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UNDERSTANDING COLLECTIVE INTERPRETATION AND RESPONSE TO CULTURAL CHANGE: A CASE STUDY OF A MIXED STATUS IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO

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Abstract

Immigration enforcement has been a central point of conflict within the political landscape for decades, but recently the hardships associated with uncertain migratory status have become dire. It is not just the structural growth of the 'deportation machine' that is threatening to migrants' well-being; the recent surge in anti-immigrant political rhetoric also facilitates discriminatory treatment against anyone who looks like they might be a migrant. This dissertation examines how political trends towards harsher immigration enforcement do not only have important effects on the lives of the undocumented, but shape the embedded lives and identities of members of mixed-status communities, with consequences for the cultural frames they draw upon to understand their world. I use ethnographic research as well as data from 85 semi-formal interviews with immigrants in Chicago to delve into the complexity of the effects of the political environment under the Trump administration. I demonstrate how the election of an anti-immigrant President, combined with an expanding system of internal immigration enforcement, led to large-scale disruptive effects on immigrant families, and communities. My participants described the way that their understandings of the country in which they lived, and their place within it, were shaken as they were forced to face the fact that a strongly anti-immigrant president had been chosen by the American public to be the next leader of the United States. This realization had real social, emotional, and behavioral consequences for immigrant communities. While immigration literature has emphasized the ways that the logistical challenges posed by restrictive immigration policies generate feelings of exclusion, my evidence also underlines the importance of the symbolic messages that underlie legal policies and political positions in fostering feelings of exclusion, or belonging. My dissertation provides greater understandings of the ways that cultural frames operate in the social world- the way they are utilized as coping

mechanisms and as guidelines for allocating scarce resources, the circumstances that motivate their transformation, or abandonment, and ultimately their role shaping the way that people act in the world. I also draw attention to the importance of the mixed-status immigrant community as a theoretical concept that is relevant to understanding both undocumented and legally present, multi-generational immigrant lives, as I demonstrate how migratory policy has important impacts at the meso-level of social life within immigrant communities- beyond individual or family effects.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

A substantial body of research strongly suggests that culture shapes people's feeling, thinking, and doing; however, *how* culture shapes human development has remained an open question. Recently, sociologists have made substantial theoretical and empirical advances in answering these questions (Vaisey 2009; Lizardo et al. 2016). Perhaps most saliently, recent efforts have noted a need to incorporate notions of individual identity into cultural theories of action. How individuals interpret culture-shaping and culture-communicating events and whether individuals come to see cultural messages as relevant to themselves is crucial to whether and how cultural messages shape behavior (Calarco 2014). Thus, in the cultural milieu of daily life, a person's sense of self – or their identity – becomes an anchor that orients them towards relevant cultural messages (Collett and Lizardo 2014).

One limitation of this work to date is that it has largely neglected the embedded nature of social reality (Thagard 2014; Broffenbrenner 1979). This is problematic as a substantial literature, primarily in developmental psychology, illustrates how the life course unfolds across multiple salient social contexts (Bronfenbrenner 1979; Elder 1998). Additionally, ecological theories of human development note a need to consider historical moments, and how they differ from previous points in time. Human action, as a specific form of human development, thus, is shaped by myriad layers of culture, that are historically-situated and encountered in a variety of social contexts that may be more or less important or relevant to a person's sense of self. These layers are crucial as culture in not necessarily uniform across them. At times, cultural values, beliefs, norms or narratives may contradict or reinforce each other. Indeed, events that occur at one level of the social world, for example, in a nation-state, may be heavily interpreted through more local social contexts, such as a person's neighborhood, school, or family.

The socially embedded nature of human development suggests that in addition to considering individuals' identities, it may also be useful to incorporate more formally notions of salient and dynamic reference groups into our theories of culture-in-action. Reference groups are collectives of individuals identified by a person as relevant to their identity and are often comprised of similar others; or people "like them" (Merton & Kit 1950). Reference groups shape the way individuals situate themselves within large-scale cultural patterns, and draw from cultural narratives- frames of meaning- to interpret their social circumstances and form an idea of how they should act (Ridgeway 2014). The concept of a reference group in addition to a person's identity may be particularly useful for understanding the role of culture in feeling, thinking, and doing during times of socio-cultural change.

Sociologists have highlighted the importance of studying the relationship between culture and action in unsettled times, because as people are forced to reorient to social changes, ideologies become more salient as they develop new ways of organizing individual and collective action (Swidler 1986). I argue that when socio-cultural changes occur in a society, how individuals interpret them depends in part on whether the changes are interpreted as relevant to the self and whether they see individuals that are similar to them – in other words, members of their salient reference groups - as impacted by the new cultural narratives. Importantly, I argue that reference groups are not static, and indeed, a person's sense of salient groups of similar others can shift in reaction to new cultural developments or culture-communicating events. In this process, however, a person's identity often remains reasonably stable and continues to anchor them in both the previous and new cultural reality. Thus, it is essential that we incorporate both the concepts of identity and salient reference groups into our theories of culture in action.

With this dissertation, I take up this task by leveraging data from a longitudinal ethnographic case study of an immigrant neighborhood called Little Village as neighborhood members individually and collectively reacted to the candidacy, election, and first year of office of President Trump. President Trump's election brought with him fairly substantial changes in political rhetoric around migration; while Obama aimed to target enforcement for "felons, not families", President Trump has emphasized how all irregular migrants are criminals that threaten the security of the nation, and should be removed (Bryant 2017; "100 days" 2017). These discursive shifts offered a unique opportunity to observe how people incorporate shifting cultural narratives – individually and collectively – into their understanding of their social world and their place in it in ways that have consequences for their feelings of vulnerability, wellbeing, and social action. I contribute to the literature by demonstrating how a person's identity, and their identifications with particular groups, is fundamental to the ways they draw upon cultural narratives to understand their own vulnerabilities- in this case, to deportation. I conclude that the literature on culture-in-action would do a better job of capturing how culture matters to action and social change by considering the role of (1) individual and collective identities and (2) reference groups in shaping the way people determine what frames fit their circumstances, and how to act in response to shifting, but shared cultural frames perceived to apply to their lives.

1.1 Existing Knowledge About Culture in Action

Cultural sociology long has been motivated by the fundamental question: how do cultural meanings shape social action? Scholars first sought to answer this question by examining whether, and how, culture is internalized by members of a society. Parsons, one of the first scholars to develop this area, famously argued that people internalize generalizable value-orientations through processes of socialization, and that the internalization of norms and values

was the pathway through which culture facilitates and constrains social action (1951). For Parsons, culture shapes the social environment-objective conditions and normative expectations- that structures early experiences, incorporating particular social values within individual's personalities that then guide the goals they pursue, and the ways they act to pursue those goals. In this viewpoint culture shapes action by defining what people want, but this perspective assumes that what people want actually guides how they act. While Parsons' model shaped a great deal of work within the social sciences, the concept of values- or durable internal states that affect judgment and action across domains- became increasingly contested as more empirical evidence began to show that people often act in ways that contradict the values and desires they profess to hold.

In response, sociologists of culture began to emphasize the dynamic and on-going nature of cultural meaning-making (Blumer 1969). Culture began to be seen as an evolving cache of available resources that can be differentially used and rejected at different moments across the life course, rather than static values internalized at one point during development. Swidler (1986), one of the most prominent advocates of this paradigm shift, argued that culture does not work "via enduring psychological proclivities implanted in individuals by their socialization" but rather that culture provides a tool kit of symbols, stories, rituals and world views that people use in different ways depending on the needs of the moment (Swidler 1986:283). Within this perspective, external social conditions are a more powerful predictor of the way culture is mobilized to guide action than internalized values. A key example through which this viewpoint was contested was in the debate about how wealth and class shape behavior - Swidler argued that lower class people do not hold different values than the upper class, but that they act differently because of the differences in their external circumstances that motivate them to use shared

cultural resources differently. This viewpoint resonated with other scholars who drew on cognitive and social psychology to highlight the role of external cues, rather than internal structures, in shaping meaning-making processes (DiMaggio 1997; Pugh 2013). Still, this theoretical perspective has been criticized for overly relying upon individual's self-report of their motivations and overemphasizing the role of external "springs of action," while ignoring unconscious mechanisms and underemphasizing intra-personal cognitive processes (Vaisey 2009 Lizardo and Strand 2010).

In the last several decades scholars have continued to debate the interactive roles of external (situational) and internal (dispositional) factors in accounting for the way culture shapes action (Vaisey and Lizardo 2016; Lu, Chatman, Goldberg & Srivastava 2019; Rawlings & Childress 2019). One line of inquiry that has been productive in balancing exteriority with internalization has utilized Goffman's concept of cultural frames to explore how external culture dynamically shifts and is differentially mobilized in ways relevant to human action (Benford & Snow 2000; Stuart 2016; Small 2004; Viterna 2013; Abrutyn, Mueller & Osborne 2019). Goffman (1974:21) conceptualized frames as "schemata of interpretation" that individuals employ to make meaning of a situation, event, or person. The concept of frames is very similar to cultural narratives, or scripts, in that its primary use has been as an *external* shared collective representation of how a community and/or members of a group interpret and make sense of the world. Because of the public nature of frames, then, they are not as fixed as internalized schema, as they reflect a shared process of meaning making that is malleable to fit new situations (Lenski 2005; Gamson 1992). The concept of a frame is useful in that it draws from a dramaturgical perspective that incorporates exteriority with internalization- frames provide actors with a symbolic repertoire through which they can signify meaningful responses to others, but leave room for contextual

and biographical factors to shape the performance of the individual. However, because frames are still idealized and abstracted narratives about what people *should* do they continue to fall short of providing a full explanation for how culture shapes action, given that people's actual behavior may still be guided by more practical interests.

While the idea of cultural frames represents one iteration of the types of cultural "tools" people have at their disposal, there is still a need to better articulate how acquired dispositions and contextual factors act as complimentary and co-constitutive aspects of dynamic meaning-making processes that occur at multiple levels of social life (Rawlings & Childress 2019). Leading scholars in the field have pointed to the benefits of drawing from robust traditions of identity theorizing in social psychology to enrich our understanding of the way that culture manifests itself in action (Collette & Lizardo 2014). I contribute to this line of inquiry by showing how identity serves as an anchor within local reference groups that shapes how people use cultural frames to interpret how events at the macro-level of society are relevant to their sense of self, and sense of vulnerability.

My project contributes to the literature by capturing the ways that individual identities, which serve to situate individuals within collective reference groups, mediate how people determine what cultural frames fit their circumstances, and in turn how they act in response to social change. Identities constitute stable dispositions- understandings of "who I am" and "what matters to people like me"- that shape how contextual factors are interpreted, and in turn guide which cultural frames are used to respond to the resulting understanding of "how a given situation impacts people like me" (Brubaker 2004; Collett and Lizardo 2014; Shibutani 1955). Individual identities and collective reference groups likely are extremely salient to how individuals process cultural change. Essentially, I argue that while individuals are socialized to see the world and

their place in it through certain shared cultural frames, shifts in external conditions can sometimes compel the reformulation of cultural frames of meanings, particularly when external conditions change such that previous frames no longer adequately explain their experiences and perceptions. Thus, the way individuals and local groups interpret the relevance of cultural frames to their lives, and adapt them to fit their needs is rooted in their understandings of themselves, which are developed within multiple salient social contexts. As people draw new meanings from their social environment, e.g., by observing high profile arrests or concrete changes in the targeting of people "like them" by immigration enforcement, they abandon or adapt previous cultural frames to fit their new environment, which in turn shapes their feelings and actions. In this way, individual's identification with particular groups serves as a mechanism that mediates how cultural frames are wielded within interactions, modified over time, and ultimately used to guide action.

Considering identity as a concept which accounts for the ways that culture is internalized dispositionally, and mobilized situationally, stems from the understanding that people organize meaning around who they believe they are (Stets & Burke 2000; Turner et al. 1987). Identities are strategic, social constructions that are developed over time in response to ecological and structural characteristics as well as social interactions (Knight et al. 1993; Spencer 1997). Individuals and groups form identities by characterizing themselves in terms of their attributes and positioning themselves within embedded, multi-level webs of relationships, as well as cultural narratives or frames (Brubaker 2004). Thus identities are rooted in active processes of identification with others, and formed by perceptions of shared attributes (commonality) and relational ties (connectedness). These identification processes occur contextually- during social interactions- and so while individual and collective identities can remain relatively stable, they

are also shaped by external factors which make salient different aspects of these self-representations. In this way identities serve as a locus through which cultural frames are interpreted and applied within interactions at various levels of social life, in turn shaping the way people act. Thus, in order to understand how macro-level changes in cultural narratives shape action, accounting for how particular events reshape the meaning of individuals' identities and the way they position themselves in reference to others is essential (Viterna 2013).

Though identity is essential as an internal motivator of understanding and action, to strengthen research on culture in action by using developmental literature, we must account for the ways that identities are linked to salient reference groups, which exist within and bridge across multiple levels of the social world. Reference groups are fundamental to the development of individual identities, because they constitute social groups that individuals look to in order to characterize their self in terms of attributes or position themselves within webs of relationships (Sets & Burke 2000). As individuals develop in dynamic relationships with others in their social context, they come to observe their roles, their social location, and how others like them interact with the world around them (Goffman 1978; Thoits 1986). In this way reference groups are also central to the formation of shared cultural perspectives, as people perceive, think, form judgements, and then communicate these judgements to others within local social contexts, and through these interactions generate collective cultural frames (Shibutani 1955, Goffman 1978). Culture is not simply a system of cognition or collective representations, but rather reveals itself through the referential performances of group members as they engage with each other (Fine 2012, Blumer 1969). Thus, in order to ground our understandings of culture through the practices of everyday life, I argue that we must observe the way culture is enacted through particular fields of action- within reference groups- and trace the ways that people mobilize shared frames to

interpret the symbolic messages that underlie their interactions.

It is within systems of embedded social interactions that individuals use reference groups to develop expectations about the way the world works for people like them, and the way they should act in response to particular events (Goffman 1974; Brofenbrenner 1979). Yet these understandings are not static, and moments of disruption or change can be important opportunities to explore how macro-level shifts are filtered and interpreted through dynamic interactions between multiple levels of social life. Sociologists have emphasized how moments of social transformation can be particularly productive for examining culture's influence on social action, as established and taken-for-granted modes of being are disrupted, and explicitly articulated cultural frames play a powerful role in re-shaping social life (e.g. Schurmann 1070; Hunt 1984). Thus, it is particularly important that social scientists take advantage of social shifts to explore how macro-level events and discourses change the saliency of particular cultural frames, re-shape the meanings of the identities that people hold and ultimately motivate social action within embedded social realities.

1.2 The embeddedness of social life, and the role of the meso-level

As mentioned previously, one major gap within the culture-in-action literature is its relative neglect of the multi-layered nature of social contexts in which meanings are both created, interpreted, and transmitted. This dissertation approaches these issues by drawing from a developmental perspective to emphasize how embeddedness matters for human development, as the ecological interactions between social systems are important in shaping the way cultural meaning is produced with implications for action and life trajectories (Bronfenbrenner 1979). Local social contexts, such as a person's neighborhood, school, or family, often house the reference groups that shape the formation of individual identities, and serve as the context

through which meaning is made from events that occur at the macro-level of society. Thus, in order to account for the ways that human action is nested within families, communities, as well as historical moments, and motivated by larger patterns of cultural change, it is important that we focus our analysis on meaning-making processes at the meso-level of social life (Fine 2012).

I argue that from an analytic perspective, the most fruitful point of entry for understanding how multiple levels of social life shape processes of meaning-making is to analyze data from the juncture between the micro- and the macro- level of social life. Thus, my dissertation focuses on the meso-level of the social world; the place where the majority of our daily life unfolds. In these contexts, I explore the role of reference groups by examining interactions between families, neighbors, and community members, as they engage in collective processes of meaning-making to interpret macro-level events and discourses, coordinating their thoughts and understandings with others by sharing and comparing their experiences to those of others in their group (Zerubavel 1997, Dimaggio 1997, Fine 2012). Because shared cultural frames are often negotiated and illustrated within the interactions of members of these groups, examining these interactions is critical in order to understand the way that macro-level cultural forces come to have real effects on the beliefs and actions of individuals and communities. Reference groups serve as the arenas through which members of a community determine what constitutes a social problem deserving of collective response, and come to a shared understanding of the best way to address and resolve the challenges they identify (Fine 2012). The dynamic interactions between individuals and their reference groups to generate and adapt shared cultural perspectives are the key micro-mechanism through which events at the macro-level of society are interpreted to be relevant to a person's sense of self, as well as the way that cultural patterns are reproduced and transformed within local action. Thus my dissertation examines the ways that events and

discourses that circulate at the macro-level are filtered and understood through interactions within these salient meso-level groups.

1.3 The Mixed Status Immigrant Community as an Object of Analysis

Though my major focus is on understanding how culture shapes action, my dissertation makes additional contributions to the literature. In examining how macro-level cultural shifts shape individual action through identity processes and external reference groups, I also reveal the importance of the mixed-status immigrant community as a theoretical concept that is relevant to understanding both undocumented and legally present, multi-generational immigrant lives. The concept of a mixed status community builds on the idea of a mixed-status family, which commonly refers to a family with members of varying migratory legal statuses- typically citizens and non-citizens. Literature has demonstrated how undocumented individuals undertake changes in their relationships and behaviors because of their status, and these changes can have transformative effects on their lives and those of their families (Menjivar & Lakhani 2016; Garcia 2016; Dreby 2015). But given the embeddedness of social life, the effects of migratory status on families also reverberate within immigrant communities. The state of illegality and the pressures of discriminatory social practices and laws do not exclusively affect those who have immigrated illegally, but have widespread implications for immigrant communities. Macro-level trends in immigration enforcement and political discourses about migration can impact the ways that individuals and communities draw upon cultural narratives to understand who they are, how they should behave, and what their place in society is, with important implications for their mental health and human development. Indeed, my data reveals how immigration policies and rhetoric are important not only for undocumented individuals, but for mixed status communities,

and I argue that scholars should devote more attention to the particular effects of migratory policy on the mixed status community- beyond individual or family effects.

1.3.2 The Specific Case of the Election of Donald Trump

One case that particularly allows us to observe the ways that macro-level events come to be interpreted through meaning-making processes within local social contexts was the election of Donald Trump. The spillover effects of immigration policy and rhetoric on mixed-status communities became highly salient with the election of a strongly anti-immigrant president. In addition to the concrete changes in immigration policy that began with the start of President Trump's administration, the election of a president who openly accused immigrants of being rapists and criminals, and who swore to 'deport them all' carried huge symbolic importance for immigrants, destabilizing even further the already precarious sense of security that immigrant families struggled to maintain.

The expansion of immigration enforcement under President Trump did not only imply a simple expansion in scale of the effects of deportation; national political sentiments shape the environments in which immigrants live their lives and understand their social position (Kanstroom 2007; Menjivar & Lakhani 2016; Santos, Menjivar & Godfrey 2009; Portes 1996). Discriminatory practices by state institutions tend to conflate ethnicity with immigration status, and the literature has shown that members of ethnic minorities that are characterized as migrants can experience a sense of threat through experiences of enforcement and surveillance, even if they have not engaged in criminal or illegal behavior (DeGarmo & Martinez 2006; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Martinez, DeGarmo & Eddy, 2004, Patillo 1999). Data shows that hate crimes against various minorities and religious groups also rose 20% in 2017, and immigrant

communities were major targets for such crimes (Levin & Grisham 2017). Political environment matters not only in determining policies that dictate the number of people who are detained and deported by immigration enforcement, but also in shaping the way immigrant communities understand their place within a nation. Thus, this case provides an ideal opportunity to examine how individual identities and collective reference groups matter in shaping how immigrants come to see changing cultural messages about immigrants as relevant to themselves and how they use these messages to guide their behavior (Calarco 2014).

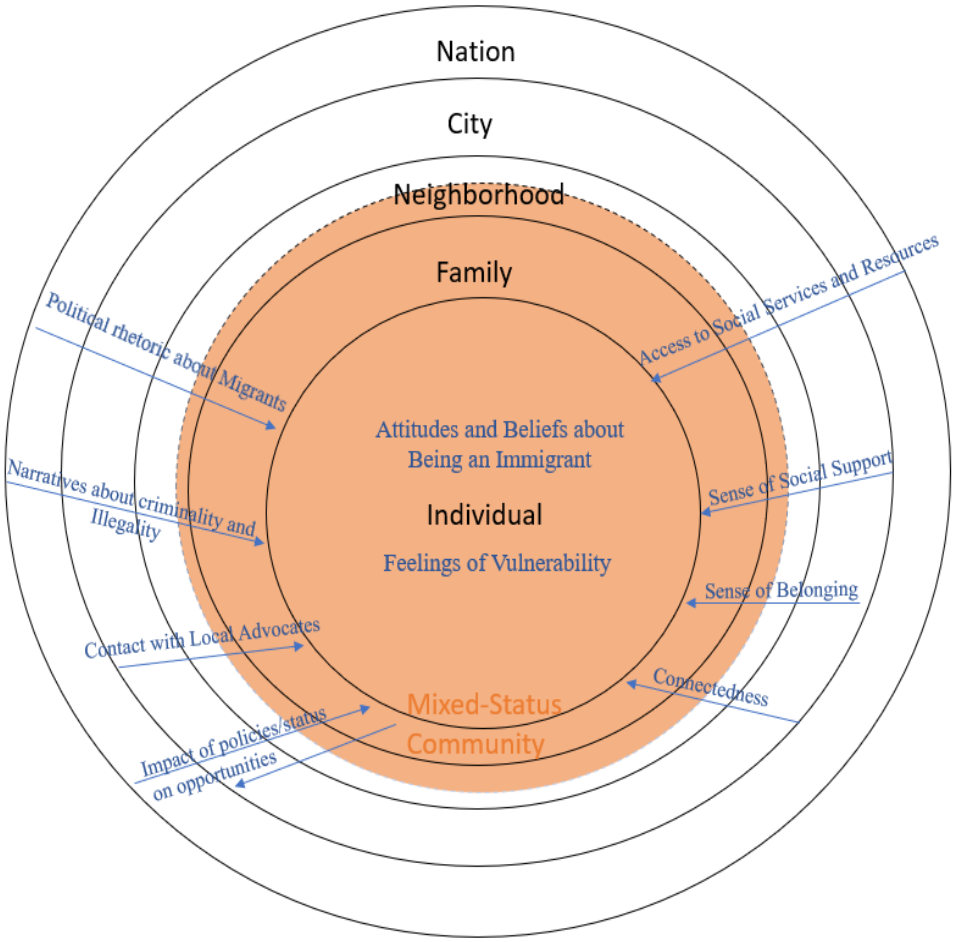
1.3.3 Linking Theoretical Insights to the Specific Case of the Mixed Status Community & the Election of Donald Trump

With this dissertation, I am tying together theoretical insights from theories of culture in action, social psychology, and developmental psychology to offer a better understanding of how macro-level cultural shifts are filtered through multiple layers of social life, in order to ultimately shape both collective and individual responses to cultural change. Before discussing my methodology and findings, it is useful to explicitly tie my general arguments about culture in action to the specific case of a mixed-status community reacting to the candidacy and election of Donald Trump. Thus, I developed a theoretical model that draws from Bronfenbrenner's model of ecological systems to illustrate how undocumented individuals are nested within mixed-status families, communities, as well as historical moments, and the ways that cultural and political discourses circulate within and between embedded layers of social reality to shape the individual experience of being an immigrant and the ways they act in response to perceptions of their own vulnerabilities. Specifically, I hypothesize that these layers will matter to the interpretation of macro-level culture: individual understandings of the political environment, family-level social

support and vulnerability (via migratory status of family members), neighborhood interactions, and city-level policies and institutional supports.

I posit that each of these layers of the environment will matter because they represent a social location within which immigrants encounter cultural frames that transmit messages about who they are, how they should behave, what their place in society is, and how they should interpret events related to immigration enforcement at both the local and national level. Macro-level changes in the discourses about migrants, criminality and illegality are filtered and interpreted through individuals' more proximate contexts- through local policies at the city level, through interactions with others like and unlike them within neighborhoods, through conversations with their families. How these events are interpreted and experienced emerges from a process of discussion, negotiation, and ultimately meaning-making, at the collective level. Individual migrants identify with particular reference groups within their community, and the way their group interprets these changes matters for the ways come to understand their own vulnerability to immigration enforcement. Feelings of belonging, support, and social connectedness also play a role in immigrants' individual experiences of vulnerability.

Figure 1. Multi-Level Social Environment of Immigrants In Mixed-Status Community

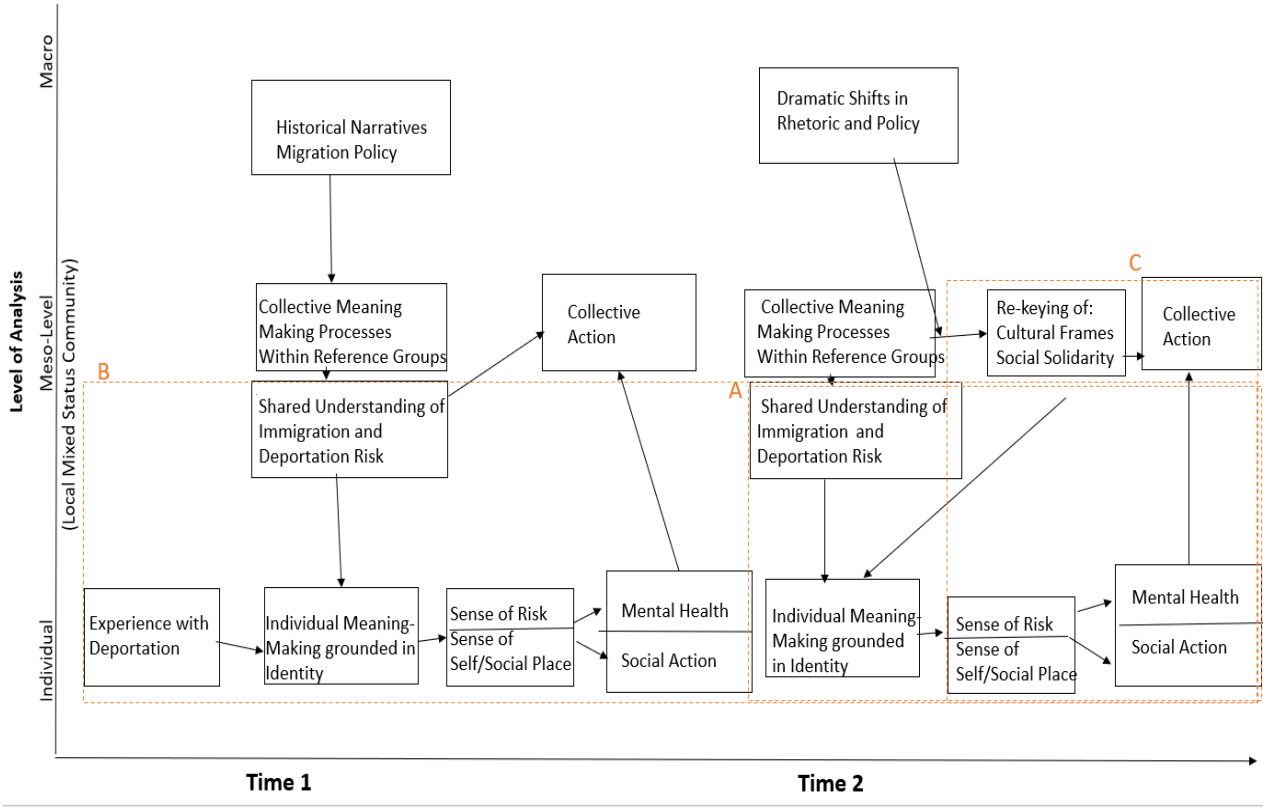


Thus far, I have illustrated the theoretical importance of considering the role of the mixed-status community in helping us understand how macro-level shifts in political rhetoric about immigration and illegality are interpreted through collective processes of meaning-making that are grounded in reference groups within one's community- to which individuals are tied through their sense of identity- in turn shaping the cultural frames they use to understand their experiences and guide their actions. To foreshadow my findings, I here formalize my theoretical model. Figure 2 presents a model of the processes a community undergoes in light of a traumatic event, such as the election of an anti-immigrant President, and shows the importance of the

meso-level in shaping the way individuals draw from shared cultural frames to make meaning of threatening events at various levels of social life, in turn shaping individual feelings of vulnerability, and action in response. We see at time two how dramatic shifts in rhetoric and policy at the macro-level intervene in collective processes of meaning-making within the mixed status community, motivating the re-keying of cultural frames, which individuals draw from in order to understand their own position and decide how to act. While it would be unwieldy to attempt to provide empirical evidence for all parts of the model in this text, the aspects I address are divided by sections in the model, and each chapter of my dissertation illustrates a different section of the model. The chapters also emphasize the interactions of community members at different levels of their embeddedness within social life that were presented in Figure 1. The first analytic chapter examines the immediate reactions of immigrant individuals and families within the first 6 months of Trump's election. In this chapter I demonstrate how the symbolic import of the election of President Trump sparked widespread uncertainty within the immigrant community, disrupting established coping patterns, strategies of advocacy, as well as individual and collective understandings of belonging within the U.S. I particularly focus on the way individuals' and their families' interpretations of a looming threat were rooted in their identities, their understandings of themselves, and the comparisons they made within their reference groups to anticipate how Trump's presidency would affect their lives [depicted in section A of the model]. The second analytic chapter begins to untangle how immigrants understand their own community, as well as their experiences with immigration enforcement, by drawing from cultural frames that have been particularly prominent in political rhetoric, and that circulate within neighborhood interactions. As members of the mixed status immigrant community attempt to anticipate their own vulnerability to deportations and interpret the actions of immigration

enforcement, some frames became more salient than others, and these meaning-making processes matter for the ways the immigrant communities come to cope with political changes [depicted in section B of the model]. The final analytic chapter examines the way that cultural changes motivated a re-keying of cultural frames within the immigrant community, ultimately shaping collective engagement with social movements at the city level [depicted in section C of the model]. I show how aggressive and high-profile attacks sparked a greater questioning of previously established cultural frames that were used to understand the justice of law and immigration enforcement within the immigrant community. As more immigrants came to identify how immigrants *like themselves*- part of their reference group- were being detained and deported, they experienced greater motivation to act to defend themselves, individually and collectively, by seeking out new information, resources, and support within the city.

