform will ensure that all workers have full labor rights, which would result in higher wages across the board."[93] In a similar vein, SEIU addresses the myth "Immigrants take *our* jobs": "The largest wave of immigration to the U.S. since the early 1900s coincided with *our* lowest unemployment rate and fastest economic growth. . .In fact, between 1990 and 2004, roughly 9 out of 10 native-born workers with at least a high school diploma experienced wage gains because of increased immigration" (emphasis mine).[94] Unwittingly, in this case, the use of the word "our" places immigrants in an outsider position, as the Other whose presence and worthiness must be justified in stark economic terms. LIRS also places immigrants in contradistinction with the native born in its answer to the myth about immigrants taking jobs from Americans, emphasizing the contributions of "immigrants at all skill levels," and highlighting their entrepreneurial nature: "Immigrants are 30% more likely than U.S.-born citizens to form new businesses."[95] SEIU connects entrepreneurial immigrants with the nation's historic economic success:

> America's prosperity has long depended on the hard work, commitment and entrepreneurial spirit of immigrant workers. Just as they have done for centuries, immigrants fuel the U.S. economy and create more opportunities for native-born workers. Immigrants have had a disproportionate role in innovation and technology and have fuelled [*sic*] growth of new business. Half of Silicon Valley start-ups were founded by immigrants—including Yahoo, eBay and Google.[96]

It is not only entrepreneurs that create jobs; it is also immigrants' spending. One of the "10 Reasons All Workers Benefit from Fixing the Immigration System" provided by the AFL-CIO is "More jobs will be created." It provides statistical detail to support this claim:

> The higher earning power of aspiring citizens in just the first three years of comprehensive immigration reform with a path to citizenship would generate up to $36 billion in net personal income and enough consumer spending to support 750,000 to 900,000 jobs, according to the study "Raising the Floor for American Workers."[97]

The hopeful and ambitious immigrants represented in the term "aspiring citizens" have thus earned their right to formal legal belonging. The SEIU further specifies that immigrants create new jobs by "buying homes" and

"spending their incomes on American goods and services,"[98] highlighting their rootedness in the nation.

Immigrants contribute to the economic health of the country and moreover, they are not a burden. The AFL-CIO uses a census data tool provided by the Urban Institute and explains, "Due to their parents' high rate of work-force participation, [the] overwhelming majority of U.S. born children of immigrant parents (88%) live in working households," noting that although "such children are more likely to live in poverty than their peers whose parents were born in the United States, (20% vs. 16%) they are less likely than their peers to receive food stamps (14% vs. 17%)."[99] This citation reflects a moral judgment: immigrants are portrayed as responsible parents because they create "working households" for their children, who receive food stamps less often than their peers with US-born parents. SEIU also quantifies unauthorized immigrants' contributions in terms of responsibility, in this case taxpaying instead of taking benefits: "On average, undocumented immigrants contribute more in taxes than they consume in public benefits, and are estimated to have contributed nearly $50 billion in federal taxes between 1996 and 2003."[100] The result of such tax contributions helps save the ailing Social Security system and "balances out an aging population" by adding almost $300 billion to the system over the next decade, as LULAC points out. By quoting a statistic from an "independent" and presumably unbiased source, the Chief Actuary of the Social Security Administration, LULAC seeks to lend credence to its "Immigration Facts" page.[101]

The Path Away from Citizenship: True Fiscal Commonsense

The IC SMOs in this study utilize statistics much more than the IR groups. One of the Information Sharing groups, NUSA, considers the propagation and dissemination of immigration "numbers" crucial to its mission, proclaiming in its Statement of Values, "The most important factor in federal immigration policy is the numbers—the annual level of immigration."[102] Accordingly, NUSA provides a constant flow of statistics to explain *why* the annual level of immigration should be reduced drastically. In a dramatic headline, "Amnesty Costs 70 Times More Than Enforcement," it cites a report by the Heritage Foundation and elaborates a meticulously detailed numerical portrait that supports this proclamation, alleging that amnesty would cost $999 billion over the next 30 years, while the cost of attrition by enforcement could be as little as $14 billion.[103]

In stark contrast, ALIPAC calls upon extraordinary "estimates" with no apparent empirical basis to criminalize the unauthorized, claiming that "illegal immigrants are *stealing* over 125 billion dollars worth of American taxpayer resources each year" (emphasis mine). It continues in its mission of Expressiveness with a moral condemnation:

> They are breaking our laws and yet as taxpayers we are forced to pay for their education, their healthcare needs, increased infrastructure to handle their presence in our land, and increased costs in our courts and prisons. And when American citizens need these taxpayer resources, we find illegal immigrants filling our emergency rooms, classrooms, and courthouses demanding that we speak their language and provide free interpreters for them![104]

Americans, in this case specifically named as citizens, are being treated inequitably. In providing figures that have to do with providing benefits to the unauthorized, NPG points out the necessity to educate "Americans" about the true "costs" of immigration: "Immigration is very much in the news these days. And while it is easy to find countless articles on the issues that frame the national debate, the subject of 'costs' rarely comes up. That plays perfectly into the hands of the open-border and amnesty/citizenship lobbies, who don't want Americans to consider the startling numbers." It describes such costs as a "massive tax burden to impose on today's lagging economy and already-struggling families," exhorting "the American people" to "demand Congress limit the number of immigrants accepted by our vastly overpopulated nation."[105] Again, fairness is implicitly invoked by conjuring the image of "already-struggling families" affected by a "lagging economy."

In discourse that is completely opposite of that articulated by the IR rights SMOs, the IC SMOs utilize statistics to prove that immigrants (sometimes unauthorized, but more often, all immigrants) not only *take* jobs that rightfully belong to Americans but also *lower* their wages. As with resources overall, unauthorized immigrants have "stolen" jobs from Americans. Immigrants exist outside the boundary that surrounds Americans; in an AICF policy brief dedicated to making the "case against amnesty," the pervasive use of "they" and "them" reflects its boundary work:

> To give amnesty to 12 million or more illegals means letting a huge number of *them* keep the jobs they have stolen from American workers. Federal law prohibits illegal aliens from working in the U.S. Amnesty means that *they* are

> not only forgiven for entering the country illegally, *they* are rewarded with keeping a job that rightfully belongs to an American worker. Right now, nearly 20 million Americans are unable to find full time employment in a sluggish economy that has not recovered from the 2008-2009 recession. It is unjust to unemployed American citizens and taxpayers to let illegal aliens keep the jobs *they've* illegally taken, often with stolen Social Security numbers belonging to Americans.[106] (Emphasis mine)

Legality is invoked by referring to unauthorized immigrants as "illegals" and "illegal aliens," and talking about jobs "they" have "illegally taken." But at the same time, moral criteria are also raised, by highlighting that "they" are not only "forgiven" but also "rewarded" with a job that "rightfully belongs to an American worker." In the end, it is "unjust" to unemployed American citizens and taxpayers. It is this interaction of legal and moral criteria that places immigrants outside the boundary of formal belonging. The exaggerated numbers provided, with no citation, appeal primarily to the emotions. In contrast, PFIR is very careful in its citation practices, mixing credible numerical evidence from the Bureau of Labor Statistics with a moral appeal against "elites" and corporations:

> The CEO of Marriott hotels, like many amnesty advocates, argues that America needs more immigrants because "Americans are unwilling" to fill certain jobs. That's hard to believe, given that 9.3 million Americans are currently unemployed. A further 7.1 million Americans want a good-paying, full-time job but are stuck working part-time. Clearly, the problem isn't that Americans don't want to work. It's that businesses don't want to pay fair wages. An overwhelming majority—71 percent—of citizens believe that companies should pay better wages to attract American workers instead of importing new immigrant laborers. But corporate fat cats balk at the prospect of paying a fair wage. That's why they're spending so much to open the immigration floodgates.[107]

In this case, it is not only immigrants coming through the "floodgates" that are the enemy; "business and labor elites" are pitted against Americans, especially American workers. It is the "CEOs" and "corporate fat cats" that benefit from immigrant labor. In a similar vein, CIS calls upon George Borjas, an economist who studies the effects of immigration and publicly advocates immigration reduction, to emphasize its wage effect on native-born workers: "To generate the [immigrant] surplus of $35 billion, immigration reduces the wages of natives in competition with immigrants by an

estimated $402 billion a year, while increasing profits or the incomes of users of immigrants by an estimated $437 billion."[108] In other words, "users of immigrants" profit at a cost to natives.

Finally, the IC SMOs devote a considerable amount of effort to demonstrate the ways in which immigrants are "takers" of benefits. The most common way to do this is to compare the amount of benefits immigrants receive in comparison with the taxes they pay. These figures are often provided for both unauthorized immigrants and those with legal status. In a piece entitled "Numbers Don't Add Up for President's Amnesty Plan," PFIR indicts both groups:

> [L]ow-skilled immigrant workers are costing the U.S. more in government outlays than they pay back in taxes. The average household headed by an illegal immigrant without a high school diploma receives benefits worth $20,485 more than what they pay through taxes. For legal immigrants the deficit is even greater—a staggering $36,993 per household. With more than 41 million immigrants currently living in the United States, the deficits are astounding.[109]

The "astounding" deficit is never totaled; it is left to the reader's imagination to extrapolate the final cost. But the author cites the total number of immigrants, while the actual cost figures only reference those without a high school diploma. It is a prime example of how statistics can be subtly sensationalized. As with the IR activists, Social Security is featured as an arena for the economic effects of immigration. The study referenced above by LULAC, which projects immigrants' contributions to the Social Security system to be $300 billion over 10 years, is resoundingly debunked by CIS, which points out its "multiple problems," and chastises the media for not digging deeper: "This is a remarkable collection of omissions, non-explanations, and highly questionable projections—all appearing in a 2.5 page document. It is too bad that (to date) no journalist has decided to spend an hour or so with this document to see how misleading and deeply flawed it is."[110] NUSA offers statistics about Social Security, legitimating the source by pointing out that the study's author (Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation) has given testimony before the congressional House Oversight and Government Reform Committee: "A study by Robert Rector estimates that illegal aliens receiving executive amnesty will receive well over a trillion dollars in Social Security and Medicare benefits. . . .Specifically, in 2010 dollars, the lifetime costs of Social Security benefits to DAPA beneficiaries would be about $1.3 trillion." Even in what appears to

be straightforward Information Sharing, the wording is far from neutral. Unauthorized immigrants are referred to as "illegal aliens" and President Obama's executive action is labeled as "executive amnesty." Those who would qualify for DAPA are not recipients but "beneficiaries." Such language works to cement negative portrayals of immigrants as indefinite takers, over the course of a "lifetime."

* * *

As the title of this chapter insinuates, citizenship comes with a cost. For the IR SMOs, it is the contributions immigrants make that qualify them for this prize of formal belonging. Through what I call their civic-economic participation, they perform the duties of neoliberal citizenship through working hard, paying their taxes, and playing by the rules of the American dream. The IC SMOs envision the price of citizenship differently; above all, legality is the criterion for belonging. Through the pervasive depiction of the unauthorized as "illegal," they diminish the contributions immigrants make as secondary. Instead, they focus on the potential negative consequences of allowing more immigrants into the polity. Regardless of how much an authorized immigrant behaves like a model citizen, such fulfillment of the duties of citizenship isn't enough to earn its rights. Both movements quantify immigrants' presence in the country, striving through statistics to demonstrate the "truth" of their position.

Although it is a legal status, citizenship is a profoundly moral concept. The boundary work in the arena of citizenship reveals the moral underpinnings of this legal category. Even as the IR groups profess to include everyone as aspiring Americans on the path toward formal belonging, they are constantly qualifying such belonging, portraying immigrants' civic-economic participation as the defining characteristic necessary to *cross* the boundary of citizenship. As many DREAMers have discovered, such a strategy can backfire, dismissing their parents, the unemployed, the unassimilated, and those with a past criminal history, and preventing the boundary *shifting* that would bring all the 11 million into the fold. For the IC groups, any form of "amnesty" represents a travesty; it simply isn't fair to reward lawbreakers. This moral judgment serves as justification to *maintain* the legal boundary around citizenship. The representation of the many consequences of amnesty also demonstrates that amnesty isn't fair to Americans (and sometimes legal immigrants), who suffer when unauthorized immigrants take their jobs and degrade their quality of life.

Fairness is thus an important qualifier for both movements that is reflected in the interplay between moral and legal criteria in their boundary work. The IR SMOs believe that comprehensive immigration reform must be fair and allow unauthorized immigrants to embark on a path toward legal belonging. The IC SMOs see this sort of "amnesty" as the destruction of fairness toward Americans, those who deserve to be called citizens as well as legal immigrants. But fairness is just one among many values that the SMOs in this study espouse. The following chapter elaborates the ways in which they articulate moral and legal justifications according to principles that range from the national to the universal level. Both religious and secular values animate their boundary work, validating their positions on immigrants and immigration reform.

Notes

1. Elsewhere, I have demonstrated how the tradition of civic-economic participation is embraced by the IR SMOs to perform American national identity (Jaworsky 2015).
2. Sainsbury (2012) argues that together with immigrants' contributions, citizenship itself represents a major frame of deservingness for entitlements from the welfare state. She describes the dichotomy that emerged in the 1990s in the United States in the framing of welfare and immigration reform: "Emphasis was on the entitlements of citizens versus non-citizens. The category 'non-citizen' bracketed together legal and illegal aliens, blurring the distinction between them" (ibid., 158).
3. In the following passage from an op-ed, the United We Dream (UWD) co-founder sums up such a position:

> Our families desperately need relief and for the constant shadow of deportation to be lifted. We will continue to hold politicians accountable for their lack of leadership and the ways in which both political parties have played games with our lives. That need for immediate relief is our number one priority. But as I now know that citizenship is finally within my grasp, I know I cannot stand by and let extremist politicians block or bar our communities from the equality we deserve and from fully taking part in this cherished institution of democracy and citizenship (Julieta Garibey, 2014, "Remove the Shadow of Deportation," The Hill website, February 3, accessed November 15, 2015. http://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/foreign-policy/197122-remove-the-shadow-of-deportation).

See also "Open Letter to the Immigrant Rights Movement: Our Families Can't Wait," signed by DAC, at http://ymlp.com/xgjuhqsygmgu, accessed November 15, 2015. As Gálvez points out, "[I]t [citizenship] has been elevated by immigration advocates who often speak of its acquisition as the culmination of struggles for rights and equality in post-Civil Rights-era United States" (2013, 733).

4. "Fair, Just, Humane Immigration Reform." n.d. National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.nnirr.org/~nnirrorg/drupal/sites/default/files/fair_just_humane_immigration_reform.pdf.
5. Trumka, Richard. 2013. "Remarks by AFL-CIO President Richard L. Trumka 2013 Immigration Campaign Launch Event, Chicago, Illinois." American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations website, March 7. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.aflcio.org/Press-Room/Speeches/Remarks-by-AFL-CIO-President-Richard-L.-Trumka-2013-Immigration-Campaign-Launch-Event-Chicago-Illinois.
6. "Statement on Citizenship." n.d. Evangelical Immigration Table website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://evangelicalimmigrationtable.com/cms/assets/uploads/2013/10/Table-Statement-on-Citizenship-.pdf. Hoenig (2001) discusses the effect of immigrants on the institution of citizenship. Because they explicitly consent to the regime in a way that the native born cannot, "[t]he American need for periodic testimony to the true universality of its principles and the choice worthiness of its democracy is met by new immigrant foreigners. . .At a deeper level, the rite of naturalization does not just reenact or embody consent. It reperforms the origin of the regime *as* an act of consent" (ibid., 94, emphasis in original). At the same time, however, there looms the shadow of the "bad immigrant," highlighted by the IC SMOs in my sample, who undermines consent in two ways: "He never consents to American laws, and 'we' never consent to his presence on 'our' territory" (ibid., 96, for an elaboration, see Schuck and Smith 1985).
7. "Immigration Reform Principles." n.d. Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.chirla.org/sites/default/files/CHIRLA%20CIR%20Principles%202013.pdf.

8. "USCCB Chair 'strongly encouraged' by House Republican immigration reform principles, pledges to work with all to pass humane immigration reform legislation." n.d. Justice for Immigrants website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.justiceforimmigrants.org/documents/Press-release-January-31-2014-principles.pdf.
9. "ACLU Framework for Immigration Reform." n.d. American Civil Liberties Union website. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.aclu.org/immigrants-rights/aclu-framework-immigration-reform.
10. "Writing and Submitting Opinion Editorials and Letters to the Editor." n.d. People Improving Communities through Organizing's Campaign for Citizenship website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.piconetwork.org/c4c-assets/HOW-TO-write-opeds-ltes-2012-02-08.pdf.
11. "LIRS Holiday Season for Immigrant Justice Toolkit." 2013. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service website, November 18. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://lirs.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/HolidaySeasonforImmigrantJusticeToolkit_2013.pdf.
12. Trumka, Richard. 2013. "Remarks by AFL-CIO President Richard L. Trumka 2013 Immigration Campaign Launch Event, Chicago, Illinois." American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations website, March 7. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.aflcio.org/Press-Room/Speeches/Remarks-by-AFL-CIO-President-Richard-L.-Trumka-2013-Immigration-Campaign-Launch-Event-Chicago-Illinois.
13. "Immigration Facts." n.d. League of United Latin American Citizens website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://lulac.org/programs/immigration/facts/, accessed November 15, 2015.
14. Moreno, Mario. 2013. "ICYMI: New Study Finds Immigration Reform Will Create Jobs and Boost GDP." National Immigration Forum website, July 23. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://immigrationforum.org/blog/icymi-new-study-finds-immigration-reform-will-create-jobs-and-boost-gdp-2/.
15. Gleeson suggests that economic arguments by immigrant rights advocates are often "defensive responses to well-funded restrictionist anti-immigrant campaigns" (2015, 401). Although I do not find that the IR SMOs address the IC SMOs directly in their online

discourse, Gleeson's interview data allow her to speak about activists' actual motivations.

16. Garibey, Julieta. 2014. "Remove the Shadow of Deportation." The Hill website, February 3. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/foreign-policy/197122-remove-the-shadow-of-deportation.
17. "Issues & Results: Campaign for Citizenship." n.d. People Improving Communities through Organizing's Campaign for Citizenship website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.piconetwork.org/issues/campaign-for-citizenship.
18. "'God is Light, and in Him there is no darkness at all' (1 John 1:5)." n.d. Justice for Immigrants website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.justiceforimmigrants.org/documents/One-Pager-NMW-2014.pdf.
19. "Writing and Submitting Opinion Editorials and Letters to the Editor." n.d. People Improving Communities through Organizing's Campaign for Citizenship website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.piconetwork.org/c4c-assets/HOW-TO-write-opeds-ltes-2012-02-08.pdf.
20. Fitzsimmons, Guthrie. 2013. "Evangelical Leaders Meet with Obama, Biden on Immigration Reform." Evangelical Immigration Table website, November 13. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://evangelicalimmigrationtable.com/evangelical-leaders-meet-with-obama-biden-on-immigration-reform/.
21. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations Facebook page news feed, May 1, 2013. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/aflcio/photos/a.159645436152.145735.101165966152/10151623644856153/?type=3&theater.
22. "Priorities: Comprehensive Immigration Reform in the 113th Congress." n.d. National Immigration Forum website. Accessed February 20, 2014. http://immigrationforum.org/legislation/comprehensive-immigration-reform-in-the-113th-congress.
23. For example, NDLON asks, "Will the stigma of undocumented immigrants with a history of convictions enter the debate of who deserves eligibility for legalization or will they be overlooked?" (National Day Labor Organizing Network Facebook page news feed, June 19, 2014, accessed November 15, 2015, https://www.facebook.com/NDLON/posts/860472403981068).

Increasingly, some immigrant rights organizations are advocating on behalf of those with past criminal convictions; for example, see the groups profiled by Yukich (2013a) and Das Gupta (2014).

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35. "Building Worker's Strength with Comprehensive Immigration Reform." n.d. Service Employees International Union website. Accessed January 13, 2014. http://www.seiu.org/a/immigration/background-on-comprehensive-immigration-reform.php.
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37. NIYA, although self-described as consisting of undocumented immigrant youth, does not use the DREAMer label.
38. Jain, Shawn. 2013. "Not Just the Face of the Immigration Reform Movement." American Civil Liberties Union website, June 14. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.aclu.org/blog/not-just-face-immigration-reform-movement.
39. Hall, Mike. 2013. "10 Reasons All Workers Benefit from Fixing the Immigration System." American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations website, January 8. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.aflcio.org/Blog/Political-Action-Legislation/10-Reasons-All-Workers-Benefit-from-Fixing-the-Immigration-System.
40. Immigration control groups seize upon this tension, finding an opportunity to reiterate their focus on legality and the rule of law. In a YouTube video elaborating the reasons one should oppose the DREAM Act, FAIR concedes that DREAMers have been put in an unfair situation, but nevertheless falls back on the law as the ultimate arbiter of morality: "It is true that many would-be DREAM Act beneficiaries, in many ways, have been dealt a bad hand by their parents or guardians. As difficult as it may be, they have the responsibility to obey the law upon reaching adulthood" (fairfederation, 2012, "Why Oppose the DREAM Act?" YouTube

website, accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N6bZQoFdb1c).

41. "About Us." n.d. United We Dream website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://unitedwedream.org/about/our-missions-goals/.
42. "Our Work: Education Not Deportation." n.d. National Immigrant Youth Alliance website. Accessed February 20, 2014. http://theniya.org/our-work/education-not-deportation/.
43. There had already existed a tension between some DREAMers, who wanted to push for a stand-alone DREAM Act, and those in the broader IR movement that felt the focus should be on comprehensive immigration reform (Anguiano 2011; Costanza-Chock 2014; Nicholls 2013, Nicholls and Fiorito 2015).
44. According to Americans for Legal Immigration PAC (ALIPAC), euphemisms used by the "open-borders lobby" include "comprehensive immigration reform," "pathway to citizenship," "earned legalization," "guest" or "temporary worker plan," and bringing "undocumented immigrants" "out of the shadows" ("History of Illegal Immigration," n.d., Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website, accessed October 26, 2014, http://www.alipac.us/history_of_illegal_immigration/). The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) asks that the legalization of unauthorized immigrants be called what it really is: "We can create clever euphemisms, but the only people we will be fooling are ourselves. Any policy that legalizes illegal aliens is amnesty and will lead to even more illegal immigration. This includes any 'pathways to citizenship' or legalization programs that grant green cards or work visas" ("Principled Immigration Reform Puts Americans First," 2014, Federation for American Immigration Reform website, January 15, accessed November 15, 2015, http://www.fairus.org/news/principled-immigration-reform-puts-americans-first).
45. "Sample Speech: The Case Against Amnesty." n.d. American Immigration Control Foundation website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.aicfoundation.com/books/ActionKitSampleSpeechAmnesty.pdf.
46. For a completely opposite argument (Hoenig 2001), in which immigrants increase the value of citizenship, see Note 6.
47. Shapira (2013) finds that among the Minutemen in his study, not only "illegals" are criticized for denigrating citizenship but also US

citizens that are too "lazy" and don't fulfill the duties and obligations the Minutemen see as the central aspect of the institution.

48. "Toolkit—Illegal Immigration." n.d. Tea Party Patriots website. Accessed October 27, 2014. http://www.teapartypatriots.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/TOOLKIT-ILLEGAL_IMMIGRATION2.docx.
49. Conversely, the ways in which the immigrant rights SMOs represent immigrants reflect the functioning of organic solidarity, in which the division of labor in large modern industrialized societies has become more specialized and individuals depend on each other based on their contributions to the functioning of society. By presenting civic-economic participation as a criterion for citizenship, the IR groups emphasize the contractual nature of organic solidarity; immigrants fulfill their duties and thus they are entitled to rights (Durkheim 1964[1933]).
50. "Illegal Immigrants." n.d. Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.alipac.us/illegal_immigrants/. In a similar vein, Jacobson discusses the passage of California's Proposition 187 as an attempt to "institutionalize connections between illegality and criminality by declaring that Mexicans qua criminals have forfeited their rights. If Mexicans or Mexican Americans are criminals, they are not perceived as having the rights of privileges of formal, cultural, or economic citizenship" (2008, 64).
51. The Progressives for Immigration Reform (PFIR) policy brief by Michael Cutler cites the section of the law and emphasizes that the term is not meant as an insult: "The actual definition of the term 'alien' as defined by the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) is simply, 'Any person not a citizen or national of the United States.' You can find this definition in Title 8 U.S. Code § 1101—Definitions. Obviously there is no insult in the term alien" (Michael W. Cutler, 2014, "The Liberal Case for Effective Immigration Law Enforcement," Progressives for Immigration Reform website, October, accessed November 15, 2015, http://www.progressivesforimmigrationreform.org/pdf/Cutler_Policy_Brief_14-2.pdf).

    Even though the term "alien" is defined by law, the term "illegal alien" is not an "affirmative status," as Varsanyi points out: "[T]here are no parameters that indicate who is or is not an illegal immigrant.

Rather, a person obtains the status by falling outside of the affirmatively defined categories of membership, in other words, by the *absence* of legal status" (2011, 305–6, emphasis in original).

52. On the emergence of the figure of the "illegal alien" in U.S. history, see Coutin and Chock (1996), Flores (2003), (Ngai 2004), and Dechaine (2009), among others.
53. Cutler, Michael W. 2014. "The Liberal Case for Effective Immigration Law Enforcement." Progressives for Immigration Reform website, October. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.progressivesforimmigrationreform.org/pdf/Cutler_Policy_Brief_14-2.pdf.
54. "What We Believe." n.d. Progressives for Immigration Reform website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.progressivesforimmigrationreform.org/about-pfir/what-we-believe/.
55. Mortensen, Robert W. 2009. "Illegal, but Not Undocumented." Center for Immigration Studies website, June. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://cis.org/IdentityTheft.
56. NumbersUSA Facebook page news feed, April 11, 2012. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/numbersusa/photos/a.338644709525564.80318.129255907131113/339905486066153/?type=1&theater.
57. "NumbersUSA.org's Goals." n.d. NumbersUSA website. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.numbersusa.org/pages/numbersusaorgs-goals. Enhancing statistics with this type of visualization sends a powerful cultural message about a potential future in which immigration is not controlled. In his analysis of the representation of HIV statistics, Rauer (2012) looks at how numerical logic combined with visual logic produces new iconic meanings about the imagination of uncertainty. The images he presents from news media in Germany and the United States point to an uncertain and even apocalyptic future. In the case of the NUSA logo, the future seemingly has an end point, the year 2050, but the use of an arrow pointing beyond the end of the chart signals that more risk and uncertainty are to come. The only "responsible" answer is to rein in out-of-control immigration. Rauer notes that political decisions and public fears reference these types of representations of an imagined (dangerous) future, and how such imagined scenes can be misused (2012, 151).

58. "Sample Speech: The Case Against Amnesty." n.d. American Immigration Control Foundation website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.aicfoundation.com/books/ActionKitSampleSpeechAmnesty.pdf.
59. My findings regarding the types of consequences mirror those of Sohoni (2006), who also looked at the web-based discourses of immigration control groups.
60. "Immigration 101: A Primer on Immigration and the Need for Reform." 2000. Federation for American Immigration Reform website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.fairus.org/DocServer/immigration101.pdf.
61. "Problems with Illegal Immigration." n.d. Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.alipac.us/problems_with_illegal_immigration/.
62. fairfederation. 2011. "American Jobs Are Being Lost Every Day." YouTube website. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hVp_mzj1l0s.
63. Camarota, Steven A. and Karen Seigler. 2009. "Jobs Americans Won't Do? A Detailed Look at Immigrant Employment by Occupation." Center for Immigration Studies website, August. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://cis.org/illegalImmigration-employment.
64. Vinson, John. n.d. "Dear Activist." American Immigration Control Foundation website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.aicfoundation.com/books/ActinKitIntroLetter.pdf.
65. "Implement E-Verify." n.d. NumbersUSA website. Accessed November 15, 2015. https://www.numbersusa.com/solutions/mandate-e-verify.
66. Sainsbury (2012, 157) notes that proponents of the 1996 welfare reform equated receipt of benefits with dependency, whereas the goal was to "restore personal responsibility and economic self-sufficiency." This type of framing reinforces the idea of a "model immigrant," as discussed earlier in this chapter (cf. Jacobson 2008). Similarly, Jacobson (2008, 71–73) discusses the importance of defining the boundaries of "economic citizenship" among proponents of Proposition 187, a view in which the citizen is not only a contributor to the country but also doesn't "take" in the form of social services.
67. "Immigration 101: A Primer on Immigration and the Need for Reform." 2000. Federation for American Immigration Reform

website. Accessed November 15, 2015. http://www.fairus.org/DocServer/immigration101.pdf.

68. Camarota, Steven A. 2011. "Welfare Use by Immigrant Households with Children." Center for Immigration Studies website, April. Accessed November 16, 2015. http://cis.org/immigrant-welfare-use-2011.
69. Gheen, William. 2006. "How to Reverse Illegal Immigration in America." Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website, March 16. Accessed November 16, 2015. http://www.alipac.us/f31/how-reverse-illegal-immigration-america-17164/.
70. "Sample Op-Ed for Local Newspaper." n.d. American Immigration Control Foundation website. Accessed November 16, 2015. http://www.aicfoundation.com/books/ActionKitOpEd.pdf.
71. NPG. 2013. "An Open Letter to President Obama on Immigration Reform." Negative Population Growth website, January 30. Accessed November 16, 2015. http://www.npg.org/ads/4350.html.
72. "History Policy." n.d. Americans for Immigration Control, Inc. website. Accessed October 26, 2014. http://www.immigrationcontrol.com/?page_id=583.
73. On environmental concerns and discourse among immigration control groups, see Reimers (1998), Sohoni (2006), Fry (2007), King (2007), Jacobson (2008), Griffith (2013), and Hultgren (2014).
74. "Environment." n.d. Progressives for Immigration Reform website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.progressivesforimmigrationreform.org/immigration-topics/environment/.
75. Simcox, David. 2013. "Senate Comprehensive Immigration Reform Bill (NPG Footnote)." Negative Population Growth website, April 29. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.npg.org/library/forum-series/senate-comprehensive-immigration-reform-bill.html. Echoing concerns about the "social health" of the nation, Hultgren (2014, 65) divides up environmental restrictionist discourses into three broad types, each representing nature as "nationalized": (1) *social nativism* (nature is both a source of order and a symbol of anarchy, with the nation threatened by non-European cultures); (2) *eco-nativism* (nature is a signifier of civilization and the nation is imperiled by population growth); and (3) *eco-communitarianism* (nature is a marker of both progressive nationalism and internationalism; natural places and the

communities that protect them are imperiled by neoliberalism). Eco-communitarianism, which Hultgren found in the discourse of FAIR, NUSA, and PFIR, may resonate with mainstream greens and "liberals," but such restrictionism is "profoundly flawed" and belies an internal contradiction:

> On the one hand, eco-communitarians recognize that immigration and environmental degradation are frequently driven by transnational political economic structure characteristic of "neoliberal globalization"; on the other hand, however, eco-communitarians collapse into a facile appeal to a national social contract in their consideration of ethical obligation. . .attempting to protect nature by building border walls to keep migrants out is both ineffective and ethically indefensible. (Ibid., 74)

76. The other items that NUSA is "for" include Middle-Class Opportunities for Immigrants and Black Americans, Environmental Quality, the American Wage Earner, Easy Personal Mobility Without Traffic Gridlock, Urban School Children, Individual Liberties, and Survival of the Lifestyles of Small Cities, Towns, and Rural Areas ("What We Are For," n.d., NumbersUSA website, accessed November 17, 2015, https://www.numbersusa.org/about/what-we-are).
77. "For Access to Open Spaces." n.d. NumbersUSA website. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.numbersusa.org/pages/access-open-spaces.
78. See, for example, Rumbaut and Ewing (2007), Sampson (2008), MacDonald and Saunders (2012), and Ewing et al. (2015). On the relationship between immigration and crime, see Reid et al. (2005) and Wadsworth (2010).
79. Conservative news media, both mainstream and extreme, contribute a great deal to the discourse on crime among unauthorized immigrants, making local incidents into a national issue. As I complete this chapter, a murder allegedly committed by an unauthorized immigrant in San Francisco has been widely publicized not only because of the assailant's legal status but also because he had previously been deported five times after having been convicted of multiple felonies. The July 1, 2015, murder of Kathryn Steinle has brought up considerable criticism among 2016 presidential candidates about "sanctuary cities" such as San Francisco, which released the alleged perpetrator in spite of a

request by ICE to detain him so he could be deported a sixth time (Denvir 2015). Among the three core IC groups in this study, there has been immediate condemnation of sanctuary cites, in which local law enforcement are discouraged from cooperating with ICE to detain unauthorized immigrants. FAIR headlines, "After the Steinle Murder, the Recklessness of 'Sanctuary Cities' Becomes Painfully Glaring" (Immigration Reform Law Institute, 2015, ImmigrationReform.com website, accessed November 17, 2015, http://immigrationreform.com/2015/07/09/after-the-steinle-murder-the-recklessness-of-sanctuary-cities-becomes-painfully-glaring/). The CIS features a post that promises to reveal the "fabric of the truth" about the case (Dan Cadman, 2015, "Rending the Fabric of Truth in the Steinle Case," Center for Immigration Studies website, accessed November 17, 2015, http://cis.org/cadman/rending-fabric-truth-steinle-case), creating an interactive map of "sanctuaries that protect criminal aliens from deportation by refusing to comply with ICE detainers or otherwise impede open communication and information exchanges between their employees or officers and federal immigration agents" (Bryan Griffith, Jessica Vaughan, and Marguerite Telford, 2015, "Map: Sanctuary Cities, Counties, and States," Center for Immigration Studies website, accessed November 17, 2015, http://cis.org/Sanctuary-Cities-Map). And NUSA highlights a Rasmussen poll that shows a majority of Americans thinks "the U.S. Justice Department should take legal action against cities that provide sanctuary for illegal immigrants" ("Poll: American Voters Oppose Sanctuary Cities," 2015, NumbersUSA website, July 24, accessed November 17, 2015, https://www.numbersusa.com/news/poll-american-voters-oppose-sanctuary-cities). Since the Steinle case, I have noted a marked increase in stories among my sample of IC SMOs about the crimes committed by "illegal aliens." For example, FAIR has created a webpage entitled "Examples of Serious Crimes by Illegal Aliens" (n.d., Federation for American Immigration Reform website, accessed November 17, 2015, http://www.fairus.org/issue/examples-of-serious-crimes-of-illegal-aliens). To lend an air of legitimacy, it features a playlist of videos of testimony before Congress by "family members of victims of illegal alien criminals." Immediately below, it provides its own list of crimes compiled

from "news sources." It tries to hedge against accusations of nativism by saying, "These cases are listed as a demonstration that better prevention of illegal immigration is a public safety issue even though these cases are not representative of the illegal alien population in general." But immediately following there is the implication that immigrants are potential terrorists: "These cases refer to crimes other than terrorism." It is precisely this type of mixed-message discourse that has led the SPLC to designate FAIR as a hate group.

80. Vaughan, Jessica M. and Jon D. Feere. 2008. "Taking Back the Streets: ICE and Local Law Enforcement Target Immigrant Gangs." Center for Immigration Studies website, October. Accessed November 17, 2015. www.cis.org/sites/cis.org/files/articles/2008/back1208.pdf.
81. As Jacobson (2008, 56–58) points out, this supposed inclination toward criminality is often conflated with a racialized, Mexicanized identity through association with corruption, gangs, and drugs.
82. "Problems with Illegal Immigration." n.d. Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.alipac.us/problems_with_illegal_immigration/.
83. "7 Principles of True Comprehensive Immigration Reform." n.d. Federation for American Immigration Reform website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.fairus.org/about/7-principles-of-true-comprehensive-immigration-reform.
84. "The Terrorist Threat at the Border." 2014. Tea Party Patriots website, October 9. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.teapartypatriots.org/news/the-terrorist-threat-at-the-border/.
85. "Immigration." n.d. Tea Party Patriots website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.teapartypatriots.org/ourvision/immigration/.
86. Gheen, William. 2007. "Why the Illegals Must Go!" Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website, April 19. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.alipac.us/f8/why-illegals-must-go-56380/.
87. "Illegal Immigration Amnesty Supporters." n.d. Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.alipac.us/amnesty_supporters/.
88. Mann, Donald. 2014. "Commentary." Negative Population Growth website, September 30. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.npg.org/library/journal/npg-journal-vol-7-7.html.

89. Dern, Laura. 2014. "Why America's Elites Want Amnesty." Progressives for Immigration Reform website, October 9. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.progressivesforimmigrationreform.org/why-americas-elites-want-amnesty/.
90. Some researchers address the issue of truthfulness directly. For example, Flores-Yeffal et al. (2011) argue that in the process of creating a "Latino cyber moral panic," the 60 "anti-immigrant" groups they studied utilize inflated and empirically unsupported statistics (often alongside photos) to buttress their sensationalist claims about unauthorized immigrants. They find that visitors to "anti-immigrant" websites rarely question such claims and reproduce links of exaggerated material, "which exponentially spread the information in today's participatory, often user-created, Web 2.0" (ibid., 577). They cite a well-known statistical hoax of ten "facts" on immigrants circulating in the mid-2000s, ostensibly based on *Los Angeles Times* reporting, which was heartily rebuked by the newspaper (see "Internet Immigration Hoax," 2007, Los Angeles Times website, November 28, accessed November 17, 2015, http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/readers/2007/11/internet-immigr.html). Although they implicate three of the groups in my sample (FAIR, CIS, and NUSA) as the ringleaders in this moral panic process, my experience is that these three groups, especially CIS and NUSA, are very careful to cite what *they* see as "legitimate" sources for their statistics. What the others that cite them then achieve by manipulating such information is clearly part of the moral panic process Flores-Yeffal et al. describe.
91. "Immigration Facts." n.d. League of United Latin American Citizens website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://lulac.org/programs/immigration/facts/.
92. "Why It's Important To Support Immigration Reform." n.d. National Council of La Raza website. Accessed January 8, 2014. http://www.nclr.org/images/uploads/pages/WhyItsImportant2SupportImmRfrm110413.pdf.
93. "Seven Immigration Myths and Facts." n.d. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations website. Accessed January 14, 2014. http://www.aflcio.org/content/download/3138/31512/immigration_myths_facts.pdf.
94. "'They Take Our Jobs'—Debunking Immigration Myths." n.d. Service Employees International Union website. Accessed

January 13, 2014. http://www.seiu.org/a/immigration/they-take-our-jobs-debunking-immigration-myths.php. Both movements continue to utilize statistics even well after they become dated.

95. "Immigration Myths and Facts." n.d. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service website. Accessed January 8, 2014. http://lirs.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/IMMIGRATION-MYTHS-AND-FACTS-APRIL-13-20121.pdf.
96. "'They Take Our Jobs'—Debunking Immigration Myths." n.d. Service Employees International Union website. Accessed January 13, 2014. http://www.seiu.org/a/immigration/they-take-our-jobs-debunking-immigration-myths.php.
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100. "'They Take Our Jobs'—Debunking Immigration Myths." n.d. Service Employees International Union website. Accessed January 13, 2014. http://www.seiu.org/a/immigration/they-take-our-jobs-debunking-immigration-myths.php.
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109. Pearson, Jennifer. 2014. "Numbers Don't Add Up for President's Amnesty Plan." Progressives for Immigration Reform website, October 27. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.progressivesforimmigrationreform.org/numbers-dont-add-up-for-presidents-amnesty-plan/.
110. North, David. 2013. "Social Security 'Study' of S.744 Impact Consists of 2.5 Pages, No Explanations." Center for Immigration Studies, May. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://cis.org/social-security-s744-study.

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CHAPTER 5

Evaluating Values

A considerable portion of the textual discourse among the SMOs in this study concerns the theme of values (21.8 percent for the immigrant rights [IR] groups and 14.1 percent for the immigration control [IC] groups). By values, I mean those abstract measures of morality and worth promulgated by the movements, for example, "universal values" such as justice, equality, dignity, and respect and "American values" such as freedom, fairness, and opportunity. The latter categorization of certain values as distinctly American emerges directly from the findings. Both value systems are at play when it comes to asylum seekers and refugees, who are mentioned by 5 of the 20 IR groups[1] and 6 of the 9 IC groups. Religion surfaces for the Call to Faith groups among the IR SMOs and occasionally for the other types. Religious arguments against "amnesty" are put forth by just one of the groups (Americans for Immigration Control, Inc. [AIC]) among the IC SMOs.

There are two levels of value articulation—the national and the universal. Although primarily addressing the national level,[2] for the IR groups, the locus of concern sometimes extends to the universal level of humanity and human rights (in contrast, the IC groups rarely talk about rights). And sometimes the universal and the national intersect, as in a comment by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) about the authority to control borders and regulate immigration: "[W]e must exercise the awesome power to exclude or deport immigrants consistent with the rule of law, the fundamental norms of humanity and the requirements of the Constitution."[3] It references a national sacred text and the rule of law so important to

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American identity but it also extends to the universal level of humankind. In contrast, the level of the values discourse remains national for the IC groups. The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR)'s position on enforcement reflects this focus: "Protecting the interests of Americans is the reason our immigration laws exist. Excessive immigration harms American workers, taxpayers, and our most vulnerable citizens. That's why we have to set and enforce limits."[4] Indeed, the very interests of the nation and its people represent an important value for the IC groups.

The interaction of moral and legal criteria in the symbolic boundary work of the SMOs is perhaps most evident when it comes to values, especially nation-related or American values. The IC groups wish to *maintain* a firm legal boundary around the nation, whether they articulate it explicitly or imply it more subtly. But the considerations for maintaining such a boundary are overwhelmingly moral. NumbersUSA (NUSA) encapsulates the issue: "In the end in a democracy, a decision on immigration ought to be made in answer to the question, 'What is the right thing to do?'"[5] For the IR groups, moral considerations based on shared values are also paramount. They supersede the existing legal criteria that contribute to the "bright" boundaries (Alba 2005) surrounding the nation, which should instead be permeable enough for immigrants to *cross*. Instructions from People Improving Communities through Organizing's Campaign for Citizenship (PICO) on how to write an op-ed reflect this prioritization: "As part of our campaign faith leaders will reach more than 1 million religious and politically engaged people and encourage them to support citizenship, not only as the right policy to create a process for immigration, but as the moral choice consistent with American values."[6] The end goal, however, is to *blur* the symbolic boundary separating the unauthorized, based on the shared humanity that grants them rights.