Figure 2. Theoretical Model



1.5 Conclusions to move forward

There is a substantial need within the sociology of culture to better understand how situational and dispositional factors shape the way cultural frames are used to guide people's interpretations of their experiences, as well as the way they act in response. So far this literature has largely neglected to incorporate insights from developmental and social psychology, which indicate the importance of considering the way that multiple, embedded layers of social reality shape the life course, and particularly the role of individual identities and reference groups in anchoring how cultural messages and macro-level events are perceived to be relevant to the self. My dissertation addresses this gap by taking advantage of a unique data set as I follow one mixed-status immigrant community through their process of collective reaction and response to

the election of Donald Trump and trace the way this event set into motion a host of social, material, and cultural changes at multiple levels of social life within this community. I illustrate the role of both individual and collective identities, as well as reference groups in shaping the way people determine what cultural frames are relevant and useful in understanding a shift in their circumstances, and how to act in response. The Trump administration's promises to "deport them all", and the actions it has taken to fulfill these promises, have affected the lives of immigrant communities far beyond the sum of the individual impacts of this discursive shift. It is increasingly important that we understand the impact of macro-level political changes on our communities, and our shared cultural understandings that motivate the ways we navigate our world.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

While my main theoretical intervention is in the sociology of culture, as reviewed in the introduction, my dissertation is also grounded in a firm reading of complementary literatures which can be brought to bear in order to more deeply understand the social forces operating within the migrant community of focus: migration literature, the literature of criminalization, and social movement literature. In this chapter I will briefly review those literatures.

2.1 Migration, Belonging, and the Social Production of Illegality

The Trump administration's stance on immigration is not so much a new phenomenon as a spike within a long-standing trend of ethno-nationalism, as societies cope with the challenges that arise from increased mobility of and contact between different racial, ethnic and cultural groups. Global migratory pressures have been increasingly viewed as a major social threat over the last century, and within the U.S. in particular, there have been many ebbs and flows in the patterns of acceptance or restriction of immigrants, often linked with international economic and security interests (Castles Haas & Miller 2013; Kanstroom 2007). While there has been particular public attention to changes in patterns of immigration enforcement under the Trump administration, the Obama administration in fact oversaw more deportations than any other administration in U.S. history, and the history of governmental restriction of migratory flows- particularly of Latinx and Mexican-origin populations- has much deeper historical roots (Rogers 2016; Bloemrad & Voss 2011).

The first postwar wave of migration of Latinx immigrants to the U.S. began in 1942, with the Bracero Program, a series of agreements between the U.S., Mexican and Caribbean countries to import temporary foreign labor to fill war-related employment shortages. From 1942 to 1964, when the program was formally ended, approximately 4.6 million Mexican-born workers came

to the United States through official or informal channels (Calavita 1992; Tichenor 2002). The Bracero Program initiated pattern of temporary, cyclical migration, largely of male workers, on which U.S. agricultural interests began to rely upon heavily. It also generated a "culture of migration that established a regular channel of migration to the north for certain Mexican communities" (Kandel and Massey 2002; Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, & Taylor 1999). The end of this program marked the beginning of contemporary, large-scale undocumented migration (Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002). Despite bracero migration, in 1970 those born in Mexico only made up about 8 percent of all foreign-born individuals living in the U.S, and U.S. born Latinos represented only about 4.7 percent of the total U.S. population- about 9.6 million people; but by 1980, the proportion of U.S. born Latinos had increased by more than 50 percent; by 1990 the number reached 22.3 million; and by 2000, 37.7 million (Bean and Stevens 2003). In 1965, American immigration law changed radically after Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality (or Hart-Cellar) Act. For the first time in the U.S. government's history, this act sought to restrict migration from the Western hemisphere, including Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean, imposing a ceiling of 120,000 legal permanent resident visas per annum. The following decades saw a significant increase in undocumented migration, as American demand for low-skilled labor and limited economic development in Latin America prevailed despite new limitations on work visas and paths to legal migration (Bloemraad & Voss 2011). This trend was exacerbated in the early 1980s when Central Americans, fleeing war, came to the United States. The dramatic upsurge in undocumented migration led to the first large-scale U.S. amnesty for those living in the United States without documents. In 1986, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) which provided amnesty for those currently undocumented, but also sought to stop the

flow of more undocumented migrants- scaling up enforcement efforts at the border and in the workplace. However, these efforts were ineffective in halting undocumented migration, though they did interrupt patterns of circular migration; by increasing the risks of border crossing, more and more undocumented migrants began to stay in the U.S. rather than return to their country of origin. In fact, in the last 30 years irregular migration has become the fastest growing form of migration (Koser 2010).

In 1996 the U.S. Congress passed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant responsibility act- marking turning points in the government's attitudes towards migrants by reinforcing the marginal status of unauthorized migrants. These laws expanded the grounds for legal exclusion and deportation, demanded mandatory detention for many non-citizens, eliminated many processes of judicial review and discretion, and increased state and local law cooperation with immigration enforcement (Chesney-Lind & Mauer 2003). With these policies, state institutions began to increasingly treat irregular immigrants more like criminals, as incarceration and deportation became the primary mechanism of enforcement for those who migrate irregularly (Kanstroom 2007; Degenova 2002; Castle Haas & Miller 2013). While under Bush large-scale immigration reform, including amnesty for the undocumented, appeared possible, the political momentum behind legalization died on September 11, and a pattern of restrictive immigration policies resumed- generally persisting to the present day as attempts for large-scale immigration reform have failed.

While thus far I have summarized the history of migratory policy in the U.S. from the middle of the previous century until (almost) the present day, I have not yet addressed the overlaps between immigration enforcement and racial discrimination for Latinx populations in the U.S.

While much of the political rhetoric around immigration emphasizes the goal of immigrant integration, founded in the image of the American "melting pot", the integration of Latinx people into U.S. society has not followed the same trends as that of European migrants (Pallares & Flores-Gonzalez 2010). Scholars of Latinx migration have found that ethnic identification often overshadows national identity, and that racial and cultural markers such as skin color, language and religion are often barriers to the integration of Latinx residents and citizens such that their identity as immigrants lasts beyond the first, second and even third generation, in contrast to European immigrants who are much more readily identified as "American" (Waters 1990; Pallares & Flores-Gonzalez 2010). Racialization has played a determinative role in creating and maintaining patterns of social exclusion for Latinos, which are both manifested in policies restricting their ability to access citizenship, but also contribute to social practices that differentiate between and among citizens, creating a sort of "exclusionary inclusion" that ultimately produces various forms of second-class citizenships (Rocco 2014; Chacón 2018).

The racialization of Latinx immigrants in the U.S. often works in conjunction with the conditions within Latinx immigrant communities to generate a sense of dual identification among both immigrants and citizens- what some scholars have called "transnational ways of being" (Smith 2006; Fouron and Schiller 2006; Levitt & Schiller 2004; Pallares & Flores-Gonzales 2010). Many Latinx immigrants continue to live in neighborhoods where there is a significant amount of migratory flow, where contact with the country of ethnic origin is part of everyday life, if not directly than through relationships with family and community members (Smith 2005). Members of the second generation or beyond continue to form relationships with recent migrants, and may maintain strong relationships with family members in their sending country- generating a sense of "emotional embeddedness" that keeps Latinx immigrants in close

touch with their roots (Aranda 2007). Some scholars have proposed that these transnational ways of being, in combination with a sense of racialization within the U.S., generates a stronger collective sense of identity among Latinx immigrant communities, and intensifies second and third generation's sense of emotional belonging to their immigrant families and communities (Smith 2006; Aranda 2007). Some scholars have problematized the way the migration literature discusses attachment as dichotomous- asserting that a sense of attachment to one's country of ethnic origin doesn't necessarily mean that one is less attached to one's receiving country (Pallares & Florez-Gonzales 2010; Itzigsohn 2009). Still, feelings of attachment are also be shaped by political and social factors which are in flux- when Latinx people experience being labelled as foreigners and/or illegals, this can contribute to an erosion of their feelings of attachment to the United States (Chavez 2001; DeGenova 2005; Santa Anna 2002).

In this way, political environment matters not only in determining policies that dictate the number of people who are detained and deported, but also in shaping the way immigrant communities understand their place within a nation. When discriminatory practices by state institutions conflate ethnicity with immigration status, members of ethnic minorities that are characterized as migrants can experience a sense of threat through experiences of enforcement and surveillance, even if they have not engaged in criminal or illegal behavior (DeGarmo & Martinez 2006; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Martinez, DeGarmo & Eddy, 2004, Patillo 1999). Thus the state of illegality and the pressures of discriminatory social practices and laws do not exclusively affect those who have immigrated illegally, but have widespread implications for immigrant communities. The spike in immigration enforcement under President Trump represents shifting political sentiments that have important consequences for communities of immigrants; hate crimes against various minorities and religious groups have risen 20% in 2017,

and immigrant communities have been major targets for such crimes (Levin & Grisham 2017). The expansion of immigration enforcement does not only imply a simple expansion in scale of the effects of deportation; national political sentiments shape the environments in which immigrants live their lives, and the ways they experience belonging (Kanstroom 2007; Menjivar & Lakhani 2016; Santos, Menjivar & Godfrey 2009; Portes 1996).

2.1.2 The Social Production of Illegality and Legal Consciousness

While age and generation of migration, culture of origin, and receiving community are all important factors in determining how migrants experience belonging within their receiving society, prominent migration scholars have called the condition of illegality a master status, one that ‘‘outweighs and overpowers all other social characteristics’’ (Enghceren 1999). These scholars have examined how, for those who are illegal, this status shapes every aspect of their lives, determining how they are thought of and treated, placing them face-to-face with the limitations of the law, and restricting their social mobility (Gleeson 2012). This condition shapes subjective understandings of the world and identity (Coutin 2000a, 2000b; De Genova 2002; Menjıvar 2006; Suarez-Navaz 2004; Willen 2007). Undocumented individuals are able to participate in some aspects of society (e.g. schooling), but not others (e.g. legal employment), and thus experience their inclusion- and exclusion- as fragmented (Gonzales 2011; Rocco 2011; Chacon 2018). Individuals who experience legal exclusion must face chronic frustration and fear as they experience barriers to their development, social discrimination, and heightened surveillance from law enforcement (Gonzales 2012; Menjivar 2006, 2016). Scholars have found that the typical practices of government contact and surveillance can create enormous distress for

undocumented people, as they risk exposing their status and facing deportation proceedings (Inda 2006; Gonzales 2012).

In order to avoid being apprehended and to manage quotidian barriers, undocumented individuals undertake changes in their relationships and behaviors, and these changes can have transformative effects on their lives and those of their families (Menjivar & Lakhani 2016; Garcia 2016; Dreby 2015). Legally present family members often bear additional responsibilities, emotional and material, related to their status, but imbalances in power also create opportunities for abuse (delReal 2018). In addition, when roles and responsibilities within mixed-status families must shift to accommodate for the limitations of illegality, these shifts can distort typical developmental trajectories (Gonzales 2012). Because developmental stage also shapes the expectations that individuals carry for their own lives and for community members, these reconfigurations of roles and responsibilities can negatively impact the mental health and well-being of immigrant families. Still, irregular migrants are social agents who have diverse experiences and respond to these experiences in different ways (DeGenova 2002; Gleeson 2012; Menjivar & Lakhani 2016).

Emerging literature has pointed to the ways that undocumented migrants develop a sense of legal consciousness, as they must interpret, experience, and apply the law to their lives as they attempt to avoid apprehension and deportation (Ewick and Silbey 1998). Migrants' legal consciousness is developed through formal and informal channels, such as interactions with legal and social institutions and agents (e.g. lawyers, teachers), knowledge of immigration policies, migration experiences and everyday activities (Menjivar and Lakhani 2016; Abrego 2011). Immigration policies matter for the way undocumented people navigate their social context in order to gain access to resources such as education, to employment and to social services.

Undocumented individuals and their families must interpret the law, but their interpretations are socially constructed through interaction, and mediated by social contexts and norms (Abrego 2008). Individuals' interpretations and application of the law can also shift and change over time (Ewick and Silbey 1998; Abrego 2008).

Menjivar and Lakhani (2016) show how legal consciousness has transformative effects on the lives of undocumented migrants by creating long-lasting changes in migrants' attitudes, behavior, and actions in public spaces. These effects have been shown to persist even after some unauthorized people are able to regularize their status, and can be particularly pronounced among migrants who have spent a long period of time without documents in a hostile environment (Menjivar 2006). While scholars have explored in some depth the ways that individual undocumented migrants develop legal consciousness to navigate the challenges they face, with a growing number of mixed-status families and increased hostility towards those without documents, it is becoming increasingly important that we more deeply understand the ways that the legal consciousness and immigration enforcement are shaping the lives of not only undocumented individuals, but the families and communities in which they are embedded.

Despite the fact that we know trends in immigration enforcement have marked effects on communities of immigrants, thus far most sociological literature has focused on particular populations within migrant communities (e.g. students, parents), and considerably less attention has been paid to how community relationships and diverse experiences with legal precarity shape relationships between community members and processes of collective identity (Perlmann & Waldinger, 1997; Portes 1996; Ekstrand 1977; Suarez-Orozco Todorova & Louie 2002; Yeh 2003; Tartakovsky 2009; Gonzales 2012). The undocumented population is not a separate group easily classifiable and isolated from the documented in a community of migrants, both because

illegal status is often hidden, and because undocumented individuals are part of families and form relationships with documented community members (Menjivar & Lakhani, 2016; Garcia, 2016). When an undocumented immigrant is detained, it is not only the detained individual who is affected; as these individuals face legal barriers to their economic inclusion, as well as suffer psychological costs from their experiences, their families and friends also experience additional strains in supporting these individuals (Dreby 2015; Garcia, 2016). These strains heighten the importance of community interdependence and support, both motivating solidarity, and aggravating the consequences of a lack thereof. While there has been literature examining individual interpretations and reactions to criminalization, we need more work that focuses on how community relationships are shaped by these processes. Dreby (2015) and Garcia (2016) have just begun to explore how differences in legal status affect intimate relationships, but more research is needed to more deeply understand both how immigration enforcement shapes family relationships, but also influences how members of the immigrant community mobilize their different legal and socioeconomic positions within their community to overcome the challenges they face. My dissertation approaches these issues by moving the focus of analysis to meso-level social interactions, in order to more deeply explore the ways that the challenges individuals face because of their illegal status shapes the lives and relationships of others within their community.

Individuals construct their identities in dialogical relationship with others, and come to understand themselves in part by observing the roles and experiences of those they are in relationship with (Goffman 1978; Bucholtz & Hall 2005). I propose to examine the way joint understandings of the legal and political context are formed by observing the dynamics of social relations within and between small groups of individuals- such as families, organizations, or intimate networks of support (Fine 2012). Small associations of individuals- reference groups-

represent an important juncture between individuals and institutions, and their interactions reveal shared values, norms and expectations that matter for the way individuals live their lives and orient to their social environment (Ibid). These reference groups also create their own frames to help render events or occurrences meaningful, and use these frames to organize experience and guide action (Snow & Benford 1988; Small, 2004). Observing the interactions of networks of support over time will provide insights into the ways that relationships shift as people adapt to changes in the larger political climate, and give us a better understanding of the way political changes affect the shared legal consciousness and the collective well-being of communities.

The migration literature has indicated how the conflation of ethnic identity and migration status contributes to what some call a transnational- and others call a fragmented- sense of social belonging with Latinx immigrant communities living in the U.S. Unlike European immigrants, who tend to integrate quickly and form a sense of being "American", Latinx people maintain a stronger sense of immigrant identity through the maintenance of strong connections to their country of origin, as well as through experiences of racial difference that remind them of their perceived 'foreign-ness'. Latinx citizens and residents are also much more likely to be in relationship with undocumented individuals, heightening the sensitivity and (at times) precarity of their sense of belonging and place. We know that a sense of belonging matters for a number of psychosocial and material outcomes in society- for academic and professional success, for mental health and well-being, and for the continued investment of denizens in the places and the communities in which they live. And so, when political changes occur that deeply threaten the already sensitive sense of belonging that Latinx immigrant communities experience within their larger sociopolitical environment, it is of critical importance that we understand the social and cultural effects of these political changes- particularly when we acknowledge the size of this

population of people, and the far-reaching consequences it can have on the well-being of the nation.

2.2 Criminalization, Detention, and Communities

In order to inform our understandings of the ways migrant communities[1] interpret and respond to the threat of incarceration and deportation, I will now examine literature that focuses on how the punitive practices of the state shape the daily lives of over-policed communities. There is a large body of social science literature that has examined the effects of the growth of the carceral system in the United States, particularly examining how communities cope with heightened surveillance, and the feelings of insecurity generated by agents of the state that pose more of a threat than serve as a protective force (Rios, 2006; Stuart 2016). I draw connections between literature that examines the role of surveillance and incarceration within marginalized communities of citizens with those that explore the threat of surveillance and deportation within migrant communities.

Over the last two decades, immigration enforcement has also begun to expand its use of detention as both a mechanism to process immigrants and a consequence to inspire fear. In 1994, there was room for fewer than 7,000 people per day in immigrant detention centers nationwide (Goodman 2018). The Trump administration anticipates holding 47,000 daily by the end of 2019 (Ibid). Because of the growing overlaps between the criminal justice system and immigration

[1] For the purposes of this dissertation, I define community as a group of actors who have regular, patterned social interactions based on shared structural and cultural mechanisms that lead to the experience of community or a sense of a collective self, though that may be loosely defined (Bender 1978; Kanter 1972; Keller 2003). While I recognize the importance of structural mechanisms, particularly shared geographical space, in facilitating the creation of a sense of community, I do not restrict who I define to be community members exclusively to residents of a particular neighborhood- in my case the neighborhood of Little Village. The community I study is situated within Little Village and is predominantly populated by its residents, but there are some members who define themselves as part of the community and are active within this social context who do not currently live in the neighborhood.

enforcement, I draw upon social science literature that has examined the effects of criminalization on marginalized communities in order to more deeply understand how the threat of deportation and incarceration shape immigrants' sense of social belonging and their response to the Trump administration. The threat of incarceration is highly salient to over-policed communities in the United States; economically and ethnically marginalized communities have already seen the negative effects of incarceration or detention on their social relationships, and the heightened threat of detention in this particular moment is exacerbating fears within criminalized communities.

Incarceration has been shown to have important disorganizing effects on the families and communities of prisoners, who disproportionately come from minority communities (Braman 2004; Patillo, Western & Weiman, 2004). High rates of incarceration have been shown to weaken community solidarity, distort family structures across generations and foment distrust for government and law enforcement agencies (Rose & Clear 1998; Patillo, Western, & Weiman, 2004; Braman 2004). The state of illegality and the threat of incarceration can also cause individuals to feel permanently stigmatized, resulting from permanent legal barriers which prohibit full social membership indefinitely (Rios 2011; Braman 2004; Rose & Clear 2003). In addition, it has been found that the strain of police targeting can encourage communities to develop informal social controls in order to prevent attention from police, which can further marginalize criminalized members (Stuart, 2016). As communities are denied resources for positive growth and healthy development, yet are also subject to over-investment by punitive state institutions, they can come to develop resistance to state institutions that tend to degrade and stigmatize them (Rios 2011). The literature has demonstrated how feelings of belonging and membership are crucial social processes in maintaining healthy relationships between local

communities and state institutions, and experiences of incarceration generate persistent feelings of exclusion that break down these relationships (Rios 2011, Stuart 2016, Rose & Clear 2003).

Criminal incarceration has been shown to have overwhelmingly negative effects on the physical and mental health of communities that experience high rates of incarceration. However, while there has been significant research examining the ways that aggressive policing tactics effect social solidarity among black communities, there is much less known about the ways that Latino communities perceive and experience encounters with police, and the ways this impacts their well-being (Martinez 2007). Much of the literature examining the relationship between poverty, inequality and health has proposed that Latinx immigrant communities tend to exhibit better health outcomes than black communities living in similar conditions because of greater levels of social cohesion and social support within immigrant communities (Markides & Coreil 1986; Scribner 1996; Bird, Canino, Davies, Zhang, Ramirez, & Lahey, 2001; McGlade, Saha, & Dahlstrom, 2004). If Latinx immigrant communities do in fact experience greater levels of social support and social cohesion than marginalized black communities, it would be expected that these factors would also play a role in the way that these communities cope with the strain of discriminatory treatment by law enforcement. Yet Latinx immigrant communities are also increasingly experiencing the compounding threats of law enforcement and immigration enforcement- increasing their risks for arrest and detention. Scholars have both argued that Latinx immigrant communities benefit from stronger networks of social support but also face an increased risk of negative interactions with law enforcement because of racially discriminatory attitudes that conflate ethnic origin with illegality. Given these confounding factors, and recognizing that Latinos are now the largest ethnic minority in the U.S., it is of great importance that we examine how processes of criminalization function differently within Latinx immigrant

communities and impact their well-being.

My work seeks to examine more explicitly the overlap between social trends towards the criminalization and incarceration of minorities, and the detention and deportation of immigrants, and the way these convergent forces shape lives and relationships within one criminalized immigrant community in Chicago. Non-citizens are the fastest growing population in the prison system, and the trends in immigration detainment mirror those of the criminal justice system: negative effects on mental health of detainees and their communities, increasingly harsh penalties, unprecedented increases in time detained, and the growing influence of private agents in building and administering detainment centers (Miller 2002). Non-citizens have even fewer procedural legal rights than criminal prisoners, with no rights to due process or court-appointed counsel, and a lack of substantive guidance for court professionals dealing with the particular circumstances of the individuals detained (Miller 2002; Mehta 2010). In addition, large numbers of undocumented immigrants are apprehended through the criminal justice system, or receive criminal charges for acts related to their irregular status, such as the use of a fake social security number. Many states have also put significant energy towards enforcing 287(g) agreements, which allow law enforcement officers to perform the functions of federal immigration agents, and facilitates communication between these government institutions, with the goal of apprehending more undocumented immigrants. This has resulted in an increase in the long term (and often indefinite) detention for non-citizens, which creates a severe strain on the mental health of detainees, as time spent in detention has been found to correlate with level of psychological distress (Fillmore 2010, Green & Eager 2009). The negative effects of detention have been shown to persist long after a person is released from confinement (Bosworth 2016). Research also demonstrates that living in a community where family members or friends' parents

have been detained or deported is likely to heighten insecurity while corroding a sense of social safety and belonging (Menjívar 2006). These studies indicate that police and immigration enforcement operate in tandem and pose a similar threat to the minority and migrant communities in which they operate (Kanstroom, DeGenova 2012; Garcia, 2016; Menjivar & Lakhani, 2016).

While there is a wealth of research that attests to the atomizing and isolating effects of criminalization for particular individuals, I also seek to explore how criminalization doesn't simply encourage system avoidance[2] (Brayne 2014), but how it influences relational dynamics at the community level more broadly, examining how criminalizing forces can also motivate the formation of belonging, relationships and trust among community members, both documented and undocumented. Under what circumstances do threats to individuals become framed as threats to the community, and how does collective framing of a threat motivate particular types of responses from communities and individuals? How do community members understand and utilize cultural frames about criminality and public safety, and in what ways do they reinterpret or resist narratives that depict their community as threatening? I will examine community-level processes of framing though the circulation of narratives about illegality and social belonging in order to better understand how these frames shape community strategies of protection, as well as shape the development and mobilization of social networks. We need to more deeply explore how small groups understand and react to larger structural forces that seek to criminalize and deport them, and the ways that individual understandings and reactions articulate with collective

[2] Brayne defined system avoidance as a social process in which individuals who have had contact with the criminal justice system tend to avoid surveilling institutions that keep formal records. She found that individuals who had been stopped by police, arrested, convicted, or incarcerated were less likely to interact with surveilling institutions, including medical, financial, labor market, and educational institutions, than their counterparts who had no contact with the criminal justice system.

movements- rather than exclusively focusing on individual effects.

There have been a few recent studies that are beginning to examine the ways that criminalizing forces might also facilitate collective solidarity, under certain circumstances. For example, Stuart's (2016) work describes how the circumstances in Skid Row, an area in L.A. that is aggressively over-policed, created conditions in which individuals were able to move beyond individualistic resistance to police abuse, and encouraged community-level strategies of protection and care (Stuart, 2016). As I will discuss throughout the dissertation, my results indicate that in my field site, Little Village, increased criminalization and immigration enforcement is generating changes in strategies of collective organization, and emergent alliances are forming between organizations who previously had not collaborated, as advocates work to adapt to a shifting political and legal climate in order to protect community members. These results are surprising given the body of research that attests to the role of criminalization in dividing communities and decreasing community solidarity. While Stuart (2016) begins the task of examining the potentially unifying effects of criminalization, my dissertation extends this line of research, and I examine how shifts in the cultural narratives that people use to make meaning of experiences with discriminatory policing practices work to change the ways that individuals and groups collaborate, and support each other. In this project I seek to untangle the way members of a criminalized community understand the distinctions between criminal and illegal- and in turn the way the way these interpretations matter for their relationships with each other- by examining collective processes of meaning-making and support within small group interactions.