In the remainder of this chapter, I first narrow in to the national level and compare the discourse of the IR and the IC SMOs on America and American values. I then move out to the universal level, where talk of rights enters the picture for the IR SMOs. Next, I offer a brief discussion of the most explicit statements of universal values—those having to do with religion and morality. There are only a small number of comments on each side in this category but they are significant in encapsulating the relevant groups' views. Moreover, faith-related discourse is becoming increasingly important in debates about immigration. As Marquardt, Snyder, and Vásquez point out, "[B]y introducing moral and spiritual grammars into the conversation about immigration reform and unauthorized migration in particular, FBOs [faith-based

organizations] are changing the tenor of the public debate" (2014, 292).[7] I conclude with a brief discussion of refugees and asylum seekers.

American Values: A Nation of Immigrants or a Nation for Americans?

Both the IR and the IC SMOs emphasize what they see as quintessentially American values, such as fairness, freedom, and opportunity (and occasionally common sense and rationality), but they are applied completely differently. For example, when the IR groups talk about fairness, it is a condition of immigration reform, a way for unauthorized individuals to cross the legal boundary of citizenship. They should be able to do so since they already share the same values as Americans. What's ultimately called for is a shift in the legal boundary. For the IC groups, it's simply not fair for Americans to suffer the consequences of unauthorized immigration. They see any permeability of the legal boundary as amnesty, which is completely unreasonable. Both movements acknowledge that the history of the United States is one that involves immigrants and their positive contributions, but the IC groups qualify these contributions with legality. Finally, nationhood and the national interest are important to both, but in vastly different ways. The IC groups highly value nationhood itself, especially in terms of maintaining sovereignty. And the IR groups spend considerable time defining America as a "nation of immigrants."

A Nation of Immigrants and Shared Values

For the IR SMOs in this study, American values represent shared values, even if there are some slight differences among the types of organizations with regard to which values are highlighted. The tenth of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)'s "10 Reasons All Workers Benefit from Fixing the Immigration System" is "It's the right thing to do." The reason is underwritten by a statement from the labor union's president:

> The current immigration policy breaks up families, stifles opportunities for new American immigrants and allows low-end employers to take advantage of workers and pursue a race to the bottom in wages and labor standards ... Members of our unions, like the rest of the American public, strongly support inclusive reform that reflects our shared values: dignity, fairness, opportunity, voice and justice.[8]

Immigrants, in his words, are already "new" Americans who deserve to share in the "opportunities" the country has to offer, not to mention a host of other values. The labor union speaks on behalf of its members, who share the sentiments of the greater public in calling for "inclusive" immigration reform. The word "our" preceding "shared values" also acts as a marker of inclusiveness. "Opportunity" is a value espoused most often by the lobby and lawsuit organizations, especially the labor unions. But the other types of organizations also highlight this value and frame it in terms of a chance at belonging. However, inclusion is not an unconditional offer; the morality of hard work is never far away. The Direct Action group Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA) speaks about a "new America inclusive of every aspiring American *who works hard for the opportunity*, once granted to our nation's forefathers, to become a full contributing citizen" (emphasis mine).[9] As discussed in Chap. 4, the "hard work" of civic-economic participation is a way to earn the chance to cross the legal boundary of citizenship. Even the Call to Faith organizations see "opportunity" as a way to put "God-given skills and talents" to work as "contributing members" of society.[10] Exchanging such economic contributions for a chance at formal belonging represents a moral-legal trade-off that will help the country flourish. For example, the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) believes immigrants arriving in the United States today deserve a shot at the same "core value" of opportunity as the "brave and industrious" immigrants from 100 years ago because "[o]ur nation has thrived by welcoming newcomers whose strong work ethic and focus on family contribute to our collective future."[11]

Freedom, or liberty, is another shared value, one that is mentioned by every type of organization. It is considered a right that should be extended to all. The Fair Immigration Reform Movement (FIRM) principles for immigration reform include a call for due process and civil rights, with an emphasis on the quintessentially American value of liberty: "We must uphold American values by ensuring that all people, no matter where they come from, are afforded fundamental rights, including the right to a fair day in court before being separated from family and community and deprived of liberty and the right to be free from inhumane conditions of confinement."[12] Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS) similarly denounces the detention of immigrants, which "often involves arbitrary, prolonged loss of liberty and is a barrier to full, fair, and just court proceedings."[13] But as with so many other themes in the discourse of the IR SMOs, freedom is sometimes linked to the economy (and in the same breath, to opportunity). Under the banner

of "Protecting Immigrants' Rights," the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) describes itself as being "at the forefront of the battle to create and preserve the rights of those in search of economic opportunity and personal freedoms in America."[14] In its statement of the principles that form the basic foundation for its network, the National Immigration Forum (NIF) Bibles, Badges, and Business campaign places freedom and hard work in tandem: "America is the land of freedom and opportunity and will always attract talented and ambitious individuals. We must fix our work visa system so the entrepreneurs and workers of today—and tomorrow—start companies and create jobs in America. We need a process that celebrates freedom and values hard work across the economic spectrum, welcoming the engineer as well as the farm worker."[15] It thus celebrates the economic contributions of all classes of workers, highlighting their potential to ensure a better "today" as well as a "tomorrow" for the nation.

While opportunity and freedom represent important American values, fairness is mentioned much more often and it is almost exclusively tied to immigration reform. Ten of the twenty organizations in the sample mentioned fairness as one of the criteria for a path/road/roadmap to citizenship (other criteria include direct, humane, reasonable, and just). In its call for immigration reform that creates "a welcoming roadmap to citizenship for aspiring Americans living in and contributing to the U.S.," the ACLU prioritizes legal criteria for formal inclusion and references the Constitution as the guarantor of the "fundamental fairness" that should bring immigrants into citizenship's "legal embrace."[16] The National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR) campaigns with moral criteria in its plea for "fair and just immigration policy" that ends "border militarization," calling attention to "the thousands of people who have lost their lives crossing the U.S.-Mexico border in search of safety and economic security."[17] United We Dream (UWD) focuses on belonging; it wants a "fair and reasonable pathway to citizenship" for "our community," which includes a number of categories: "DREAMers, individuals who came to the U.S. as children, our parents, families, friends, and neighbors."[18] It asserts, "This inclusive approach is the only solution consistent with our nation's values of fairness and equality[19] and the only one that will get the job done." The Service Employees International Union (SEIU) also puts "inclusion" and "fairness" in the same sentence, and works in pragmatism as well. It declares, "Anti-Immigrant Policies are NOT Consistent with American Values" and explains: "Crude attempts to shut down our border and round up anyone

who looks a certain way do not begin to solve our broken immigration system. These policies are driven by nativism, hate, and fear—not the values of pragmatism, fairness, and inclusion that have made America strong."[20] It continues by emphasizing how fairness and practicality coexist in securing a better (economic) future for the country: "Our immigration problems will not go away until we find a fair and practical way to bring undocumented workers out of the shadows, and create legal channels for much-needed immigrant workers to come here in the future."

In addition to the idea that fairness to immigrants now will contribute to the nation's future, history plays an important role in the articulation of American values. The following sample letter to the editor provided in the LIRS Holiday Immigrant Justice Toolkit references not only the nation's various values but also its "tradition" of being a "welcoming society":

> We need to continue to lift up the American tradition of being a welcoming society that honors the values of freedom, equality, and opportunity. As we break bread with members of our family, congregation, and community here in [city or town], I ask that each of us reflect on the need for fair and compassionate immigration reform that continues the very same American values and traditions we celebrate on Thanksgiving.[21]

The SEIU offers a historical portrait of immigrants that emphasizes their positive attributes, most notably that they "work hard":

> Immigrants today prove what centuries of immigrants have done before them—they have come here to work hard, succeed, raise the American flag with pride and embrace the freedoms and opportunity that make American great. Immigrants who arrived in the past 25 years have assimilated faster in terms of employment, education, homeownership, ability to speak English, naturalization rates and military service than their counterparts of a century ago.[22]

The above passage is a "fact" presented to "debunk" the myth "Immigrants Don't Want to Learn English or Become Americans." It cites a report about measuring immigrant assimilation. However, "assimilation" is a word that is rarely used; the only exceptions are the two labor unions in the sample. More often, the concept of "integration" is invoked. About one-third of the IR SMOs (of all types) suggest that immigrants be provided some sort of support for integration. One of CHIRLA's comprehensive immigration reform principles includes creating "a national office of immigrant

integration to recommend, implement policies to integrate immigrants, and serve as a clearinghouse for information."[23] The integration of immigrants also contributes to the overall success of the country. NCLR believes "proactive measures that advance the successful integration of new immigrants" would "strengthen the fabric of America."[24] Occasionally, the historical discourse on American values hearkens all the way back and references the founding/founders of the nation, as in the self-presentation of the NIF on its "About Us" page: "[T]he National Immigration Forum advocates for the value of immigrants and immigration to our nation. In service to this mission, the Forum promotes responsible federal immigration policies, addressing today's economic and national security needs while honoring the ideals of our Founding Fathers, who created America as a land of opportunity."[25] The ACLU often invokes the Constitution, a sacred foundational text: "For more than 90 years the ACLU has defended the rights of all Americans, whether or not they are born in this country, because the Constitution protects the civil liberties and civil rights of *all* people" (emphasis in original).[26] But as I elaborate below, this referencing of the founders and the Constitution is more common among the IC groups.

One of the most important American values for the IR SMOs is the country's immigrant history itself. Half of the organizations (of all types) discuss the legacy of the United States as an immigrant nation. The most common terminology is the trope "a nation of immigrants" (see also Steil and Vasi 2014). The narrative of the United States as a nation of immigrants started to become prevalent in the late 1950s, and although it may have reached its apex in 1986 with the Statue of Liberty's centennial, it persists in the contemporary imagination as an "articulation of the nation's continual responsibility to *be* a nation of immigrants" (Kotowski 2013, 299, emphasis in original). Some of the groups call upon politicians to uphold the nation's "tradition" as a nation of immigrants, pointing to the fact that other than Native Americans, everyone is the descendant of immigrants. The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) chronicles this chain of descent:

> Throughout our country's history, immigrants have contributed immensely to our culture, our economy, our defense and our national pride. Almost all citizens of the United States are immigrants or the descendants of immigrants and each new generation of immigrants has reinvigorated our nation with the values and work ethic that has made America great. Our common experience has demonstrated that immigration is good for America, whether your ancestors arrived before the Declaration of Independence or just a generation ago.[27]

In this narrative, immigrants are responsible for bolstering America's values and its work ethic. They are portrayed as contributors on multiple levels and throughout a continuous history; this is understood as an unequivocal good through "our common experience." Ali Noorani, executive director of the NIF, similarly portrays a shared experience by including immigrants among those "who call our nation home" and contribute to its fiscal well-being: "If we are to realize any immigration changes this year, they must be compassionate and broad efforts to better the lives of all who call our nation home, strengthen our economy and live up to our history as a nation of immigrants."[28] As with the discourse on citizenship, economic considerations are at the forefront.

While nationhood itself is a crucial value for the IC SMOs, as I will elaborate below, the IR groups rarely talk about the "national interest" as such. Instead, they sometimes talk about what it means to be a nation like America. For example, Ali Noorani points to its compassionate nature: "Today's passage [of Senate Bill 744] reminds us that immigration is about people not just fences. We've made real progress because our political leaders are finally realizing that this isn't about politics; it's about who we are as a country and how we fulfill our nation's promise."[29] The Evangelical Immigration Table (EIT) cites Barrett Duke, the vice president for Public Policy and Research at the Southern Baptist Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission, in his proclamation about the "nation-defining" work of legislators addressing immigration: "The rule of law and love of neighbor are both necessary values for any civilized people. They don't have to be competing values. I am praying for our members of Congress as they engage in the nation-defining work of developing immigration solutions that temper justice with compassion." As I noted in Chap. 4, the rule of law is an important consideration for some of the groups, especially in outlining principles for immigration reform. At the same time, when a law is "broken," it is truly "American" to challenge it. In an op-ed about "common-sense" law enforcement with regard to deportations, NCLR president Janet Murguía expresses this notion: "[I]t is as American as apple pie to challenge laws that are outdated, fundamentally flawed, or in violation of our values and interests as a nation."[30] And it is also "American" to support immigration reform. In a series of 30-second ads designed to push people to contact their senators about comprehensive immigration reform, the SEIU emphasizes, "We are a nation of immigrants. This isn't a Democrat or Republican issue; it's an American issue."[31] The implication is clear—immigrants

already belong as Americans and comprehensive immigration reform reinforces the legacy of a nation of immigrants.

A Nation for Americans and Shared Interests

The IC SMOs (of both types) also talk about the American values discussed above, but in a completely different context. Fairness, freedom, and opportunity are almost always reserved for Americans. But what "American" actually means is defined in different ways at different times. In one instance, NUSA asserts a priority for citizens: "The ethics of closed-immigration are based primarily on the belief that a country's ethical priority is to its own citizens. To the extent it has ethical obligations to other people, a country should help those people where they reside, not by bringing them into the country and posing harm to its own citizens."[32] But elsewhere it also includes immigrants in its definition of Americans: "With tens of millions of Americans—native *and* foreign-born—currently unable to support a family at even lower-middle-class standards, should the federal government continue to import hundreds of thousands of new foreign workers to compete with the most vulnerable of our countrymen and women?" (emphasis mine).[33] The drawing of a legal boundary is implicit; the foreign born that are included among "Americans" are presumably in the country legally.

Opportunity and freedom are two important values, and the IC groups sometimes relate them to overall "quality of life," the "deterioration" of which must be prevented. Moreover, these values are usually mentioned alongside economic considerations, especially jobs. The Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) frames this duality as an integral part of the American Dream: "The message . . . is simple. It's that our country has an obligation as part of the social contract to give our fellow Americans (native-born and legal permanent immigrants already here) a clear road toward achieving the American dream of a job and the career opportunities, economic stability, and self-reliance that come with it."[34] In response to the upcoming announcement of Obama's proposed executive action, the president of Negative Population Growth (NPG) focuses on its potential economic effects but adds in social and environmental considerations:

> We feel this atmosphere of accommodation would create more havoc, enticing millions to illegally enter our country and access expensive public services and labor market opportunities, which are the sole right of lawful U.S. citizens

> and legal residents. The resulting increase of population would greatly exacerbate the economic, social, and environmental challenges our nation already faces and are a direct threat to our future quality of life.[35]

Opportunity is a "sole right" reserved for those on the right side of the legal boundary. In another formulation, freedom is placed side by side with the economic, in the Tea Party Patriots (TPP)'s assessment of immigration and "How it Affects You": "A border that is not secured will directly affect your freedom as more people will enter our country illegally and with impunity. This places additional strain on an already poor job market."[36] The personalization ("you" rather than Americans or citizens in the third person) reflects an emphasis on how unauthorized immigration affects the individual. NUSA follows suit, asserting that a reduction in immigration numbers is the way to ensure that "present and future generations of Americans" enjoy a "high degree of *individual* liberty" (emphasis mine)."[37]

Much like the IR SMOs, the IC groups want to see an immigration policy that is "fair." Most often, it's a matter of fairness to "Americans." The American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF) sums up the prevailing position in a template for a newspaper ad: "Immigration policy should be fair. And it is not fair to import millions of working-age foreign citizens to compete with unemployed Americans for jobs in the U.S. Tell your congressman you want immigration policies that are fair to struggling American families."[38] But sometimes it's a matter of fairness to "legal" immigrants: "Tea Party Patriots and millions of Americans are in favor of a legal path to American citizenship for those wishing to come to the United States legally. Anyone who decides to get off that path and enter the United States illegally should not be given amnesty or special privileges because doing so is neither fair nor equal treatment under the law."[39] It is the combination of the moral ("neither fair nor equal treatment") and the legal ("under the law") that animates this boundary-drawing statement.

Some groups also use the terms "commonsense" and "sensible" in relation to immigration policy. The Americans for Legal Immigration PAC (ALIPAC) offers an alternative to legislative solutions:

> However, there is a common sense, humane and cost-effective way to solve the problem of illegal immigration, without resorting to either mass deportation or amnesty. This is called "attrition through enforcement" wherein if our existing immigration laws are consistently enforced and jobs cut off, the number of illegal aliens will return to their home countries over time. This

> middle-ground strategy is endorsed by real immigration reform groups such as ALIPAC and NumbersUSA.[40]

By aligning itself with one of the less-controversial IC groups, ALIPAC tries to place itself into the mainstream of the conversation, rather than on the fringes of "anti-immigrant" extremism.[41] For AICF, common sense is also a value that coincides with those of the founders of the nation. A sample newspaper ad/leaflet from its action kit entitled "A 'Nation of Immigrants'? The Founding Fathers vs. Today's Politicians" asks the reader to "Help restore our Founding Fathers' common sense to immigration policy."[42] The leaflet cites President Obama (among other contemporary politicians) and his proclamation of immigration as part of the nation's identity and character: "We define ourselves as a nation of immigrants. That's who we are—in our bones. The promise we see in those who come here from every corner of the globe, that's always been one of our greatest strengths." In contrast, the Founding Fathers quotes, for example, from George Washington, present utilitarian arguments against high levels of immigration: "My opinion with respect to immigration is, that except of useful mechanics and some particular description of men and professions, there is no use of encouragement." AICF thus pits an appeal to the heart against the rationality of common sense.

The "founding principles" of the nation reflect a legacy that only legal immigrants can share, according to TPP: "We are the friends, family, sons and daughters of immigrants who came to America legally and invested the time and effort to become naturalized citizens in pursuit of personal freedom and their American Dream. We admire them for their courage, determination and desire, all of which reflect the founding principles of the United States."[43] The term "nation of immigrants" is rarely used but some groups do reference the country's immigrant heritage. But praise for this tradition is usually qualified.[44] In a Progressives for Immigration Reform (PFIR) policy brief, Michael Cutler performs exactly this kind of "however" move:

> There is no doubt that America is enriched by immigration. Many Americans are the children of immigrants or may be immigrants themselves. The immigration system, *however*, must have real integrity and must live up to the purpose of the immigration laws, to protect the security of the United States and the well-being of the citizens of the United States. This is common ground upon which all Americans can and should stand. (Emphasis mine)[45]

In the end, the discourse comes back to protecting Americans, in this instance specifically named as citizens. Seven of the nine groups reference the Constitution, often in tandem with the rule of law. Perhaps the most dramatic representation is a cartoon featured by AICF, in which a smiling caricature of President Obama rips the document in half and a large seemingly endless trail of predominantly dark-skinned people passes through the tear. The caption above it reads "Obama's Amnesty Edicts," and words "We The People" are visible on the Constitution itself.[46] The implication is that if the legal boundary is opened up countless people will cross it in a way that is uncontrollable and dangerous.

Surprisingly, explicit references to American culture and assimilation are scarce among a majority of the IC SMOs (see also Sohoni 2006). In the past, researchers have found that preservation of a distinctively American way of life was one of the primary goals of the IC movement (Reimers 1998; Jaret 1999; Nevins 2002; Fry 2007; Jacobson 2008). And mass media are replete with this kind of talk. But only three of the groups in my sample, all Expressive, explicitly voiced concerns of this nature.[47] One of the items on ALIPAC's list of "Problems Associated with Illegal Immigration" is "Deterioration of American Culture" but there is no further discussion. In contrast, AIC has much to say about the topic. On a page devoted to a "brief" history of immigration, four fine-print pages covering "the discovery and settlement of the United States to the destructive flood of immigration today," it first claims that to "better understand the immigration problems of today, we need to understand the history of the founding of the United States": "The government and society they [the English, Scots, Irish, Welsh, Dutch, and Germans that settled in what became the 13 original colonies] created came from their own Northern and West European cultural and political background. … It was an English speaking nation with free institutions based upon Anglo-Saxon culture and English common law." Moving forward in time, history offers a tragic lesson:

> Today, the annual tidal wave of over a million immigrants (legal and illegal) is endangering our American way of life. Currently, fewer than 15% of our immigrants come from Europe and share the heritage that made America strong. A majority of today's immigrants are (consciously or unconsciously) undermining our customs, our culture, our language, and our institutions. Instead of remaining in their native lands and emulating the United States, they are descending upon our shores and trying to reshape the United States into the image of the lands they forsook.[48]

This description likens contemporary immigration to an invasion, with a "tidal wave" of immigrants "descending" on the nation and shaping it in ways that "endanger our American way of life." As highlighted in Chap. 3, a water-based metaphor ("tidal wave") is invoked, along with an apocalyptic narrative. In an AICF publication entitled "The Path to National Suicide," the author argues for a similarly dangerous scenario: "As increasing racial and ethnic diversity makes the re-affirmation of our common culture more vitally important than ever, we are, under the mounting pressure of that diversity, abandoning the very idea of a common American culture. We are thus imperiling not only our social cohesiveness but the very basis of America's national existence."[49]

The other SMOs in the sample express their concerns over Americanness a bit more subtly, similar to the "subtle racism" that Sohoni (2006) finds in the Web discourses of restrictionist groups or the "color-blind" racist ideology Bloch (2014) associates with ALIPAC. The author of a blog post and a former member of the PFIR board writes, "To me, many of the things that made America special have vanished."[50] He does not specify these things but he does refer nostalgically to "the relative paradise that was the U.S. after WWII and that continued for several decades." For TPP, the "illegal" immigration "washing" over America threatens the "fabric of the nation."[51] Again, the water-based metaphor emerges. Several of the groups express concern over the fate of the English language. The ALIPAC illegal immigration "problem" list portrays the concern as "Not Speaking English, loss of common language, Press 1 for English." In a move congruent with its Information Sharing mission, FAIR puts a price on it: "Poor English skills among foreign-born residents cost more than $175 billion a year in lost productivity, wages, tax revenues and unemployment compensation."[52] Writing for PFIR, Michael Cutler discusses the problem at length from an almost sociological point of view:

> In our polarized society, Americans have lost considerable cohesiveness that has enabled us in years past to overcome obstacles and challenges confronting the nation. Today, when we do communicate, instead of speaking with each other all too often we talk at each other. The fact that not all residents of the United States are capable of speaking a common language further Balkanizes our country. We certainly do not need a common religion or a common ethnicity in order to live in a cohesive country. In fact, ethnic diversity enriches all of our lives and exposes us to food, music, and art we would otherwise not have experienced. I am a New Yorker and part of what makes New York such

> an exciting town is its great ethnic diversity. However, when we do not speak a common language we are unable to communicate and share ideas. People tend to mistrust individuals they are unable to communicate with, especially when they do not share a common language. This further exacerbates our problems. While multilingualism is important for people and should be encouraged, a common language is the cement that holds a society and a nation together. This is not about xenophobia but commonsense.