2.3 Social Movements

Sociological literature has produced diverse, and sometimes conflicting accounts about the

way marginalized groups react to discourses that characterize their group negatively, and come together to motivate social change (Brookes Higginbotham 1993; Sykes and Matza 1957; Waquant 2010). While some sociologists have argued that people are motivated to hold favorable attitudes toward themselves and toward members of their own group, others have argued that these motives can be overridden by the desire of some individuals to hold favorable attitudes toward the existing social system and the status quo (Jost and Banaji 1994; Sykes & Matza 1957; Wacquant 2010). Some scholars have shown that people so want to believe that they live in a world governed by justice and order, that they may defend and justify the status quo in order to bolster the legitimacy of the existing social order, even if this results in negative beliefs about their own social group (Sykes & Matza 1957; Wacquant 2010). However, others have demonstrated that in the case of stigmatized groups, people will form sub-groups, or find ways to differentiate themselves in order to neutralize stigma and maintain a positive self-identity (Pelham and Hetts 2001; Sykes & Matza 1957; Wacquant 2010). For example, Wacquant (2010) found that in ghetto-ized neighborhoods of Chicago, individuals employ strategies of symbolic self-protection, including social distancing and the elaboration of micro-differences, in order to establish a separation between themselves and the place or people which are known to be most stigmatized. Wacquant (2010) described how members of this marginalized community would disavow knowing people around them, adopt negative representations held by outsiders and apply them to neighbors, and withdraw socially from one's own community in order to preserve a positive image of themselves. Zepeda-Millan (2017) found that while immigrant protestors used symbols of national (predominantly Mexican) pride in the early stages of the 2006 marches, that they soon realized these symbols were being used by political enemies to emphasize their "outsider" status, and shifted the narrative to focus on

family unity and American family values in the later stages of these mobilization. Thus, small groups may redefine collective identities and cultural frames - about who the 'we' and who the 'them' are, and what the 'we' value – both in order to maintain a positive sense of self and to gain political leverage as they fight for rights and privileges for their community.

In order to more deeply understand how a community draws from shared cultural frames to evaluate and interpret the risks they face, and develop a collective response, I also draw upon literature that explores how groups frame a problem diagnostically and how these frames both generate possible solutions and highlight the need for action from particular groups of people in order to mobilize collective action (Benford & Snow 2000; Small, 2004; Viterna 2013). Crises can cause shifts, and social scientists continue to emphasize the importance of political change in both shaping the framing of a social problem, and the ways that people feel called to act in order to address the problem (Gamson et al 1982; Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford 1986, Snow and Benford 1988; Viterna 2013). Snow and Bedford (2000) describe 3 core framing tasks in the context of social disturbance: diagnostic framing (identification of problem and attributions), prognostic framing (suggesting solutions, strategies, and tactics to a problem) and motivational framing (serves as a call to arms or rationale for action). However, particular frames and ideas resonate with individuals and groups, and this resonance depends not only on the contents of the message, but with how the frame lines up with the past experiences, identities, reference groups and cultural values of participants (Stuart 2016; Small 2004; Viterna 2013). Families and communities don't necessarily all share the same frame; residents may have divergent views and perceptions, and these divergent views condition how residents act (Small 2004; Stuart 2016). In this way, how particular groups portray a problematic situation can also affect collective solidarity and the development of social movements, as groups may diagnose the same

problematic situation, but develop very different interpretations of who culpable agents are and who is responsible for working to resolve the problem, creating divisions within movements (Benford 1993). The literature shows how groups of individuals do not react uniformly to their social context, and both internal group dynamics as well as external conditions shape how groups of individuals mobilize (Corrigall-Brown 2011).

Scholars have found that when existing power structures or shaken, or when a society experiences a "moral shock", that these conditions tend to create opportunities for mobilization (Beyerlein and Andrews 2008; Jasper 1997). Snow et al. (1986) found that movements tend to emerge in historical moments when sudden and dramatic shifts disrupt taken for granted routines and expectancies, eliciting a broad social reaction. Some social movement scholars have argued that mobilization occurs in this context because it creates political opportunities for new groups to seize power from entrenched groups and motivate social change (McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1998; Tilly 1978). Others have argued that participants don't only decide to mobilize because success seems more plausible, but that the presence of repression and violence may also mobilize mobilization when citizens feel they have "no other way out" than rising up against oppressors (Goodwin 2001). Yet new scholarship has also pointed to the ways that these theories of mobilization tend to make sweeping generalizations about the reasons people mobilize, and has pointed to the need for a deeper understanding of the "micro-processes of mobilization" (Viterna 2013) to understand the multiple paths to participation and mobilization within a movement. A deeper understanding of the biographical and situational factors that shape individuals' decisions to participate in movement activity can help us better understand why movements begin, how they endure, and the ways in which they shape the lives of individual participants and the communities in which they are embedded (Ibid).

Social movements are not only consumers of existing cultural meanings, but through action adapt these resources to their emerging needs, and in so doing produce new frames of meaning through which events are interpreted (Benford & Snow 2000; Tarrow 1993; Viterna 2013). This process does not occur in uniform ways; there are individual and collective social experiences which create variation in how people adapt the cultural resources available to them, and respond to differently framed political appeals. Cultural sociologists have suggested that individuals develop their understandings of what it means to be a member of one's reference group through stories, symbolic representations, ideologies, as well as interactions with others and that these understandings shape how they feel compelled to act in response to political changes (Small, Harding and Lamont 2010; Swidler 1986, 2001; Lamont 1992; Viterna 2013). While one's neighborhood, cohort, and family history are significant factors in shaping how individuals come to perceive a threat as salient to one's reference group, and how they identify as part of a collective, macro-level political changes can also reshape the meanings of the identities that participants hold, changing the saliency of particular narrative frames and their understandings of their group (Stuart, 2016; Small, 2004; Viterna 2013). In order to extend our understandings of social mobilization in new directions, scholars have called for a closer examination of the way narratives compel individuals and small groups to participate in larger movement activity- but there is very little literature that currently examines these processes in real-time. The few studies that exist have been largely retrospective, and some sociologists have pointed to the limitations of data that is based in people's post-hoc justifications for their actions (Vaisey 2009). I seek to add to the literature that explores the social circumstances that determine the resonance of an interpretive frame and the salience of certain collective identities over others, particularly focusing on how these processes of meaning-making shape feelings of vulnerability

and collective action. I illustrate how frames are circulated, picked up, and abandoned within groups as immigrants reform their understandings of their social environment in interaction with others in their community.

2.3.2 The 2006 Marches- a Historical Precursor

As we bring the social movement literature to bear on activity within immigrant communities, it is important to acknowledge the historical trajectory of the immigrant rights movement. Before 2006, Latinxs and latinx immigrants were considered to be very unlikely to participate in contentious politics; polling data have traditionally shown that Latinxs are less likely to participate in controversial political actions as compared to other racial and ethnic groups (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995; Leighly and Nagler 2013), and survey research has shown that Latinx immigrants are significantly less likely to engage in non-electoral political activism in comparison to U.S. born Latinxs (Leal 2002; Martinez 2005; Bloemraad Voss & Lee 2011). However, in 2006 the nation witnessed a surprising surge of activism in a series of protests that is generally recognized as the historical moment in which undocumented immigrants "came out of the shadows". The primarily-Latinx immigrants rights mobilizations took many forms- protests, school walkouts, hunger strikes, boycotts and vigils- but with one primary target: the Border Protection, Ant-terrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005, commonly known as the "Sensenbrenner Bill" (Zepeda-Millan 2016, 2017).The Bill, which had passed the House of Representatives but had not yet been considered by the Senate at the time the protests began, sought to severely increase both border control and internal enforcement measures, proposed to change the penalty for being undocumented from a civil violation to a federal felony, and also sought to criminalize individuals who assisted undocumented immigrants by threatening monetary fines and incarceration. Scholars have argued that the bill triggered feelings of linked

fate and an increased sense of racial group consciousness among Latinos because of the "broad and growing perception that Latino advancement was being thwarted by discrimination" (Suro, Wilson & Singer 2011). Yet the demobilization of the marchers was almost as dramatic as the sudden surge of protests, which many attribute to the strong anti-immigrant backlash following the marches. While the marches were successful in stopping the Sessenbrenner bill from passing in the Senate, they were followed by a wave of anti-latino political action including increased raids by immigration enforcement, a marked rise in deportations in 2007 and 2008, and the proliferation of restrictive immigration legislation proposed at the state level (Bloemraad & Voss 2011).

There has been important scholarship- again, largely retrospective- examining the social causes of this brief, yet massive, surge in public demonstration by immigrant communities. But for the purposes of this dissertation, I acknowledge this event both to highlight the importance of scholarship that studies the development of movement activity as it occurs, and also to embed this account within a larger history of the immigrant rights' movement. While a wave of protests is the most prototypical example of social movement activity, social movements are much more than protests, and we can trace the immigrants' rights movement I examine in this dissertation back to these historic marches. Social movements are composed of both activities and actors that work to direct social change and generate cultural shifts in understandings and behaviors towards a specific end. If this wave of demonstrations truly emerged from the generation of a broader sense of collective identity and linked fate within the immigrant community- can we still see traces of these shifts within the immigrant community today? How is the immigrants' rights movement transforming over time to fit the current sociopolitical environment? My project seeks to follow the development of the social movement for immigrants' rights under the Trump

administration, examining how small groups are adapting their behaviors and building new relationships within changing political conditions.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Methodological Strategy and Justification

I collected the bulk of my data for this study between the fall of 2017 and the winter of 2019 within the immigrant community[3] of La Villita. During the time of my fieldwork, I lived on the border of Little Village and McKinley Park, and I would travel back and forth to Little Village by bike or car several times a day. I observed hundreds of community events of all kinds, from Sunday masses to street festivals, and produced a detailed archive of field notes which consists of more than 1600 pages of typed text (over 580,000 words). In addition to participant observation, I conducted 85 in-depth interviews, most of which were audio-recorded and transcribed to facilitate analysis. I examined community blogs and news outlets, and I explored the history and organizational field within the neighborhood by analyzing academic and journalistic accounts. I drew on preliminary results to guide ongoing data collection, adjusting my interview protocol to more systematically address emerging findings. For example, about 8 months into my fieldwork I realized how attributions of personal responsibility were important for individual reactions to and understandings of other people's deportations. I then began to ask people specifically when they perceived it to be acceptable for the government to choose to deport people, and if there were any crimes that merited deportation as a consequence.

While I continued to engage in field research I also began to code and analyze my data,

[3] I use the term immigrant as a broad characterization for the community within my field site, because I find it to be the most inclusive. I wish to shift our analytic focus away from simply focusing on unauthorized individuals, to examine the communities which they are embedded. While not all of the community members are migrants- in fact many were born here- they recognize a shared history of migration that is salient to their individual and collective sense of identity. And while my community of focus is predominantly Mexican, it is by no means exclusively so. In addition, while some might identify this community as Latinx, there is wide contention around this term, and many of my participants would not use it to describe themselves. For this reason, I have settled on the term migrant/immigrant as the most appropriate way to refer to this community for the purposes of this dissertation. When I refer to the "immigrant community" within this dissertation, I am specifically referring to my community of focus- in Little Village.

writing memos and using findings from a particular setting to ask analytical questions about other settings. I systematically compared the activities of small groups and the interactions of its members at two analytical levels. First, I contrasted the activities and discourses within small groups with that of other groups in the same neighborhood, observing the way groups differed in their approach and response to threats from the Trump presidency. I investigated the unique features of each group or organization to search for processes or characteristics that might have produced these differences. As a second level of comparison, I contrasted understandings and activities of members of small groups with other members of the same group, to explore how different group members understood their situations and used the information and resources circulated within the same group in different ways. Thinking about the range of perspectives on immigration enforcement among residents and community organizations, I always considered how organizations and individuals were positioned in relationship to each other, forming what sociologists call a "social field" (Fligstein and McAdam 2012; Levi-Martin 2003, 2011). A social field can be described as a set of actors that are "attuned to and interact with one another on the basis of shared (which is not to say consensual) understandings about the purposes of the field [and] relationships to others in the field (including who has power and why)" (Fligstein and MacAdam 2012: 9). Actors within a field recognize each other as interconnected in some way and plan their actions by taking into account the (perceived) goals and strategies of other actors within the field. I observed how the actions of one organization, or exchanges between several organizations, could reverberate throughout the neighborhood as information was circulated among families. Rather than focusing on a single group or organization, therefore, I mobilize data for a full set of place-based organizations that in some form or another engaged the issues of immigration status and immigration enforcement in Little Village.

While my ethnographic work allowed me to observe the interactions of participants at a collective level, and to track changes in my participants lives as changes in immigration enforcement occurred, interviews enabled me to follow up with participants about their feelings about particular events, exploring their experiences without concern for public appearance. First-hand accounts are important opportunities for people to explain their understandings of social situations and provide some insight into their beliefs. I took advantage of these opportunities to ask pointed questions about the particular understandings and experiences of group members, and then continued to observe and interact with these individuals over time. Coupling my interviews with ethnography was critical to my work- cultural frameworks that orient individual's behavior emerge in interaction, and individuals are not always consciously aware of these processes (Swidler 1986; Haidt, Koller & Dias 1993; Vaisey 2009). The justifications people supply for their beliefs and actions in an interview context are often insufficient for deeply understanding how the dimension of culture operates, since they are given while removed from the social context in which these frameworks are enacted (Stanton, Mortimer, Lee, Allard, & White 2011). Therefore, one must explain actions both in "reference to the social context in which they occur" (Campbell 1998: 40) and through approaches that are attentive to actor motivations, reasons, desires, attitudes, and beliefs (Levi-Martin 2011, Strand & Lizardo 2015). I leverage ethnographic data in combination with interview data in order to compare participants' private thoughts with their public behaviors, gaining a richer understanding of their life within their community.

3.1.2 Ethnography

My ethnographic observation focused on the activities of several small groups and

organizations within the Little Village community that both represented the diversity of social activity within the neighborhood, but also served strategic importance in the community's development of protective strategies. I began my work as a participant observer within the activities of multiple small groups (the specific groups and my engagement with them are described in more depth below), building trust with the community of Little Village and orienting myself to the cultural frames within which community members operate. My formal field sites included multiple schools, several direct-action organizing groups, a coalition of neighborhood leaders, several social service organizations that provide legal and mental health services to immigrant families, and several religious organizations. I also collected data from informal social events, which I participated in as I came to develop personal relationships with participants and to become engaged with neighborhood activities.

3.1.3 Interviews

While in some contexts it may be useful for the interviewer to be relatively unknown the interviewer participants, in the context of illegal immigration and undocumented status, I felt it was critical to have some familiarity with interview participants, such that I had gained some trust, before the interview took place. I recruited interview participants as I progressed with my ethnographic observation, tailoring my general interview protocol[4] to follow up with participants about particular circumstances and events that were relevant to their lives. Interviews generally took 1-2 hours, with a few lasting as long as 4 hours. With select participants, I conducted several interviews throughout the course of my fieldwork, checking in with them as both the political climate and their personal lives changed. I used interviews to ask participants about the

[4] See appendix.

emotional and psychological processes that accompanied the behaviors and conversations I observed within my ethnographic observation, as well as more specific details about their lives that they might not feel comfortable revealing in public. I also asked participants about opinions or positions they expressed publicly, observing if they represented themselves and their beliefs consistently, or how their accounts varied by context.

Research participants may be able to articulate thoughts or feelings in an interview setting that they do not share publicly, but they may also orient themselves and their responses to the researcher in ways that are not representative of their behavior in other circumstances (Pugh, 2013; Swidler, 2001). To collect reliable data, researchers must account for the interaction between themselves and the participant, seeking to account for the role of this relationship in shaping participant responses. A participant's bodily and linguistic practices, as well as their general appearance and attitude, conveys critical information about the social position and emotional state of the participant, which are important factors to consider in analyzing and interpreting the vantage point from which they view their context (Ortner 2003). I took careful notes during my interactions with participants about the impressions I got from their gestures, facial expressions, and the way they made reference to my or their social position within our conversation. Although I recognize that one cannot remove the influence of one's personal characteristics and position, I took efforts to be reflexive about these factors, and to incorporate them into the conclusions I made in my analysis.

3.2 Primary Research Questions Identified at Beginning of Project

I developed 3 broad research questions that were both grounded in the literature, and represented new areas for exploration within my research site. These broader questions were reflected in my

interview protocol, included in the appendix.

1. How does a community cope with an external threat to some community members?

2. How does being part of a community that is collectively responding to a political threat shape the lives of individual community members and families that live in the community? How does the response influence perceptions of the threat?

3. How do groups frame their collective demands, and how do they employ notions of rights and belonging in justifying these demands?

3.3 Data

My data is comprised of ethnographic field notes, interview transcriptions, life histories and case timelines of various research participants, as well as media analysis of immigration-related news articles, blogs, and social media posts from October 2016 to December 2018.

3.3.2 Field notes and Field Journal

I kept a written record of my participant observation in Little Village, taking notes while in the field and also filling in these notes and expanding on particular observations and reflections at the end of every day. In my field notes, I paid special attention to the daily routines, practices, significant events and lives of the selected groups and their constituent participants. I also reflected on the effects of my own role and presence as a researcher, documenting my experiences so other researchers can review my notes and make their own conclusions about the events included.

3.3.3 Life Histories and Case Timelines

I constructed life histories of key participants, based on both my ethnographic notes and repeated interviews, in order to track how individual's understandings of their position and the political climate changed as they observed events over time and experienced changes within their own migratory status. I also took note of the way that which social relationships and individual life outcomes were shaped by interactions with immigration enforcement and the criminal justice system over time.

3.3.4 Interview Recordings, Transcriptions and Translations

Throughout my fieldwork I used interviews to understand individual's personal experiences as migrants more deeply. They were also an important opportunity to get participants' personal perceptions of group experiences, and to track how relationships between group members changed over time. See the appendix for the characteristics of participants- both of the entire sample, and more detailed descriptions of the people who I quote and whose stories I highlight in my analysis. Transcriptions were conducted in the original language of the interview or interaction, and data was also analyzed and coded in the original language. This made it easier to analyze and conserve the original meaning and sentiment of the statements made by my participants. Data was only translated during the writing process for quotes that were used within my analysis. Within this dissertation, short quotes are kept in their original language, with translations in footnotes. Long quotes will be provided in their original language in the appendix.

3.3.5 Confidentiality and Participant Protection

Given the current political climate, it is of utmost importance that participant confidentiality be protected. I obtained IRB approval for the project "Not my neighbor: the pervasive effects of deportation on community relationships", through which I obtained permission to interview adolescents (with parental consent) who are children of migrants, as well as adults. I also obtained permission to conduct ethnographic observation within public events related to immigration, including campaigning and community activities. In these contexts, I introduced myself to unknown persons at the events as a researcher. As will be explained further, I developed relationships with several different community organizations that work with people in the process of deportation- these organizations were aware of my research interests and gave me permission to collect data with them while I volunteered, as well as to recruit interview participants. In all cases where respondents first met me through a volunteer role, within the course of our conversation disclosed to them that I was also a researcher and asked if I could include our conversation, as part of my data. Audio files, transcripts, and field notes are all stored on UChicagoBox, and I kept a crosswalk of names, emails/contact information and pseudonyms of participants so that their true names never appear in my notes or transcripts. This list helped me communicate with participants while keeping notes consistent, and remove any identifying information. This crosswalk is stored in a security protected account.

To protect the anonymity of the residents I observed and interviewed, I replaced most names with pseudonyms, except for those who were prominent public figures- such as Senator Dick Durbin. However, in some cases, I use the real names of community organizations. Since most of the larger community organizations actively participated in the public sphere and were referenced in newspapers and other media outlets, it would not have been feasible to use organizational pseudonyms. Nonetheless, I do use pseudonyms for some community

organizations, particularly those that were so small that individual members would have been easily identifiable.

3.3.6 Sample Selection

Over the course of the year I conducted structured and semi-structured interviews with community members, strategically sampled from participants in organizations and groups. In order to more deeply understand different individuals' experiences, I created a strategic sample comprised of a diverse range of families and small groups that I followed over time. In making a strategic rather than random sample, I not only assured my research examined how particular cases changed over time, but also made sure that differentiating explanatory variables informed the study. As I participated within numerous organizational and social spheres within the neighborhood, I selected participants who varied in regards to my preliminary variables, in order to compare how experiences differed in relationship to these variables. My preliminary variables were: (a) household structure, including different gender and generational compositions; (b) membership in religious, educational, and neighborhood organizations; (c) employment stability, quality of employment, number of household earners, and total income; (d) migration status of members; and, finally, (e) criminal background and previous encounters with law enforcement.[5] Upon selecting preliminary participants I used snowball sampling, not only to utilize relationships of trust within this vulnerable population, but also in order to capture the diversity of perspectives within my focal participants' social networks. Through participant observation, as well as structured and semi-structured interviews with members of families and small groups,

[5] Although these variables were important in selecting my participants and guiding my analysis, I will not be including this information within this dissertation document, because the information is too identifying and it would put my participants at risk to include it here.

I constructed life histories of particular individuals and groups. The larger purpose of these cases studies is to gain insight into the precise ways that hostile political discourse and increased immigration enforcement shapes relationships between members within a community.

I also embedded myself within diverse neighborhood organizations to examine the ways these organizations chose to position themselves and guided the actions of their members in a shifting political climate. These organizations are named and briefly described below. My ethnographic observation focused on the activities of these small groups because they represent the diversity of social activity within the neighborhood, and also served strategic importance in the community's development of protective strategies.

3.4 Field Site: *La Villita*[6]

South Lawndale, commonly referred to as Little Village, is bordered by the 55 Expressway on the south, Cermak Road to the north, and Western Avenue and Cicero to the east and west. In 1869, Chicago annexed the area that was to become Lawndale from Cicero Township. In order to separate the image of South Lawndale from North Lawndale as it experienced a rise in black residents, the area was renamed Little Village to represent the backgrounds of many Eastern Europeans who lived in the area. A sharp racial boundary between the two neighborhoods still exists today. With the expansion of the University of Illinois in Chicago (UIC) campus as part of urban renewal, many Mexicans were pushed out of the Pilsen area and began moving to Little Village. Many Bohemian families were moving to the already predominantly Eastern European suburbs of Cicero and Berwyn, as housing and employment opportunities for whites expanded in those areas and fear of neighborhood change in Little Village grew. By 1980, Latinos

[6] In English, Little Village.

represented 47% of the population with Mexicans as the dominant ethnic group, which was a huge increase from only 4% in 1970. The population was last recorded at 98,551 in 2010, and residents are currently 88% Latino, 5% white, and 4% African American. The arch, which reads "Bienvenidos a Little Village" was installed in 1991 and was donated by the Mexican government.

Little Village has been a hotbed for politics since its development. It was the home of Anton Cermak, who came to power as mayor in 1931 with the support of a diverse coalition and brought representatives from German, Polish, Czech, Jewish and eventually African American communities into leadership positions. It was also the home of Rudy Lozano, who was well-known locally as an activist and an organizer with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and with tortilla factory workers. He came close to a victory that would have made him the first Mexican-American alderman in the Chicago City Council, and he was key in organizing the Latino vote behind Harold Washington's successful campaign for mayor. The neighborhood is also home to several symbolic institutions that represent the strong history of community organizing in the area: the Little Village Lawndale High School Campus, four small schools that are the result of a 19-day hunger strike held by community residents to pressure the board of education to fulfill their commitment to build a new local high school; the Jorge Prieto clinic, a community-based Cook County Clinic named in honor a Mexican immigrant who worked to bring family-oriented preventative health care to communities in need; Second Federal Savings, a bank that broke from normal discriminatory lending practices by offering fair mortgages to Mexicans and opening bank accounts for the undocumented; La Villita Park, the result of over 20 years of community organizing to clean a contaminated site and create much needed green space on the east side of the neighborhood. Little Village is also home to many community-based

organizations, clinics, churches and community projects that make the neighborhood the thriving Mexican and Mexican American community that it is today. Still, Little Village is also home to the Cook County Jail, a hulking institution that looms just beyond the Little Village arch, a constant reminder of the city's tendency to over-police communities of ethnic minorities.

Little Village is both politically, culturally and economically important to the city. The area contributes tremendously to the city of Chicago revenue, and has been home to many prominent political leaders. Its bustling businesses reflect the culture of its people, and Little Village has a wealth of Mexican shops, restaurants and cultural events that have earned it the title of "Mexico of the Midwest". These cultural factors make it an important focus of efforts both for state immigration intervention, and for resistance. Little Village is a particular community built up of various small groups, which share a common history and environment. While with 98,000 residents we can expect ample diversity in the perspectives and characteristics of Little Village residents, the current political climate serves as an important factor in providing common challenges and goals among residents in the neighborhood. As Holder and Corntassel (2002) demonstrated with the case of oppressed indigenous minorities, the insistence of oppressors in treating a collection of persons as a group triggers the need for protective solutions and protective devices that can be wielded as a collectivity, and can act as a unifying force, increasing individuals' psychological investment in the continuation of a community. A strong and healthy community plays significant role in securing tangible aspects of one's well-being, such as the security of one's economic livelihood or the ability to seek medical attention. In this way, residents of Little Village face common challenges as they face criminalization by the state of some community members, and small groups are both re-organizing themselves and building coalitions in order to protect and defend the larger collective.

3.5 Analytic Strategy

In data analysis for my dissertation, I adopted Timmerman and Tavory's (2012) strategy of abductive analysis, a qualitative data analysis approach that consists of "the cultivation of anomalous and surprising empirical findings against a background of multiple existing sociological theories and through systematic methodological analysis." The approach generally consists of an iterative process that involves thinking about intriguing findings during the process of data collection, and returning to the field to explore conjectures in more depth. As I transcribed interviews in the field, I identified areas that called for further exploration. I paid particular attention to the way individuals described constraints and opportunities for action within their larger social context, and to the patterns of reasoning individuals used in describing the way they acted towards others and in making sense of the meaning of their present position within their sociopolitical context (Harré et al. 2009). Following data collection, I repeated this process by identifying surprising or intriguing themes, and returned to the data to compare across cases. Throughout my analysis, I adopted an approach to narrative analysis influenced by feminist approaches, which call for analyzing interlocutors' discourses in their own terms (Reinharz & Davidman, 1992; Wibben, 2010). I took this approach because it is not my intent to determine the accuracy of my participants' accounts of their experiences; instead I am to examine the ways that my participants understand their experiences, identifying the anxieties and priorities that their narrations reveal (Theidon 2013; Wedeen 2010).

3.6 Field Terms

I direct the reader to briefly review the glossary of terms I have included in the appendix at this time. Because there is a fair amount of terminology specific to the legal and political

circumstances that immigrants must navigate, and because a repeated explanation of these terms can interrupt the narrative flow of my argument within the chapters, it would be helpful for the reader to be familiar with these terms moving forward.

Chapter 4: Immediate Reaction to the Crisis of Increased Criminalization

On the morning of Donald Trump's election, Karen woke up late. She had been up late watching the results from the polls roll in, and then had tossed and turned most of the night worrying. She wasn't certain, but she thought she had heard her mother crying in the bedroom next door. At the breakfast table she tried to hide her puffy face from her father, who looked darkly down at his plate. They ate in silence. On the car ride to her high school, her mother spoke for the first time that morning, her voice cracking a little after her long silence: "*Mija*, your father wants you to talk to your guidance counselor about getting your transcripts translated. We need to be ready for what's to come." Tears began to roll silently down Karen's cheeks as she stared out the window. "What's to come?" she fretted, as she ducked out of the car and then walked briskly behind the dumpster next to the school entrance to wait for her face to eyes to get less red before entering into the main hall. She realized she shouldn't have been so worried about being seen crying by her peers- the hall, normally bustling with activity in the minutes before the start of first period, was still, with only a few students slowly walking to class, or whispering next to their lockers. In her first period history class of 33 students, only 12 were in attendance. "What's to come?" she thought again.[7]

While many discuss how President Trump's election darkened the horizons of those hopeful for immigration relief, even before his appearance, sociological literature has documented how the undocumented community faced many challenges that have important impacts on their material, social, and mental well-being. The process of migration in and of itself involves many stressors, including adjustment to a new culture and dislocation from one's home culture and geographical area (Dokter 1998). Sociological literature also describes how

[7] This account of the morning after Trump's election was provided by Karen later during an interview.

migration is a process rather than a single event in the life course; multiple factors shape the way individuals and groups manage their adjustment in their receiving country over time (Suárez-Orozco Yoshikawa Teranishi & Suárez-Orozco 2011; Suárez-Orozco & Hernandez 2012; Menjivar 2006). Still, those who migrate illegally face even greater challenges to their well-being as they try to start a new life in a foreign country (Menjivar & Abrego 2012; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2011; Sullivan & Rehm 2005).