Cutler pits common sense against xenophobia, which he has gone to great lengths to try to avoid. His position on language as the "cement that holds a society and a nation together" is tenable because he is seemingly so accepting of "ethnic diversity," manifested through food, music, art, and even multilingualism. But at the same time, he longs for a certain kind of past, in which there (supposedly) existed "cohesiveness" and society wasn't "polarized." And he doesn't stop at such coded phrasing; he states explicitly that the country has been "Balkanized," a term with extremely negative connotations. Even if it doesn't use the language of "us" and "them," the boundary work in this passage clearly excludes those who do not conform to Cutler's vision of a "cohesive" society.

Beyond such cultural considerations, what is important about the American nation is its very nationhood. Nationhood is a value espoused by seven of the nine SMOs in the sample, including all of the Information Sharing groups, and it manifests in several ways. Above all, immigration policy, as FAIR puts it, is the "sovereign right and responsibility of every nation."[53] In an advertorial calling for a merit-based immigration system, it emphasizes the national interest: "Our immigration system should choose immigrants based on an objective assessment of who is most likely to benefit the economic and social interests of our nation."[54] Not only is addressing immigration issues a sovereign right but it is also a responsibility. CIS looks back in time and calls upon the author of a 1997 report on immigration[55] often cited by the IC groups: "As the population clock ticks on United States growth, we should remember congresswoman and civil rights leader Barbara Jordan's admonition, 'It is both a right and a responsibility of a democratic society to manage immigration so that it serves the national interest.'"[56] In emphasizing the economic realm, NPG's president looks toward the future: "Our failure [to address and resolve our immigration issues] would undermine all other efforts to leave our children and grandchildren a strong, prosperous nation."[57] Likewise, protecting the nation from special interests, especially "big business," should be an

important goal. ALIPAC warns of the nation's demise at the hands of "globalist corporations" that have "taken away our ability to determine who can enter our nation and our ability to stop armed and unarmed invasions as granted by the US Constitution," asserting: "To take away the self-governance of Americans is to kill the very thing that has made us such a great and successful nation."[58] In this scenario, the threat of an "unarmed invasion" (presumably by unauthorized immigrants) should be enough to justify enforcing the legal boundary surrounding the nation.

As noted in Chap. 4, following the rule of law is crucial to the IC SMOs. And its importance is underscored by the connection to American identity and values. As Dudziak and Volpp point out, the law helps define the boundaries of national identity: "That American identity and law are conflated is indisputable. But American ideology incorporates a particular vision of law, which is law as the rule of law, and law as the guarantor of democracy, equality, and freedom" (2006, 4). ALIPAC reflects such a focus succinctly in its list of "Problems with Illegal Immigration" page: "Rule of Law: Fundamental principles of America sacrificed."[59] Elsewhere, it offers the rule of law as the answer to an "unprecedented illegal immigration crisis facilitated by multi-billion dollar drug and human importing cartels as well as corporations":

> In a time of crisis like this, we must stand firm on the principles that have made America an attractive and great nation. We must stand firm on the rule of law. The law must be applied equally to big corporations and illegal aliens alike lest we all become slaves subject to the plans of masters instead of a free and empowered citizenry.[60]

TPP offers advice for writing a letter to the editor and suggests quoting Supreme Court Justice and "self-described 'wise Latina Woman' " Sonia Sotomayor: "I firmly believe in the rule of law as the foundation for all of our basic rights."[61] In all of these accounts, the rule of law is the very basis of the nation's distinctive character.

Although the nation is the primary level at which the IC groups articulate their values, some more universal-style ideals such as tolerance occasionally surface. In particular, more than half of the SMOs (including all of the Information Sharing groups) explicitly frame their organizational values as a professed desire to disassociate with accusations of racism and nativism or to eschew a right-wing reputation (see also King 2007; Flores-Yeffal et al. 2011). This fact is not surprising; as Bosniak (1997, 283) notes, immigration

restrictionists have always worked to avoid being called nativist. Sometimes, such positioning is expressed through an emphasis on the diversity of their membership, even at the same time as they boast it is "American." The AIC bills itself as "an American non-partisan grassroots activist organization with more than a quarter of a million members—citizens of all races, creeds, and colors."[62] ALIPAC incorporates such language into its homepage presentation of self and mission: "We represent Americans of every race, political party, and walk of life working together to support the enforcement of our existing immigration and border laws instead of any form of Amnesty for illegal aliens."[63] FAIR touts the fact that its membership represents "an unusually diverse group."[64] Other groups directly address the issue of racism. On its About Us page, NUSA declares: "Immigrant bashing, xenophobia, nativism, and racism are unacceptable responses to federal immigration policy failures. Race and ethnicity should play no role in the debate and establishment of immigration policy."[65] Yet others note that they are on the side of immigrants, as in the case of CIS, which is "animated by a 'low-immigration, pro-immigrant' vision of an America that admits fewer immigrants but affords a warmer welcome for those who are admitted."[66] As I have noted elsewhere, it is not the truthfulness of these accounts that I wish to ascertain but rather the types of cultural structures and moral claims put forth by the organizations.

No Human Being Is Illegal: Universalizing the Cause

Virtually all of the IR SMOs address the universal level of values in their discourse, even if to varying degrees. They utilize *idioms of social justice mobilization*, or the "recognizable, branded strateg[ies] for advancing a particular set of ethical or political commitments" (Willen 2011, 306). For example, as Willen points out, moral debates about the "deservingness" of unauthorized immigrants take place within a human rights–based idiom that is legitimized by universal discourses. Such debates engender boundary work based on moral criteria, which underwrite the terms of belonging. Unsurprisingly, many of the morally infused universalizing messages come from the Call to Faith groups, and are explicitly religious, as discussed in the next section. The other types of organizations simply phrase things a bit differently, for instance, through their calls for "humane" immigration reform (see also Diaz-Edelman 2014) and their pleas on behalf of "humanity." Reform Immigration for America (RIFA) incorporates such a demand in its mission, which is to "build widespread support for workable, humane,

comprehensive immigration reform."[67] And CHIRLA's principles for comprehensive immigration reform call for recognizing the "full humanity of immigrants."[68] Similarly, enforcement should be, as NIF puts it, both "fiscally responsible and humane."[69] The idea that immigrants are at "home" in the United States because they are "human" is another way to express belonging in universal terms. In response to New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio's February 2014 announcement to issue municipal ID cards to unauthorized immigrants, National Day Labor Organizing Network (NDLON)'s universalizing message is clear: "This whole country will be better when it recognizes that we are human and we are home."[70]

Even more prevalent than appeals based on a shared humanity are calls for justice, the single most prevalent code among the universalizing themes. At the same time that comprehensive immigration reform must be humane, it should also be just. Half of the organizations employ the term "just" in association with reform and some also mention it with regard to enforcement. The LIRS spells out exactly how "just" enforcement should happen, advocating for reform that will: "[e]nsure the humane and just enforcement of U.S. immigration laws, specifically by reducing the use of immigration detention and expanding the use of community support programs for immigrants who do not need to be detained."[71] LULAC specifies justice through referring back to laws and the national level, asking for legislation that will "[a]ddress our enforcement needs in a manner that is just, and consistent with our existing due process and civil rights laws." The other ways in which the concept of justice is referenced are more abstract and generalized, and are often related to an organization's self-presentation. MALDEF's logo proclaims, "And justice for all" and JFI's very name (Justice for Immigrants) incorporates it. The NNIRR considers itself "a part of the global movement for social and economic justice"[72] and CHIRLA wants to "empower immigrants and their allies to build a more just society."[73]

The language of rights is another way in which the IR SMOs express universal values. They speak about civil rights, workers' rights, human rights,[74] and rights without any qualifier in front of it. Sometimes, these rights are associated with the national level and the US Constitution, but more often, they are abstracted to the level of humanity (see also Winders 2011), such as when the ACLU declares on its "Immigrant Rights" home page, "No human being is illegal."[75] I had expected to find this phrase used much more often, considering how important it was in the 2006 protests. Scholars and journalists alike have noted the use and significance of the

phrase, and as Potter (2014, 229) argues, it exposed the power embedded in the term "illegal." It may be that the phrase is utilized more by rank-and-file activists, rather than the leadership responsible for the Web content of the SMOs. Sziarto and Leitner (2010) describe how the riders on the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride had developed a human rights discourse around the phrase, which was then marginalized as union leaders and politicians took the stage at the rallies in Washington, DC. Instead, the emphasis had shifted to a politically expedient discourse of "hardworking, tax-paying, play-by-the-rules immigrants" (ibid., 388).

One of the main points emphasized in the discourse on rights is that everyone, not only immigrants, benefits when rights are guaranteed. As the ACLU puts it, "Upholding the rights of immigrants is important to us all. When the government has the power to deny legal rights and due process to one vulnerable group, everyone's rights are at risk."[76] Further, it spells out the justification for such a position: "The fundamental constitutional protections of due process and equal protection embodied in our Constitution and Bill of Rights apply to every 'person' and are not limited to citizens."[77] Thus, when it comes to these guaranteed rights, there is no legal boundary that stands between immigrants and citizens. In moral terms, everyone qualifies for inclusion. Sometimes, there is a historical kinship with the civil rights and other movements. One of UWD's co-founders recaps the country's legacy with regard to rights in an op-ed on deportation: "For hundreds of years, our country has fought to overcome injustice and advance the rights of all peoples, from ending slavery, to winning women's right to vote, to overturning state-sanctioned discrimination in the form of Jim Crow laws. This is the latest chapter in our country's longstanding quest."[78]

Many of the IR SMOs (12 out of 20) talk specifically about workers' rights. In particular, the labor unions bring all workers, not just immigrant workers, under the same canopy. The SEIU dedicates a webpage to highlighting the ways in which "worker strength" results from comprehensive immigration reform, with one heading that reads: "Uniting Native-Born and Immigrant Workers will Raise Working Standards for All." The message under the heading is one of a boundaryless world of workers united: "Our choice is clear. United we stand; divided we fail. It's time to eliminate the second class workforce, unite all working people, and replace our current regime of employer sanctions with vigorous labor and civil rights protections that will raise living standards for all workers."[79] Equating workers' rights with immigrant rights, the AFL-CIO brings in economic

considerations. Citing a report from the Center for American Progress estimating that "comprehensive immigration reform would yield at least $1.5 trillion in cumulative U.S. gross domestic product over 10 years," it explains how this would occur: "That's because by eliminating the undocumented underclass of workers that employers use to undercut wages and drive down standards, comprehensive immigration reform will ensure that all workers have full labor rights, which would result in higher wages across the board."[80] The other types of organizations follow suit, mentioning workers' rights as part of their principles for comprehensive immigration reform; for example, RIFA calls for "worker protections that assure fair conditions for both native-born and immigrant workers."[81]

Several of the SMOs also assert that there is a basic right to earn a living. JFI calls upon the Catholic Catechism to declare the right to cross borders for work as fundamental:

> The Catholic Catechism instructs the faithful that good government has two duties, both of which must be carried out and neither of which can be ignored. The first duty is to welcome the foreigner out of charity and respect for the human person. Persons have the right to immigrate and thus government must accommodate this right to the greatest extent possible, especially financially blessed nations: "The more prosperous nations are obliged, to the extent they are able, to welcome the foreigner in search of the security and the means of livelihood which he cannot find in his country of origin. Public authorities should see to it that the natural right is respected that places a guest under the protection of those who receive him." (Catholic Catechism, 2241)[82]

The right to a "means of livelihood" is subsumed under the broader category of the "right to immigrate," opening up the legal boundary around a nation's territory. NDLON cites a secular document for the same concept, under its banner of "Principles and Values": "NDLON adheres to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that every person has the right to life, work and liberty." Somewhat surprisingly, I do not find most of the other groups referencing the United Nations declaration or other global mandates for human rights (the exceptions are NDLON and NNIRR). Certainly, a human rights justification exists alongside other types of rationales for advocacy; half of the 20 IR SMOs mention human rights at least in passing. But past research demonstrates that for activists in the US IR movement, the national frame remains the most important. Appealing to universalistic human rights doesn't seem to work as effectively (Bloemraad

et al. 2014; Cook 2010). As Cook points out, "rights arguments," while well suited to advancing migrants' claims, have "little resonance in the court of public opinion" (2010, 147).

When human rights are specifically discussed, it is usually in association with their abuse, especially at the US-Mexico border. The NNIRR refers to the "human rights crisis"[83] and depicts a grim scenario, demanding: "The rollback of border enforcement policies and programs that have created a militarized environment, human rights violations of citizens and non-citizens and an escalation of migrant deaths, particularly along the U.S.-Mexico border."[84] And any talk of border security or enforcement is coupled with the protection of rights. RIFA puts it simply by calling for "fair enforcement that not only secures the borders but enforces labor, civil and human rights."[85] The LIRS offers a detailed warning: "Unprecedented increases in U.S. Border Patrol personnel, infrastructure and surveillance technology along the United States-Mexico border without corresponding increases in oversight and accountability measures would likely lead to greater civil and human rights abuses of migrants and U.S. citizens living near or crossing the border."[86] Even when there is a clear mandate for border security, universal principles are invoked. For example, in its call for "Rational operational control of the border," SEIU exhorts, "Enforcement therefore should respect the dignity and rights of our visitors, as well as residents in border communities."[87]

Occasionally, there are references to the broader global context, and the conditions that precipitate the movement of people across borders in the first place. As part of the labor movement's framework for comprehensive immigration reform, the AFL-CIO addresses the global level: "The long-term solution to uncontrolled immigration is to stop promoting failed globalization policies and encourage just and humane economic integration, which will eliminate the enormous social and economic inequalities at both national and international levels."[88] It almost seems to be speaking to the other side of the debate, bringing up the concern of "uncontrolled immigration." In a slightly different formulation, RIFA looks to international cooperation as an integral part of reform: "Long-term reform requires long term solutions. The factors shaping immigration are not just domestic; the issue transcends our borders. As such, relationships with other countries matter. We must deal with the domestic aspect of this issue and work in partnership with other countries over time to develop long-term strategies." NNIRR, the only organization that explicitly aligns itself with the broader global movement for migrants' rights, likewise calls for international

collaboration: "We further recognize the unparalleled change in global political and economic structures which has exacerbated regional, national and international patterns of migration and emphasize the need to build international support and cooperation to strengthen the rights, welfare and safety of migrants and refugees."[89] In each of these formulations, the universalization of the cause emerges, but such discourse is rare. Even when justifications are universal, solutions remain at the national level.

Religion and Morality: The Most Explicit of Universal Values

About 13 percent of the values-related codes among the IR SMOs concern religion and morality. Much of the religious discourse is Christian and often references the Bible, especially passages about the "stranger" such as Leviticus 19:34: "The stranger who resides with you shall be to you as the native among you, and you shall love him as yourself, for you were aliens in the land of Egypt."[90] "Loving" the stranger as "yourself" and acting as if the stranger is "native" implies inclusion of everyone within a biblically informed moral boundary. Further, the concept of "welcoming the stranger"[91] is embraced by all of the Call to Faith groups in the sample. JFI considers such welcome to be the first "duty" of a "good government."[92] The LIRS Holiday Immigrant Justice Toolkit emphasizes its historical mission to welcome newcomers and describes how to organize a "Stand for Welcome Sunday" to engage a congregation by sharing members' migration stories, discussing the contributions of migrants and refugees to the community, and inviting unauthorized immigrants to speak about how their lives would change with the passage of immigration reform.[93] The EIT cites a member that is a Hispanic pastor on the unconditional nature of a welcoming stance: "The Bible doesn't call me to judge the reasons why immigrants arrive to this country. The Bible calls me to love them and welcome them."[94] That "strangers" are welcomed because of their inherent humanity is a theme that appears frequently within the religious talk of the Call to Faith groups. In the PICO "About Us" page that offers a self-description as "a community that celebrates the pluralistic nature of our country and practice welcoming the newcomer and protecting the marginalized," it extends the symbolic boundary of belonging to everyone: "We view people as children of God who should be included as full-fledged members of our society, not excluded as a permanent underclass."[95] All of humanity is encompassed as "children of

God"; they are simply "people" rather than specifically immigrants. JFI embodies this type of inclusiveness in its logo, which declares, "We are one family under God." Eastman (2012, 207) presents similar findings; among the faith-based groups in her study, migrants are framed as "human beings above all else." And it is this humanity that justifies the blurring of the boundary of belonging to encompass all immigrants.

Sometimes, the shared sense of humanity is linked specifically to the American nation and the resulting boundary work is a bit different. In its "Statement on Citizenship," EIT connects religion and nation: "American democracy is anchored by the conviction that all human beings are created in God's image, and should be treated with dignity and respect."[96] In a related vein, Yukich finds that the New Sanctuary Movement seeks to emphasize immigrants' status as "children of God, worthy of the same justice, love, and compassion as American citizens" (2013b, 113). And sometimes God is behind the potential for immigrants' contributions to the nation through their civic-economic participation. PICO calls for citizenship legislation that "recognizes the inherent dignity and rights of all human persons" but presents immigrants as economic contributors: "It is morally unacceptable that millions of immigrant families—people who are committed to the country—*work hard and pay their taxes* but live in fear of separation, vulnerable to abuse, and unable to fully live out their God-given gifts" (emphasis mine).[97] In this case, even though an inclusive image of "all human persons" is invoked, the boundary work is about crossing over by those immigrant families that (facilitated by God) contribute economically to the country. God also provides "dignity," as is noted by all four of the Call to Faith groups. PICO posits the "unique dignity and worth" of immigrants as justification for shifting the boundary surrounding citizenship and keeping the country on the right moral track: "To deny immigrants a path to becoming full fledged citizens would create a permanent underclass in our country. If the [Republicans' immigration reform] principles deny immigrants a path to citizenship, it signals a return to our country's dark past and other times we've created second-class residents, standing on the wrong side of history."[98] In other words, based on moral criteria, unauthorized immigrants should be encompassed by the legal boundary.

Some of the secular SMOs in my sample explicitly acknowledge and support the Call to Faith groups, and occasionally they call upon religion themselves. This finding echoes that of Slessarev-Jamir: "Religiously grounded activism is a distinctive component of the larger immigrant rights universe, yet its significance is widely acknowledged even by the ostensibly

secular justice organizations" (2011, 132). This acceptance of a religious slant by secular groups occurs for several reasons, she argues: the recognition that many immigrants are themselves religious, the realization that a moral voice may resonate among the religious native born, and the notion that religious individuals may be more inclined to participate in civil disobedience in a context they perceive as unjust (ibid., 132–3). In a press release, the SEIU highlights the 24-hour participation of its president in the Fast for Families campaign[99] in November 2013 and provides her statement:

> Every now and then, people are compelled to stand on principle and take drastic action in the name of those principles. I am proud today to join my brother, Eliseo Medina and other civic and religious leaders who have committed to abstain from food for as long as they can to defend the basic human dignity of immigrant families and workers in our communities who are too often torn apart by our broken immigration system. . .I am fasting in solidarity to renew my faith and challenge people of conscience to join millions of aspiring Americans and their allies in calling on U.S. House leadership to take up commonsense immigration reform without delay.[100]

She calls upon the universal value of "basic human dignity," bringing together immigrant families and workers as members of "our" communities. For her, the moral boundary is an inclusive one, and the legal one should be blurred enough to allow the millions of "aspiring Americans" in. In a blog post, America's Voice covers the "incredibly moving event" of the April 1, 2014 Mass at Nogales on the US-Mexico border, held by nine Catholic bishops to pray for immigration reform and honor those who have died trying to cross the border. It features an array of "our favorite pictures" and declares the Mass "powerful."[101] In another section of its website, the "Human Cost of Inaction," it calls upon religion in one of its narratives about a potential deportee, noting that he was picked up in front of his family outside a neighbor's home where he was attending Bible study.[102]

Occasionally, there is the impetus among secular groups to cooperate with faith-based efforts to advocate for immigrants. It may be abstract, such as the commitment articulated by UWD in its "Platform for Change in 2013 and Beyond": "Growth and diversity of our movement for change, intensifying efforts to become more inclusive of non-Latinos, LGBTQ communities, different-bodied people, people of faith, and other groups."[103] Or it may be more tangible, such as the campaign the NIF has created that directly involves evangelical leaders. Bibles, Badges, and Business is a network of

faith, law enforcement, and business leaders tasked with "working together to educate and support members of Congress." The NIF's president boasts about their accomplishments over the August 2013 congressional recess:

> Working with a wide range of faith, law enforcement and business allies, over the course of the 5-week recess, the Bibles, Badges and Business for Immigration Reform network:
>
> - Convened over 40 Roundtables for Reform in key congressional districts.
> - Held 5 statewide telephonic press conferences in critical states.
> - Organized 148 local faith, business and law enforcement leaders to headline the 40 events.
> - Recruited conservative leaders to attend over 65 Town Halls.
> - Generated 371 news stories, 80% of which were local headlines.
> - Earned over 1,000 visits to our dedicated recess website, www.BBBwinsAugust.com.
> - Generated over 1,000 tweets using the dedicated hashtag #BBBwinsAugust
> - Reached over 1,150,000 people via Twitter and Facebook.[104]

Looking at their principles, one sees the interaction of moral and legal criteria in their boundary work: "We must deal with aspiring citizens by creating a road to lawful status and citizenship, while respecting those that have been in line and awaiting naturalization. These aspiring citizens are part of our communities and our economy and deserve to be treated with dignity."[105] Aspiring citizens, who "deserve to be treated with dignity," should be brought into legal embrace since they are already part of "our" communities and "our" economy. But the moral justification for inclusion only holds if it is fair to "those that have been waiting in line": morality thus comes into play from two directions.