For those who are illegal, this status shapes every aspect of their lives, determining how they are thought of and treated, placing them face-to-face with the limitations of the law, and restricting their social mobility (Gleeson 2012; Enghceren 1999). Susan Coutin (2007:9) has described how individuals with living with illegality experience a state of being "physically present but legally absent, existing in a space outside of society, a space of 'nonexistence,' a space that is not actually 'elsewhere' or beyond borders but that is rather a hidden dimension of social reality." While in many formal senses this is true, to be illegally present does not mean total exclusion. Undocumented individuals are able to participate in some aspects of society (e.g. schooling), but not others (e.g. legal employment), and thus some characterize their exclusion as fragmented (Gonzales 2011; Chacon 2018). However, as precarious as undocumented immigrants' lives had seemed under President Obama, the election of Donald Trump only served to heighten immigrants' fears.

In this chapter I will trace the ways that changes in the political climate as a result of Donald Trump's election generated immediate affective and social consequences within the immigrant community, disrupting previously established patterns of coping that immigrant communities had used to manage challenges they faced. Trumps' inauguration was followed shortly by several executive orders that set into motion travel bans and restrictions on refugees

and immigrants from particular countries, expanded the categories of deportation priorities, called for an expansion of the entire system of immigration enforcement, and began efforts to build a wall along the Mexico-United States border. While these orders were not able to be put into effect immediately - because they were soon caught up in legal contention - his election and the broader social reaction to it elicited a strong affective response within the immigrant community. Although being undocumented always implied instability, I will show how the new President's efforts to make good on his promises to "deport them all" served not only to heighten the threat of deportation to many immigrants living without documents, but made even legally present immigrants and their families increasingly fearful, resulting in real changes in their behavior. I go on to argue that one of the primary reasons that immigrant families began to change their behaviors and adjust their plans even before Trump's policy changes took effect is that immigrant families broadly expressed feeling shocked because Trump's election had revealed to them the 'true face' of America, and they were forced to reconfigure their understandings of the place they lived and their belonging within it. In addition, the pervasiveness of media and social attention to speculating about the changes Trump would make it more difficult than usual for immigrants to repress their fears, a primary coping strategy for those struggling with the difficulties that accompany illegality.

To accomplish this task, I will briefly review previous literature that documents the stressors undocumented people face, as well as my own empirical evidence that speaks to the ways these stressors affected not only the lives of undocumented individuals, but the lives of the entire community in which they are embedded, even before Donald Trump. I will underline the ways that immigrant families discussed the burdens of illegality during the Obama administration, holding their accounts as a point of contrast as I go on to delineate how

immigrants in Little Village described their affective reactions to Trump's election, and the resulting changes they observed and experienced in their social environment. Finally, I will demonstrate the ways that the *anticipation of the threat of deportation* that Trump inspired indeed motivated changes in the way immigrants acted to protect themselves and develop expectations for the future- both individually and collectively.

4.1 'Every Day Illegal' under the Obama Administration

In this section, I will review what we know from the literature about the ways undocumented people coped with the threat of deportation before Trump, supplementing these accounts with empirical evidence from my field work that emphasizes the important ways that illegality impacts the entire social network within which undocumented migrants are embedded. I hold my participant's accounts as a point of reference of the effects of illegality on immigrant communities under the Obama administration in order to highlight the ways that Trump's elections changed my participants' understandings of their social environment, and the changes that Trump's election brought to their lives in particular. To be clear, all of the data I draw upon in this sub-section was collected before Donald Trump's election; although my data during this time period is smaller in sample size, given the fact that I began interviewing participants in September of 2016, I use accounts from my participants to complement what we know from the literature with the concrete experiences of residents of Little Village.

Participants who I spoke with before the elections certainly described the ways that their undocumented status kept them in a state of uncertainty, and how this uncertainty touched many aspects of their lives. Some of them described the difficulties of living "between worlds", as Carla, an undocumented mother of two citizen adolescents commented as we sipped coffee the

fall before Trump's election. Carla and her husband Mariano had been living in the U.S. for almost 20 years, but both were the only members of their family who had moved to the United States- their parents and extended family were all in Mexico. Carla's husband was currently in deportation proceedings, after being arrested at the DMV while applying for a temporary driver's license. He had slowed his deportation proceedings by filing a law suit against the city for his illegal arrest.[8] Carla described her growing ambivalence about their life in the U.S. as the years wore on:

> Everything is so complicated, living between worlds. I thought it would get easier, but it only feels harder every year. We hear our parents, they're getting sick, and it makes you tense, but we can't go see them. Every once in a while, we'll say 'Forget it, we're going back.' but then my sisters talk about the schools there, the lack of resources, and you see the opportunities here for your children. So then we stay. But it's like limbo- we want to buy a car, we need one, but then we think, what happens if tomorrow they take Mariano and we have to leave it, or sell it for nothing? We don't know what's going to happen, but in the meantime, we can't do anything. It makes you desperate.

Other migration scholars have documented how this state of limbo has important impacts on the economic, social, and affective well-being of undocumented migrants and their families. Undocumented individuals struggle with chronic frustration and fear as they experience barriers to their development, social discrimination, and heightened surveillance from law enforcement (Gonzales 2012; Menjivar 2006, 2016). In addition to the challenges they faced when integrating into their receiving community, as Carla describes, they also had to manage the ways their distance from home impacted their relationships. Many immigrants in La Villita described their feelings of loss as they missed important moments with parents, friends, and children back home, while at the same time feeling obligated to remain in the US in order to economically support

[8] Mariano's arrest and detention was a high profile case, as his arrest was a blatant contradiction of what this new state program was supposed to be about- an opportunity to give undocumented people a legal form of identification to guarantee their safety and the safety of others.

family members in their home country, as well as their new families in the U.S.

Because undocumented people understand that their presence is considered "illegal", they are reluctant to let their presence be known, and particularly shy away from contact with the state. The literature shows how even typical practices of government contact and surveillance—passports, employment forms, birth certificates, tax forms, drivers' licenses, credit card applications, bank accounts, medical insurance, and mandatory car insurance—can create enormous distress for undocumented individuals, as they risk exposing their status and facing deportation proceedings (Inda 2006; Gonzales 2012). These feelings lead to patterns of system avoidance, paralleling what Brayne (2014) described within communities with high rates of incarceration. For example, Diana shared how she no longer felt comfortable having contact with the state once her asylum application was denied in 2016, and she became undocumented:

> Before I at least had permission to be here, I felt a little more relaxed, more free. But since they denied me 2 years ago I am, as they say, living in the shadows. I am afraid to go out. People say I could get a temporary drivers license, but what's to stop them from arresting you when you go into a government office and they see you are not supposed to be here?

Life has never been easy for undocumented people, regardless of Trump. Long before Trump came to office, undocumented immigrants had good reason to be suspicious of contact with the state; both the literature and my participants' experiences attest to the fact that their lack of status leaves them highly vulnerable to abuses in power by agents of law enforcement or social services. In the U.S. it has historically been the case that racial stereotypes engender discriminatory and criminalizing practices towards Latino communities (DeGarmo & Martinez 2006; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Martinez, DeGarmo & Eddy, 2004). Even within a so-called "Sanctuary city" like Chicago, many of my participants described how in the past they had been harassed by police officers, school administrators, and health care professionals when they were

unable to provide legal forms of identification or lacked a social security number with which to fill out paperwork. As we see from Mariano's case, although he was able to sue the city for his unlawful arrest, he was still fighting deportation proceedings because of the abuse of power by agents of the state. Rumors of these sorts of experiences circulated within the immigrant community, and the literature documents how perceptions of police can be influenced through vicarious experiences, and also by accounts from friends or neighbors (Brunson 2007). As Adriano told me one day: "It's hard to feel safe when you know you don't have the same rights as everybody else, and you know the police don't care about your rights anyway. When nobody's watching, they do what they want." And so, in order to avoid being apprehended and to manage quotidian barriers, undocumented individuals often choose to live "in the shadows", and avoid contact with the state, meaning that they, and often their citizen children, are unable to access resources that might help them manage the negative consequences of their undocumented status.

Social isolation and fear of contact with state has not only deprived undocumented individuals and their families of resources for decades, but the literature demonstrates how it has also long facilitated opportunities for the exploitation of undocumented people, as undocumented people's difficulty in seeking legal redress for abuse can make them vulnerable to exploitation (Dreby 2015). One of the most well-documented contexts of abuse is in the workplace; undocumented workers do not always have (or often, more importantly, do not believe they have) the legal protections necessary to advocate for themselves in cases of workplace abuse, which often results in their unequal pay, exposure to dangerous or toxic work environments, and makes their position precarious (DeGenova 2002; Kerwin 2013; Kanstroom 2007, 2012). Among participants in my study, the most common type of workplace abuse was among day-laborers,

who often described how even under Obama their fear of police and their lack of rights had resulted in their mistreatment, as Adriano commented: “They [employers] pick you up from the corner, take you to work, and then at the end of the day they ask for your papers. If you don’t have them, they don’t pay you. They say, what are you gonna do, call the cops?” Day-laborers, and undocumented workers more generally, do not only think calling the police is ineffective- because they do not have the legal right to work, their rights as workers are less likely to be enforced- but they also have legitimate fears that the police will also exploit their legal vulnerabilities and will arrest them if they try to report the behavior of others.

Studies have shown that immigrants are often subjected to racial profiling and aggressive treatment by police, and in the courts non-citizens also have even fewer procedural legal rights than criminal prisoners (Miller 2002; Mehta 2010). This vulnerability to abuse and crime also extends beyond the workplace, as the literature shows that within communities that experience high rates of police violence and discriminatory practices, people are less likely to report crime or approach the police in general, which negatively impacts public safety (Kerwin 2013; Kanstroom 2012; Vargas 2016). In Little Village, several of my participants working in social services organizations discussed how for a long time the fear of the potential migratory consequences of calling the police has been an additional barrier to victims seeking help. For example, Paula, a Puerto Rican therapist who works with domestic abuse victims in Little Village shared: “there’s a lot of battered women who think they can’t step up or talk, much less call the police, because they or their partner will be deported if they do. They worry- what will happen to their kids?”

To summarize, even before Trump, both previous literature and evidence from my own community reveal that life for undocumented people was challenging and stressful. While the

literature has documented the ways that the practical challenges of living without documents creates affective consequences for undocumented people, my work seeks to highlight the ways that these consequences also have concrete impacts on the lives and mental health of friends and family members who live in relationship with undocumented people. The literature indicates that the challenges of living without documents has important negative impacts on immigrants and their families' emotional well-being and mental health (Bosworth 2016; Dreby 2015; Gonzales 2012; Sullivan & Rehm 2005; Yeh 2003). Living without documents has been shown to be linked to feelings of anxiety and depression that in turn inhibit professional and academic success, and has also been linked to problems with substance abuse (DeGarmo & Martinez 2006; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Martinez, DeGarmo & Eddy, 2004).

4.1.2 Spillover Effects

Throughout my dissertation, I will go on to show how these struggles also have spill-over effects on the entire community in which undocumented people are embedded, effects which have not been fully explored within the literature. For example, many of my youth participants shared how difficult it was to figure out where they belonged and envision their future, when their parents' ability to stay in the U.S. felt tenuous. Some of these youth discussed these concerns more vaguely, referencing worries about paying for college or the pressures they felt to contribute financially when their parents' employment felt so unstable. However, those who had experienced the detention of a parent or caretaker experienced acute uncertainty that interrupted their own lives in important ways. Martin, the 14 year old citizen son of an undocumented factory worker shared that when his father had been detained several years before: "the most difficult was when my father was arrested- I couldn't focus on my homework, I kept thinking

about how none of it would matter if we were going to have to go back to Mexico and start all over." Diana, who was also fighting deportation proceedings after her application for asylum was denied, described how even her 6 year old son, a U.S. citizen, worries about her deportation: "There are so many things on the news about deportation, sometimes when my son hears something he begins to cry. He doesn't really know what it means, but when he hears 'deportation' he says 'Mommy I don't want them to take you'". I observed cases in which even documented residents attributed their stress-related health problems to the strain of worrying about their undocumented loved ones. Lilian, the citizen wife of a man in deportation proceedings, shared: "Since Fernando's case began I have felt so much anxiety, I'm nervous about everything. And it began to affect my stomach. You live in fear, worrying, 'what will I do if they take him?' Some days I just feel so overwhelmed I can't get out of bed, I'm just sick. All this is what started my problems with colitis, I never had an ulcer before."

Over the past several decades, sociological literature has done a great deal to demonstrate how the many stressors and stigmas that undocumented individuals face are so distinct, and impactful, that they shape undocumented immigrants' very identity, and their subjective understandings of the world (Coutin 2000a, 2000b; De Genova 2002; Menjıvar 2006; Suarez-Navaz 2004; Willen 2007). My empirical data confirms these conclusions, as many of my participants discussed the difficulties that living illegally caused in their everyday lives. However, the election of Donald Trump generated a feeling of crisis within the immigrant community, and this crisis had fall-out.

4.2 A Community in Crisis: The Symbolic Impact of the Presidential Elections

Before changes to governmental policies even began, Trump's election carried symbolic importance that had ripple effects within the immigrant community in Little Village. In the days

and weeks directly following Trump's election, there was a flurry of emotion and activity related to the anticipation of what *Trump's America* would look like. Participants described how they got calls from friends and family in Mexico urging them to "come home before it was too late". Elisa, a high school student with undocumented parents described how the night of the election she woke up in the middle of the night and heard her parents crying as they spoke on the phone to a relative: "ya vamos para Mexico" [9]. Many undocumented immigrants shared that with Trump's election they immediately began to feel much more uncertain about their future in the U.S., and began making preparations in the event that they would have to leave- including actions like sending money or material resources back to their country of origin, investigating how to transfer their children's school records, and deciding not to invest in resources in the U.S.. Diego, an undocumented father of 2 and a small business owner, shared with me two months after the election:

> People are more worried now- they aren't thinking about spending. Now they're saying 'We have to see what will happen with this President, how much he takes from us. It's not the time to take a vacation or to spend money here because we don't know what will happen. Even if things were difficult before, a lot of people thought they could just keep going the way they were, and hold on until it was time to retire in Mexico. Now they realized that with a President like this, they could deport you at any time.

Small business owners in Little Village complained that they took a hard hit economically directly following the 2016 elections- although the holidays are normally the busiest time of year, they noticed a huge drop in sales, as well as street traffic. At a flea market in Little Village, many vendors repeatedly commented that their sales took a sharp drop following the elections, a slump which they were still lamenting a full year after the elections. I heard these vendors consistently attribute these market changes to immigrants' heightened uncertainty. While the

[9] "Now we will have to return to Mexico."

holidays represented a short distraction from political turmoil, some students shared that their families had cancelled their travel plans because the political changes had made them afraid to travel, even within the country. Universities, churches, schools, and other neighborhood organizations began hosting peer-support circles at to help people process the emotions that arose with the outcome of the election, and within these groups people expressed their fear and sense of insecurity as they anxiously awaited the changes to come. Themes of betrayal, rejection, and a sense of alienation from many U.S. citizens were prevalent in observed discussions.

Trump's election did not only motivate feelings of uncertainty among undocumented immigrants themselves- their social environment also began to change in anticipation of the president elect's promises, making manifest the concerns of immigrants even before the Presidential administration itself took any action. Damian, an undocumented factory worker, described how in the weeks following the elections:

> Suddenly managers at the factory began to ask about our papers, when before it was just understood-they they shouldn't ask what they didn't want to know. They started to talk about how there would be new requirements they would have to follow. Before, everyone knew, workers with papers made $17 dollars an hour and we made $12. But all of a sudden we didn't know if we would even get that any more.

Participants who worked illegally at larger businesses like factories began to brace themselves for the potential loss of their job; others shared how they considered quitting out of fear that increasing surveillance from the government might put them at higher risk for deportation. Teachers and school administrators also noted an important rise in academic disengagement- they reported higher absences, an increase in disciplinary issues, and a loss in focus for many students at their school. Ulises, a DACAmented junior in high school, described how:

> I had been getting ready for my SAT's, thinking about colleges. And then Trump got elected. For like, a week, all I did was sleep. I just didn't want to think about anything. And then even after that, with everyone talking about Trump taking away DACA, all the changes he was going to make, it was like- why am I even working so hard if he's just

going to find a way to kick us out?

I heard the same sorts of experiences in the accounts of citizen students who had parents or siblings who were unauthorized- they shared how their worries about their family members made it hard to focus on themselves and their own goals. The principal of a local high school in Little Village began recruiting mental health professionals to come speak with students at the school, and in planning meetings he shared his concerns:

> Parents don't understand that their children are depressed. Right now our students are withdrawing, they want to give up, and their parents don't recognize that they are in crisis. Their parents are scolding them or punishing them instead of trying to reassure them. But the parents can't tell them 'it's going to be ok' because nobody knows what's going to happen.

But students weren't the only ones who withdrew as they struggled to manage their feelings about the elections. Residents of Little Village also noted a more general withdrawal from social life- some mentioned that they noticed people stopped saying hi to them on the streets or on public transport, and that neighbors seemed colder than before. Silvia, an undocumented mother of a citizen who has lived in Little Village for 25 years, described: "Everyone is more tense now, because of the president. You can feel it in the air. Before, you would get on the bus and people would wave, they would say hi, even if they didn't know you. But now, you don't know who you can trust. People are starting to just watch out for themselves."

While immigrant communities had in the past struggled with the limitations of their undocumented status, and the ways it posed challenges to long-term goals, Trump's election made the threat of deportation much more concrete for a much broader group of people. Within the first month in office, Trump had issued several executive orders that sought to expand the priorities of immigration enforcement, and several high-profile arrests of undocumented

immigrants who had qualified for relief from enforcement[10]- made it apparent that his administration planned to fulfill his promises to crack down on the immigrant community. The responses I observed within *La Villita* to Trump's election mirrored those I observed within immigrant families when a member was put into deportation proceedings- persistent anxieties that had been kept at bay suddenly surged into acute feelings of desperation and fear. The responses I observed within the immigrant community were as if the whole community experienced the same sort of trauma that typically accompanies deportation. To be clear, these were feelings that had been present within the immigrant community before- but I noticed a clear rise in the number and the types of people who discussed an uncharacteristic sense of impairment by these feelings. While undocumented people discussed how their fears actively interfered with their ability to continue activities they had been engaged in before Trump's election- such as attending school or working- I also saw very similar effects in many legally present members within the immigrant community, who discussed feeling overwhelmed by concern for their loved ones.

Along with the widespread social withdrawal and feelings of insecurity that immigrants described in the wake of the election, there were also many reports of an increase in public acts of discrimination and heightened racial tension both in the news and on the ground. The FBI and the NAACP reported a significant rise in hate crimes directly following the election, with a sustained increase continuing into 2017 (Hate Crime Statistics 2017; Levin & Reitzel 2018). Twenty-two percent of my study participants mentioned being harassed or witnessing harassment on public transit, at the store, or online in the weeks following the election and many others shared accounts of people within their social network that experienced racialized or anti-

[10] Cases that will be discussed in Chapter 6.

immigrant comments in the wake of the election. For example, Gustavo, a 17 year old DACA-mented student described how he started to feel paranoid after the elections:

> I used to go to downtown and not worry about anything. But the day Trump got elected someone on the train just started shouting 'Get the f** out, I'm glad Trump is taking you out' at a group of Latinos like me. Now it's weird to talk to someone from another race cause like the first thing that comes to my mind is I wonder if they're a Trump supporter or not. So that's why, I don't know, I don't feel as safe, talking to random people. And then, I have friends telling me 'don't go to this street cause there's ICE there'. I just try to stay around the neighborhood more now.

Other students discussed how their classmates made hurtful comments about the results of the election, and even when these comments were made in jest, the gravity of their fears made it difficult for them to manage their emotions. For example Janet, a Mexican-American high school student with undocumented parents, shared that the day after the elections at school:

> These Asian kids were making jokes like: 'Yeah, I like Trump, I voted for Trump 'cause Trump is right. Trump's my boy.' Those kids are ignorant, and usually I ignore their comments 'cause they say it just to bother us, but after the election I was so scared for my family, thinking about losing my parents. It was hard to cancel them out and try to focus on what the teachers saying, it hurt more knowing that maybe there were more people like those kids than I thought.

Trump's election stirred up racialized tensions, giving cross-racial interactions a new emotional charge, as Gustavo and Janet's experiences reveal. Government data speaks to the concrete rise in racially-motivated acts of aggression, but as my participants show his election also incited a more pervasive climate of suspicion and distrust, which might also facilitate more negative interpretations of ambiguous interactions. For example, when I asked Luisa, an LPR from Honduras, if she had noticed any changes since Trump's election, she replied:

> There's been more discrimination against people that look like me. I've seen people that, all of a sudden you turn around and you realize they're just staring at you, in an ugly way, even though you're not doing anything wrong. I've heard about it on the news too, people being treated badly just because they're speaking Spanish.

Latinx presenting people certainly perceived that the social climate became more hostile, and

empirical data confirms a rise of discriminatory incidents, but we can also imagine that due to the fears circulating within the immigrant community, ambiguous interactions- such as receiving a stare, as Luisa described- might be more likely to be interpreted as hostile. These experiences mattered for immigrants' feelings and their lives regardless of whether their perceptions were wholly accurate. Janet's comments also reveal how as immigrants struggled to cope with the symbolic and social consequences of Trump's election, they felt more easily overwhelmed by incidents that in other circumstances might not have affected them as much.

As anti-immigrant sentiment surged along with Trump's election, immigrants in La Villita also expressed feeling disillusioned with their previous understandings of the place they lived. Many participants spoke of the ways Trump's election changed their subjective understandings of the U.S. and their place within it, by revealing hidden truths about racism in the United States that they had not previously been attune to. In this way Trump's election had serious consequences for immigrants regardless of their legal status, and also shaped immigrants' relationships with others in their social environment. For example, Gabriela, a Latina high school ESL teacher, shared how Trump's election changed the way she thought about her neighbors:

> In my neighborhood we have a neighborhood watchdog Facebook page and it's supposed to help us, you know like, look out for each other, so I really liked that feeling that our neighbors cared about each other. But then with this whole Trump running for president came out, people started... I think he brought out, I don't know, I don't want to say the 'real' side of people but he caused people to feel comfortable saying how they really felt so then the page that we go to to see if there was any crime or robberies became a hate site.... People started saying 'well, you know since all these Mexicans and blacks started coming into the neighborhood the crime has been going up'. And I was like- oh, I guess you're only watching out for yourselves then. Now I know.

Especially among my younger participants, it was a common theme that the election forced them to face the reality that many more people are racist against immigrant communities than they had previously thought, and this realization sparked a deeper questioning of their American identity

and their feelings of belonging in the U.S. Previous studies have shown that awareness of discriminatory laws are correlated with lower levels of American identity and self-esteem among racially and ethnically diverse youth. For example, in the wake of SB 1070[11], Menjivar & Santos (2013) showed that awareness of the discriminatory law focusing on the immigrant community increased Arizona adolescents' perceptions of discrimination from authorities, and decreased their sense of being American, resulting in a small but meaningful reduction in psychological wellbeing (i.e., lower levels of self-esteem). My findings confirm these conclusions, but provide a more nuanced understanding of the psychological processes that underlie these results. The degree of fear I observed in Little Village, as well as the timing of these fears reveal that the immigrant community was not only reacting to legal and political changes in concrete policies- but the community makes meaning of these changes and respond to the symbolic and ideological implications of political shifts. People don't just care about the practical consequences of policy changes- the messages that lie beneath legal action matter. My results show how the election of Trump was interpreted as a powerful symbolic message about the priorities of the U.S., and who is considered to belong within it.

My results show how the election of an anti-immigrant President was deeply disturbing to immigrants everywhere and those that live in relationship with them, sparking widespread anxiety, suspicion and strong feelings of disillusionment. For example, Norma, a Latina citizen married to an undocumented restaurant worker, shared:

> When Trump won it felt like the end of the world, like somebody dropped a bomb or something. I just, I was so confident that nobody's gonna vote for this guy. And when that happened it was an eye-opener, how could so many people vote for a man like this? He is real evil. So right there you have to open your eyes. He didn't get here by chance or

[11] The "Support our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act", a Senate bill in Arizona that was commonly dubbed the "Show me your papers act" and was widely recognized as the broadest and strictest anti-illegal immigration measure passed in the United States at the time.

> miracle, no, somebody had to vote for him. And then people started coming out and doing hateful things. Enticing people to fight, people yelling at each other, so much anger. People saying 'go back to your country'. It was an awakening, and it was frightening.

Some participants described feelings of desperation, like Norma, and shared how Trump's election motivated them to think more seriously about returning to their own or their parents' country of origin. However, others expressed how Trump's election was galvanizing, and spurred them to feel prouder of their Latinx identity, while renewing their interest in defending their immigrant community. For example, when I asked Rocio, a LPR high school student, if Trump's election made her think differently about the U.S. and her place within it, she replied:

> I feel like it brings out my Latina side more. It doesn't make me feel ashamed of being a Latina, of being Mexican or whatever. It makes me feel more proud of who I am I guess. He's pointing out a certain group of people that I'm in, even if he's making it seem like we're the bad people, I know we're not so it just, makes me feel proud of who I am. Like, it makes me feel kind of rebellious. It makes me want to prove everyone wrong.

Despite individual variation in feelings of personal risk, the election of Donald Trump was widely characterized as "shocking" by nearly all of my participants, and it challenged many of their previous understandings about the U.S. and their feelings of belonging within it. This shock had a lasting impact on both their socio-emotional health, as well as their expectations for the future; as immigrants were constantly being reminded of threats to their lives in the U.S., they began to anticipate the disappearance of resources and to feel increasingly vulnerable.

4.3 The Circulation of Fear

While I have so far shown how the election of president Trump had far-reaching and immediate emotional, social, and material consequences for immigrants, documented or not, the political changes that accompanied Trump's election were especially concerning for those who were currently engaged in legal processes of deportation, and were actively fighting to stay

within the U.S. For example, Magdalena, a young Guatemalan mother who was currently applying for asylum in the US shared:

> Before Trump I was hopeful I might get approved for asylum, but now everything feels more complicated, I feel more fear about the laws he said he will take away and the ones he said he would make. There have always been deportations, but everything is different now- we are all feeling the pressure, the fear.

Mariano, the undocumented factory worker who had been fighting his deportation because of his arrest at the DMV[12], shared:

> After I got out of detention, I was still fighting my deportation, but things settled down. We tried to focus on other things, to not worry so much what will happen. But the night they chose Trump, everything changed again, it was like 'now what will we do?'. It unleashed all the worries we had tried to calm down. When they started taking people's green cards in the airport, restricting their travel, we thought- if they are stopping residents, what will happen to us? Even the citizens will have to worry now.

Individuals referenced their position relative to others within the immigrant community, and used these comparisons to think about their own vulnerability to deportation (a theme I will return to in more depth in the following chapter). However, they also largely understood that the racist implications of the President's attitudes extended to anyone who looks Latinx, and his promises to 'deport them all' were highly threatening. Research shows that one of the primary ways that immigrants struggling with illegality cope with their feelings of precarity is by intentionally distracting themselves, and by avoiding rumination on the anxieties that accompany the daily risks of living without legal status (Cobb, Xie & Sanders 2016; Gonzales 2015; Menjivar & Lakhani 2016). However, with President Trump's focus on immigration policy, and his frequent and controversial statements about immigrants, residents of *La Villita* were bombarded daily with news about the terrible threats facing the immigrant community.

Beyond the elections and leading into the first months of Trump's presidency, the

[12] Referenced above as the husband of Carla.

circulation of concerning rumors, as well as the media's focus on anti-immigrant comments and policy decisions by the new president, served to be an important source of distress within the immigrant community, as immigrants found reminders about their precarity to be inescapable. In the weeks following Trump's election, several high-profile cases of immigrants with green cards or refugee status being detained and harassed at O'hare by immigration enforcement served to confirm the immigrant communities' worst fears about the future of immigration enforcement under Trump. The protests at O'hare airport were a concrete- and highly local- manifestation of the sense of outrage that many felt in reaction to the new attitudes of immigration enforcement. While many of my participants mentioned making the conscious decision to stop watching the news in order to mitigate their feelings of distress, they also shared how this new political climate made that choice ineffective. Everywhere they went, threats to the immigrant community were a subject of conversation. I met Rita, a 20 year old DACA-mented community college student, at a student-led mental health event 3 months after Trump's election. She, along with many of her peers, discussed in the sharing circle how difficult it was to block out intrusive worries about the loss of DACA when they were constantly hearing about it. Later, in an interview, Rita explained:

> When Trump won I just crumbled, and so I decided to stop watching the news. I couldn't focus on school, it was so distracting listening to everyone's opinions about what was going to happen to DACA. But in the halls at school, people are talking about it. At the grocery store, people are talking about it. And then I get home and my sister, she's eligible for DACA now, and she's asking me questions that I don't have answers to. There's just no blocking it out. I'm tired of having my mood depend on what I hear that day.

For people like Rita, whose current status was a point of debate at the national level, the frequency of Trump's threats being brought into their awareness made their feelings of anxiety much more difficult to ignore or repress.

Within daily life in Little Village, I also observed how news about immigration circulated and appeared in almost every social environment. Most restaurants feature television sets blaring *Telemundo*, the Spanish language news station, that often features immigration news but, like many news stations, relies upon sensational- and fear provoking- headlines to incite interest. One day while eating in a local taqueria, I heard the news anchor promise to inform its viewers at 6 'how President Trump is using Google to hunt down undocumented immigrants'. At the table next to me a father exploded at his teenage son "Do you see? I told you- you shouldn't have been investigating online about immigration violations. You don't know what the government can do. Next thing we know, they'll be knocking at our door."

Between the news, social media, and word of mouth, rumors about Trump and his capacities to detain and deport were everywhere. And although immigrants feared the policy changes Trump would make upon settling in to his power as president, the emotional charge of the environment of fear created by his comments created a substantial strain on the community long before any real changes in governmental policy. For example, Alonzo, an undocumented father of 2 citizen children, shared:

> Before, with Obama, I felt more calm. Maybe not because of what he did, he deported many people, but he had tact in the way he said things. And this president [Trump], it's also not so much what he does but what he says. In my case, Obama said he didn't want to separate families from their children, and so as a father with a son here that was a relief, to hear that. But this President says 'I don't care, all of them have to go, it doesn't matter if they're parents or criminals.' And he says thing so rudely. There are moments when you forget, you are living your life, and then you see a group of police officers, and you hear his [Trump's] words in your head. It's hard.

Alonzo's comments demonstrate how political attitudes matter beyond formal policy decisions; despite the fact that Obama deported more people than any other president, his pro-immigrant stance allowed immigrants to maintain a sense of optimism, that things might change to their benefit. Even if unrealistic, people like Alonzo need a sense of hope to give them courage in

moments of distress- such as encounters with the police. But President Trump's hostile remarks about immigrants have made it much more difficult for them to keep hope alive, leading immigrants to feel more distress, although the nature of the challenges they faced had not yet substantially changed.

Thus far, I have demonstrated how Trump's elections generated important affective responses within the immigrant community at the individual level, but the proliferation of fear within the immigrant community also motivated reactions from collective advocates as well. While I will discuss in more depth the ways that collective organizing changed during the first 1.5 years of the Trump presidency in chapter 6, in the next section I will highlight the ways that a feeling of crisis was present at all levels of social life directly following the elections. In the weeks following Trump's election there was a swirl of activity as organizations across the city met to discuss the implications of the election, to adapt strategies of defense for the new climate, and to dispel the rumors that were rampant about the capacities of the new president to persecute and deport.

4.4 Collective Commotion

On a freezing, windy morning the day after President Trump was inaugurated, representatives from local community organizations[13] gathered under the iconic arch that serves as the gateway into Little Village. These community leaders were holding a press conference to discuss the diverse ways in which the neighborhood and community would begin to protect itself and enforce Chicago's promises to be a "Sanctuary City". A representative from the chamber of commerce shook his gloved finger at the crowd, promising that with every fried chicken sold at a

[13] Including: the chamber of commerce, a local church, an activist group, the principal of a high school, a hospital physician, and a lawyer

neighborhood fast food chain, Little Village residents would receive a flier informing them of their rights. “Our people are afraid because they don’t understand they have rights, even if they don’t have documents. We will defend these rights in the face of abuse, *La Villita se defiende*! [14] President Trump, we’re not going anywhere!”, he exclaimed triumphantly at the end of his speech.

At the organizational level, the beginning of Trump’s presidency was a time of great uncertainty. Advocates and service providers worked to prepare for change, without knowing how quickly or how drastically those changes might occur. Before President Trump took office, many legal and service organizations began to form emergency coalitions in order to share critical information and resources, and these emergency coalitions later became the foundation for longer-term inter-organizational alliances, such as the local coaltion “La Villita Se Defiende”, which marked the press conference as the day of its birth. This emergent organization was composed of religious leaders, consulate employees, activists, service providers, lawyers and community members who came together with the goal of preparing to defend their community. Because many anticipated a wave of immigration raids to accompany Trump’s presidency, this group in particular, and others like it, focused on increasing the number of workshops and materials available to inform residents of their rights, and developed networks of rapid response that would alert residents to the activities of immigration enforcement.

Following the press conference in which the emergent coalition *La Villita Se Defiende* announced its plan to protect their immigrant community, I checked in at the restaurant chain every month for the following year- I never received information about my rights with my chicken. But many proposals like this were made as community leaders scrambled to think of

[14] ”Little Village defends herself”

ways they could reinforce the system of supports that their community needed. Although local organizations were motivated to respond by the fears of the community, a changing political climate also meant that advocates were compelled to adjust the ways they interacted with the larger system of immigration and law enforcement as the system began to change itself.

While community activists worked to prepare the community to defend themselves against anticipated raids and increased interaction with law enforcement, legal advocates also struggled with uncertainty as it was clear that many of the "old rules will not apply" (as one lawyer commented to me in court). In the same way that hate crimes rose within civil society in response to the validation of anti-immigrant sentiment generated through Trump's election, immigration officers and local police departments also took the election of Trump as a sign that changes were coming- and began to act accordingly. As immigration officials began to interpret the priorities of the president, officers almost immediately began to treat immigrants differently, even though no policies had yet officially changed. And indeed, because many of the policy changes that Obama had enacted to the benefit immigrants- such as DACA or "stays of removal"- were in fact not laws, but executive priorities, and there had always flexibility in the ways these immigration policies could be enforced. With Trump's election, the norms of immigration officials changed quickly, as they recognized the priorities of the new executive were very different. At the start of the Trump presidency there was a great amount of confusion and misinformation, as immigration officials began to interpret Trump's priorities in different ways. Almost immediately government prosecutors and immigration officials alike began taking advantage of the anti-immigrant political climate by becoming much more rigid, and more punitive, in the way they handled migration changes. Community organizations began to hold meetings to collect information about observed changes, and in the third month after Trump

entered office, a law clerk commented at one of these meetings:

> Right now immigration enforcement is empowered- the culture has changed, and ICE is changing its strategies. We have reports of ICE agents calling cases back to court that they had decided weren't a priority before, deportation cases are moving more quickly, and there has been a rise in the use of electronic monitoring for people in immigration proceedings.

Other legal advocates and community members discussed noticing an increase in traffic stops by ICE, and a significant change in attitude by immigration officials when they were stopped, including an increased willingness to arrest and detain. During my court observations, I began to see cases that had been "administratively closed"[15] being re-opened. Courts tend to schedule similar hearings back to back, and in a day long observation I began to notice that all the cases on a judge's docket were deportation processes that had started years ago, and were being re-opened as a result of the new administration.

During the Obama era, some undocumented immigrants were able to essentially put their deportation proceedings on 'pause', using a court procedure called a "stay of removal"[16]. For them, the Trump administration pressed 'play'. Cases began to be re-opened and immigration prosecutors also began to consistently oppose and deny any requests that depended on prosecutorial discretion. In short, the change in political environment did begin to matter for the ways the immigration laws began to be enforced, and those immigrants with current deportation proceedings underway mentioned their fear as it became clear that although the immigration laws themselves might be slow to change, ICE agents were adapting much more quickly and beginning to enforce the laws differently. Defense lawyers would have to change their strategies,

[15] During the obama administration individuals who were able to demonstrate exceptional hardship on U.S. dependents could apply to have their deportation administratively closed- this depended on the priorities of the administration, which sought to deport "felons not families". If a person was determined to not be a priority to the administration, immigration enforcement would cease to proceed with their deportation.

[16] See glossary of terms for more information about this legal procedure, among others.

and advocacy organizations began to meet to discuss the ways they could re-orient to this new environment.

As immigrant activists and advocates perceived changes in the odds they were facing in the courts, changes in the administration also generated an environment of scarcity as advocates began to prepare for new political battles, and anticipated changes in the resources available to them to support their fight. Previous research has shown how an increase in the scarcity of resources can spark a shift in the principles used to allocate resources; particularly, increased scarcity can promote in-group favoritism, as well as motivate people to become more focused on efficiency in terms of the overall good of society (Tyler & Smith 1995; Greenburg 1981). In Chicago, the anticipation of scarcity shaped the expectations that individuals and groups had for the types of political demands that would be successful, and thus the ways that political advocates proposed to fight for immigrant communities. While I will discuss changes in the relationships and strategies of local organizations in other chapters, here I wish to point out how quickly the political landscape changed in the higher ranks of politics- at the national and city level. Soon after Trump's inauguration, Congressional Representatives, such as Senator Dick Durbin, began to emphasize how concessions would have to be made to Republicans in order to help immigrants, and so only the most "defensible" groups, such as the Dreamers, would be able to be supported- potentially to the detriment of others within the community. In a private meeting between Senator Durbin and local immigrant activists in May of 2017, Durbin shared:

> Before, when we were doing private bills, we could communicate openly with the White House, we could call Obama and see how we needed to write the bill to get his support. It doesn't work that way now. If we couldn't get comprehensive immigration reform under Obama, it just isn't happening with this administration. But if we want the DREAM act to pass, we're going to have to give something up. A bill with no enforcement just isn't getting traction.

Within the immigrant community there was great controversy over the revival of the Dream act,

which proposed to provide a pathway to citizenship for those with stellar grades and no criminal record, but also authorized the building of *The Wall* and heightened electronic surveillance of the entire immigrant community. At the level of local government, public representatives like city alderman also emphasized that activists would have to begin to be more conservative in their demands. For example, when the city was developing its "Welcoming City Ordinance", the legal codification of Chicago's commitment to being a 'Sanctuary City', city officials included several important exceptions to the policy, allowing the police and ICE to collaborate in the pursuit of felons and gang members. When activist organizations began to demand "Sanctuary for All", asking for the city to step up its protection of immigrants from the federal government, and remove these exceptions, alderman initially urged activists to be more accepting because, as one alderman commented to an activist group after a city council meeting: "Given the current political climate, we don't think it's the time to push too hard." It was clear that the new administration would mean that advocates would have to adapt their political strategies to a much less receptive political environment. I will examine how political shifts also motivated changes in the inter-organizational relationships and strategies of local grassroots organizations in chapter 6. Here, I simply seek to underline the ways that perceptions of the political climate under the Trump presidency motivated changes in the way that political advocates began to think about the demands they made, and the political capital they themselves had to push for those demands.

4.5 Conclusion

The election of President Trump had important social, emotional, and material consequences in the lives of the immigrant community in *La Villita* that were not necessarily related to concrete policy changes by the President. In this chapter I have demonstrated how the

symbolic import of the election of President Trump sparked widespread uncertainty, disrupting coping patterns, strategies of advocacy, as well as individual and collective understandings of belonging within the U.S. While these reactions did become tempered with time, the change in political environment would mean real changes for immigration enforcement that also necessitated a process of adaptation for the community, which I will continue to examine in chapters to come.

Chapter 5: Collective Meaning-making and Narratives of Deservingness

A few months after Donald Trump's inauguration as President, I met Maria, a 68-year-old lawful permanent resident, at a health fair in the dingy basement of a church in Little Village. The fair had a boom and bust cycle- at the end of mass there would be a swell of interested attendees, but after everyone had grabbed their dixie cup of smoothie and their sugar-free cookies, they tended to disperse. In the lulls between church services the volunteers began to chat amongst ourselves.[17]

Maria was attending the fair as a representative of the ministry of San Tomasino, a ministry dedicated to providing support to refugees and undocumented immigrants who needed legal assistance with their immigration case. "With everything that's going on, our community needs us now more than ever!" Maria exclaimed proudly. Maria felt sympathy for people experiencing problems with their immigration status, because she had lived without documents for over 20 years, after moving to Chicago from Mexico when she was 22. And so, she was happy to participate in the ministry, where they helped immigrants fill out paperwork, connect them with legal assistance, and accompany them to immigration court. She widened her eyes: "There's a *lot* of people who come to us for help, even though we only advertise through the church. But, we have a process to determine who we help- we don't help criminals." She lowered her tone, and with an air of confidentiality, she added:

> Officially, we cannot help them because their cases are not likely to win, and so it's a waste of resources. But, you know, we need to send some people back to Mexico. You hear people making a scandal, that ICE grabbed a family member, but those people don't say what kind of family member they grabbed. I say- were they good, or did they kill five?

[17] In all cases where respondents first met me through a volunteer role, within the course of our conversation disclosed to them that I was also a researcher and asked if I could include our conversation, as part of my data.

Maria went on to describe how she didn't like Trump, but she thought ultimately his actions might be good for the country:

> It's not like it was when I came here. Now, Mexicans arrive and the first thing they do is get drunk and go driving. Those are the people Obama was taking out, people with real problems, they were driving drunk, they were hitting women, they had a criminal record. Those were the ones he took. Now they think that Donald Trump is going to come knock on their door. All the people are afraid, they say 'If they went for him they're going to come for me.' But that's not the way it is. People get what they ask for.

There is a lot of attention being paid to the way Donald Trump's rhetoric stirred up hate among white nationalist groups, but relatively less attention has been paid to how this sort of rhetoric has been used and internalized by the people it is directed towards. Dominant narratives trickle down and shape the way people think about themselves, and their position relative to others like them (Swidler 1986; Richardson 1990). And while many political actors might refer to one seemingly cohesive "immigrant community", on the ground immigrants are much more nuanced in the way they draw boundaries around what they conceive as their own community (Lamont 1992; Lamont & Fournier 1992). In this chapter I will begin to untangle how immigrants come to understand their own community, as well as their experiences with immigration enforcement, by utilizing cultural narratives that are particularly prominent in political rhetoric. With this chapter, I specifically examine how the whirlwind of political debate about who immigrants are and how they fit within the U.S. shapes how individual immigrants think about themselves, and their own understandings of their belonging in the U.S. I particularly examine the narratives immigrants used to describe their own position in the U.S., in the several months preceding the elections, and the 6 months following- still early in the Trump presidency. In this chapter, I will explore how privilege and power manifest themselves in complex ways within marginalized communities, creating moral and social hierarchies within immigrant groups. While these hierarchies can sometimes benefit individuals as they cope with feelings of

vulnerability, they also divide, and harm solidarity at the collective level.

I will begin by briefly reviewing the discourse around immigration that has been prevalent over the last decade, providing details about the ways that historical and cultural values of individualism and individual merit in the U.S. have shaped political narratives describing what makes a "Deserving Immigrant". I present this analysis with a formal review of key statements by Obama and Trump, examining how these leaders take up larger cultural narratives about American values and use them to justify their position on immigration. I will then briefly discuss how their positions have shaped the broader political climate around immigrant rights. I will follow with empirical evidence from Little Village that illustrates the way that individuals draw on broader cultural narratives to understand their own experiences and their sense of stability (and vulnerability) as immigrants living in the United States. When I asked for participants' "migration story", they frequently contextualized their own experiences by comparing them to other members of the broadly defined "immigrant community", drawing contrasts between themselves and others who they perceive as like or unlike them. These references provide rich examples of the way that individuals come to understand their own experiences in part by drawing on broader narratives about immigrants. Finally, I will examine how framing one's migration story through the lens of "deservingness" may alleviate certain tensions for individuals as they cope with feelings of vulnerability to deportation, while at the same time conflicting frames break down networks of social support within immigrant communities.

5.1 Cultural Framing of Immigrants in Political Rhetoric

The historical debate that surrounds immigration policy has long incorporated moral concepts of individual deservingness for adjudicating who should be allowed to immigrate legally to the United States (Bloemraad & Voss 2011; Zepeda-Millan 2017; Kanstroom 2000,

2012). This analysis will focus on the development of this narrative within the last decade, and its implications for the way immigrants came to think about the risks that illegality posed, and the way that immigration enforcement acted on the ground, under the Obama administration- connecting individual experiences at the micro-level with macro-level political discourse.

The Obama administration faced many political obstacles in achieving the long-sought promise of 'comprehensive immigration reform'. In an attempt to move negotiations forward, Obama advocated for immigration enforcement that focused on "felons, not families" (Brooke Eisen 2015). Obama's position of governing through crime tethered immigration policy to crime control, emphasizing the threat posed by noncitizens with criminal records (Sharpless 2015). This discourse shaped what I call the narrative of the Deserving Immigrant, a narrative that emphasizes how individual merit and personal responsibility should be central factors in determining who deserves to be allowed to legally immigrate to the U.S. This way of framing immigration is most apparent when mainstream reformers refer to the "DREAMers" - undocumented immigrant youth who came to the U.S. as young children, finished high school, and have no serious criminal record. According to President Obama, these "innocent young kids" had no control over their parents' decision to come to the United States, and were not responsible for their violation of immigration law (Remarks on Immigration Reform 2012). The Obama administration drew a contrast between these involuntary "rule-breakers" and those criminals who are "looking for trouble", while also emphasizing the Dreamers' potential for achievement and contribution to the U.S. economy (Ibid).

The deserving immigrant narrative was adopted by mainstream immigration reformers who, in the name of political compromise, chose to focus on fighting for immigrants without criminal records (or who had committed only minor infractions). Policy makers and advocates

sought to generate empathy for particular groups of immigrants by emphasizing traits that characterize individual worth and social contribution, creating a sharp contrast between Dreamers and those who 'deserved to be deported' because of their criminal record (Olivas 2009; Sharpless 2015). Within this perspective, an immigrant's character matters for their perceived illegality: those who are seen as noncriminal or considered economically productive are often perceived as being less likely to be deported, or more likely to be legalized (Cisneros 2008; Olivas 2009; Sharpless 2015). This political rhetoric explicitly and implicitly has used immigrants with criminal records as foils for more respectable immigrants, identifying criminalized immigrants as legitimate targets for immigration enforcement.

While Obama's political rhetoric highlighted who *deserved* immigration relief, anti-immigrant political advocates took up the distinctions that he made and began to emphasize the existential threat posed by the *undeserving*, the criminal immigrant. As the race to determine Obama's successor progressed, Donald Trump gained prominence for his controversial political rhetoric, and his hard stance advocating a crack-down on undeserving immigrants was a prominent feature of his political platform. Even before he became president, Trump referred to immigrants as rapists and murderers, and promised his supporters that he would get the "bad hombres" out (Jacobo 2016). In his first 100 days as president, Trump challenged DACA, and considerably expanded the legal definition of criminal for immigration enforcement, making it clear that all undocumented immigrants were a priority for deportation (Bryant 2017; "100 days" 2017). The Trump administration eliminated categories of exemption from removal proceedings that previously granted relief to those with clean records and family ties (Pierce and Selee 2017). The administration also engaged in symbolic attacks on immigrant communities; for example, the US citizenship and immigration services removed the sentence that described the U.S. as a

"nation of immigrants" from its mission statement (Devereaux 2018). President Trump justified his actions by emphasizing the threatening nature of undocumented immigrants in the media- releasing reports that highlight the criminal acts committed by some detained immigrants, and holding an event to honor the families of those killed by undocumented immigrants. When the president was criticized for his comment that undocumented people "Aren't people, these are animals", he defended his statement by clarifying he was referring to gang members (Mills 2018). President Trump pushed to characterize all undocumented immigrants as criminals, and to thus generalize the sense of threat that American citizens feel so that he could harsher justify immigration enforcement. But while Trump took Obama's distinction between felons and families to the extreme, immigrant advocacy groups had already begun to attack the categories of deservingness that characterized the debate.

Within the spheres of immigrant advocates and political organizers, in the several years preceding Trump's election there had been increasing attention among more left-leaning activist groups to the ways that support for certain exceptional immigrants, particularly the 'Dreamers', could generate resentment and even heighten enforcement towards other groups who do not fit these idealized standards (Carcamo and Mejia 2018). When Trump first came into office, the stakes of this debate were raised- congressional politicians revived the DREAM act, anticipating Trump's challenge to DACA, but many of these national politicians began negotiating for Dreamers by conceding on stricter border enforcement, to the alarm of many grassroots immigrant advocacy groups (Beinart 2018). Communities United to Fight Deportations (CUFD), one of the most prominent and most radical immigrant activist groups in La Villita, released a statement specifically condemning the Dreamer narrative when Illinois Senator Dick Durbin announced he would revive the DREAM act soon after Trump took office. They described how

they had seen the narrative pit individuals within the immigrant community against each other, and criticize the structural injustices that underly it:

> When having conversations around the DREAM Act, it is important to acknowledge the distinctions made between who is eligible to benefit from it and who will have a greater chance of being deported because of it. Having our community arbitrarily divided into those deserving of rights and those who are expendable reflects a system that never was meant to acknowledge our community's full humanity in the first place.

Grassroots groups like CUFD didn't simply criticize the Dreamer movement, and the underlying deserving immigrant narrative, for being an inadequate solution to the problem of immigrant illegality. In fact, they blamed mainstream immigrants' rights groups for fostering conditions in which Donald Trump and other anti-immigrant politicians gained power by criminalizing a significant subsection of the immigrant community. For example, Isabel, an active member of CUFD, placed responsibility on national advocacy groups for Trump's separation of families when she proclaimed at the 'Families Together' march:

> Well-intentioned and inadequate messaging is in part how we arrived at this moment. The dominance of the Dreamer narrative–the poisonous notion that undocumented children don't deserve to be punished, but their caretakers and loved ones do–has laid the legal precedent for separating youth from their families. Superficial rhetoric will lead to superficial reforms.

The debate over the use of the Deserving Immigrant narrative has created important rifts among immigrant advocacy groups at the national and local level- many argue that this narrative falsely represents the immigrant community, and historically has been ineffective. Political actors that utilize this narrative respond by claiming that highlighting those undocumented immigrants who inspire the most public sympathy is the only way to push conservative politicians to provide relief for some portion of the immigrant community. But the controversy thus far has mainly focused on how the narrative of the deserving immigrant operates as a strategy for political bargaining. There has been less attention to the ways these public discourses

have ground-level ramifications as individuals and groups people use these narratives to frame their own understandings of both state actors, and their own community. In the next section, I will examine how individuals from the immigrant community utilize political narratives to make meaning of their own experiences as migrants, and to meet their own psychological needs when faced with uncertainty.

5.2 Framing an Environment of Threat

Between the Fall of 2016 to the Fall of 2018, I spent hundreds of hours conducting ethnographic observation within schools, churches, grassroots organizing events, immigration court, and other local businesses and markets, embedding myself within the Little Village community. As I investigated the way that political and legal threats to the immigrant community shaped individual's social, economic, and psychological well-being, I was careful to pay attention to the moments in which my participants drew on larger political narratives, or referenced their position relative to others within the immigrant community, as they shared their own experiences with the migration process, and immigration enforcement. I logged the way individuals spoke about high-profile events related to migration enforcement- such as workplace raids, new laws, or particularly polemic political statements by important figures. I noted the ways people said they felt, in reaction to the most recent news. Despite the debate that surrounded their presence here, individual immigrants had to continue to live their lives; they had to cope with the threats they faced in order to survive. How did people understand the threats they faced, and how did they understand their own ability to protect themselves? What were the events that caused particular people or groups to express heightened levels of anxiety and threat, and how did they reference political rhetoric in framing their own response?

As I described in the previous chapter, undocumented immigrants and their families

experience a chronic sense of anxiety, and the prominence of anti-immigrant discourse as well as high profile actions by immigration enforcement under Trump exacerbated immigrants' sense of threat. But the residents of La Villita didn't merely hear about and experience threats to the immigrant community as they occurred- their perceptions were filtered through cultural frames that highlight certain characteristics of people and events, and gloss over others. These perceptions become part of a narrative they construct about their community, who belongs to it, and who deserves to be protected by it, or targeted by law enforcement. In this chapter I use the concept of cultural frames, drawing on work about "collective action frames" in the social movements literature; much of that literature has focused on how frames shape the way people make meaning of events, and how they impact the development of collective action (Benford & Snow 2000). I expand on this by also showing how frames shape the way individuals understand and manage their own feelings of vulnerability, while also having consequences for social solidarity when frames compete. Below, I rely on observations, interviews and conversations with my participants, to examine the ways that larger political narratives provide reference points that immigrants come to identify with, and how different cultural frames come to shape interpretations of events and individuals' feelings of belonging, as immigrants seek to manage their own feelings of vulnerability to deportation. I will then go on to show how the use of different cultural frames can motivate conflict, both at the organizational and interpersonal level, and how this conflict has consequences for social solidarity in the immigrant community.

5.2.2 "People get what they deserve": The Deserving Immigrant Narrative

Since President Trump's inauguration, there was a constant stream of news about tightening immigration policies; threats like immigration raids, challenges to DACA, the end of

TPS, family separations, among other high-profile deportation cases constantly bombard people through the media. These daily events came up frequently in conversation during my fieldwork. These reminders that immigrants are not welcome increased the level of stress that undocumented immigrants and their families expressed that they felt, as they tried to make their own plans, and generate expectations about what might happen to them. But individual immigrants don't think of the immigrant community as one monolithic entity, and they don't react to every attack against the immigrant community in the same way. Many of my participants constructed more nuanced conceptions of the social groups of which they were a part, and interpreted the news they heard in reference to their own group, as they defined it. For example, when the inauguration of Trump as president was accompanied by a several high-profile detentions of LPR's at the airports, accompanied by several days of protest at O'Hare, Ana, an undocumented mother of two, commented to me at a church event:

> Everyone is feeling the pressure now. They're talking about taking TPS, people with asylum aren't being let back in, people with green cards are getting turned away at the airport. When people that have been secure in their status for years are starting to shake- it just makes me think, what about us that have never had anything? We will be worse off still.

Ana started to worry about her own security in the U.S. when she perceived that members of the immigrant community with stronger claims to belonging are being threatened. However, while in this case Ana felt more afraid for herself after referencing the larger political situation, I observed many individuals who referenced dominant narratives about the deserving immigrant in ways that helped them to feel more secure. Within my study I encountered multiple undocumented individuals who described how when they became afraid, they would comfort themselves by reminding themselves that they were a low priority for immigration enforcement because of their own individual merits.