Sometimes, appeals for immigrants and immigration reform are framed less in terms of religion and more as a matter of morality, especially in pleas to politicians. The EIT's "Pray for Reform Campaign" asks members of Congress to support immigration reform for the sake of "moral integrity" for the nation.[106] JFI cites a press release in which the US Council of Catholic Bishops President, Cardinal Timothy Dolan, calls the passage of immigration reform as a matter of "great moral urgency."[107] And PICO declares that a path to citizenship for unauthorized immigrants is "the moral choice consistent with American values."[108] The Call to Faith groups aren't the only ones among the IR SMOs to talk about morality (see also Diaz-Edelman 2014). Many of the others offer an ethical stance with regard to immigration reform. In the caption of a Facebook photo about keeping

families together, CHIRLA, a Direct Action group, connects a path to citizenship with a principled standpoint: "New Americans are ready to contribute even more to this nation. A path to citizenship is the *right thing to do*."[109] Both SEIU and LULAC, Lobby and Lawsuit groups, consider it a "moral imperative"[110] to enact comprehensive immigration reform.

Several of the IC groups also bring up morality as a justification for their position on immigration. Their claims echo the language of the IR SMOs. FAIR calls upon Congress to "do the right thing," but in this case, it is not to enact comprehensive immigration reform. It is instead to enforce "our" immigration laws and supersede Obama's "disastrous policies."[111] In a policy brief written for PFIR that makes "the liberal case for immigration law enforcement," Michael Cutler calls for an immigration system with "real integrity." But the beneficiaries of such integrity are only those within the formal legal boundary of citizenship; the system should "live up to the purpose of the immigration laws, to protect the security of the United States and the well-being of the citizens of the United States."[112] Indeed, it is acceptable to limit moral duty, rather than to extend concern to all of humanity, as NUSA explains: "Supporters of closed borders point to what they see as substantial agreement among history's philosophers that a person's moral obligations are greatest for those persons who are closest to them, and to their own descendants. Vanderbilt University philosopher John Lachs has noted that, 'Throughout history, acting in self-interest for one's own people generally has not been considered morally selfish.'"[113] In the end, although the two sides speak the same language, their boundary work is divergent. NPG states it bluntly, "The immigration debate is not simply a debate between good and evil. It is in part a conflict between moral but irreconcilable beliefs."[114]

Only one of the IC groups moves out from secular expressions of morality and into the realm of religion. AIC dedicates a "special report" to elaborate the reasons that "amnesty" is a policy of "false compassion."[115] The report first addresses "religious leaders that claim the United States has a moral obligation to grant amnesty. . .to the 11 million illegal aliens now estimated to reside in this country." It seeks to counter what it sees as the "anti-national sentiments" of "secular culture" influencing these leaders: "[T]he relevant issue for Christians is not what the secular culture says, but what the Bible and Christian tradition have to say about nationhood. Both, without question, affirm its importance as a principle of divine order." The report then speaks directly to the biblical concept of welcoming the

stranger, asking: "Can there be any similarity or parallel between the lawful strangers in ancient Israel and foreigners living in the United States who have crossed our border illegally, used false identification, cheated on taxes, used public services intended for Americans, taken jobs Americans wanted, destroyed property, and committed crimes of violence?" It continues with an exegesis on how scripture "justifies government on the grounds of maintaining order against lawlessness," and "links nationhood and government to righteousness." The next task is to explain why it is not compassionate to eschew the rule of law, allow "foreigners" to enter the country in unending numbers, and try to solve world poverty by doing so. Instead, it suggests "American Christians who genuinely feel compassion for foreign countries might consider doing mission work in them." Further, it sets forth moral criteria for maintaining a legal boundary about citizenship: "Amnesty advocates claim that letting illegal immigrants stay and keep the jobs they have is basic compassion. But why do they also include U.S. citizenship in the package, as if it were some kind of fundamental human right—rather than a privilege to be earned through the proper channels?" The report closes with a warning and a call for prudence concerning the future of the nation: "[C]ompassion unrestrained by wisdom and temperance is a sentiment that degenerates into reckless folly, a situation which benefits no one. For righteousness' sake, feeling cannot replace foresight."

Refugees and Asylum Seekers: Vulnerable or Dangerous?

Both American and universal values appear in the discourse on asylum seekers and refugees. Some IR SMOs invoke the "proud" history of the United States in protecting refugees, which may also be subsumed under the idea of the country as a "nation of immigrants." The IC SMOs that talk about refugees also reference the legacy of the United States in taking its "fair share" of those in need of protection, but they qualify such protection as falling strictly under the 1951 United Nations definition.[116] There is no room for interpretation of the legal rule; the nation must be protected against potential fraud (and would-be terrorists). The universal level only surfaces for the IR SMOs concerned about refugees. They speak of "human dignity" and "compassion," which justify blurring the legal boundary that defines refugees, extending protection also to those fleeing gangs and violence in Central America. Moral criteria create the responsibility for

"vulnerable" individuals, who should be allowed to cross even if the legal definition does not reflect the contemporary situation.

Protecting the Vulnerable

There is little talk about refugees and asylum seekers among the IR SMOs unless they are in the news. My dataset, collected in early 2014, does not contain many references to this particular type of migrant, with the exception of LIRS, whose mission includes assisting refugees in resettlement. LIRS calls for immigration reform that will "[p]rovide adequate resources and protections to ensure the successful integration of refugees, asylees, survivors of torture and trafficking, unaccompanied minors, and other vulnerable migrants."[117] JFI also sees these categories of migrants as "vulnerable people on the move,"[118] as does EIT, which invokes the national level of value expression in praising the United States for its "proud history of protecting refugees who flee persecution and seek to rebuild their lives in freedom." It also calls upon the universal level in its hope that the nation will "continue to provide refuge to the vulnerable and will carry on a strong tradition of being a humanitarian leader helping those who are seeking safety and a new life."[119] Seeking to "rebuild their lives" or "a new life" is not unconditional, however. Refugees are expected to integrate, become "contributing members" as JFI puts it, and to seize upon the "opportunity to realize the full potential of their God-given skills and talents."[120] As with other immigrants, refugees should be able to cross the boundary of belonging, based primarily on shared American and universal values. But considerations of the refugees' potential civic-economic participation are never far away.

As I complete this book, asylum seekers and refugees are indeed in the news, and I could hardly omit the reaction of both movements to what worldwide media and even academics have dubbed the "migrant crisis" in Europe.[121] At least half of the IR SMOs (of all types) have reacted on Facebook and Twitter, primarily through posting links to news articles or sharing the photo of the 3-year-old Syrian child Alan Kurdi, which went viral on social media and came to be an important public symbol. The commentary provided with such links often draws a parallel to the situation in the United States. UWD offers a comparison between the migrants and asylum seekers arriving in Europe and the unauthorized population in the United States. It posts a drawing of Alan Kurdi with angel wings and a rose in his right hand that links to a whitehouse.gov petition to resettle Syrian

refugees in the United States, and says, "Millions of undocumented immigrants in this country have faced similar situations than those of Syrian Refugees. Our families have migrated in order to escape violence, poverty, or just to look for a better life."[122] Elsewhere, it mentions children and families arriving from Central America, referencing the US's own "border crisis" of July 2014.[123] In a different vein, RIFA links to an article at vox.com that underscores the need to change public attitudes as a means to "solve the refugee crisis," placing the responsibility to do so on the American public:

> What it would take to solve the crisis: transforming Western politics around #immigration! According to this MUST READ ARTICLE our attitudes towards #immigrants are deeply tied to the refugee crisis. In fact, solving the crisis means overcoming widespread public anxiety about immigration.
>
> While we must provide donations and volunteer to help refugees, it is necessary that we continue to combat the anti-immigration and nativist sentiments that candidates like #Trump, #Cruz, and #Carson, to name a few, are promoting. Everyone needs to join together and fight back.[124]

RIFA is connecting "anti-immigration and nativist sentiments" taking place at the national level to the broader "Western" context of "solving the crisis." There is an implied call to action in two ways—the public should educate itself on the issue of immigration and it should also do something to "fight back" against certain politicians running for president.

It is perhaps too early to fully assess the type of boundary work taking place about the European "crisis." But a look at the reaction to the 2014 "border crisis" in the United States reveals the ways in which the IR groups call upon values when making pleas for unaccompanied children to be able to cross the legal boundary at the US-Mexico border. Two of the Call to Faith groups, JFI and LIRS, have webpages dedicated to unaccompanied children, exhorting constituents to become involved, from donating money to visiting asylum seekers in detention to calling Congress. JFI calls upon religious justifications, citing universal principles from Catholic social teaching: human dignity, the call to family, community, and participation, and the preferential option for the poor and vulnerable.[125] LIRS is secular in its rationale, referencing the national level and the nation's "strong history of welcoming and resettling many refugees."[126] Several of the secular organizations follow suit; CHIRLA talks about the "American tradition to show compassion and empathy to those who seek refuge in our country" and

invokes a historical legacy: "Our nation celebrated this week the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Watching the throngs of hate-filled protesters block the buses carrying children and families[127] was a grim reminder of how much work we have yet to do before we live in a society where fairness and morality bend towards justice."[128] Others utilize an explicitly moral appeal; for example, UWD comments on the Murrieta protestors that blocked busloads of children: "Imagine a young child, already in distress, fleeing from gang violence and extortion only to be met by heartless & anti-immigrant protesters yelling dehumanizing obscenities. This is not what this country's soul stands for! The moral responsibility of our government is to remember that these are children."[129] Stating that the "humanitarian crisis" has brought out both the best and the worst in our nation, the AFL-CIO president looks to both the national and universal levels: "The labor movement calls upon national and community leaders to respond to the crisis in a manner that meets our obligations under U.S. and international law, and comports with basic human rights and American values."[130] What all of this boundary work has in common is the invocation of moral criteria to justify individuals' crossing of a legal boundary, and ultimately, the boundary should be blurred to accommodate the "vulnerable."

Protecting the Nation

For the IC SMOs, taking in a "fair share" of refugees represents a valid reason to allow immigration. But such welcome is qualified, especially when it comes to definitional issues. The NPG president distinguishes people facing "persecution" from those migrating for other reasons: "U.S. leaders must stick firmly to the international principle that refugee and asylum relief is to aid those targeted specifically for persecution, not those suffering from generalized poverty and misgovernance."[131] CIS allows for a broader conceptualization, allowing for "humanitarian immigration (refugees and asylum) only for our share of the most desperate refugees who literally have nowhere else to go."[132] But FAIR is very meticulous in it qualification. Under the fifth of its principles for "true" immigration reform ("Stop Special Interest Asylum Abuse"), it provides the UN definition for a refugee, which conceives of "persecution" as based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. Invoking nationhood as a value, FAIR describes the country's responsibility with regard to refugees: "America must honor it responsibilities to protect

people who are fleeing true political persecution as defined by U.S. and international law. Efforts to expand those definitions to include all forms of 'social persecution' invite massive fraud and endanger the security of this nation."[133] NUSA shares these concerns over fraud and national security. While supporting the admission of "our fair share of the world's internationally recognized special-needs refugees," it notes, "American generosity in this area has long been abused":

> Well-intentioned programs have been damaged by fraud and mismanagement, with U.S. government officials and the "refugees" themselves sharing the blame.
>
> ABC News reported that several dozen suspected terrorist bombmakers—some of whom may have targeted American troops—were apparently allowed to move to the United States by claiming to be war refugees. FBI agents reportedly found the fingerprints of some of the purported refugees on the remnants of roadside bombs recovered in Iraq.
>
> At a February 2014 hearing the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Border Security released a document produced by United States Citizenship and Immigration Services entitled "Asylum Benefit Fraud and Compliance Report". It found that just 30% of asylum cases surveyed were fraud-free—in other words, 70% bore some indication of fraud.[134]

The consequences of fraud among refugees echo the concerns about potential terrorists among immigrants overall that I discussed in Chap. 4. Bringing in the US government to share the blame seems to be a tactic to mitigate against the derogation of refugees, which have been highlighted by placing the word in quotes. But in the end, the refugees are portrayed as simply dangerous. The sensational statistic cited serves as a way to connect the concerns of fraud in the opening sentence with the terrifying terrorism described in the second; potentially 70 percent of refugees could be terrorists.

The response to the "border crisis" of 2014 among the IC SMOs is primarily alarmist. Water metaphors dominate, describing the arrival of unaccompanied children from Central America as a "tidal wave," "flood," or "surge." AICF and ALIPAC go a step further, referring to an "invasion."[135] Obama is to blame for the "crisis" not only because of policies such as DACA but also because of his administration's lax enforcement. As Mark Krikorian of CIS alleges: "While Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador are indeed unsavory places, there's no honest disputing at this point that the flow was generated by Obama's five-year record of gutting immigration law."[136] And

even if they are "refugees" (highlighted in quotes by Krikorian), they must still be turned away because they should have claimed asylum in Mexico, the first safe country they entered: "Asylum is for people willing to go anywhere to get out of where they are; just as a drowning man doesn't pick and choose among life preservers he sees in the water, a genuine asylum-seeker doesn't pick and choose among countries." In other words, legal criteria prevent the United States from acting on purely moral concerns, which may in fact not be "genuine." And the concerns about unauthorized children I discussed in Chap. 3 also come to the fore when it comes to these young asylum seekers. To herald the opening of the school year, FAIR provides a map of the United States that breaks down the estimated cost of schooling "illegal alien minors" state by state, announcing, "Once again the costs of federal government's failed immigration policies are borne at the local level, and the nation's public school system is where the costs are most visible."[137] PFIR links to a FOX News article about the FAIR report, highlighting its dramatic headline, "Cost of educating tens of thousands of illegal immigrant minors estimated at over $760M this school year alone!"[138] Only solving the "crisis of enforcement"[139] will protect American taxpayers from bearing the (unfair) burden of such costs.

As of mid-September 2015, only three of the IC SMOs in my sample had responded online to the European "migrant crisis." Posting something nearly every day on Facebook and Twitter, and offering articles on its website, FAIR has spoken up in a number of ways. Like the IR SMOs, it makes the connection between Europe and the United States. Posting a link to an early news story about the 71 bodies found in a truck on an Austrian highway,[140] it proclaims, "Illegal immigration is not only an issue in the U.S."[141] A post from a few days later warns, "America needs to learn from this or else the EU's immigration crisis is going to become our future."[142] Moving forward in September, the foremost concerns about refugees become specific—fraud and terrorism. A link to a Breitbart.com article entitled "Lax Security, Phony IDs Surround Europe's Migrant Flood" is augmented with the remark "Many immigrants are using fake documentation as they travel into the EU."[143] And graphics start to appear on social media, such as the one by FAIR depicting a boat (presumably) carrying refugees that reads, "As we know, ISIS has been claiming they've successfully exploited the refugee crisis by hiding their operatives in with the innocent migrants heading to Western Europe. Their ultimate goal is to reach U.S. soil."[144] NUSA enters the conversation with a graphic that features large capital letters against a backdrop of a chain-link fence:

SHARE IF YOU AGREE TAKING IN 100,000 SYRIAN REFUGEES WOULD BE A THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY.[145] And AICF makes its debut by taking a different spin on the refugees trapped at the Hungarian border: "A large mass of Middle Eastern 'refugees,' estimated to number 1,500, attempted to break through Hungary's border fence. They threw rocks and bottles at the police who were forced to respond with tear gas. During the attack the assailants shouted the Islamic battle cry 'Allah hu Akbar' (God is great)."[146] Again, by placing the word "refugees" in quotes, their veracity is called into question. Moreover, the danger is represented through religion, which inspires the "battle." What all these representations share is the depiction of refugees as inherently "illegal" and somehow dangerous to the nation, which must be protected by maintaining a firm legal boundary.

* * *

Evaluating values among the SMOs in this sample leads to some seemingly straightforward conclusions. For the IR groups, everybody belongs because they are human beings, and for the IC groups, it's only "fair" that "Americans" sit on the sacred side of the symbolic boundary surrounding the nation. But the reality is more complex, not least because both movements call upon the same values to justify their positioning of immigrants. In particular, they both reference what they refer to as shared American values, such as freedom, fairness, and opportunity. Both respect the opportunity to partake in the best that the country can offer—on an abstract level, its strong guarantees of freedom, and on a more tangible level, its jobs—but who should get these chances is at issue. For the IC SMOs, fairness dictates that "struggling" Americans, especially workers, come first and this justifies *maintaining* a boundary. For the IR SMOs, fairness extends to everyone, and along with humanity and justice, it justifies immigration reform that will allow the unauthorized to *cross* the legal boundary of citizenship. To further complicate matters, the line between "legal" and unauthorized immigrants is fuzzy, for both sides. It is perhaps more so for the IR groups, since American is a "nation of immigrants," and the boundary should be completely *blurred* so that there is an ultimate *shift* to include the unauthorized. The IC groups also acknowledge the nation's immigrant history, and sometimes, legal immigrants are categorized positively alongside Americans. But at other times, they pit immigrants against Americans in a simple binary logic that places the value of nationhood above all.

It is primarily the IR SMOs that reach out past the national level of value articulation, and this is where morality plays an important role, especially when expressed in faith-based terms. Religious and secular organizations both invoke moral criteria to *blur* boundaries. The former call upon biblical teachings, and the latter invoke the concept of rights to provide justification for unconditional inclusion. Yet there is a tension in which belonging is actually conditional upon immigrants' civic-economic participation. Even the most vulnerable, such as refugees, are expected to contribute, whether through their "God-given" abilities or simply their hard work.

But as much as morality is upfront in the arena of values, legal considerations are never far away, even for the IR SMOs. Freedom is enshrined in the US Constitution, and human and civil rights are similarly underwritten by legal instruments. The value of the rule of law comes up for more than one-third of the IR groups, of all types. For the IC SMOs, it is even more pronounced, brought up by seven of the nine groups. It is thus the interplay of the legal and the moral that animates this dimension of boundary work. Further, the interplay of the three dimensions—family, citizenship, and values—is crucial to understanding the SMOs' boundary work. In the final chapter, I bring these all together and consider the ways in which all the discourses I have elaborated may contribute to cultural change. With immigration in the limelight of a presidential election, it is an opportune moment to do so.

Notes

1. This number increases to 10 out of 20 when the European "migrant crisis" (see Note 121) occurs.
2. Cook (2010, 150) also finds that immigration advocacy groups more often defined "rights" in national-legal terms than in universal terms.
3. "About the ACLU's Immigrants' Rights Project." n.d. American Civil Liberties Union website. Accessed January 6, 2014. https://www.aclu.org/immigrants-rights/about-aclus-immigrants-rights-project.
4. "TRUE Immigration Reform: A Policy that Serves the Interests of the American People." n.d. Federation for American Immigration Reform website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.fairus.org/legislation/amnesty/takebackimmigrationreform.

5. "Religious Lobby." n.d. Numbers USA website. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.numbersusa.com/problems/religious-lobby.
6. "Writing and Submitting Opinion Editorials and Letters to the Editor." 2013. People Improving Communities through Organizing's Campaign for Citizenship website, February 8. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.piconetwork.org/c4c-assets/HOW-TO-write-opeds-ltes-2012-02-08.pdf.
7. For an in-depth look at how faith-based organizations have been involved in the IR movement, and more broadly in immigrant social justice issues, see the edited volume by Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo (2007), *Religion and Social Justice for Immigrants*, as well as Heredia's (2011) work on the involvement of the Catholic Church in the 2006 campaign for immigration reform in Los Angeles. On the cooperation between secular and religious organizations, see Diaz-Edelman (2014).
8. Hall, Mike. 2013. "10 Reasons All Workers Benefit from Fixing the Immigration System." American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations website, January 8. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.aflcio.org/Blog/Political-Action-Legislation/10-Reasons-All-Workers-Benefit-from-Fixing-the-Immigration-System.
9. "Statement: CHIRLA Reacts to GOP Immigration Principles." n.d. Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.chirla.org/node/276.
10. "'God is Light, and in Him there is no darkness at all' (1 John 1:5). n.d. Justice for Immigrants website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.justiceforimmigrants.org/documents/One-Pager-NMW-2014.pdf.
11. Mimberg, Kathy. 2013. "A Lesson in America's Rich History of Immigration." National Council of La Raza website, November 28. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://blog.nclr.org/2013/11/28/lesson-americas-rich-history-immigration/.
12. "Fair Immigration Reform Movement Principles." n.d. Fair Immigration Reform Movement website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.fairimmigration.org/2014/01/22/fair-immigration-reform-movement-principles/.