I met Eduardo in October of 2016- just before the elections- while volunteering within a high school in Little Village; we were paired together for a day long workshop for prospective first-generation college students, guiding high school seniors through the process of filling out their college applications. Eduardo shared immediately that although he wanted to apply to college to "see what happens", he wasn't sure if he planned on attending. Eduardo went on to reveal that he was undocumented, and that because he knew his status excluded him from many forms of financial aid, he was uncertain if he would be able to pay for a college degree. As we went through his application throughout the day, the exercises prompted us to talk about Eduardo's future a great deal. Eduardo made multiple references to the ways his future seemed precarious to him, because of his status. He worried about whether his family would remain here, because "every day you hear about people being taken by ICE". When I asked Eduardo if he had any particular strategies to protect himself or his family from ICE, he responded: "Not exactly. I can't get deported, cause I haven't done an actual crime, so I never really thought about protection. Protection is not committing a crime. As long as I don't do that, I am preventing anything bad from happening to me."

Although Eduardo was still an adolescent, he had already begun to grapple with the consequences of his status- his inability to access particular resources matters for his immediate future. But when it came to deportation, although he did confess more general worries about his family, he shared how he didn't feel particularly vulnerable. In fact, when I asked Eduardo if he ever worried about getting deported, even if he didn't plan on committing a crime, he responded: "once in a while I worry about it, but then I think- other people have more to worry about than I do". It's not that Eduardo was immune to the stress of being undocumented- but by drawing on the narrative that only criminals are targets for immigration enforcement, he was better able to

suppress his own worries about deportation. By drawing distinctions between people like himself and those who commit "actual crimes", he was able to make *other* those undocumented immigrants who do end up detained and deported. Eduardo still faced many challenges related to his lack of papers, but after thinking about his position relative to others, he felt less anxious about the threat of deportation. In addition, although Eduardo lacked many concrete opportunities to feel agency when planning for his future, when he referenced the deserving immigrant frame he was able to frame his lack of transgression as an active strategy of protection.

While Eduardo left implicit the characteristics that distinguish "other people" from himself, other participants were much more clear in defining the types of people who do not meet the standards of the deserving immigrant, as they narrated their own more favorable position. For example, Roberto, a 45-year-old construction worker, has been living in Little Village illegally for over 15 years since he migrated from Mexico. When I asked Roberto in December of 2016 if he was worried about the political changes that had been going on, he responded:

> I don't worry about what's going on politically, I think the people that have to worry are the people that have problems. They have a DUI, or have some issue with the law. And I don't, so they can't get me. I don't have any debts, I contribute to this country. I don't see a way that they can grab me because I don't have any problems [with the law]. In reality, they are messing with the people that really shouldn't be here.

Roberto contrasted himself with those that "shouldn't be here", assuming that he was on more equal footing with documented migrants and American citizens because he did not have problems with the law, and because he contributed economically. Yet as we went on talking, Roberto shared that he does in fact drive to work, even though he did not have a legal license. But to Roberto, just living, or driving, without documents didn't *feel* like a crime. Within the

frame provided by larger political rhetoric, the real criminals are "murderers, rapists" - those that commit harmful violations. Roberto went on to morally justify his approval of the deportation of criminals:

> Think about it, you're out in the street, you or a family member or a friend is killed by someone driving drunk. And they're still out there, on the streets. If you were president, would you get rid of them for the well-being of your family, would you do it? You want them to stay on the street, putting you and I in danger, or should they grab them and send them to their country? I believe that they're [the government] doing well.

In important ways, Roberto elided the fact that by being undocumented his mere presence is considered illegal, and that especially given the expansion of immigration enforcement priorities, it is very possible that he be detained for driving without a license. Instead, he worked to redefine what constitutes a crime by invoking the deserving immigrant frame- to him, the criminal immigrants are those that harm society. Though it involved some cognitive juggling for Roberto to fit himself within the narrative in a way that is favorable, the personal stakes that Roberto had in this debate were apparent. By contrasting his own merits with the stereotype of the dangerous criminal immigrant, he was able to suppress concerns he might have about being at risk for deportation himself.

While Eduardo and Roberto referenced the deserving immigrant frame as they discussed their abstract understandings of the way law enforcement worked, I also observed how people invoked the deserving immigrant frame while interpreting their own encounters with law enforcement. For example, I met Rodrigo, a 40-year-old undocumented man who worked in a factory, at a neighborhood block party in April of 2017. I was part of a group of volunteers who were tasked with talking to community members about the neighborhood's relationship with the police. I stood next to Rodrigo in the line for food, and as we moved on to munch our empanadas at a nearby table, I asked him if he had experience interaction with the policy. He had a lot of

experience, he shared with me, suddenly looking very serious. He went on to describe how he is frequently stopped by the police, because he returns home from work late on his bicycle. He told me that first time he was stopped, he was worried because he did not have a legal form of identification:

> They asked me, what are you doing out at this hour on your bike? I told them I was getting home from work. They asked me what time I get off work, they checked my record in the computer- 'Ok, get home safe, you're fine'. And many times since then they've stopped me, but I've never been detained.

When I asked Rodrigo if he had a plan if something bad were to happen to him during one of these stops, he said:

> For me, not really. But with the record that I have, I haven't done anything. I've never been arrested for anything. I don't owe anything. So that's the only thing I do, I try to be good to not give them a motive, yeah? But you see it on the news all the time- the people going looking for bad stuff can't expect good stuff. They [the police] look for drugs, they look for people that are doing bad things to get deported.

In this case, Rodrigo interprets his own experiences in light of what he hears within dominant political narratives- the police are looking for the 'bad guys' and if you aren't bad, you won't have a problem. The fact that Rodrigo had been stopped many times and not arrested reinforces the credibility of the frame in his eyes. This belief, though inaccurate, is not delusional- larger political rhetoric constantly emphasizes how those immigrants being removed pose a threat. Rodrigo concludes that although he is undocumented, he is not at risk for deportation because he isn't a threat. My results are in line with other sociologists who have described how members of stigmatized groups will form sub-groups, or find ways to differentiate themselves in order to neutralize stigma directed at them and maintain a positive self-identity (Sykes & Matza 1957; Higgenbothem 1993; Wacquant 2010).

Still, Rodrigo did not simply adopt rhetoric that portrays law enforcement as protectors of a universal good- he recognized that the police can and do abuse their power when dealing with

undocumented immigrants. As we went on to talk about the relationship between the police and the neighborhood more generally, Rodrigo proceeded to contradict his earlier claim that the police only deport dangerous people. Rodrigo refuses to drive, he confided, because he had heard:

> Even if it's just a taillight that doesn't work, the police will stop you, and if you're undocumented, they don't say 'here's a ticket, fix it', no, they take your car, they make a whole big deal, they start to review your record and if there's nothing there the police just invent something, just to put you through hell, to get rid of you.

When discussing the larger immigrant community, Rodrigo did understand that the police sometimes arrest people, even when they don't pose a threat. But when Rodrigo thought about his own encounters with police, and his own vulnerability to deportation, he referenced the deserving immigrant narrative, and consequently diminished the sense of risk he personally felt despite frequent police stops. While there is no evidence that Rodrigo was consciously choosing the frame he referenced, the deserving immigrant narrative seemed to help him feel less afraid.

It is important to note how Rodrigo's interpretation of events is particular to the deserving immigrant narrative; by referencing other cultural narratives, different conclusions might be reached. In fact, when the volunteers met after the block party to report back on our findings, I was given the opportunity to see a wholly different interpretation of Rodrigo's experiences. This neighborhood organization was looking for people who might provide data about police harassment, so in the group report-back I brought up Rodrigo, describing how he had mentioned that he gets stopped often by police on the way home from work, when he returns late on his bike. I added that he is undocumented, but has never been arrested. Roberta, one of the community organizers, sighed heavily. "This is the sort of thing we have been hearing about- the cops are out there stopping people because they're brown, they're doing it just to make the community afraid. And if they keep stopping him, it's only a matter of time before they pick him

up for something." Roberta here identified Rodrigo's experiences as part of another narrative- to her, being stopped frequently by police (though not arrested) was a sign of danger, and she identified it as a tactic used by police to remind immigrant communities of the constant presence of coercive force. Roberta acted upon this concern, by adding that the organization should follow up with Rodrigo, to make sure he attended a "Know your Rights" training, so he would be prepared in the case of his arrest. Roberta's response was based in a narrative of social (in)justice, which I will discuss more in the next section- but this example serves to illustrate how by using different frames of reference, Roberta and Rodrigo have very different interpretations of the same circumstances. And these interpretations have divergent consequences for the feelings of vulnerability undocumented immigrants experience; by referencing the deserving immigrant frame, Rodrigo expressed feeling relief because of his conclusion that he is not a priority for law enforcement. People like Roberta, who invoke a social (in)justice narrative, feel more anxious about police stops, because they interpret these experiences as reminders that at any time they might be detained because of their race, used as an index of their foreignness.

Identifying with the deserving immigrant narrative did have benefits for psychological well-being. I found that immigrants who identified themselves as a deserving immigrant worried less about interacting with police, and did not cite deportation as amongst the more important challenges they faced because they were undocumented. For example, when I spoke with Arianna, an undocumented mother with four citizen children, if she was concerned about being separated from her family, she said:

> We came from another country without documents and crossed the border, but that isn't any crime. We aren't robbing, we are good people, since we've been here we pay our taxes, so why would something bad happen to me? No. I don't live thinking about if they are going to grab me today or if they'll grab me tomorrow. I don't have a reason to worry

myself, maybe it will never pass.

The Deserving Immigrant frame fits within larger cultural narratives about American values, and indeed resonates very much with the typical "bootstrap" narrative that has been shown to reinforce systems of inequality (Lamont & Fournier 1992; Wilson, 1974/2012; Young, 2004). These are not cultural frames that are imposed from any central authority – but my data shows that people have great personal stakes in identifying with these narratives, as it allows them to draw in-group and out-group boundaries in a way that situates them alongside those who deserve to belong. Some scholars have described this phenomenon as the politics of respectability; claims to respectability depend on a contrast with a deviant group, and marginalized people establish a separation between themselves and stigmatized others in their group by virtue of not having certain negative characteristics (Higgenbothom 1993; Wacquant, 2010). While my evidence supports the idea that marginalized groups will construct hierarchies in order to shield themselves from the stigma directed at their group, my participants also demonstrate how these strategies go beyond stigma management. The beliefs they form are part of a process of psychological coping, a way that some people cope with feelings of vulnerability, and develop a sense of agency in the face of threat.

5.2.3 "Everyone's a Priority: The Social (In)Justice Narrative

As I touched on in the previous section with Roberta, among immigrants in La Villita, I observed a second dominant narrative that many individuals referenced when discussing immigration enforcement- what I refer to as the social (in)justice frame. The social (in)justice frame emphasizes systemic inequalities that oppress minority groups of color, blaming the "Crimmigration" system for the incarceration of black and brown people (Stumpf 2006) Those

grassroots advocacy organizations that explicitly criticized the deserving immigrant narrative advocated for an increased social focus on the inequalities of power that underly immigration and law enforcement, emphasizing the structural injustices that motivate its treatment of immigrants.

For example, Arturo, a young, undocumented spokesperson for CUFD as well as the North Side Defense network, shared at a press conference on May Day in 2017:

> When I was 22 I got a DUI, and the state has branded me a criminal. I am ineligible for DACA, I am ineligible for legal status. It is the state that won't let me re-imagine a new me. I am gay, undocumented, and a criminal, and to the state that means I am not human. Does anyone deserve to be branded a criminal? Making a mistake doesn't justify having no access to social services, having no job, being taken from your family. I deserve to be rehabilitated and supported by my community.

Arturo situated his personal experiences within the narrative of social (in)justice, pushing back against the idea that because he committed a crime, he is undeserving of belonging. Instead, he blamed a racist and unjust state for his feelings of social exclusion. It is not that Arturo does not understand that his actions were wrong,- but he believes he is as deserving of a second chance as any other 22 year old living in the U.S. But Arturo identified how the dominant narrative of deservingness renders him an outsider, and so rather than working to rehabilitate him as a part of the community, the state treats him as a threat to that must be removed. However, in this case Arturo identified the state as the actor that is "branding" him as a criminal, neglecting to recognize how the deserving immigrant frame might also motivate discrimination from others within the immigrant community. Rodrigo, as well as other participants indicated that they considered driving drunk to be an act that endangers their community. Even though people like Arturo may live among them, those who endorse the deserving immigrant narrative identify people like Arturo as people who are "going looking for bad stuff", and come to think of them as outsiders deserving of deportation. Within this dominant narrative Arturo might then be

considered personally responsible for the fact that he is in deportation proceedings, but I observed how Arturo referenced the social (in)justice frame as he considered his own plight. By drawing on the social (in)justice frame, Arturo situated the blame on an unequal system, rather than himself, for not giving him the second chance he feels he deserves. At the same time Arturo came to identify himself as part of an unjustly oppressed minority, and regained a sense of belonging through his efforts to fight for others like him.

The social (in)justice frame was not simply the narrative of activists. I found that many people referenced this narrative when describing negative experiences with police, regardless of their political education. I met Angelica in March of 2016 sitting next to a tray of wilted-looking sandwiches, in the clubhouse of a popular park in La Villita. We were both attending an open community meeting about the communities' experiences with the police. Angelica, an undocumented college student, told me that she had decided to attend because she has 5 brothers, and she was sick of worrying about them every time they left the house. When the microphone was passed to her in the listening session, she shared how she had witnessed many friends and family members being harassed by police all her life, and how vulnerable this made her feel:

> You grow up seeing police officers pull people over because they have their lights off or their windows are too dark. They don't pull white people over for things like that. And that's all they need, to take you from your family forever. Ice isn't just taking the criminals, they're hunting for anyone they can find. And you constantly wonder, will I be next?"

Angelica honed in on the ways she sees police selectively enforce the law, and concluded that any Latinx person is at risk for detention and deportation. Many of the participants who referenced the social (in)justice frame did so in reference to their experiences of exclusion- those who could no longer identify themselves or someone they cared about as a 'deserving immigrant'. While we can imagine the social (in)justice frame resonates with this group because

of their direct experiences of racial discrimination, this narrative might also be helpful as immigrants cope with their own feelings of frustration in the face of criminalization. For people-like Arturo- who have committed acts that are considered criminal, they used the social (in)justice frame to condemn the system, rather than themselves. However, this narrative had implications for individuals' feelings of security, as it characterized a pervasive and inescapable environment of threat. Indeed, when I interviewed Angelica a few weeks after the community meeting, she repeatedly mentioned her struggles with anxiety and shared "the system isn't designed so people like me can live a normal life". I found that those participants who referenced the social justice frame were also much more likely to discuss struggles with anxiety and depression that they considered to be directly connected to their feelings of vulnerability about being detained.

While the social (in)justice narrative provided an alternative system of meaning within which some of my participants situated themselves, they often explicitly recognized the prominence of the deserving immigrant frame, and described particular traumatic events that forced them abandon the dominant frame. Leo is DACA-mented, and when we spoke he shared that he had lived in La Villita since he was 2 years old. At the time I interviewed him, in February of 2017, he was 20, and working at a restaurant washing dishes. Leo described how his father's deportation during a workplace raid shaped not only the course of his life, but also his perspective:

> My dad worked hard all our lives to support us. He worked long hours and still struggled to make ends meet. Sometimes he would get a job and then they would ask him for his papers at the end, and refuse to pay him. My senior year in high school, ICE came to the corner at the home depot, where he was out looking for construction work. They took him. He was always so careful to obey the law, he wanted to do good here, give something back. But when I saw what happened to him, it was like, what's the point?

In this example Leo uses the language of the deserving immigrant narrative to describe his

father- but when his father was detained, Leo and his family were forced to reckon with the reality that despite his merit, he was deported. Leo went on to describe how his father's deportation sent him into a spiral of depression, as he was confronted with the potentially dire consequences of his undocumented status:

> I had been doing good in school, getting good grades. I was after my American Dream. But when they took my dad I realized- no matter how good you are, they find a reason to take you. So I just, quit. I started drinking, I stopped going to classes. It felt like nothing mattered anymore.

Leo's case illustrates that the interpretive frames individuals employ are not immutable- my results show how individuals use a particular cultural frame to interpret their experiences until it becomes too dissonant to be maintained. Leo's disillusion with the justice of the migration system, and more generally his abrupt experience of exclusion from the country in which he had grown up, had serious consequences for his life- both psychological and material. But as Leo struggled to reframe his experiences, the social (in)justice frame helped him make meaning of his feelings of exclusion, and by reproducing this frame, Leo came to identify himself as part of another community- the oppressed. Leo shared that he only began to recover from his depression when he started helping other families like his, by participating in a neighborhood block club.

Although the social justice narrative circulated within the Little Village community beyond activist circles, I did find that political activism was more common among those who identified with this frame. I came to know Ramona, a 25 year old DACA-mented social work student, because she often spoke at events that focused on DACA and DACA-mented students. She was one of the leading organizers for the Illinois Student Access bill, which proposed to allow public universities to offer financial aid to undocumented students. In an emergency meeting after Trump's election, but before his inauguration, Ramona cited the failure of the DREAM act as both the moment in which she abandoned the deserving immigrant narrative, and

the moment she became committed to political activism:

> When I was in high school I heard about the DREAM act and I thought, 'if I just do what I'm supposed to do, if I just *be good*, things will work out.' It never occurred to me that it might not pass. And when I heard, I totally crumbled. We did the whole 'poor us' thing, we blamed our parents- nothing worked. Because it's the system that's messed up, it's the system that wants to keep people like me, people of color, out. That's when I knew, I had to fight.

Ramona also felt compelled to reframe her experiences when she found herself excluded, despite her attempts to meet the standards of the deserving immigrant. By thinking about her own experiences through the lens of the social (in)justice frame, she became motivated to actively defend herself, and was able to form a new sense of community through her political activism in the fight against racial oppression. And Ramona described how this attitude helps her cope when she said: "Even when I get depressed about everything I can't do, fighting for my community is what keeps me going". As Ramona and Arturo illustrate, some people are able to reframe their feelings of powerlessness in the face of social exclusion using the social (in)justice frame; in this way they also find agency by actively fighting racial oppression.

The social (in)justice narrative provides an alternative system of meaning that can help immigrants reframe their experiences when they find themselves to be the targets of immigration enforcement, and can no longer characterize themselves as a deserving immigrant. I am not arguing, however, that these two frames represent stages in a progressive evolution, or that those who refer to the social justice frame have more direct experience or more reliable information about the way that immigration enforcement works. But I do seek to illustrate how individual immigrants utilize different narratives that circulate within popular political discourse as they think about their place within the U.S., and situate their own experiences of exclusion, as well as inclusion, in reference to the larger immigrant community and U.S. society. My results also demonstrate the consequences these different frames have for individual well-being. Those

individuals who framed deportations as a matter of personal responsibility described greater feelings of agency over their futures, and often expressed the belief that as long as they obeyed the law and continued to be Deserving, they would be relatively safe. Those that oriented their experiences within the social (in) justice narrative were much more likely to express frustration at their lack of control over what would happen to them, and indicated that their mental health was more highly impacted by macro-level policies and discourse. While their feelings of powerlessness were sometimes mediated by participation in social activism, this group still tended to struggle more with their anxieties about the threat of deportation for them and their communities. But the use of these narratives is not only important in shaping individual well-being. My results show that these frames have important consequences for collective solidarity and social support within the immigrant community, which I will discuss in the following section.

5.3 Conflicting Frames and Local Politics

Conflicts arise when social belonging is contested. In Chicago, a city with a strong immigrant presence, the debate has been strong regarding which immigrants are part of the community, and which immigrants are perceived as threats to public safety. When Trump was first elected, Mayor Rahm Emmanuel assured Chicago that it "will always be a Sanctuary City", and promised "all Chicago's residents" that "you are safe in Chicago". However, the legal policy that defined Sanctuary, the "Welcoming City Ordinance", was written with exceptions. The city mandated that the police would not turn people over to ICE- unless they had committed felonies, or had their names in the gang database. The policy fails to protect those undocumented immigrants who are most at risk of being detected by ICE, those already caught up in the criminal justice system. City Alderman and the Mayor justified these exceptions through their

concerns about public safety, and were resistant to remove these exceptions from the ordinance despite mounting political pressure from activist organizations like CUFD and Black Lives Matter, as will be discussed in the next chapter. The message is clear: the city won't fight to keep felons and potential gang members here. These messages trickle down. The deserving immigrant narrative shapes the political field in which smaller advocacy organizations vy for power. Within Little Village, the debate over who is considered part of the community, and how support should be allocated, was pervasive, and appeared at different levels of organizational and social life. Additionally, there is little space for groups or individuals to remain neutral. And the positions they adopt in relationship to the deserving immigrant narrative had real consequences for solidarity both between organizations, and among families and smaller social groups.

5.3.1 Organizational conflict over Deservingness

As I volunteered within high schools, churches, and non-profits in Little Village, it became clear that a lot of institutions spend a significant amount of their time trying to help families navigate the system of resources in their community. There are many agencies in Little Village that offer free or low-cost medical services, mental health services, and legal aid for mixed-status families. But these resources are not distributed on a first-come, first-serve basis; individual characteristics are taken into account as organizations choose how to allocate support. For example, when Veronica's husband was detained following an arrest for an aggravated DUI, I accompanied her as she went to meet with 3 lawyers from three different non-profit legal aid organizations. Each told her that their office did not have the capacity to take on her husband's case. In the third meeting, Veronica demanded in desperation to know why the organization's lawyers even met with people, if they didn't have the capacity to take on new cases. "We do take

on some new cases", the lawyer replied defensively, "but when we are already spread thin, we can't take on cases for people with criminal records. They take much more time, and we are still not likely to win." Organizations like this one, a national non-profit dedicated to helping irregular migrants and refugees, get hundreds of calls a day from people asking for free legal representation in their immigration court. But resources are limited and demand is high. These organizations are forced to choose how to allocate resources to maximize the good they do- but this means certain people are consistently excluded.

Of course, advocacy organizations have reasons for prioritizing who they help- they face internal pressures as they manage finite resources, and they also face external pressures as their choice of cases can have political ramifications. For example, I also heard of cases in which organizations or politicians declined to support a particular person because they were concerned about the bad publicity they might attract by supporting someone who could be portrayed as a 'threat' to the public good. For example, I mentioned Mariano and Carla in the previous chapter- Mariano was detained by immigration officers inside of a DMV in 2013, as he was applying for his temporary driver's license. Mariano's arrest received a great deal of media detention, and provoked fear among immigrants in La Villita; undocumented immigrants had already been dubious about how applying for a temporary driver license might alert the government to their presence. But pro-immigrant politicians like Dick Durbin declined to sign on to letters of support as he fought his deportation, because he had a previous DUI. His wife Carla recounts her experience approaching their Alderman for support: "We went into his office to ask for a letter of support for Mariano's release, and he was all sympathy until he found out Mariano had a record. He told us he would consider it and stopped answering our calls. If I ever see him again, I would tell him- we don't need your crocodile tears". While politicians and organizations are often

careful not to officially comment on the reason why they choose not to support particular cases, in the course of my field work I heard many accounts of individuals who believed they were denied support because of their record. One activist, Hernan, publicly accused a state-level political advocacy group of refusing to support him at a rally in Pilsen: "I've been criminalized by the police state, I've been arrested. And they [the organization] told me they couldn't help me because I'm not 'media ready'. What they mean is that I don't fit their image of a Dreamer."

Advocacy organizations and political actors face important constraints that shape the way they provide support to immigrants- their resources are finite, and their public image matters for their future success. The reasons why political actors and organizations choose (or decline) to offer support to particular people can be complex, but when we look at Carla and Mariano's experiences, and we listen to the way Maria describes her churches' screening process, we see how the dominant cultural frame creates multiple pressures that shape a common end. It is often simpler for advocates to ignore requests for them to support from people with criminal records. Although service providers often justify their choices using a cost-benefit rationale, their priorities are shaped by the deserving immigrant narrative. Advocates refer to it as they consider who is a part of their community, and who deserves the most help.

Indeed, the decision to support people with criminal records was an important source of inter-organizational conflict among immigrant advocacy groups. Both publicly and privately, local and national organizations fought over the definition of what a criminal is and who has the power to decide. While in the next chapter I will examine how political changes motivated shifts in the ways that organizations utilized these narratives, but here I will simply highlight how debates over these narratives did serve to create divisions within the movement for immigrants' rights. For example, when Trump announced his policy to separate children from their families,

across the nation immigrant advocacy organizations coordinated a march to demonstrate their dissent. But in Chicago, inter-organizational drama raged in the days before the march. Behind the scenes, a prominent leader within a national organization suggested excluding CUFD from the list of speakers because "their abolitionist message might alienate members of the public".[18] When members of CUFD received a last-minute invitation the day before the march, there was also a fierce discussion within CUFD about whether they should attend. Finally, Isabel decided to represent CUFD at the march. But when she stepped onto the stage, she took the opportunity to publicly shame national organizations for their position on criminalization, and their original reluctance to include CUFD in the event:

> We were originally not invited to today's march, although we represent the true interests of the immigrant community. I remind the other organizations here today, the people who spend their time in conference rooms in D.C. instead of on the corner in La Villita- nothing about us, without us, is for us. And we decided to attend this march, not as an endorsement, but as an intervention in an event whose messaging concerns us because it does not reflect the concerns of our community…The criminalization and indefinite detention of families is not a victory we can celebrate, and clarity around this issue matters. Well-intentioned and inadequate messaging is in part how we arrived at this moment…

While Isabel's statement was met with applause from the audience, organizers behind the stage shifted uncomfortably in the face of Isabel's accusations. Her statements also revealed a deep and uncomfortable rift within a vulnerable community. Advocacy organizations don't simply fight for the benefits of their members, but they also fight amongst themselves as they debate how to 'truly' represent the interests of their communities. In part, this is because they have fundamentally different conceptions of who their community is. Isabel accuses mainstream

[18] quoted from an internally circulated email. Abolitionist refers to a political philosophy that proposes the criminal justice system is rooted in racial inequality and cannot be reformed, and abolitionist activists typically demand that we do away entirely with prisons and police. This position is considered to be very radical among leftist movements, as it challenges conventional understandings of how justice operates.

advocacy organizations of excluding members of who she considers to be part of the immigrant community, but more conventional organizations might disagree. But these ideological divisions fracture the community and make social action more complex.

In a context of crises, crises like President Trump, some organizations seek to focus on the "low-hanging fruit", as one immigration lawyer jokingly referred to the Dreamers as we were chatting before court. Mainstream organizations make the choice to focus on defending those who meet conventional standards of belonging- which are guided by the narrative of the deserving immigrant. But this often puts them at odds with advocacy groups that do support people with criminal records, because these more conventional groups are reproducing a dominant narrative that identifies criminals as undeserving of social inclusion. This ideological rift fractures social solidarity, and interrupts networks of support, such that undocumented immigrants with criminal records are ultimately excluded from material and social resources that are available to others within the immigrant community. The few organizations that do decide to support people with criminal backgrounds also end up overwhelmed by demand. Feeling the pressure, organizations like CUFD are also invested in pushing back on the deserving immigrant narrative. At CUFD's annual retreat in December 2017, one of their primary goals for 2018 was to "Push for a cultural shift, to normalize supporting people with criminal records". But disagreement about deservingness was also rife even among the tight nit social network of families from which CUFD draws support, and the organization also had to manage disputes among members when individuals drew upon conflicting frames.

For example, at a teach-in about the gang database, in April of 2017, members of CUFD presented information about information that was emerging about the gang database, and their desire to start a campaign to get rid of it, and a heated debate quickly emerged. Manuel, a 35

year old painter who moved to La Villita 15 years ago, shared:

> I don't think the database is that bad, or needs to be gotten rid of. It might be badly administered, we need to push the administration to allow people to understand how they get in it and how they can get off the list, but I don't think we should pardon everyone. We need to judge who we need to judge.

Manuel's comments elicited a murmur from the crowd, noises of both approval and dissent echoed across the cafeteria. One of the organizers of the group tried to redirect, pushing Manuel and others towards their own perspective: "There are different ways to treat people who did something wrong, or were violent. But there are other mechanisms for people who have done harm, ways they can repay their society outside of the criminal justice system". Manuel continued to disagree, "but what about murderers?"- he was quickly cut off by another young activist who began to talk about the economic circumstances that motivate crime. Manuel tried once more, starting on a positive note "I think the activist movement in Chicago is very beautiful, but if we make this list public people will be more motivated to change their behavior than if we get rid of it." He began to share a story of his own experiences about how he had been forced to learn his lesson after losing his car because of his reckless driving, but he was interrupted again. "We need to keep the conversation circulating", one of the facilitators remarked, signifying that he had already taken up too much space in the discussion. After the listening session was over, I was standing with the facilitators when one of the young men who had interrupted Manuel approached us and commented that he had felt compelled to "step in and deal with that infiltrator, trying to come here and push his own agenda". While this young man characterized Manuel as an infiltrator, in fact Manuel was a regular participant of CUFD's organizing community.

Days later, members of CUFD were commenting on the debate that emerged within this teach-in, and concluded that members like Manuel need further political education,

"they need to hear from the people who have been truly affected by the gang database". However, when I followed up with Manuel during an interview a few weeks later, I soon discovered that Manuel had plenty of personal experience with the gang database. Manuel shared with me that he had been dating another member of CUFD, Mariela, and had been supporting her while her son was being convicted of armed robbery. However, Manuel knew that her son had borrowed his car in order to commit these robberies. He shared:

> I know he used my car on two occasions when he held up a store. So there are two times my car has been involved in gang activity, and it's entirely probable that my name appears in the gang database. But I still thing we have to evaluate its use before deciding we want to get rid of it. Even though I know my name might be in there. Because justice is prosecuting the people who commit crimes, and sending them to jail. If I owe a debt to the city, if I've done something wrong, I want to pay it. And if afterwards they deport me, it's my own responsibility, because I wasn't being careful.

Manuel invokes the ideas of justice that are implicit within the deserving immigrant frame- those who commit acts of violence must pay, and are deserving of deportation because they pose a threat. But it is certainly not a lack of experience, nor a lack of personal stakes, with the gang database that shapes his views. In fact, although Manuel personally witnessed his own step-son receive additional jail time because of his gang involvement, he believes that this is just, given his step-son's violation to society's moral code. Manuel's position towards the gang database emerges from a larger system of moral convictions about what justice is, as well as his own expectations for the state; his judgements are shaped by his experiences but interpreted through the deserving immigrant frame. And when I asked Manuel if he worries about his own deportation- because he is also living here without documents- he illustrates the psychological stakes for him to continue to hold this perspective: "I feel insecure sometimes, thinking that at any moment they could deport me. But I know that's also not true, because I know as long as I behave myself, the immigration police have no reason to bother me." But while identifying with

the deserving immigrant frame may help Manuel feel more safe personally, his beliefs had real consequences for relationships, creating strife within CUFD. His position also resulted in CUFD members treating him as an outsider, and after several incidents in which it became clear his stance did not cohere with the group's, Manuel stopped going to meetings.

Manuel's example reveals how ideological disputes about who is deserving of inclusion doesn't only matter for political actors negotiating power- this debate also has consequences for interpersonal relationships. When individuals identify with conflicting frames, their disagreement can create emotional distance between friends and family, and foreclose opportunities for social solidarity, as I will discuss in the next section.

5.3.2 Interpersonal Conflict over Framing and its consequences for social solidarity

It is no wonder that organizations fight over how best to represent the "immigrant community"- there is no one monolithic immigrant community, and even within a smaller community like Little Village, individual immigrants hold diverse opinions about who deserves to be protected, or deported, for the greater good. But when individuals or families disagree about who deserves to be deported, and who deserves to be protected, their disagreements can have real consequences for social solidarity, and social resources are sometimes withheld from people characterized as undeserving.

Apart from social service agencies, families in Little Village can also draw upon a great wealth of resources that are distributed within informal networks of support, and these supports are particularly critical in times of crisis. Within Little Village, it is common for families to collect donations from community members in order to meet bail, to seek additional support with child care, or to ask for flexibility on their rent when they lose a source of income. In the course

of my field work I saw many instances in which sympathetic community members were generous in trying to help threatened members in need. But this made the contrast all the more stark when particular people or families did not receive that same support. For example, during an interview Barbara recounted her feelings of abandonment when her husband was detained in 2015: "My husband got a DUI, that's what started everything. And we were so desperate, we were asking everyone for help. And our friends abandoned us, in that moment. They said 'he's the one who decided to drive drunk, he went looking for problems.'" Barbara and her husband had expected that if they had a problem, they would find someone to support them- indeed, they had sent money to other family members who had been deported in the past. However, they felt that many community members failed to provide support their family in times of crisis because they attributed their hardship to the moral failures Barbara's husband. This situation had long-term implications for this families' relationships, however, as Barbara shared that although they did succeed in obtaining her husband's release, after the crisis had passed "we could never look at our friends and family the same way again."

Barbara's testimony illustrates what it feels like when families expect support, and then fail to find it, and she perceived her community's moral judgements to be the reason they abandoned her family. But I also spoke with individuals who described the other side of this debate- people who declined to help family members in deportation proceedings- and these people justified their decisions by referencing the "greater good". Ideas about what served the greater good were often guided by the deserving immigrant narrative.

For example, when I asked Maria, who appeared at the start of this chapter, if any of her family members had ever been deported, she crinkled her nose, and then moved her hand in the shape of a cross, as if sending out a blessing. She told me that her nephew had been deported,

and so her brother and his wife were in the process of preparing to move back to Mexico. Because Maria had already mentioned to me that several of her nephews were part of a gang, I asked her if it was one of the same nephews. She said yes, and explained that they had deported him quickly, because her brother's wife didn't have the money for a lawyer, and so he had accepted deportation. She confided in me that her sister-in law had asked her for a loan to pay for the lawyer, but she refused, and added with a scoff: "Why would I keep loaning her money if she only spends it to get her sons out of jail, just so they can get in trouble again?" Maria illustrates how judgements about individual merit matter in her decisions about how to support her family.

Members of the same family can disagree over the frame with which they view the same event, or person; while this disagreement can serve as a barrier in how individuals offer their support, the disagreement itself can also be perceived as a lack of support. Returning to Manuel's case, in the days following the teach-in during which he was identified as an infiltrator, he remarked to me that he also got in a fight with his partner Mariela over the issue:

> Mariela said 'you're going to make problems for me, people are going to think you don't care about Latino people.' She told me that it's better I not come to the meetings anymore because I think differently from the group. But I didn't pay attention because she was only talking about herself. She says 'you don't help, you know this is important to me, but you have a different opinion'". And I told her- Maria, you only want the gang database to go away because of personal reasons. But it's not going to reduce the number of years your son has in jail. Why do you want to protect gang members that are still on the streets? 'You don't understand me', she says.

He went on to explain that things had been "difficult" between him and Mariela since her son was convicted for armed robbery. "We fought a lot after her son was convicted- she wanted to start saving her money to pay the lawyer for an appeal, but I told her- you know your son broke the law, the justice system did what it was supposed to do. Even though he is your son, he needs to pay the consequences what he did." In this case, Manuel isn't denying Mariela anything concrete- but it his lack of solidarity that hurts Mariela. Although Mariela may know her son

broke the law, she fears for his safety in jail, and also mentioned to me several times her fears about her son being a victim of gang violence when he is deported to Mexico following his sentence. When Manuel expresses his opinion that her son deserves his fate, Mariela feels hurt. This example illustrates how conflicting frames don't simply limit concrete resources from circulating within informal social networks, but disagreement over the frame itself can be perceived as a break down in solidarity within personal relationships. These break downs have even larger consequences at the collective level.

5.4 Conclusion

While both scholars and activists have pointed to the ways that the deserving immigrant frame can be harmful as a strategy of political representation, they have failed to fully acknowledge how this frame can be instrumental to some individual immigrants' ability to cope with the daily anxieties of living with undocumented status. Some activists hope to "normalize supporting people with criminal records", and sometimes believed that with more education, community members who identified with the deserving immigrant frame would change their minds. But for some of my participants, the deserving immigrant frame had become so deeply intertwined with their understandings of their self in relation to society that for these individuals it was be difficult, and potentially harmful, for community leaders to challenge this narrative. My evidence points to the ways that this narrative has been a driving force in the reproduction of inequality within immigrant communities, as it leaves members with criminal backgrounds doubly excluded; they are both more likely to be stopped and arrested by law enforcement, and more likely to be denied social supports – from both community organizations and from their personal social networks - as a result of their record. As sociologists we must particularly consider the way that marginalized individuals use cultural frames to construct their self-

identities, as they try to figure out how their experiences compare to others within their social context. While individuals aren't always consciously choosing the narratives with which they identify, the role of positive emotions in how experiences are framed should be attended to. Essentially, some narratives help some immigrants feel better about their circumstances than others. The way they interpret their experiences can either facilitate feelings of inclusion, support and protection, or can leave individuals feeling a critical lack of belonging and support. My evidence indicates how a cultural frame that can be helpful at the individual level for immigrants' processes of coping can at times harm solidarity in the larger group. A proper account of these mechanisms doesn't fit neat ideological divisions between oppressor and oppressed. Still, these narratives only function insofar as they are useful in helping immigrants interpret and understand their own experiences within a larger social context. In this chapter I revealed how some participants described how personal experiences sometimes contradicted the dominant narrative they had used to generate expectations for their world, and when their experiences were too dissonant with the dominant frame, individuals were forced to shift frames. In the next chapter, I will reveal how as the Trump presidency settled in, and began to have increasingly apparent consequences on the security of undocumented immigrants living in the U.S., this dominant frame began to break down at a collective level with an accumulation of dissonant events that motivated a broader questioning of the justice of immigration enforcement.

Chapter 6: Collective Adaptation and Social Movement within Trump's America

On March 27, 2017- only two months after President Trump took office- ICE agents charged into the home of Edgar Castillo and his family, dragged the paralyzed man from his bed and threw him on the ground in front of his screaming children, breaking his arm in the course of his arrest. His wife, Nora, was just returning home from dropping their eldest child off at school, and began to film his violent arrest with her cell phone- a heartbreaking video that made headlines around Chicago and the nation. On January of that same year Edgar had been wounded in a drive-by shooting near his home in a neighborhood bordering Little Village, and because he was a victim of gang violence CPD had placed his name in the gang database. As a result of this incident, his information was ultimately passed to Immigration Enforcement, motivating his arrest on March 27th. Because of the violent nature of his arrest, Edgar's case gained substantial media attention, and due to the timing of this incident- so soon after the start of the Trump presidency- the event stoked fears of what the Trump administration had in store for the immigrant community. Nora soon was put in touch with Communities United to Fight Deportations (CUFD), as well as the National Immigration Advocacy Foundation (NIAF), who agreed to partner to take on his case. CUFD issued a statement in the days that followed Edgar's arrest, alleging:

> The Chicago ICE Field office and its director, Ricardo Wong, have repeatedly planned and executed violent raids in homes, work places, churches, and locations where our communities are supposed to feel safe. These raids have involved firearms, physical force, threats, manipulation, biometric fingerprinting machines, and ruses with the intent to force their way into people's homes. For Edgar Castillo, who was placed in the Chicago Police Department's gang-database simply for hanging out with friends on a particular street in Chicago, being criminalized has resulted in his detention and four children without a father. And we plan to fight back.

Edgar's case would provide an important opportunity for advocacy organizations who sought to apply pressure to the city by calling out the discrepancy between his treatment and Chicago's

promise to be a "Sanctuary City". In addition, his case drew attention to a system of surveillance that had not received significant public attention in the past- the Chicago Police Department's gang database.

In the introduction of this dissertation, I argued that the threat of deportation could plausibly unite or divide immigrant neighborhoods, and that the literature is conflicted in its predictions. The previous chapter highlighted the way that threats to some community members can motivate social distancing and concrete failures to support targeted members, when the reasons a person is detained are perceived to be morally reprehensible. While the belief that immigration enforcement only targets criminals can help individual immigrants believe in a just world, this frame of moral deservingness also leaves some community members vulnerable, as people establish priorities for their investment of support. In addition, this frame often shapes perceptions, and can lead to assumptions that because someone was detained by the police they must have committed some crime or done some harm, a pattern that is not necessarily true. The conflicts that arise when this frame is used to exclude certain individuals from support speak to the divisive rather than the unifying effects of criminalization on communities. So far, however, I have paid more attention to the ways that individuals and families reacted to President Trump's election in the first few months following this event, rather than examining the way their understandings changed as time passed, the Trump administration settled in and the consequences of policy changes began to have concrete impacts on the immigrant community of Little Village, the city, and the nation. I also have not yet comprehensively explored the changes taking place among neighborhood organizations in Little Village, as they adapted to unfolding events within the new political climate.

With this chapter, I build on my argument in chapter 5, by illustrating how previously-salient

frames break and are abandoned when individuals are faced with events that are too dissonant to be explained by the frame they have lived their lives within. This process played out at both the individual and the organizational levels and also served to forge new and sometimes surprising alliances between social groups. I will show how at the collective level, a critical accumulation of incidents that contradict dominant frames motivated a broader shift in the way a community makes sense of the challenges they face, heightening both their sense of injustice, and their willingness to engage in social movements dedicated to fighting back. Indeed, some community organizations who prior to Trump's election saw themselves as serving the needs of the community but not necessarily as advocates for social change found themselves collaborating with more activist oriented groups in a more generalized social movement to defend immigrants and defend Little Village as they responded to emergent needs as the Trump presidency wore on. In addition, advocacy organizations from marginalized communities of different racial and ethnic groups- including Black, Latinx, Asian, and Arab- began to collaborate in emergent campaigns for the first time, coming together despite personal and ideological differences to fight a common enemy- President Trump.

This case allows us to analyze the makings of a movement- the ways that ideologies shift in reaction to experience and events, and the way that these ideologies matter for the unity of marginalized communities when they face criminalization and are called upon to support each other. Scholars have called for an investigation of the processes that motivate individuals to join social movements, and the narratives that galvanize and inspire the participation of different groups of people at the micro-level (Viterna 2013). Social movements are comprised of social movement organizations and individuals that are interested in similar problems but have different ideas and tactics for advancing their concerns (Benford 1993; Meyer and Corrigall-Brown 2005).

These ideological differences can in fact inhibit collaborative action within a movement, as strong differences in the ways organizations identify the root of a problem and seek to address it can create differences in priorities and strategies that inhibit collaboration (Benford and Snow 2000). But if particular narratives and identities are successful in motivating individuals and groups to participate in social movements, and ultimately result in social change, their effects may persist beyond the movement, reshaping not only the life course of participants, but broader cultural changes (Bail 2012; Ferree et al. 2002; Viterna 2013). It is important that we better understand the way that people internalize macro-level changes, and the ways these changes shape the ways they act and understand their world (Beyerlein and Andrews 2008).

Past social movement literature has shown that coalitions are more likely to emerge when organizations face a threat, and that events which dramatically disrupt established social orders, routines and expectancies are much more likely to motivate strong social reactions that can be capitalized upon to galvanize movement activity (McCammon and Campbell 2002; Staggenborg 1986; Van Dyke 2003; Snow et al. 1986). However, emergent literature has pointed to the problematic lack of attention that "micro-processes of mobilization" have received, especially in comparison to the extensive work that focuses on macro-level explanations for social mobilizations (Viterna 2013). In order to better understand why movements begin, how they endure, and the ways they matter for the societies in which they are embedded, we also need to capture the multiple paths through which people become engaged in social movements, based on variations in their experiences and biographical characteristics (Ibid). Jocelyn Viterna (2013) has done important work in calling our attention to the role of diverse narratives and identities that motivated distinct pathways to mobilization for guerilla fighters in El Salvador facing the threat of war. Viterna showed how in El Salvador, political groups used political narratives

emphasizing the shared values between activists and particular targeted identities (eg. "young women", or "mothers"), both generating a sense of obligation among these groups to participate in movement activity, and transforming feelings of powerlessness and threat into forms of agency. Viterna is not the first scholar to show how narratives can be used to help people make sense of their experiences and explain how a "person like me" might find it natural or necessary to participate in a social movement (Baumeister and Newman 1994; Blee 2003; Stryker, Owens & White 2000). However, Viterna's account differs from the social processes I observed in important ways.

Viterna described how movement recruiters working on behalf of political groups targeted the shared meaning of commonly held, but *individually based* identities- identities such as "mother" or "doctor". She argued that political changes create opportunities for leaders to re-frame salient identities by advocating for the overlaps between these individually based identities, and the values that characterize them, with a participation or activist identity. While my evidence also points to the ways that political upheaval can motivate changes in the ways that individuals see themselves and challenge the narratives they employed to understand their own position within a larger social landscape, I did not find that movement recruiters or new movement participants framed their engagement as being based in individually-based identities. In fact, organizational leaders in the field of action I examined did their best to minimize or gloss over the identity characteristics- ideological and demographic- that might remind new movement participants of the differences between them. Instead, they promoted a social justice frame that emphasized the shared struggles of "affected communities", very broadly defined. I also found that my participants, rather than transforming their understandings of the ways that "people like me"- based in specific social categories- should act, instead broadened their understandings of

who fell into the collective of "people like me", collapsing distinctions between criminal and illegal, articulating stronger feelings of connection to a more loosely defined collective identity of 'migrants', or even more widely, 'those marginalized by Trump'. I demonstrate how an accumulation of threats broke down dominant narratives that were based in individualist notions of what it is to be a good citizen, and the ways that individuals' growing identification with the narrative of social justice promoted unity as actors focused on their shared humanity as they came together to protect their communities.

I will begin with a brief review of the sequence of immigration-related policy changes that gained national attention (and particularly affected Chicago), and sharply increased the criminalization of immigrant communities in the first year and a half of the Trump Presidency.[19] I will go on to show how an accumulation of disturbing and criminalizing events generated shifts in individual immigrants' understands of their own vulnerability, and shaped their consciousness of the justice of immigration and law enforcement. These changes had implications for individual's engagement and relationships with collective organizations and advocacy groups, and the ways they came to identify shared struggles and expand their understandings of who is like them, or part of their community. I will then go on to reveal the way that these changes at the individual level articulated with a larger shift in the narrative frames and strategies used by collective organizations, and demonstrate how changes within the political environment corresponded to the emergence of new campaigns and coalitions that reached across identity and ideological boundaries to constitute a growing social movement.

[19] This timeline will be important to keep in mind- while this chapter focuses on the events in the first year and a half of the Trump presidency, I bring in evidence from different events as they fit within my argument, and this occasionally involves using examples out of temporal order..

6. 1 A Growing Sense of Social (In)justice

Trump's arrival to office was accompanied by a palpable tension that could be felt within Little Village- felt in the eery quiet of the main boulevard, in the grim demeanor of those who remained in public spaces- but also beyond. Chicago, a historical immigrant and Sanctuary city, would indeed become a key site where these political changes would take effect, and be contested. As the first year of the Trump presidency wore on, and rolled into the second, it was clear that the Trump administration planned to follow up with its promises to heighten immigration enforcement. While several of the executive orders issued in the first days of his presidency remained caught in the courts, ICE offices began to reorient themselves to the new priorities of the administration almost immediately, and to treat immigrants in deportation proceedings in substantially different ways. And while the panic that arose in the face of the unknown subsided to some degree as migrant families had to continue on with their daily lives, Trump's actions also confirmed many of the more dire speculations that had opened his presidency.

Over the course of 2017 President Trump increased and broadened immigration enforcement priorities, eliminated many of the temporary protections for non-citizens implemented by prior administrations, and reduced the number of refugee admissions. The Trump administration restored a nationwide system known as secure communities (287g), establishing partnerships between the police and ICE in order to increase the ability of local law enforcement to identify and hold potential undocumented immigrants. In the fall of 2017 President Trump also announced his decision to cancel TPS, as well as DACA, measures that had shielded more than 1 million unauthorized immigrants from deportation. In addition, the White House supported a bill proposed to Congress in May of 2017 that would make unlawful presence a criminal misdemeanor instead of a civil violation, and would allow local law enforcement agencies to

enforce criminal penalties for federal immigration violations. Shortly after Trump's announcement that he planned to challenge DACA, rumors of "Operation Mega", a large-scale immigration raid, began to circulate, and in October of 2017 NBC news leaked an internal document from Homeland Security that revealed plans to target 8400 undocumented immigrants, the "largest operation of its kind in the history of ICE" (12 News, Sep. 7 2017). The week after the story was released, ICE issued a statement saying it was cancelling nationwide enforcement actions due to the hurricanes in the South of the country. However, in February of 2018 the mayor of Oakland tipped off her community to a large-scale raid that was implemented by ICE the following day, and in April of 2018 ICE conducted the largest workplace raid in over a decade, arresting almost 100 undocumented immigrants in a meat-packing plant in Tennessee. This nation-wide wave of raids hit Chicago shortly after- in May of 2018 ICE officers rounded up over one hundred Latino day-laborers in Chicago over the course of a single weekend, arriving in force to locations where it was known many immigrants waited for informal work- including Little Village.

The large scale and public nature of these operations by immigration enforcement were deeply disturbing to immigrant communities, maintaining feelings of precarity and unease. As one immigrant activist described following the announcement of the cancellation of 'Operation Mega' in the fall of 2017:

> Every time it feels like we are recovering, figuring out how to handle the newest crisis the administration has thrown at us, they come out with something new. We're just barely keeping up, it's like putting out fires, with more and more people being affected all the time.

A local priest within Little Village echoed this sentiment:

> When Trump first got elected, we were afraid of what he could do. We had members moving back to Mexico, people were panicking. We tried our best to calm them, in mass we prayed for our Lord to soften this President's heart, to stop him from following through with all the threats from the campaign. But by the end of the year- [2017] it was clear that he was putting

> the full force of his power into attacking immigrant communities, doing everything he could to keep them afraid. Their worst fears were coming true.

As the immigrant community anxiously awaited changes in immigration policy by the Trump administration, they paid close attention to the actions of immigration enforcement as evidence of the administration's commitment to fulfill campaign promises- and it did not take long for their fears to be confirmed. Edgar Castillo's arrest in March of 2017 served as a frighteningly local example of the aggressive strategies that immigration officers were utilizing under the direction of Donald Trump, and his arrest triggered a heightened sense of vulnerability within Little Village as it revealed the ways that criminalization by police was deeply connected with the actions of immigration enforcement. But it should not be taken for granted that because of the violent nature of Edgar's arrest that his case would be broadly interpreted as "unjust"; in the first few months that CUFD, La Villita se Defiende and NIAF came together to fight his case, these organizations had trouble convincing politicians to agree to signing on to letters of support for his case, because of the fact that he was listed in the gang database. However, Edgar's arrest was a key catalyst event within the development of new campaigns born of a growing awareness of the ways that immigration enforcement and police were collaborating. The FOIA investigations that were sparked by Edgar's arrest provided a wealth of information about the ways that law enforcement disproportionately target and mistreat black and brown minorities in Chicago, mobilizing local support for his cause as well as galvanizing a broad coalition of advocacy organizations to participate in both campaigns.[20] CUFD had already attempted to submit FOIA requests to obtain information about other immigration raids that had happened within the city under Obama, but had experienced rejection several times because of problems

[20] The results of the investigation were published in a report called Tracked and Targeted (Bonsu & Clarno, 2018).

with the language of the requests. By collaborating with NIAF for Edgar's case, they were able to engage the help of experienced lawyers, and collectively they began to submit FOIA's specifically inquiring about the gang database. They wanted to know, "What did it mean for Edgar's name to be on this list, and how did it have to do with his apprehension?" Because the gang database is connected with larger systems of surveillance, such as the "Strategic Subjects List", they also engaged the help of the Black Youth Project, as well as the Arab American Action Network, who provided staff power to help review the vast amounts of data that came with the FOIA, and to write a report on their findings. The FOIA inquiries revealed that the database contained over 128,000 individuals,74.5% of whom are Black, and 21.4% are Latinx (Bonsu & Clarno, 2018). These numbers mean that approximately 11% of Chicago's total Black population, and 4% of the Hispanic population- in comparison to just 0.6% of the white population- have their names in the gang database. The inquiry also exposed the fact that the database contains numerous errors, often listing the same people in opposing gangs, and including people who were listed as young as 3 years old, and as old as 132. Through further investigation, it was made apparent that there is no due process for people's names to be entered into the gang database, that those who are entered are not notified, and that there is no way for their name to be removed from the database once entered (Ibid; Flores 2017). Being listed in the gang database was also shown to effect bond and sentencing decisions, to result in targeted immigration enforcement, and to pose barriers to employment and housing through background checks.

Edgar's case provided a concrete, local instantiation of the policy changes immigrants were noticing at the national level- changes that sought to treat all immigrants as criminals, regardless of their involvement in activities that are more typically considered crimes- namely

acts that harm society. Although Edgar's name had been entered in the gang database by local police before President Trump took office, and organizations like CUFD had been denouncing the criminalization of black and brown people in Chicago for some time, the immigrant community's heightened sensitivity to perceived attacks by immigration enforcement facilitated a greater attention to the injustice of his case. And as more people who fit the narrative of the "good immigrant" began to be targeted and apprehended by immigration enforcement, feelings of vulnerability grew- feelings that would motivate changes in behavior within the community, as well as sparked shifts in the conversation about immigrant criminality and the justice of the immigration enforcement system more broadly. In the next section I will show how this climate of steadily-rising fear in fact created unforeseen opportunities- increasing the number of community members who wanted to be informed and prepared for interactions with immigration enforcement, increasing the sense of perceived injustice that the collective felt when interpreting the actions of immigration enforcement, and broadening feelings of solidarity between marginalized groups, ultimately motivating increased unity in the strategies and the narratives organizations began to use in their collective defense.

6. 2 Increased Criminalization, Individual Frame shifts and a Rise in Engagement

Over a year after Edgar's arrest- in May of 2018- cars and trucks trundled past a crowd of protestors, holding signs and clustering close to a small loudspeaker, straining to hear the voice of a wan, middle-aged Latino man standing on the raised curb of a planter, wearing workboots and a faded tool-belt. He looked behind him towards the Home Depot parking lot, and shook his head.

> My name is Carlos. I have been standing on this corner waiting for work for 12 years. Three months after the Home Depot opened, I came here to ask people buying supplies if they needed help, when I was desperate for work. Since then it has been the place that I go in

> order to provide for my family and children. If you're undocumented, it's not easy to find work anywhere else. What we want is respect for this place as a job site, so we can keep looking for work, and earn an honest living. Last week ICE came, and broke the little stability we thought we had- they attacked the place we come to look for work. They did not take the Polish men standing nearby- men also looking for work. But they stopped and detained the men who look like me, they confused their skin color and their language for probable cause, and this is very worrisome for anyone who values their civil rights. So we stand here today to take this space back from fear, racism, and the violence of immigration and custom enforcement. We will continue organizing until all corners of our community are safe from the actions of ICE. We will no longer let our fear keep us in hiding, we will no longer let out rights be violated, we will defend ourselves by organizing and fighting the back against the Trump administration.

The crowd, composed of many other middle-aged men and women, many of whom also appeared to work in construction, cheered in agreement. This crowd looked different than many of the rallies I had attended downtown in front of the court house, or at city hall- the average age was much older than usual, and did not speak with the more polished rhetoric of the typical activist. And while this speaker, and several of those that followed- also witnesses to the raid- looked uncomfortable speaking, shifting their eyes down or occasionally mumbling at inopportune moments given the rumble of the street in the background, they also looked determined.

Another woman, the wife of one of the detained construction workers, stepped up to speak, and almost immediately tears began streaming down her face.