13. "Comprehensive Immigration Reform through Senate Bill S.744: Positive Changes to Detention and Access to Justice." n.d. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://lirs.org/cir/s744_accesstojustice/.
14. "Immigration." n.d. Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.maldef.org/immigration/.
15. "About the BBB Network." n.d. Bibles, Badges, Business website. Accessed January 9, 2014. http://bbbimmigration.org/about.
16. "ACLU Framework for Immigration Reform." n.d. American Civil Liberties Union website. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.aclu.org/immigrants-rights/aclu-framework-immigration-reform.
17. "Campaigns and Initiatives." n.d. National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.nnirr.org/drupal/campaigns-and-initiatives.
18. "United We Dream's Principles For Reform." 2013. United We Dream website, February 6. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://unitedwedream.org/principles/.
19. Somewhat surprisingly, equality is only mentioned by the IR SMOs three times in relation to being an American value. More often, it is articulated as a universal value. In contrast, for the IC groups, equality is associated with the national level.
20. "Immigration Reform that Rebuilds the American Dream for all Workers." n.d. Service Employees International Union website. Accessed January 13, 2014. http://www.seiu.org/a/immigration-reform-that-rebuilds-the-american-dream-for-all-workers/.
21. "LIRS Holiday Season for Immigrant Justice Toolkit." 2013. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service website, November 18. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://lirs.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/HolidaySeasonforImmigrantJusticeToolkit_2013.pdf.
22. "'They Take Our Jobs'—Debunking Immigration Myths." n.d. Service Employees International Union website. Accessed January 13, 2014. http://www.seiu.org/a/immigration/they-take-our-jobs-debunking-immigration-myths.php.
23. "Immigration Reform Principles." n.d. Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://chirla.org/node/244.

24. "Policy and Legislation Details: Comprehensive Immigration Reform." n.d. National Council of La Raza website. Accessed January 8, 2014. http://www.nclr.org/index.php/issues_and_programs/immigration/policy_and_legislation_details/.
25. "About." n.d. National Immigration Forum website. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://immigrationforum.org/about/.
26. "Immigration Reform." 2013. American Civil Liberties Union website, updated June 24. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.aclu.org/feature/immigration-reform-2013.
27. "Immigration." n.d. League of United Latin American Citizens website. Accessed January 8, 2014. https://lulac.org/programs/immigration/.
28. Additional Child Tax Credit Vote Could Harm One Million Undocumented Youth." 2014. National Immigration Forum website, February 11. Accessed March 13, 2015. http://immigrationforum.org/media/additonal-child-tax-credit-vote-could-harm-one-million-undocumented-youth.
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30. Murguía, Janet. 2014. "It's Time for Commonsense Law Enforcement When Dealing With Deportations." The Huffington Post website, April 18. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/janet-murguia/its-time-for-commonsense_b_5173497.html.
31. SEIU. 2013. "Honor." YouTube website, June 13. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JcW01fUK7fY.
32. "Religious Lobby." n.d. Numbers USA website. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.numbersusa.com/problems/religious-lobby.
33. "For the American Wage Earner." n.d. Numbers USA website. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.numbersusa.org/pages/american-wage-earner.
34. Edwards, Jr., James R. 2014. "It's Job Opportunity, Stupid." Center for Immigration Studies website, November 3. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://cis.org/edwards/its-job-opportunity-stupid.

35. NPG. 2014. "NPG Denounces President's Determination to Dictate New Immigration Policy." Negative Population Growth website, September 16. Accessed November 17, 2014. http://www.npg.org/library/press-releases/npg-denounces-presidents-determination-dictate-new-immigration-policy.html.
36. "Immigration." n.d. Tea Party Patriots website. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.teapartypatriots.org/issues/immigration/.
37. "About Us." n.d. Numbers USA website. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.numbersusa.org/about.
38. "America has 12 million illegal aliens and 22 million unemployed Americans: Guess which group is getting help from Congress." n.d. American Immigration Control Foundation website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.aicfoundation.com/assets/newspaper_ad3.pdf.
39. "Toolkit—Illegal Immigration." n.d. Tea Party Patriots website. Accessed October 27, 2014. http://www.teapartypatriots.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/TOOLKIT-ILLEGAL_IMMIGRATION2.docx.
40. "History of Illegal Immigration." n.d. Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website. Accessed October 26, 2014. http://www.alipac.us/history_of_illegal_immigration/.
41. Bloch, who refers to ALIPAC as an "anti-immigrant" organization, charts the group's efforts to remain race-neutral. She nevertheless finds that members engage in "color-blind racism," in which "whites verbally denounce racism and simultaneously deny the existence of continued discrimination" (2014, 50). They do so to "reconcile the contradictions in their nativist discourse and maintain positive non-racist identities" (51). As discussed earlier, I do not necessarily disagree with this characterization of the group.
42. "'A 'Nation of Immigrants'? The Founding Fathers vs. Today's Politicians." n.d. American Immigration Control Foundation website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.aicfoundation.com/books/foundingfathers.pdf.
43. "Toolkit—Illegal Immigration." n.d. Tea Party Patriots website. Accessed October 27, 2014. http://www.teapartypatriots.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/TOOLKIT-ILLEGAL_IMMIGRATION2.docx.

44. In her study of border protection activists, Hayden finds a narrative of an immigrant America, in which "immigrants become American through hard work, sacrifice, and self-reliance." But in contrast to "honest and law-abiding" immigrants of the past, contemporary Latino immigrants are represented as law-breakers and thus not really "immigrants" (2010, 160).
45. Cutler, Michael W. 2014. "The Liberal Case for Effective Immigration Law Enforcement." Progressives for Immigration Reform website, October. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.progressivesforimmigrationreform.org/pdf/Cutler_Policy_Brief_14-2.pdf.
46. "Home." n.d. American Immigration Control Foundation website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.aicfoundation.com/.
47. It may be that debates about Americanness play out more forcefully at the local, grassroots level of the IC movement. For example, Steil and Ridgely find that in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, where the first "Illegal Immigration Relief Act" in the nation was passed, Mayor Lou Barletta mobilized residents by repositioning the city as "the center of American culture through a discourse of defending small-town quality of life" (2012, 1032). And Jacobson (2008, chapter 5) speaks about the state level, elaborating the concerns among the proponents of Proposition 187 about lack of assimilation to a shared culture, language, and values.
48. "History Policy." n.d. Americans for Immigration Control, Inc. website. Accessed October 26, 2014. http://www.immigrationcontrol.com/?page_id=583.
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54. "TRUE Immigration Reform: A Policy that Serves the Interests of the American People." n.d. Federation for American Immigration Reform website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.fairus.org/legislation/amnesty/takebackimmigrationreform. Cook (2010) also notes the emphasis by FAIR and NUSA on immigration policies that serve the "national interest."
55. The Immigration Act of 1990 established the US Commission on Immigration Reform (USCIR), chaired by Democratic member of Congress and civil rights leader Barbara Jordan. Its reports are often cited by the IC movement (four of the nine groups in my sample), especially with regard to its assertion that legal immigration should serve the "national interest." The final report issued in 1997 focuses heavily on the "Americanization" of (legal) immigrants; it states, "Becoming an American is the theme of this report" (USCIR 1997, 59). It cites Jordan: "That word earned a bad reputation when it was stolen by racists and xenophobes in the 1920s. But it is our word, and we are taking it back" (ibid., 6). FAIR agrees, referring to an "Americanization ideal" and calling the report "quite enlightening and more relevant than ever" (Nayla Rush, 2014, "Recalling 'The Americanization Ideal': The Legacy of Barbara Jordan (2014)," Federation for American Immigration Reform website, February, accessed November 17, 2015, http://www.fairus.org/issue/recalling-the-americanization-ideal-the-legacy-of-barbara-jordan). But some aspects of Committee's recommendations are taken out of context. For example, its proposed policy for legal immigration calls only for a "modest reduction" in current levels, but immigration control activists cite the exact number, 550,000, as a benchmark for contemporary standards, which would be a 50 percent reduction. The report further outlines "deterrence strategies" for unauthorized migration, including strengthened border management, employer verification of the authorization to work, restricting public services for the

unauthorized and addressing push factors in source countries, but it also recommends mechanisms to respond to "migration emergencies" such as refugees and others in need of protection as well as "persons seeking a better economic life in the U.S." (ibid., 34–36). "Persons seeking a better economic life" would hardly represent a "migration emergency" for today's immigration control activists.

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84. "Fair, Just, Humane Immigration Reform." n.d. National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.nnirr.org/~nnirrorg/drupal/sites/default/files/fair_just_humane_immigration_reform.pdf.
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97. "Campaign for Citizenship." n.d. People Improving Communities through Organizing's Campaign for Citizenship website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.piconetwork.org/issues/immigration.
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113. "Religious Lobby." n.d. Numbers USA website. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.numbersusa.org/problems/religious-lobby.
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116. The full definition from the 1951 Refugee Convention (UNHCR n.d.) specifies that a refugee is someone who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country."
117. "Comprehensive Immigration Reform Through Senate Bill S. 744: LIRS Analysis of Senate's Immigration Reform Bill." n.d. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://lirs.org/cir/s744_senatepassed/.
118. Justice for Immigrants Facebook page news feed, February 3, 2014. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/JusticeForImmigrants?fref=ts.
119. "Statement on Refugee and Asylum Provisions." 2013. National Association of Evangelicals website, May 20. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://nae.net/statement-on-refugee-and-asylum-provisions/.
120. "'God is Light, and in Him there is no darkness at all' (1 John 1:5)." n.d. Justice for Immigrants website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.justiceforimmigrants.org/documents/One-Pager-NMW-2014.pdf.
121. The European "migrant crisis" began to garner worldwide attention in the spring of 2015, precipitated by a number of events. The first was an incident on April 13 in which 400 migrants were presumed dead after a boat off the coast of Libya capsized; just a few days later, in a separate incident, nearly 800 were reported dead or missing (IOM n.d.). The plight of these migrants, primarily asylum seekers from the Middle East and Africa, continued to make headlines in May as the European Commission proposed that countries share the responsibility for resettling them. In late July, UK Prime Minister David Cameron, when asked about the "crisis" at Calais, where there had been an increase in migrants trying to cross the Channel, referred to "a swarm of people coming across the Mediterranean, seeking a better life, wanting to come to Britain" (BBC 2015). The situation escalated on August 27, 2015, when 71 badly decomposing bodies, presumed to be mostly those of Syrian asylum seekers, were found in a truck near the Austria–Hungary border. The next day, the BBC (Ruz 2015) ran a telling

story entitled "The battle over the words used to describe migrants," bringing to the fore ongoing debates about the neutrality of the term "migrant," increasingly used to mean "non-refugee." Another peak moment occurred when the photo of a three-year-old Syrian boy, Alan Kurdi, washed up on the shore of a Turkish beach went viral on social media and prompted an outpouring of public sympathy. The reaction I found from both movements increased considerably after this moment. Simultaneously, and ongoing as I write this footnote, is the publicity about the situation in Hungary, which has been vehemently trying to control the flow of refugees, from closing down the main train station in Budapest to a standoff at the Serbian border with police using tear gas and water cannons.

122. United We Dream Facebook page news feed, September 6, 2015. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/UnitedWeDream?fref=ts.

123. The US "border crisis" came about in June 2014 after news media began to report on an unprecedented increase in unaccompanied children arriving at the US-Mexico border from Central America, fleeing violence in their home countries. The Department of Homeland Security Deputy Secretary announced on June 20 that approximately 52,000 unaccompanied children had been apprehended since October 2013, along with another 39,000 adults with children, numbers that were double that of fiscal year 2013 (The White House 2014b). Meanwhile, President Obama had referred to the influx as an "urgent humanitarian situation" (The White House 2014a) and on July 8, asked Congress to appropriate $3.7 billion for deterrence (including more detainment and removal of adults with children), enforcement, foreign cooperation, and the capacity to detain, care for, and transport the children (The White House 2014c). The president's request set off a flurry of debate, with Republicans saying that it was his failure to secure the border that had caused the "crisis" in the first place. There was also considerable discussion about whether the children qualified for asylum, after the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2014) estimated that up to nearly two-thirds (53 to 63 percent) of the children needed international protection. By the end of year, the debates about the children had largely subsided, but in June 2015, they were briefly reignited as a spokesperson for

the National Border Patrol Council, an organization that purportedly represents nearly 17,000 US Border Patrol agents, told Breitbart News that the numbers were again increasing, saying, "This is starting to resemble the summer border surge of 2014" (Darby 2015).

124. Reform Immigration for America Facebook page news feed, September 12, 2015. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/reformimmigrationforamerica?fref=ts.
125. "Unaccompanied Migrant Children Understood through a Catholic Social Teaching Context." 2014. United States Conference of Catholic Bishops Migration and Refugee Services website, July. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.usccb.org/about/migration-policy/upload/Catholic-Social-Teaching-and-Unaccompanied-Migrant-Children.pdf.
126. "Support Legislation to Protect Refugees." n.d. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service website. Accessed September 15, 2015. https://secure2.convio.net/lirs/site/Advocacy?cmd=display&page=UserAction&id=190#.VffocJezkhQ.
127. On July 2, 2014, protestors intercepted three buses transporting immigrant detainees to a Border Patrol station in Murrieta, California, a small city southeast of Los Angeles. According to the *New York Times*, they were "carrying American flags and signs proclaiming 'return to sender' as they screamed 'go home' and chanted 'U.S.A.'" (Medina 2014). The IR SMOs responded swiftly; for example, the AFL-CIO president stated in a press release, "Alarmingly, in places like Murrieta, California and Vassar, Michigan, we have seen ugly reminders of racism and hatred directed toward children. The spewing of nativist venom, the taking up of arms and the fear-mongering about crime and disease harken back to dark periods in our history and have no business taking place under the banner of our flag" (Richard Trumka, 2014, "AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka Statement on the Humanitarian Crisis of Unaccompanied Children," American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) website, July 15, accessed November 17, 2015, http://www.aflcio.org/Press-Room/Press-Releases/AFL-CIO-President-Richard-Trumka-Statement-on-the-Humanitarian-Crisis-of-Unaccompanied-Children). And some among the IC SMOs lauded the success of the protests (the CPB announced it would no longer

send the buses to that area), especially William Gheen of ALIPAC, who said, "We are really proud of the folks in Murrieta" (imblest, 2014, "William Gheen: 'We are really proud of the folks in Murrieta,'" Americans for Legal Immigration PAC website, July 5, accessed November 17, 2015, http://www.alipac.us/william-gheen-we-really-proud-folks-murrieta-w-quoted-3122/).

128. Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles Facebook page news feed, July 3, 2014. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/chirlausa?fref=ts.
129. United We Dream Facebook page news feed, July 2, 2014. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/UnitedWeDream?fref=ts.
130. Trumka, Richard. 2014. "AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka Statement on the Humanitarian Crisis of Unaccompanied Children." American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) website, July 15. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.aflcio.org/Press-Room/Press-Releases/AFL-CIO-President-Richard-Trumka-Statement-on-the-Humanitarian-Crisis-of-Unaccompanied-Children.
131. Mann, Donald. 2014. "There is Little Hope for Population Reduction if Southern Border Remains Porous." Negative Population Growth website, July 17. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.npg.org/presidents-column/little-hope-population-reduction-southern-border-remains-porous.html.
132. "Frequently Asked Questions." n.d. Center for Immigration Studies website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://cis.org/Immigration-Policy-Frequently-Asked-Questions-FAQ.
133. "7 Principles of True Comprehensive Immigration Reform." n.d. Federation for American Immigration Reform website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.fairus.org/about/7-principles-of-true-comprehensive-immigration-reform.
134. "Reduce Refugee and Visa Fraud." n.d. Numbers USA website. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.numbersusa.org/solutions/reduce-refugee-and-visa-fraud.
135. See, for example, AICF's news item entitled "Texas Acts to Slow Invasion" (posted by Andrew Lewis on July 22, 2014, American Immigration Control Foundation website, accessed November 17, 2015, http://www.aicfoundation.com/texas-acts-to-slow-invasion/) or ALIPAC's July 3, 2014 Facebook post proclaiming,

"Attention! All illegal immigration invasion hell is breaking loose across America today" (Americans for Legal Immigration PAC Facebook page news feed, July 3, 2014, accessed November 17, 2015, https://www.facebook.com/william.gheen/photos/a.380959536414.167045.225902781414/10152117508091415/?type=1).

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137. "Estimated Cost of K-12 Public Education for Unaccompanied Alien Children." 2014. Federation for American Immigration Reform website, September. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.fairus.org/publications/estimated-cost-of-k-12-public-education-for-unaccompanied-alien-children.
138. Progressives for Immigration Reform Facebook page news feed, September 3, 2014. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/pfirdc/posts/10152518127593387.
139. Renshon, Stanley. 2014. "The Border Surge Is Much More than a Humanitarian Issue." Center for Immigration Studies website, July 22. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://cis.org/renshon/border-surge-much-more-humanitarian-issue.
140. What is significant about this posting is the photograph, provided by Breitbart London (2015). It is from a completely different incident, showing the back of a truck tightly packed with (live) people. A barely discernable link entitled "Austrian Police" in the lower right-hand side of the photo takes the reader to an NBC News (Eckardt 2015) story entitled "86 Migrants Found Packed Inside Truck on Highway in Austria," which cites "Lower Austria Police Handout" as its source.
141. Federation for American Immigration Reform Facebook page news feed, August 28, 2015. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/FAIRImmigration?fref=ts.
142. Federation for American Immigration Reform Facebook page news feed, September 2, 2015. Accessed November 17, 2015. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/FAIRImmigration?fref=ts.
143. Federation for American Immigration Reform Facebook page news feed, September 9, 2015. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/FAIRImmigration?fref=ts.

144. Federation for American Immigration Reform Facebook page news feed, September 11, 2015. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/FAIRImmigration/photos/a.95826454473.85681.21559454473/10153740108319474/?type=1&theater.
145. Numbers USA Facebook page news feed, September 15, 2015. Accessed November 17, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/numbersusa/photos/a.179875468735823.47226.129255907131113/983119785078050/?type=1&theater.
146. "'Refugees' Attack Hungarian Police." n.d. American Immigration Control Foundation website. Accessed November 17, 2015. http://www.aicfoundation.com/refugees-attack-hungarian-police-2/.

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CHAPTER 6

Symbolic Boundaries in Action

The Strong Program in cultural sociology stands on three interrelated premises: granting culture relative analytical autonomy, utilizing thick description to reconstruct pure cultural text, and acknowledging the causal power of culture to enable and constrain social action. In this conclusion, I speak to the third premise: how it is that culture "interferes with and directs *what really happens*" (Alexander and Smith 2003, 14, emphasis mine). After all, the ultimate goal of sociological theorizing is to help understand "what really happens" in the social world. And as I noted in Chap. 1, the topic of this study represents one of the most pressing issues in the United States today. I believe that looking at the discourse within organizations dedicated to making a change in how immigrants are currently treated and how immigration reform proceeds can help us reflect on an even more important question: what is to be done? While what can or cannot be done depends on many things—certainly, structures of the market or the state "interfere and direct what really happens"—culture nevertheless forms and informs all of these realms. As Alexander puts it, culture is a "thread that runs through, one that can be teased out of, every conceivable social form" (2003, 7). Through thick description that will "tease out overarching grand narratives" and "build maps of symbolic codes," we can "show how the fates of individuals, groups and nations are often determined by these invisible but often gigantically powerful and patterned ideational rays" (ibid.). I believe the fates of individuals and groups, both foreign born and native born, as well as a nation itself, are on the line with the issue of immigration. It is about who "we" are and how we treat those who seek to join that collective.

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Such an approach stands in distinction to quantitative approaches for measuring the effects of culture.[1]

In line with the Strong Program, in the last three chapters, I have elaborated through thick description the ways in which moral and legal criteria interact in the online boundary work of the social movement organizations (SMOs) in this study. Although the two movements don't explicitly speak to each other,[2] the ways in which they represent immigrants and immigration-related issues such as legislative action to reform the current system reveal a point–counterpoint structure that I have utilized to discuss my findings. Even as they disagree vehemently about how the boundaries of belonging should be drawn, similar ideas often underpin the justifications underlying their boundary work. In summarizing my reconstruction of the online cultural work within each movement, I draw out some of these similarities to highlight how powerful and enduring certain structures of meaning can be. In other words, I emphasize the relative autonomy of culture, in this case in the form of symbolic boundaries. I also discuss how the three dimensions along which my findings align——family, citizenship, and values—are interactive arenas of meaning construction. They are only separable analytically; in reality, much of the discourse spans at least two of the arenas, if not all three. I then move on to consider the consequences of all this discursive production. Ascertaining the "success" of a social movement is extremely difficult (Earl 2004). There is the matter of changing hearts and minds as well as actual political and social change, and each can be difficult to measure. Both the immigrant rights (IR) movement and the immigration control (IC) movement can claim some recent successes, on both fronts. Each appears to be responsible for some legislative victories, albeit mostly at the local level, and public opinion appears to agree on certain issues put forth by each of the movements. I conclude by proposing some directions for future research that will help measure the "results" of symbolic boundary work.

The Cultural Structures of Boundary Work

Through thick description, I have elaborated the main culture structures present in the discourse of the SMOs in this study (see Table 6.1). At times, they fall under the same label for both movements, as in the dimensions of family and values. The cultural structures related to citizenship address the same institution, and they both reference economic concerns, but they differ in terms of their configuration. In all three dimensions, moral and

Table 6.1 Culture structures by dimension

Immigrant rights SMOs	*Immigration control SMOs*
Family	
Family unity	Family unity
Family separation	Family separation
Citizenship	
Civic-economic participation	Consequences of amnesty
Values	
American values	American values
Universal values	NA
Welcoming the stranger	NA

legal criteria interact in the meaning-making process of symbolic boundary work.

The family is one of the most powerful collective representations put forth by SMOs in both movements. It stands on its own as a strong justificatory mechanism and simultaneously interacts with the other two dimensions. The family is sacrosanct, and two primary culture structures are evident when the SMOs draw symbolic boundaries. The "family unity" culture structure is represented by children, who appear as "stand-ins," either for the movement as a whole, as on the IR side, or as the dangerous pawns of their parents, as the IC activists allege. For the IR groups, this culture structure is a powerful justification for blurring the legal boundary reinforced through deportation; according to moral criteria, families simply shouldn't be separated, "ripped," or "torn" apart. The IC groups also feel that families should be kept intact. In fact, bringing together nuclear families is one of the only valid reasons to allow immigration. But they qualify such reunification, limiting it to nuclear families and emphasizing that it should be achieved only through legal channels. A firm boundary must be maintained. At the same time that family unity is important, the family "anchored" by US-citizen children is invalidated by the desire to see the legal boundary shift through disallowing birthright citizenship. The moral justification is clear; it simply isn't fair for those who don't play by the legal rules to benefit at the expense of American families. The "family separation" culture structure represents the other side of family unity and it operates similarly. According to the IR SMOs, the family is a boundaryless construction. The breakup of families through deportation and enforcement is simply immoral and invalidates (blurs) the legal boundary these actions protect. While waiting for legislation that will reflect this reality,

individual family members should be allowed to cross the boundary by having their deportation prevented. For the IC SMOs, however, family separation is a necessary consequence of protecting the American family, especially from the dangers associated with an insecure border. If unauthorized immigrants hadn't broken the law, the families would never have been separated in the first place. Deportation is the price for this moral transgression. The two cultural structures related to family emerge in the SMOs' discourse about politicians. Both movements agree that there is something wrong with the status quo that politicians must immediately address. On one side is a desire to have the existing system of laws not only enforced but also strengthened, to maintain or, better yet, solidify the legal boundary already in place and protect American families. On the other side is a call to overhaul a "broken" system and shift the legal boundary to encompass all families on US soil.

Citizenship is of utmost importance to both the IR and the IC SMOs. A more permanent shift in the boundary of citizenship through "comprehensive immigration reform" is the overarching goal that I find among the IR SMOs. They tend to represent the process of attaining such formal belonging as a "path," "road," or "road map." A powerful construct justifies unauthorized immigrants' embarking on this journey. I propose that the culture structure "civic-economic participation" (Jaworsky 2015) qualifies as a "tradition" of American political culture (see also Smith 1993; Schildkraut 2007). It extends the idea of civic republicanism to include an economic dimension to participatory citizenship, which better reflects today's neoliberal reality. Because unauthorized immigrants engage in civic-economic participation, which benefits the country on multiple levels, they are already de facto (and exemplary) Americans and thus should be allowed to cross the formal boundary of belonging. Earning citizenship through "hard work" is the moral justification for doing so. For the IC SMOs, citizenship is also a sacred institution, one that is completely devalued through "amnesty" for "illegal aliens." Quite simply, lawbreakers should not be rewarded for their bad behavior. Underwritten by moral criteria, the "consequences of amnesty" is a multidimensional culture structure that fuels the fierce opposition to amnesty and justifies the maintenance of a strong boundary around citizenship. Like the IR groups, the IC SMOs find economic considerations paramount. Immigrants, both legal and unauthorized, cost the country too much, whether through jobs lost to Americans or their overuse of public benefits. But other consequences are also dire, from the environmental effects of overpopulation to concerns over

human welfare and security through crime and terrorism. Statistics are revered and leveraged by both movements to make their arguments for and against the deservingness of unauthorized immigrants to access citizenship. They literally place a "price" on citizenship, with the respective sides labeling the presence of the unauthorized as a benefit or a cost.

The arena of values is where moral criteria truly come to the fore in the drawing of symbolic boundaries. Some of the most explicit statements emerge in faith-based discourse among the Call to Faith Groups in the IR sample, which highlights the biblical mandate to "welcome the stranger." The welcome in this culture structure is based on a shared humanity granted by God. Morality itself is invoked by both secular and faith-based IR SMOs, who see immigration reform that grants the unauthorized legal status as a "moral imperative" and the "right thing to do." The IC groups also call upon the government to do the "right thing," in this case to enforce immigration laws. A system with real moral "integrity" will serve to protect the security and well-being of Americans, usually qualified as citizens. Most often, however, value articulation for the SMOs in this study occurs at the national level. The culture structure "American values" encompasses the same trio of principles for both movements—freedom, fairness, and opportunity—but they justify different forms of boundary work. The IR groups blur the boundary, not least because immigrants already share these values, especially in the form of the American Dream. For the IC groups, these values, which help justify boundary maintenance, are reserved for Americans, a collective that sometimes includes "legal" immigrants. Both movements also acknowledge nationhood as an important American value, in the form of a "nation of immigrants" for the IR SMOs and the sovereignty of the nation itself for the IC SMOs. Finally, "the rule of law" is acknowledged as a moral arbiter by both sides, demonstrating that the legal realm is never far away, even when moral concerns are primary. Another culture structure emerges from the discourse of the IR SMOs, which at times overlaps with the religious realm. "Universal values" such as justice, equality, dignity, and respect are underpinned by the concept of human (and other) rights, which guarantees certain treatment based on shared humanity. Occasionally, the global level is referenced, most recently because of the movement of refugees from the Middle East and Africa to Europe.

Even though I have separated analytically the three dimensions along which my findings align, in reality they often intertwine (see also Gleeson 2015). The following quote, from the "Labor Movement's Principles for Comprehensive Immigration Reform," reveals how the American

Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) blurs a boundary through a discussion of family that reaches into the other two realms of citizenship and values:

> Family reunification is an important goal of immigration policy and it is in the national interest for it to remain that way. Firstly, families strongly influence individual and national welfare. Families have historically facilitated the assimilation of immigrants into American life. Secondly, the failure to allow family reunification creates strong pressures for unauthorized immigration, as happened with the Immigration Reform and Control Act's (IRCA's) amnesty provisions. Thirdly, families are the most basic learning institutions, teaching children values as well as skills to succeed in school, society and at work. Finally, families are important economic units that provide valuable sources of entrepreneurship, job training, support for members who are unemployed and information and networking for better labor market information. Indeed, U.S. immigration policy must recognize that employment and family integration are interconnected: Family members work and workers have families.[3]

Although it is the IC groups that most often talk about the "national interest," this value also emerges occasionally among some of the IR groups. The four ways that families serve the national interest—the facilitation of assimilation, the prevention of unauthorized immigration, the transmission of values and skills, and, not least, economic value—all qualify immigrants' entitlement to enjoy an "American life." But it is the economic considerations that predominate in the end, with immigrants portrayed as "important economic units" that engage in civic-economic participation. Families are inseparable from the fact that they are workers. This interplay among the three dimensions reflects the desire among IR SMOs to blur the symbolic boundary surrounding formal legal belonging and make it crossable for the unauthorized.

Speaking in a tone reflecting the discourse of the IC SMOs, Progressives for Immigration Reform (PFIR) similarly weaves together considerations of family, citizenship, and values in its recommendation for legislative reforms:

> PFIR advocates immigration reforms designed to help American workers and decrease economic inequality in the United States. We support mandating the use of the federal E-verify program for all new hires in the U.S. We also support substantial civil and criminal penalties for companies which repeatedly violate the law and hire illegal immigrants. And we oppose any further amnesties for those who enter the United States illegally in order to work.

> Eight amnesties since 1986 have only served to suppress the wages of working Americans and increase unemployment among our most disadvantaged citizens—while incentivizing higher levels of illegal immigration.
>
> Most important, PFIR believes current, excessive immigration levels must be cut substantially, from about 1.2 million annually to one-third to one-half of that level. With tens of millions of U.S. citizens unemployed or underemployed, and wages stagnant for the vast majority of Americans, the era of mass immigration into the United States needs to be brought to a close.
>
> Admission of less-skilled, less-educated workers should be greatly reduced, while the admission of foreign workers in highly-skilled occupations (e.g., computer programming or engineering) should remain capped at relatively low levels. If labor shortages exist in any economic sector, we should expand educational and training programs here in the United States to meet those shortages. This will help provide jobs for unemployed Americans and help keep wages high, allowing workers to support their families.[4]

The main beneficiaries of the suggested reforms are American workers and their families. Their ability to work and their wages must be protected, "most importantly" through "substantial" cuts to current immigration levels. The nation's immigrant legacy is referenced but in a negative way, characterized as "mass" immigration. And it is granting legal status or citizenship through "amnesty" that is the culprit behind the suppression of wages and increased unemployment that hurt American families, not to mention the incentivizing of "illegal immigration." The rule of law is called upon to justify civil as well as criminal penalties for employers that hire the unauthorized. Finally, although fairness is not explicitly mentioned, it is implied through the mention of "economic inequality in the United States." This passage shows the boundary work dedicated to maintaining a boundary around the "Americans" that suffer due to immigration, not just unauthorized immigration, but a broader conceptualization as the "admission of less-skilled, less-educated workers."

Measuring "Success": The Potential Implications of Symbolic Boundary Work

All of the boundary work I have recapitulated here has potential implications. It may have political outcomes such as legislative reform or executive action. As Costanza-Chock points out, "Migration policy is shaped at least in part by social movements—nativists on one side, immigrants and their allies on the other—that battle over attention, framing, and credibility"

(2014, 181). At the national level, such change has been mostly lacking in the 2000s. Some piecemeal legislation has been passed by the US Congress, but comprehensive immigration reform is yet to succeed through both the House and the Senate. There has been some executive action taken by President Obama, most notably in the form of DACA and DAPA, but the latter is yet to be implemented. At the state level, the amount of immigration-related legislation has recently increased, after a slowdown over the period from 2011 to 2014 (Morse et al. 2015). But boundary work also has cultural consequences. Culture structures resonate (or not) for the audiences of social movements, which include constituents, potential activists, the media, and politicians. Grievances and demands are "translated" successfully (or not) into the language of the civil sphere (Alexander 2006a). Public discourse in the forum of mass media transforms (or not), and public opinion shifts (or not). In the remainder of this section, I look at some of the indicators that show how the IR and the IC movements have apparently been successful in realizing their goals over the past few years.

Political Outcomes

Because immigration can be such a divisive political issue, immigration policy in the United States has changed infrequently, and it is often "disconnected from the economic and social forces that drive immigration" (Hipsman and Meissner 2013). The last major overhaul of the legal immigration system took place with the Immigration Act of 1990, which allowed for a greater share of highly skilled immigrants, modified the temporary nonimmigrant visa system, and created the "diversity lottery"[5] and Temporary Protected Status. Unauthorized immigration was last addressed on a large scale in 1996, with the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act and its increased enforcement provisions. This legislation created the 287(g) program, in which state and/or local law enforcement could cooperate with the federal government in enforcing immigration law.[6] It also created a requirement for tracking the entry and exit of visitors to the United States. Since then, notwithstanding broad public support, comprehensive immigration reform has proven an elusive target for the US Congress. Shortly after the infamous Sensenbrenner Bill of 2005 passed in the House, the Senate passed its own, considerably less draconian, version, the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2006, but the two chambers could not arrive at a compromise. In 2007, the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007 emerged in the Senate, but it failed to obtain enough votes for

cloture. The conservative-slanting bill called for substantive border enforcement measures and tougher sanctions against employers that hired the unauthorized, as well a path to citizenship for the unauthorized and a new guest-worker program. It was at this moment that the national-level IC movement could boast of success, in its campaign to maintain a firm legal boundary and quash any reform that would offer legal status to the unauthorized. On the organization's 15th anniversary in 2012, Senator Jeff Sessions (2012) lauded NumbersUSA (NUSA) in the Congressional Record for its efforts in countering the massive push for reform in 2007 by "elites" and "big lobbies": "Goliath fell to the grassroots David, whose faxes, e-mails, rallies, visits to our offices, and phone calls registered the clear message that the American people would not accept Washington rewarding lawbreaking." As I noted in Chap. 1, on one occasion in June 2007, the Senate switchboard was shut down by these efforts.

Around the same time, a series of state and local IC bills started to emerge, a backlash likely spurred on by the 2006 IR marches (Chishti and Bergeron 2014). In Hazleton, Pennsylvania, the Illegal Immigration Relief Act of 2006 made it illegal for property owners to rent to unauthorized immigrants, mandating a $1,000-a-day fine, and business owners who hired the unauthorized would lose their permit or any city contract or grant (ACLU n.d.). Other municipalities followed suit; according to estimates, between July 2006 and July 2007, 118 towns and counties "actively considered" immigration enforcement proposals (Chishti and Bergeron 2014). The constitutionality of Hazleton's ordinance was challenged, and the case reached the Supreme Court, which in March 2014 decided not to review appellate court decisions striking it down, along with another in Farmers Branch, Texas. As much as these types of ordinances and laws were criticized and challenged, they also enjoyed significant support among the public. It is difficult to ascertain exactly how much of a role the national-level IC SMOs in this study played a role in their passage but it is reasonable to assume that they were involved. For example, in my fieldwork in Danbury, Connecticut, in the mid-2000s, I learned that the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) had provided material resources such as literature, bumper stickers, and yard signs to the local IC group and had sent a national representative to a local public forum organized in 2006.

The more recent wave of successes of the IC movement with regard to legislation includes the passage of a controversial state law in Arizona in 2010. The Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act,

more commonly known as SB-1070 or the "Show Me Your Papers" law, not only permits but also requires law enforcement officers to determine an individual's immigration status if arrested or lawfully detained, as long as there is "reasonable suspicion" that person is in the country illegally. The law had also sought to make it a crime to be or work in the state without valid immigration documents or to transport, conceal, harbor, or shield unauthorized immigrants, and to permit the warrantless arrest of those who had committed a public offense that would make them deportable (Arizona State Senate 2010). But in June 2012, the Supreme Court struck down those provisions. (In that sense, SB-1070 also represents a partial victory for the IR movement.) An analysis by Mother Jones (Gordon and Raja 2012) based on data from the National Conference of State Legislatures asks and answers the question of SB-1070's effect on the immigration law landscape:

> Just how wide-ranging has the recent anti-immigration push been? Only seven states (Alaska, Connecticut, Delaware, New Hampshire, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Wyoming) failed to pass anti-immigration laws in 2010 and 2011. Most states passed anywhere from 1 to 6 such bills—on everything from driver's license eligibility to the mandatory use of E-Verify—while a few (Arizona, Utah, and Virginia) passed 11 or more. Including Arizona's SB 1070, 36 states considered wide-ranging anti-immigration laws; 6 were successful.

For IC activists, it seemed as though the country was moving in the right direction and taking the proper stance with regard to unauthorized immigration, maintaining and shifting legal boundaries.

This moment of success was relatively short-lived, however. The National Immigration Law Center found that "In the wake of the 2012 elections. . ., the 2013 state legislative sessions had witnessed a significant increase in pro-immigrant activity. Issues that had been dormant or had moved in a restrictive direction for years, such as expanding access to driver's licenses, gained considerable traction, along with measures improving access to education and workers' rights for immigrants" (2013, 1; see also Chishti and Hipsman 2013). The most recent 2015 data from the National Conference of State Legislatures show that state immigration laws are "trending pro-immigrant," and states are also passing resolutions calling on the federal government to pass immigration reform (Restrepo 2015; see also Morse et al. 2015). At the national level, the IR movement enjoyed a temporary legislative victory in June of 2013, as a comprehensive immigration reform

bill that would shift the legal boundary of citizenship passed the Senate. The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013, or S-744, contained a path to citizenship, albeit lengthy, for most of the 11 million unauthorized immigrants in the country, but it was predicated on the implementation of certain border security provisions. Buoyed by the passage of S-744, IR activists stepped up their efforts to push the legislation through the House. Bergeron (2013) noted a shift in the dynamics of the movement at this time, away from lobbying and toward direct action such as civil disobedience: "The mainstream immigration-rights movement's adoption of tactics previously used by fringe elements marked a notable shift away from the Washington-centric advocacy that for years had characterized its work."[7] Among the IR SMOs in my sample, many were optimistic about the bill, even if they had criticisms about some of its provisions. Notwithstanding all of the movement's efforts, the bill never made it through the House.

Perhaps the most significant recent success for the IR movement occurred through executive action taken by Obama in 2012, which in a way blurred the boundary of legal status. The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program has transformed the lives of nearly 665,000 DREAMers (USCIS 2015a), providing them with a renewable two-year reprieve from deportation and work authorization. For example, a 2014 survey conducted by the American Immigration Council's National UnDACAmented Research Project (NURP) found that 60 percent of recipients had new jobs and 45 percent had increased their earnings, and 57 percent had obtained driver's licenses (Gonzalez and Bautista-Chavez 2014, 3). It has been widely acknowledged in news media that DREAMers were instrumental in this victory. From the academic realm, Patler and Gonzales (2015) cite Obama's remarks announcing the program that led them to believe anti-deportation campaigns may have played a role.

> I know some [undocumented] youth have come forward, at great risks to themselves and their futures, in hopes it would spur the rest of us to live up to our own most cherished values. And I've seen the stories of Americans in schools and churches and communities across the country who stood up for them and rallied behind them, and pushed to give them a better path and freedom from fear—because we are a better nation than one that expels innocent young kids (The White House 2012).

And activists themselves consider DACA the result of stepping up their actions since the DREAM act failed in the Senate in 2010. In an e-mail sent out on March 20, 2014, Gabe Ortiz of America's Voice recalls the glory:

> This isn't the first time we've been in this position. Remember four years ago, when Republicans successfully blocked the DREAM Act? Under the leadership of DREAMers and undocumented youth, we pressured President Obama to provide relief to those who would have qualified for the DREAM Act. As a result, the Obama Administration created the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program. It was the biggest immigration victory in 20 years.

And later that year, after President Obama announced in November 2014 further deportation relief for more than four million unauthorized immigrants, America's Voice again gave credit to the IR movement, saying in a Facebook post, "This has been an amazing year in immigration reform—we helped win executive action for 5 million immigrants in the greatest immigration victory in decades."[8] Implementation of the DAPA and expanded DACA programs has been delayed by a court challenge that has reached the US Supreme Court. Thus, the movement's "success" has been profoundly mitigated, although the original DACA program continues in its boundary blurring. And winning the hearts and minds of the American public on the issue has been a challenge, but public opinion is shifting. While at the time of the announcement only 38 to 41 percent approved of Obama taking executive action to create DAPA, three months later, that figure rose to 52 percent (Jones 2014b; Meckler 2014b, PRRI 2015).

Cultural Consequences

According to Alexander (2006a), the way a social movement "succeeds" is by translating the problems of a particular group into a matter of generalized concern within the civil sphere of society. Social movements are "civil translations" that "have formed themselves in order to change institutional rewards and sanctions, forms of individual interaction, and overarching cultural ideals, often in a radical way" (ibid., 214). In this section, I focus on indicators that reflect the "overarching cultural ideals" concerning immigration in the United States. One of the ways in which such ideals can be measured is through public opinion polls, which provide evidence of how people are affected by the cultural messages political actors employ (Alexander and Jaworsky 2014, 113–15). As I discussed in Chap. 1, the

United States has had historically a "love–hate" relationship with immigration; this ambivalence is reflected in contemporary polls about immigration. On the one hand, the American public seems to "love" immigrants, believing that they contribute to and strengthen the country and that they should be able to travel a path toward citizenship. On the other, they "hate" the status quo, extremely concerned about the state of border security and continued unauthorized immigration. Thus, one could argue that both (or neither) the IR and the IC movements can claim "success" in this regard.

Various polls about immigration indicate that the IR movement has made great inroads in shifting public opinion within the last decade or two. As PEW Research Center's Andrew Kohut (2015) explains, "In the 1990s, by wide margins, Americans saw immigrants as burdens on society rather than as strengthening the country through their hard work. Also, many thought that the growing number of newcomers would threaten traditional American values and customs." Today, more Americans believe "immigrants strengthen the country through their hard work and talents" (51 percent) rather than "they are a burden because they take jobs, housing and health care" (41 percent); the country was more evenly split (44 vs. 45 percent) back in 2004, and in 1994, the opinion was reversed, with 63 percent thinking immigrants are a burden and just 31 percent thinking they strengthen the country (PEW 2015a, 9; PEW 2015b, 54). But the 51 percent that think immigrants strengthen the country is actually down six points from 2014, and this drop occurs even before Donald Trump's comments about Mexican immigrants. In a slightly differently worded question, Gallup (Saad 2014) reports a similar drop for 2014. It finds that while a strong majority (63 percent) thinks that immigration is a "good thing for the country," and that this is a higher number than during the recent recession or post-9/11, it nevertheless represents a drop from 72 percent in 2013.

But it may not yet be time for the IC movement to celebrate a change in Americans' opinions. Findings such as the ones elaborated in the preceding paragraph are tempered by others that seem to contradict them. For example, although Americans remain divided on whether immigration should be decreased (34 percent), kept at the present level (40 percent), or increased (25 percent), only the latter has seen a steady rise, from a low of 8 percent post-9/11 to 25 percent in August 2015 (Dugan 2015). And support for a path to citizenship has remained remarkably stable over the same period, even among Republicans (Jones 2015b). When respondents are given the

option of choosing only legal status, a path to citizenship nevertheless prevails. A *Wall Street Journal*/NBC poll from August 2015 finds that out of the total of 64 percent of US adults that support legalization of the unauthorized, 47 percent support a pathway to citizenship and another 17 percent support only legal status (Meckler 2015). The language used in the wording of the question may make a difference in these kinds of results, with more positive words eliciting a higher level of support for legalization. The *WSJ*/NBC poll asks about "foreigners staying illegally in the U.S." But when PEW (2015a) asks about "undocumented immigrants," total support for legalization increases to 72 percent.

Indeed, illegality is a major concern for the American public, and a substantial proportion overestimates the percentage of immigrants that are unauthorized (PEW 2015b, 63).[9] As Kohut (2015) points out, "It is important to recognize that a heated debate about immigration these days, at least from the public's point of view, is not about the level of immigration, or where people come from, but how to keep out unauthorized immigrants and what to do with those who are now here." When PEW (2015b, 52) asks about the "one word that first comes to mind when thinking about immigrants in the U.S.," "illegal" is the top answer (12 percent).[10] And looking at public opinion about deportation and border security reveals ambivalence about the unauthorized immigrants in the country. In a survey conducted as the Obama administration was coming up on the milestone of two million deportations, just as many Americans (45 percent) feel that this record is a "good thing" as those who see it as a "bad thing" (PEW 2014). Rasmussen's report of April 2015 reveals less uncertainty: "Just 16 percent of likely U.S. Voters think the U.S. government is too aggressive in deporting those who are in the country illegally. . .62 percent believe the government is not aggressive enough in deporting these illegal immigrants, up from 52 percent a year ago and 56 percent in November. Fifteen percent feel the current number of deportations is about right." Finally, there is profound concern about the border. Gallup (Jones 2014a) finds that 77 percent of Americans think "controlling U.S. borders to halt the flow of illegal immigrants into the U.S." is "extremely" or "very" important; this number peaked in 2011 at 82 percent. And a majority of Americans (52 percent) agree with Donald Trump's plan to build a fence along the entire US-Mexico border, up from 45 percent in 2006 (Agiesta 2015).

Based on these polls, assessing whether one movement or another has been "successful" in shifting cultural ideals is a difficult task. Because of the

inconsistencies and contradictions in public opinion on immigrants, both movements can selectively use polls that bolster their positions and reveal purported victories. Notwithstanding concerns about unauthorized immigration, it does seem that overall attitudes about immigrants have improved since the 1990s. The strong support for a path to citizenship, which is usually presented to respondents as something that would only be granted if certain requirements are met (e.g., paying fines and back taxes, learning English and exhibiting good moral character), seems to indicate that there is a willingness to shift the legal boundary, at least for "good" immigrants. At the same time, however, most Americans (66 percent) believe that immigrants generally want to "hold on to customs/way of life of the home country," and that recent immigrants do not learn English "within a reasonable amount of time" (59 percent) (PEW 2015b, 60). This type of complexity of US public opinion about immigrants and immigration speaks to the need for further research on exactly how the cultural messages put forth by the IR and IC movements are received.

Gauging the Future: Studying the Cultural Consequences of Social Movements

Cherry (2010) asserts that understanding boundary work processes such as creating, maintaining, blurring, or dismantling is important to sociologists because they can contribute to creating or battling social problems. As some of the IR groups in this study point out, maintaining a strong boundary around citizenship/legal status can lead to the creation of an "underclass" of noncitizens. Indeed, unauthorized immigrants in the United States live in a state of social and economic inequality, not to mention a context of fear and uncertainty about the potential of deportation. Social boundaries are maintained because the symbolic boundaries between (mainly unauthorized, but sometimes all) immigrants and the native born are "widely agreed upon" and thus "take on a constraining character and pattern social interaction in important ways" (Lamont and Molnar 2002, 168–69). Through their boundary blurring work, the IR SMOs in this study seek to shift symbolic boundaries in such a way that all immigrants can be included within social boundaries. Even though the inclusion they seek is primarily through formal legal belonging, as I have demonstrated, moral criteria interact with the legal to underwrite their boundary work. Similarly, the IC SMOs, who profess to care only about legality, call upon

moral considerations in their quest to maintain, or even shift, the social boundaries that exclude unauthorized, and often, authorized immigrants. Although the stakes are high, looking at the political outcomes and cultural consequences of these two social movements reveals mixed success, especially with regard to winning hearts and minds. Understanding their activism and its cultural impact involves a twofold cultural sociological process. The first includes a thorough reconstruction of the structures of meaning they put forth, the "pure cultural text" (Alexander and Smith 2003), which I have done by looking at national SMOs' online representations of immigrants and immigration and how they manifest in symbolic boundary work. The second entails ascertaining causality, examining how cultural change occurs (or not). The remainder of this chapter points to directions for future research that would help fulfill this goal.

There are multiple audiences or "targets" for the online cultural work of the SMOs in this study, ranging from those "close in" that will be most directly affected by the social change they propose (constituents) to those "far away," with the power to actualize such change (politicians). In between are current and potential activists, mass media, and the public. Work on the cultural consequences of a social movement must disaggregate these audiences to sort out the different possible impacts. Moreover, because meaning-making is a process, cultural structures represent a "moving target." Thus, an important avenue for future research involves looking at social movements over the long term. From monitoring their social media activity, I have already begun to see a shift in the discourse of both movements, mainly in response to political events such as the 2016 presidential election. Looking at the online mobilization of a movement offers the researcher the possibility to see how shifts in strategy occur in "real time," not just retrospectively. There is also the issue of whether cultural representations online are different from a movement's offline activity. Finally, a broader comparative perspective, across different political contexts (other countries) and scales (the local and state levels), might reveal completely different cultural structures. The various strands of social movement theorizing that seek to remedy these kinds of gaps could benefit from a cultural sociological perspective such as the Strong Program, which strives to specify causality. As Earl has noted, "the methodological difficulties associated with studying cultural outcomes have been assumed to be so difficult that few have devoted much theoretical attention to laying the conceptual groundwork and fewer still have applied what tools do exist to the actual study of cultural outcomes" (2004, 509).

One of the measures of how cultural messages resonate (Snow and Benford 1988; Ferree 2003) with audiences is the creation and maintenance of collective identity—"an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice or institution" (Polletta and Jasper 2001, 285), not only at the level of the SMO but also for the movement as a whole. In the IR movement, the potential constituents are not only unauthorized but also "legal" immigrants. Both negative and positive externally imposed categories such as "illegal" or "undocumented" work to homogenize an incredibly diverse group in terms of race, ethnicity, class, and legal status. Age becomes especially relevant because the DREAMer identity has been so strongly forged and associated with the success of the movement. Further complicating things is the fact that not all immigrants are sympathetic to the plight of the unauthorized; some have in fact become involved with the IC movement.[11] Another important consideration within the IR movement is the role cultural representations play in attracting nonimmigrant "allies," or "activists working for the benefit of a group to which they are outsiders" (Myers 2008, 167; see also Russo 2014). Because there are so many potential allies from so many different social groups, looking at the collective identity of the "strange bedfellows" (immigrant organizations, business lobbies, labor unions, religious and faith-based groups, to name a few) that come together in the IR cause becomes a pressing task. Within the IC movement, sorting out constituents and potential activists is more difficult, because activists claim to speak on behalf of all "Americans." A close reading of the IC SMOs' discourse reveals this construction to be a hardworking, non-"elite" individual that shares American values. Although most often referred to as a "citizen," the overarching concern (at least on the surface) is legality, if not through citizenship then at least through legal status. Another consideration is the fact that most people do not want to be seen as "anti-immigrant," racist, or nativist; the IC SMOs realize this and go to great lengths to avoid this characterization. Finally, the collective identity of this type of movement, which has formed largely in reaction to or as a backlash of another movement, must be investigated in relation to that movement. One of the most effective ways to explore the collective identity of constituents and activists, those "close in" to a movement, is through semi-structured or open-ended interviews. Qualitative, interview-based studies of how these audiences take in the social performances of the movement can reveal if there has been cultural extension[12] and psychological identification (Alexander 2006b). Looking at audiences' online responses, such as Facebook comments, likes and shares, also

represents a possible avenue for research. Although there are potential issues with the reliability of such data, the discourse nevertheless reflects a reaction to the cultural material put forth by a social movement.

From a quantitative perspective, large-scale surveys or survey experiments can also help measure the cultural consequences of a movement's representational activity. Because there exists at least a potential relationship between public opinion and whether or how politicians enact policy change,[13] understanding how cultural structures resonate among general audiences is crucial. In their path-breaking work on how frames from the IR movement resonate among the public, Bloemraad et al. (2014) create a survey experiment that helps to move past the "dangers of circular reasoning" when it comes to studying framing dynamics, or the assumption that frames have resonated if a movement succeeds and conversely, that they have not if the movement fails. In their experiment, respondents (registered California voters) are randomly assigned particular wording of a question, which varies among three different frames—economic, family, or rights based—and offers "pro" and "con" arguments (e.g., "Some say illegal immigrant parents should be deported to their homeland, while others say we should keep families together" [ibid., 19]). The respondents are then asked two questions, one about a path to citizenship and the other concerning receipt of public benefits such as schooling, medical care, and welfare for "illegal immigrants." The findings are somewhat counterintuitive. In spite of their prominence in the discourse of IR activists, economic arguments have little effect, on any of the subgroups, by political ideology, ethnoracial background, age, gender, economic status, or education. However, a family frame has strong resonance, but only among political conservatives and only when it comes to legalization, not benefits. The human rights frame moves political moderates, the largest group in the study, toward a more exclusionary stance, *away* from a path to citizenship or granting benefits, but political liberals become more inclusionary in their attitudes about benefits. Results like these can help activists strategize when it comes to creating their messages. For example, even if effective among academics and progressives, a human rights frame can actually be counterproductive for the IR movement when it comes to moderates among the general public.

Another way to evaluate the cultural consequences of social movement activity is through looking at mass media. Gamson suggests that we can assess movement impacts on cultural change through an examination of "public discourse," or the "public communications about topics and actors related to either some specified policy domain or to the broader symbolic

interests of some constituency" (2006, 105). Although there are various forums in which public discourse is manifested, "The mass media are the most important forum for understanding cultural impact since they provide the major site in which contests over meaning must succeed politically" (ibid., 106). Players in other forums refer back to the media because they believe in its pervasive influence, and further, mass media are not just a cultural indicator; they also precipitate changes in cultural coding, for example, in language (ibid.). The IR movement has recently experienced a success in this regard. In April 2013, the Associated Press (AP) announced that it would no longer sanction the use of the word "illegal" to describe a person, only an action. It further mandates that the following terms should not be used except in direct quotations: "illegal alien, an illegal, illegals or undocumented" (Colford 2013). Past studies have examined how illegality is portrayed in mass media (see, among others, Coutin and Chock 1996; Nevins 2002; Ono and Sloop 2002; Akdenizli et al. 2008) but they haven't sorted out the specific influence of social movements, which are one of many vying to further their interests. Future work must look at not only "results" within media discourse but also at the goals and motivations of activists. What is it that they desire to put forth as the movement's message and is this reflected among mass media?

In a perfect research world, one would also directly engage the audience of power-holders in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the government and ask them how they perceive movement activity. While interviewing such individuals would likely be close to impossible, and might only reveal the "party line" anyway, we can examine their textual production, such as speeches, congressional hearing testimony, and court opinions, as well as the comments made to mass media. The research within social movement studies on political outcomes has developed tremendously in the 2000s, but culture hardly comes into the conversation. In a recent and exhaustive review of the literature on the political consequences of social movements (Amenta et al. 2010), the word "cultural" appears just once; framing is covered briefly but only as a strategic resource.

Beyond a focus on audiences, it is also important to examine the consequences of boundary work for the movements themselves and their constituents. By reproducing and reinforcing the trope of the "good" or model immigrant, IR advocates may be unwittingly creating a class of unauthorized immigrants that is undeserving of belonging, either in the legal or the moral sense (Fujiwara 2005; Nicholls 2013; Yukich 2013a, 2013b; Costanza-Chock 2014; Gleeson 2015; Nicholls and Fiorito 2015).

As I have noted in Chap. 4, some of the SMOs have challenged the discursive norms of the majority, in particular DREAMers. The language of the "star student" has begun to shift, from what Nicholls and Fiorito (2015) call a "bounded" identity, with a stress on conformity to national values, economic contribution, and innocence, to an "unbounded" one, focused on broader identities, ties, and goals. Longitudinal research can reveal such shifting structures of meaning and help understand the movement's nuances better. Likewise, for the IC movement, the presence of racist and nativist content paints its constituents negatively, which can deeply affect their prospects for success, especially in the arena of politics, where many legislators eschew such associations. I believe that the content may have shifted since the last flurry of analyses in the late 1990s and 2000s, at least for some of the SMOs in my sample, but this can be determined only through an updated comparison between now and then. Such research can also contribute to the ongoing, broader debate about whether the rhetoric of the IC movement is the same as it has been historically (Higham 2002 [1955]; Feagin 1997; Jaret 1999; Fry 2007; Schrag 2010; Costley 2014).

Finally, although the Internet is an increasingly important resource for social movement activism, other communicative arenas remain crucial. Harlow and Guo find that the activists they talked with consider new technologies "just one more logistical tool":

> Rather than seeing an electronic repertoire of contention as signifying a paradigm shift transforming activism, they considered new technologies to be useful for networking with other activists and raising awareness among the general public—in other words, any electronic repertoire of contention, at least for these immigrant advocates, is more about communicating than mobilizing a revolution. (2014, 473)

Similarly, Costanza-Chock finds that the media strategy of DREAMers is "tightly linked to print publications, appearances on Spanish-language commercial radio and television shows, and face-to-face presentations in high schools, at community centers, and in other spaces across the country" (2014, 31–32). It is thus the coordination with other types of media and offline actions that seems to be most effective. A cultural sociological analysis of the structures of meaning that emerge in these various venues would shed light on whether there are differences in the messages put forth by SMOs, contributing to the growing literature about online activism and its relationship with offline activities.

Studying the IR and IC movements should be of particular interest to social movement scholars not only because they can help better understand movement phenomena such as collective identity or political and cultural outcomes but also because their mobilization has such significant societal consequences. Eleven million people in the United States live in a state of social limbo, because of their lack of legal status. Millions more, immigrants and nonimmigrants alike, experience life being considered part of the "Latino threat" (Chavez 2013). Americans of all backgrounds worry about their economic future, and many wonder if immigrants are "taking" jobs and soaking up social services. And they are often worked up by academics such as Samuel Huntington (2004), who warns of the "Hispanization" of the United States. To understand the efforts that activists in SMOs exert to solve such problems and effect social change, we must better understand their meaning-making processes. As Baker-Cristales puts it, "Public protest is more than simply a political act; it is a representational act. . .So while protestors often have very concrete goals and specific targets for their actions, protest is also always about broader struggles over meaning" (2009, 69). It is these struggles that I have hoped to capture in this analysis.

Notes

1. For example, it is entirely different from a "big data" study such as that of Bail (2015), who introduces an "evolutionary" theory of collective behavior and cultural change. In explaining how anti-Muslim fringe organizations in the United States became mainstream after 9/11, he marshals more than 300,000 pieces of evidence from 120 civil society organizations in the form of primary and secondary sources, from tax forms to media coverage to social media messages (ibid., 11). Bail's results are impressive; he elaborates the interpenetration of cultural, social psychological, and structural factors that led to a shift in how Islam is perceived through shared understandings among the public. His narrative moves through each dimension to create a seamless explanation:

> [T]he peripheral cultural messages of anti-Muslim fringe organizations after the September 11th attacks would not have achieved such visibility without their emotional tenor. Yet these emotional appeals might not have endured the test of history if they were not routinized

> into social networks and financial infrastructure that helped anti-Muslim organizations legitimate themselves as part of the mainstream. Finally the consolidation of these structural resources helped anti-Muslim organizations redefine the contours of the cultural environment in turn. (ibid., 139)

While such an explanation helps us to understand in a broad sense how cultural change occurs, it glosses over the fine-grained detail I am able to provide with a close interpretive reading of my data. What I have revealed through thick description is the fact that both the IR and the IC movements actually call upon similar cultural representations to make their demands and claims. This revelation gives hope to the possibility of the two sides finding common ground in the increasingly heated and divisive debates about immigration that have raged throughout the 2016 presidential election cycle.

2. Although I found virtually no direct mention of one movement by the other within the data I collected, more recently, the IR movement has stepped up its use of the term "anti-immigrant" (see, e.g., the America's Voice "Anti-Immigrant Extremism" page at http://americasvoice.org/tag/extremism/ [accessed November 10, 2015] or its "Tweet a Hater" page at http://americasvoice.org/tweetahater/ [accessed November 10, 2015]). But such verbiage is directed overwhelmingly at Republican politicians or their legislative proposals, not at the IC movement.
3. "The Labor Movement's Principles for Comprehensive Immigration Reform." 2009. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations website. Accessed November 10, 2015. http://www.aflcio.org/content/download/6841/73974/file/2009res_11.pdf.
4. "Jobs, Wages and Immigration." n.d. Progressives for Immigration Reform website. Accessed November 10, 2015. http://www.progressivesforimmigrationreform.org/immigration-topics/labor-economics/.
5. The Diversity Immigrant Visa Program, also known as the Green Card lottery, offers permanent resident status for up to 55,000 applicants annually, which must come from countries in which immigration rates to the United States in the previous five years were low. The highly competitive program received more than 9.4 million applications in 2014 (Zong and Batalova 2015b).

6. Section 287(g) of the Act law allowed for state and local authorities to enter into a Memorandum of Agreement with ICE, which authorized law enforcement officers to enforce federal immigration laws within their jurisdiction. Although enacted in 1996, the program didn't take hold until after 9/11. By 2011, there were 68 local law enforcement agencies in 23 states with 287(g) agreements (Long 2014). The program was scaled back by the Obama administration in 2012, after ICE had found that other enforcement programs were "a more efficient use of resources for focusing on priority cases" (USICE 2012).
7. Nicholls et al. (2016) show how the decentralized grassroots network of local activists "outflanked" nationally centered, reformist organizations, assuming a "leading role" in shaping immigration reform. They characterize this shift as a "bottom-up revolt" in the IR movement (ibid., 1046).
8. America's Voice Facebook page news feed, December 23, 2014. Accessed November 10, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/americasvoice/photos/pb.25829883613.-2207520000.1443774812./10152859286148614/?type=3&theater. Empirical evidence is appearing that suggests it was actually the efforts of grassroots activists such as those linked by the National Day Labor Organizing Network (NDLON) that precipitated Obama's decision. In a study based on network analysis, interviews, and funding data, Nicholls et al. (2016) argue, "The momentum created by NDLON's Not 1 More campaign ultimately pressured the Obama administration to pass an executive order on 17 November 2014."
9. According to the PEW Research Center, "[A]bout a third (34%) of respondents correctly say that 26% of all immigrants in the U.S. today are living here illegally. But about as many overestimate this share: 22% of U.S. adults say that 45% of the U.S. immigrant population is living here illegally, and 14% answer that 62% of U.S. immigrants are in the country illegally" (2015b, 63).
10. The other of the top ten responses included "overpopulation/many" (5%), "legality (other than 'illegal')" (4%), "jobs" (3%), "deportation" (3%), "work ethic" (3%), "freedom" (3%), "Hispanics/Mexicans" (2%), and "costs/freeloaders/burden" (2%) (PEW 2015b, 52).

11. In my fieldwork in Danbury, CT, in the mid-2000s, for example, I was quite surprised to find both European and Latino immigrants among the members of local IC groups.
12. Cultural extension of a "script" occurs when its meaning is convincingly communicated from actor to audience.
13. Agnone (2007), for example, demonstrates that both protest and public opinion can matter when it comes to congressional action, but the most effective scenario is when increased public support is accompanied by protest.

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Appendix: Thematic Coding Categories

Textual codes		
	IR SMOs	*IC SMOs*
Family	25.3	13.2
Politics	11.8	8.1
Calls to action	5.6	0.6
Citizenship, including civic-economic participation	23.5	14.6
(Il)legality	3.5	14.9
Consequences of amnesty	N/A	20.2
Statistics	3.4	6.8
Values	21.8	14.1
Other	5.1	7.5

Visual codes—IR SMOs		*Visual codes—IC SMOs*	
Family	28.2	Legality	21.9
Politics	24.4	Politics	19.7
Flag	12.4	Border	12.9
Calls to action	10.5	Flag	11.2
Events	6.6	Amnesty	9.0
DREAMers	4.6	Statistics	8.4
Citizenship	3.5	Workers	5.1
Statistics	3.5	Environment	2.8
Values	3.5	Negative portrayals of immigrants	2.2
Other	2.8	Calls to action	1.7
		Other	5.1

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