> We have always worried when my husband left the house driving, I always feared when my teenage son walked home late at night. But this is different. My husband wasn't hurting anyone, he wasn't breaking any laws, he was simply standing on the corner, looking for work. And now, my children are terrorized. My daughter asks me 'Why did they take my daddy? When will he be home?' and I don't know what to say. This is a new kind of fear, a fear that lingers in our streets, on our corners, in our neighborhoods. But it also moves me to do what I never have before- to organize, to raise my voice, to demand my rights are respected like a human being. Even though we don't have documents, we have the right to live with dignity, without fear. We have a strong community that won't let ICE and the inhuman government destroy our families. We demand that the director of ICE, Ricardo Wong, put a stop to persecution in the immigrant community, we want Sanctuary not surveillance.

The rally ended with one of the more familiar youth organizers giving the crowd a short summary of what many already knew- that the previous Saturday, all around the city, people had been detained. ICE officers had been going to known corners where day-laborers worked, asking for IDs and place of birth. It was the sort of event activist groups had been preparing for with dread for months- a city-wide raid, with hundreds detained. Yet the crowd on that Friday afternoon was bigger than usual, and there were more new participants at this rally than I had seen in several months. The youth organizer ended by encouraging anyone with information about others detained in the raid, or wanting to know more, to come to the organizations' community meeting the following weekend.

The following weekend, I did in fact encounter Carlos again, at the community *asamblea*; Carlos was attending one of CUFD's meetings for the first time, and he brought his family. He told me he was excited to be participating in the community's efforts to fight back against the injustices he had witnessed only the week before.

> It used to be, you'd hear that someone from work got picked up, but you'd think- they probably got into trouble. They were probably driving drunk or, you know, did something. One never truly knows the other, you know? I've been undocumented for over 15 years, but I thought, as long as I don't bother anyone, if I just work hard, that God would help me, that it would be fine. But the things I've been hearing, the things I saw on that day- the government is going too far. I'm sorry to say I always had a good excuse to not get involved with the activities I heard going on in the neighborhood, with political matters. But now I see, if we don't take action to protect ourselves, no-one else will. We have to know what's going on, if we want to be safe.

Cultural frames can be slow to change, and the frames through which community members interpret their own vulnerability to deportation, as well as the perceived (in)justice of the actions of immigration enforcement are developed through an accumulation of their own experiences, as well as shaped by their psychological needs to cope with their feelings of vulnerability. However, these frames are not static, they are adapted as individuals and groups use them to

understand their experiences, and when these frames contradict understandings gained through new experiences with immigration enforcement, they can break down. As President Trump's administration proceeded to heighten immigration enforcement by removing protections for certain exceptional immigrants, such as DACA-recipients and those eligible for stays of removal, as well as increasing the reach of immigration enforcement through immigration raids, I observed how community members in Little Village began to perceive themselves as potentially more vulnerable to the actions of immigration enforcement, and the way that these perceptions facilitated an increased sensitivity to contradictions within the dominant deserving immigrant frame. As these contradictions accumulated, more community members began to report perceiving the actions of police and immigration enforcement as unjust, and racially biased- as Carlos pointed out, in the May raids, despite the presence of presumably undocumented Polish workers (given Chicago's demographics) standing with them at the corners, it was those immigrants who appeared non-white that were apprehended. Increased attention to the racially motivated and unjust actions of immigration enforcement ultimately motivated individuals to worry about the possibility of negative encounters with law enforcement- and these worries motivated an increased engagement of Latinx immigrants with local advocacy organizations.

One of the ways that I observed an increase in engagement among individuals as they sought to better prepare for potential threats was through the increased demand for "Know Your Rights" workshops within the immigrant community. Even before Trump, several local organizations would host teach-ins or workshops known as "Know Your Rights" workshops, in which they sought to empower community members to feel more comfortable interacting with law enforcement by informing them of their rights- rights such as the right to refuse entry to a law enforcement officer, the right to remain silent, or the right to refuse a search of ones' vehicle.

While organizations like CUFD and other city and state advocacy groups would hold these workshops fairly regularly[21], the beginning of the Trump administration sparked a huge increase in demand for these workshops. Over the first two months following Trump's election I attended 12 of these workshops, and by the end of the first year of the Trump administration I had attended 22- held in public libraries, cultural centers, schools, as well as the offices of local social service providers. During these workshops, it was common for participants to share during the introductions the reasons they had decided to attend, and the organizations who held these trainings often spent time with participants afterwards talking about their specific concerns and connecting them with resources to support their needs. Over the course of the first year under Trump, I noticed the ways that current changes in immigration policy tended to motivate patterns in the characteristics of participants these workshops attracted- 'types' of immigrants who I had not seen present in large numbers at these workshops or engaged with organizations previously. For example, when it was announced that President Trump was canceling TPS, there was a surge in participation in these workshops not only of TPS recipients, but also of legal residents concerned about Trump's ability to potentially revoke their legal residency. A week after Trump declared his decision to rescind TPS, in a "Know your Rights workshop" at the Universidad Popular, I spoke with Maria, an LPR from Honduras and mother of 3 citizen children. She shared:

> I used to be more active in political organizations, groups that work for immigrants' rights. But once I got my residency, and I had my kids, I just didn't have time anymore. And it wasn't really a problem for me, so I just stopped worrying about it. But when the news came out about TPS, one of my close friends, a neighbor of mine from El Salvador, she was devastated. Right now she's distraught- I've known her family for over 20 years, they're good people.. and now they're going to make her go back? It just isn't right. It makes me angry for her, and also makes me afraid for myself, a little bit. I thought, could the President

[21] Perhaps one every 3-4 months, depending institutional demand, as these workshops were often held after an invitation from another organization like a union or a school.

> do something to take away our papers too? So when I saw a poster for the workshop I decided to come- I need to understand what's happening, because the government is coming after everyone- everyone that looks like me, that is.

I heard this sentiment echoed by many in this particular workshop, as well as others within workshops and community events that followed- as Trump removed protections for those who had previously been considered deserving of status, and empathy, many people voiced the fear- 'Who will be next?'. Others, like Carlos expressed their belief that the government, and particularly immigration enforcement, was going "too far".

In September of 2017, when Trump announced his decision to end DACA, the reaction from the immigrant community was also immediate, and strong. A "Know your Rights" workshop and community meeting was held at a local high school the following week, and the school auditorium was packed with parents, educators, mental health providers, as well as activists who expressed their outrage at his decision. While some were undocumented, or DACA-mented, there was also a large number of documented residents and citizens who shared that they were mobilized by their distress at the injustice of Trump's decision. During the break out groups within the workshop, intended to allow participants to process their feelings and brainstorm strategies for moving forward, one Latina high school teacher, Linda[22], shared within our group:

> I teach ESL, and over my 15 years of teaching I have interacted with many immigrant students. I've had all kinds- and there are some, even though you feel bad for them, when you hear they're deported, you understand why. They were cutting class, getting into trouble, doing drugs. I get why those aren't the kind of people we're trying to keep around. But there's just no good reason why we should punish the Dreamers, why we should kick them out. People always say the 'system is broken', but I didn't understand, I guess maybe I didn't know what was going on. But this is the proof I needed to say, enough.

While in some ways we see that Linda's understandings of immigration enforcement continue to be shaped by moral judgments of who 'deserves' to be deported because of their behavior, her

[22] Who I later discovered in an interview was born in Chicago but had Mexican immigrant parents.

words also indicate the way that policy changes are motivating her to re-consider the justice of the dominant system, and to doubt her previous understandings of immigration enforcement. When she says "maybe I didn't know what was going on", we see that the current policy changes don't simply cause her to mistrust the government *now*, but also begin to poke holes in her understanding of the rationales upon which immigration enforcement has operated in the past. Ultimately, her sense of injustice is what motivates her engagement, and her emergent desire to fight for change.

I also crossed paths with Eduardo- the high school student I had helped with his college applications in October of 2016- accompanying his younger brother to the workshop at the high school. When the workshop was over I approached him to see how he had been doing, and asked him if he had ended up attending one of the colleges I helped him apply to. While the previous October he had told me that he believed that "protection was not committing a crime", he shared with me that after the elections he had become increasingly worried about what might happen if he encountered law enforcement. He commented in the workshop:

> I've been taking a few classes in community college- I thought I would save money so I could transfer to a university in a couple years. But who knows what's going to happen? My uncle was pulled over a few months ago, and even though he hadn't been doing anything wrong, when they saw he didn't have a license they detained him. Now he's in deportation proceedings. Now Trump is taking away DACA… Things are getting bad. I'm more afraid than I used to be.

Eduardo had felt uncertain about his future as a college student before Trump, but over the course of a year, policy changes as well as the detention of his uncle caused him to feel more insecure about his ability to remain in the U.S. at all. His presence at the 'Know Your Rights' workshop indicated his growing uncertainty that his previous strategy of simply not getting into trouble would be enough to keep him safe. This sense of changing understandings resonates with the phenomenon I described in chapter 4- the ways that people understood the actions of the

Trump administration to in some ways 'reveal' to them hidden truths about racism in the U.S. Here I point to the ways that these shifts in understanding about the underlying racism that Trump's government exemplified also motivated shifts in the frame that immigrants are using to understand the actions of immigration enforcement, as well as their own vulnerability to deportation.

At the same meeting, Franco, an undocumented construction worker with 2 DACA-mented children, shared during the break-out group:

> I always told my children, if you work hard, you can make a place for yourself here, just like anywhere. I prayed and believed that one day immigration reform would come. But everything that's happened, it feels like a bright light was just shone in our eyes, and now we see that they will never accept us here because of the color of our skin. We have to stand up for ourselves.

'Standing up for ourselves' didn't always mean engaging in political action, or participating in protests, however- it also manifested itself through the formation of new relationships between community members and advocacy organizations, as community members sought resources to protect themselves. While organizations experienced a surge in interest for workshops like the 'Know your rights' trainings, and did gain new members that participated in their events over time, it's important to note that even just the act of reaching out to organizations for resources and support was a big step for many undocumented individuals who had previously been afraid to seek help. Organizations like the Mexican consulate and other legal service providers had always provided trainings and resources to help people prepare for potential interactions with immigration enforcement- steps such as gathering one's own immigration history, organizing ownership documents for their primary assets- such as their house or car, or writing *"cartas de poder*"[23]. I interviewed one consulate employee, and several lawyers in October and November

[23] "Power of attorney" letters that designate legal caretakers for individual's children or property in the event they

of 2017, and they confirmed that the demand for the provision of these services had noticeably risen. In the case of the Mexican consulate, they said they had doubled their weekly legal workshops, and had decided to expand their reach by also hosting informational sessions around the city to assist residents in preparing their legal documents.

While attending several of these trainings, many participants commented to me that they had known for a while that they should make arrangements for the possibility of their detainment before, but they had always put it off, preferring to focus on what felt like more urgent daily needs. For example, Diana, an undocumented mother of 2 citizen children, commented to me during a legal workshop at a local cultural center:

> Before, I didn't want to take this step, I didn't want to think about it at all. I always found something to do instead. Every time I considered making this sort of arrangement, it felt like it made the possibility that I might need this document too real. I didn't want to think it could happen to me. But then Trump started changing the laws, and all these raids started happening- with everything that was going on, I realized we had to be prepared for anything, no one is safe… It was hard to talk to my children about it, but now in some ways I'm relieved, I know we're more prepared to manage what might happen in the future.

Here we see how Diana's previous strategy of coping with her feeling of vulnerability- ignoring or suppressing her concerns- failed to quiet her feelings of vulnerability as the heightened visibility of the actions of immigration enforcement generated a greater sense of criminalization. While Diana did not want to consider seriously the possibility of her own deportation, the changing political climate forced her to consider this possibility more "real". The huge increase in demand for 'Know your Rights' trainings within the first year of the Trump administration also indicates that collectively, the immigrant community felt motivated to prepare themselves to better protect themselves during interactions with police and immigration enforcement as they experienced the possibility of their own deportation as more 'real' as well. This interest in

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are removed from the country and need someone else to manage their assets or help their children travel.

preparation reflects a rising mistrust of police and immigration enforcement- a sense of mistrust founded in the growing belief that agents of the state were not simply targeting those that were harming society, but rather those that appear foreign.

As immigrants became aware of more cases in which the targeted and detained immigrants were similar to themselves, the distinctions they had made between criminal and illegal began to break down, as Tamara, a young DACA-mented woman, exemplified in a comment she made during introductions at another Teach-in following the cancellation of DACA:

> I know that there's a lot of fear right now, and a lot of disappointment. To me, this feels like it did when the Dream Act died in 2010. It's ok to feel sad and angry, but we also need to understand how we got here. For too long we've been divided, trying to fight for DACA even though we knew that our parents, our friends, so many of us weren't eligible. We've been trying to survive, by supporting an unjust system. We have to stop using the slogan 'We are not criminals', we have to stop dividing our community between good and bad. Because to ICE- we are all criminals. And we need to come together, so we can fight back.

In this speech, we see that Tamara attempts to redirect the frustration and sadness of the crowd from the cancellation of DACA towards a more general diagnosis of the problem- the racial bias implicit in the actions of police and immigration enforcement. Despite the fact that the community was particularly reacting to the cancellation of DACA, she uses a moment of collective fear to shift the narrative about why it is that people are deported- highlighting the structural injustices rather than focusing on particular groups within the immigrant community. I observed the ways that her words, as well as the larger pattern of policy changes, motivated community members to think more critically about previous distinctions that they had made between those who were criminal, and who were not, and to articulate a more inclusive understanding of who was part of their community. Ultimately these feelings of vulnerability also motivated more immigrants to get connected with organizations that are part of the larger movement for immigrants' rights, and this heightened engagement stimulated changes at the

collective level as well.

6. 3 Emerging Coalitions, Shifting Collective Narratives

So far I have shown how an increasingly threatening political environment at the national level- instantiated locally in incidents of blatantly criminalizing actions of police and immigration enforcement- served to stimulate outrage and galvanize engagement within immigrant communities. However, I have yet to focus on the ways that changes in individual engagement and shifting frames through which individual immigrants understood their position also shaped social action at the collective level. I begin by discussing how existing social justice-oriented organizations reacted in the early days of the Trump presidency, and then examine how their relationships and strategies shifted as more individuals saw immigrants' rights as a social justice problem. A growing demand for resources and services, as well as a growing collective interest to fight back, changed the environment within which organizations operated, and the needs they felt compelled to respond to. As part of a response to the sense of emergency that Trump's election generated, many organizations met to discuss the ways they could pool their resources and unite in the face of the rising tide of an oppressive government. As they continued to struggle to "put out fires", they continued to work together with the urgencies that arose as policies continued to change and attacks on the community continued to occur. In this section, I will demonstrate how as more organizations felt the urgencies of an unreceptive political climate, organizations with previously disparate ideologies and different cultural and ethnic identities came together to collaborate in several new campaigns, producing a more unified social movement. The difficulty of advocacy at the national level also motivated organizations to cooperate in strategies of defense at the local level that had previously been considered too politically (and legally) risky, sparking innovation in collective organizing strategies.

Changes in the larger political environment motivated cooperation among organizations as they worked to better serve and support the needs of communities under attack. In order to collaborate, organizations needed to compromise in the messaging and strategy of their campaigns, and the frame they used to interpret and articulate the problems the community faced. I argue that political changes focused on criminalizing immigrants and minorities motivated an increased focus on dominant narratives about criminality, and advocacy organizations began to develop an increased sensitivity to narratives that framed immigrants as "good" or "bad" in reaction to increased criminalization. While community organizations that were previously seen as particularly radical had been calling attention to this narrative under Obama, the fact that increasing numbers of people were reaching the conclusion that "To ICE- we are all criminals." [In Tamara's words] created circumstances that motivated collective organizations to be more critical of narratives about criminality, and this increased flexibility in narrative frames also facilitated the collaboration of organizations and advocates who had previously declined to work together because of ideological or cultural differences.

The first strategic planning meeting of the local coalition, *La Villita Se Defiende*, took place in a church in the heart of Little Village in January of 2017. Since the pews were difficult to reorganize, I found the cluster of some 30 community leaders in the basement, drinking coffee and chatting quietly while they took their places in the circle of wooden folding chairs that looked like were normally used for bible study. After introductions had been made, the circle was opened for comments and feedback about where they should begin. An employee of the Little Village chamber of commerce stood up:

> While Trump's arrival certainly has been a cause of concern, I am grateful in a way. Many of you are people I have seen, or spoken with briefly, we are leaders within our own fields, but we often fail to make the time to come together, to reflect on the well-being of our neighborhood, and to think of the ways we can complement each other's work to make our

neighborhood stronger.

One of the leaders of CUFD, Valeria, stood and thanked him for sharing his perspective, and went on:

> I understand that many of us did not expect Trump to win, and right now we are struggling to manage our own feelings, the feelings of our community, as we adjust to a new era. But we also need to understand our own role in what's happening. We need to understand how we fed the beast that's coming for us. For too long, many of us have been saying 'we are not criminals', we have been talking about our 'Dreamers' and how they deserve to be accepted here. But most of us aren't Dreamers. And most of us know that the people they call criminals are our fathers, our brothers, our neighbors. Now we are all sitting in this room together- because we see that the threat is greater than ever before. But for too long we have been divided, divided by lines of "good" and "bad". As a community, we need to take a stand. We need to tell the President- we all deserve to be here, and we will fight for everyone to stay, no matter who they are or what they have done. And we need to find new ways to fight.

Several of the participants in the circle looked down, or shifted uncomfortably in their chairs. But no one raised an objection. Over the course of the next several meetings, the group made a list of urgent needs, a map of the resources that were available within all the networks they were part of, as well as a list of guiding principals. The guiding principals were as follows:

- To ensure that this effort is grassroots and led by the community members who are most affected.
- To resist efforts to divide our community between "good" and "bad" immigrants, or between those who "deserve" respect and human rights and those who do not.
- To resist criminalization in all its forms.
- To recognize that everyone has a role to play in this struggle, and to respect multiple forms of resistance including those that are high risk.
- To stand in solidarity with other affected communities, including communities of color, the LGBTQAI2S community, immigrants, Muslims, womxn, the disabled and others.

These guiding principles represent a radical position for many of the organizations who were part of the coalition. While a few of the most left-leaning activist groups in Little Village, including CUFD, had been calling for identifying shared struggles with other criminalized communities, the fact that larger and more conservative institutions, particularly representatives of the Catholic church and high-profile legal firms, agreed to sign on to this statement was hugely important

symbolically within the Little Village Community. After the third meeting, I asked a lawyer from NIAF, one of the larger law firms who had sent a representative, how they saw these guiding principles. He responded:

> As a lawyer, it's my job to emphasize the good in my clients- to try and get the court to be sympathetic. But Trump is taking away discretion… although we don't yet know how, the rules are going to change. We're already seeing it. So we have to be open to change too, we're going to have to find new ways to fight for our clients.

When I asked one of the pastors a similar question, his answer was more guarded, but still reflected a surprising openness: "Our role as leaders is to care for our people. Right now we are seeing that the world just got a little harder, our members our suffering. So we are looking for new ways to care for them, and that's why we are here." In a report back within an CUFD meeting, however, Valeria expressed her shock at the lack of dissent she had experienced as they set out the guiding principles:

> A year ago, we couldn't even get many of these people to schedule a meeting with us. They thought we were "too radical". Our message hasn't changed. But all those people clapping for Obama are now feeling outraged, and they're looking for an alternative. They wouldn't listen to us before, but now there's an opportunity to engage. Because their options have run out.

The fact that more traditional advocacy organizations were willing to sign in agreement to this list of shared principles demonstrates that changes in the larger political environment were critical in motivating shifts both within relationships of advocacy organizations on the ground. The interactions within this coalition also indicate an increased flexibility in the frames that organizations had used to interpret the challenges their community faced, as well as an increased openness to the idea that even immigrants who had committed crimes should be defended, because the system of law and immigration enforcement act in unjust ways. The explicit call to stand in solidarity with marginalized communities also points to the way that movement leaders hoped to formulate a broader collective identity of communities under attack by Trump, in order

to unify these groups in shared resistance.

The case of Heloisa Santos serves as another salient example of the ways that organizations and advocates were pushed to collaborate in new strategies of deportation defense as they adapted to the new rules of the Trump administration, and how they felt an increased need to unify in order to generate sufficient pressure to fight back against an increasingly difficult political environment. Heloisa Santos is a 67 year old Mexican woman who overstayed a tourist visa in 2001, and was living without documents in Chicago ever since. She brought her 3 children with her, and now has 10 native born grandchildren living in the Chicago area. In February of 2013, Heloisa was stopped by police for not using her blinker to a turn at a stop sign in the suburbs of Chicago-land. She was detained by immigration officials for two weeks, during which time her daughter got in touch with CUFD, who organized a public protest outside the detention center for the detention of "abuelita Heloisa". As a result of their demonstrations, they were able to crowdfund enough money to get Heloisa released on bail. This campaign was in fact one of CUFD's early successes in launching a public anti-deportation campaign- Heloisa was granted a stay of removal in May 2014. From 2014 until 2017, every year Heloisa simply had to go into the ICE office for a check in and renew her stay of removal. However, in May of 2017, Heloisa received a notice to appear in court- her case was being called back up; because Donald Trump had declared that all undocumented immigrants were a priority for his administration, she no longer had legal grounds to ask for the state to let her continue to remain in the country.

After CUFD had supported Heloisa in fighting for her stay of removal, she had become an active member in the group, often appearing to provide support to other members when they had court dates, and participating actively in the group's bi-monthly *asambleas.* When Heloisa received her notice to appear in court, she immediately contacted the lead organizers of CUFD,

and they asked her and her lawyer to attend the next staff meeting. Heloisa's lawyer looked grim as she explained to the group:

> Well, I am seeing a lot of cases like this right now- people who had previously been granted a stay being called back to court. What we are hearing from the judges in these cases is that they are no longer allowed to exercise their discretion, in the cases I've seen so far they have been granting continuances, and asking people to come back to court with a concrete plan to return to their country. Legally, the best we can hope for is voluntary departure.

As she explained this, Heloisa's gaze was fixed straight ahead, staring into nothing. When the lawyer began to discuss options for returning home, tears began to run down her cheeks. "I don't want to leave my children, my grandchildren" she sobbed. Maya, one of the leaders within the group, intervened: "As a group we have always said, we will fight with you until the end. If you don't want to leave, we will continue to support you in your fight. We just have to think of a new approach." The group began to brainstorm ways to elevate pressure against ICE, and to increase media attention to her case. They had staged press conferences at the ICE offices before, but as another member pointed out "We can't just do the same things we used to- it's not enough anymore." As they began to discuss how to magnify attention to Heloisa's cause, the idea was proposed that if Trump was planning a mega-raid, they should organize a 'mega check-in'. Because Heloisa had to check in with ICE before going to her court date, and because check in times and days were "open"[24], the group decided to talk to other members who were currently in deportation proceedings and to plan that everyone with a check in would go to the ICE office on the same day. As the group discussed this option, the organizers began to look more excited, and someone else suggested inviting legislators, and other politicians who had written letters of support for Heloisa when she applied for her stay. Heloisa's lawyer looked nervous: "Look, I

[24] I.e. if you have a pending check in you can go any time on tuesday or thursday in the month the check in is scheduled

appreciate the idea, but the culture of ICE has been changing in the last few months- they have become much more rigid and punitive. It could be risky for the people who decide to participate." Heloisa exclaimed: "Riskier than having to show up with a plane ticket? I understand if the others don't want to take that risk, but it doesn't sound like I have much more to lose." As they talked through the options a bit more, and the group decided to give Heloisa time to go home to discuss it with her family, and suggested everyone continue to think it over. As they prepared to end the meeting, Maya asked Heloisa: "How are you feeling now?" She replied: "If we're doing it together, I feel like I want to keep fighting."

About a month later, after beginning to talk to other members with pending deportation cases, CUFD organized a meeting in a basement classroom of a local school, where they invited all of those who might participate in the "Mega-Check in": their lawyers, key organizers, and several representatives from allied groups- including leaders from the Black Youth Project and La Villita se Defiende. To begin, Heloisa's lawyer stood up and summarized the idea as it stood- that they wanted to plan a check in with multiple cases, in order to call attention to the rise in cases being called back into courts, and the ways the new administration had been cracking down and separating families by deporting people who had previously been deemed 'low priority'. She shared that she had felt doubts when the idea was first proposed, but she agreed that ICE doesn't like to attract the kind of public attention that might occur if they detained everyone at once, and that if they brought along media and politicians, she thought it could generate some real pressure on the administration. As the discussion moved forward, those people with deportation cases began to look increasingly determined. The group took a poll- all 7 people with pending deportation cases wanted to participate. They began to make a list of allies to invite, including several alderman, several state senators, Congressman Dick Durbin, the Arab American Action

Network, Asian Americans Advancing Justice, the Black Youth Project, and the Chicago Religious Leadership Network.[25] When someone mentioned Senator Durbin, another responded "Durbin! He's going to hear that one of the cases is a person with a DUI and say he can't support us." Maya responded: "And we're going to tell him- times have changed. It's not the time to be so picky- now you're either on our side, or you're on Trump's." A date was chosen- August 29th. The group parted with a timeline for next steps, and a plan of action.

At the check in, there were more than a hundred people present, including 5 news channels and as well as Congresswoman Jan Schakowsky and state representative Elizabeth Hernandez.[26] Despite the sizeable turnout from the community, the day was bittersweet. After hours of waiting, everyone emerged from the ICE building- undetained-, but Heloisa was crying. "They told me I have to come back with a plane ticket, that they're not going to detain me now, but I have to leave." She wept brokenly as her grandson clutched her tightly. However, Representative Hernandez took the microphone- "I am appalled at the way that Heloisa, the other cases, and myself were treated up in that office. I will personally be arranging a meeting with ICE Director Wong, Senator Durbin, Senator Schakowsky, and myself to see what can be done to keep Heloisa with her family." A month later, Heloisa received a letter in the mail- ICE had granted her "deferred action", putting her case back on hold for the time being (although the reasons for this decision were not specified). At the press conference announcing the good news, Heloisa's lawyer declared proudly:

> This is a victory for us all. The administration has said they are no longer granting any stay's for humanitarian reasons, they were denying all of them, and that's what they said to Heloisa too. But this is proof that you don't have to just believe what ICE tells you, that the only way

[25] These were organizations they had recently begun to organize together connecting through several emergency meetings following Donald Trump's election, launching new campaigns for expanded sanctuary and to erase the gang database.

[26] Senator Durbin gave his regrets, but said he would be in Washington on that date.

> to win is to fight, and that there is always hope and with a combination of legal strategy, local political pressure and collective organizing, we can still win, despite Trump's promises. Heloisa's campaign was one that many might have considered a lost cause- in the new

administration, she was no longer eligible for discretion, and from a traditional legal perspective, her options were limited. However, community organizers were determined to fight, and through collaboration developed a new strategy of defense that drew from the tactics of Trump himself- they made visible the number of people who were being affected by his new policies. While at first, Heloisa's lawyers, and other allies, were concerned about the risks involved of such a large scale action, desperation pushed Heloisa, and her community to put their cases on the line, and to demonstrate to the world (through media outlets) the great number of people being affected by Trump's decision to deny relief to those who had received it under Obama. In addition, as pressures mounted and more "good immigrants" began to be targets for deportation, political advocates who tended towards more traditional strategies of organizing- such as Congressman, religious organizations, and more mainstream political groups- felt called to support. In the period before Trump, Congresswoman Schakowsky and Senator Durbin had repeatedly declined to write letters of support for immigrants facing deportation who had DUI's or criminal histories, and they had never appeared to accompany immigrants to the ICE office. However, for this 'Mega-Check in' both Schakowsky and Durbin provided support (through letters, Schakowsky's presence at the check-in, as well as by arranging a meeting with ICE director Ricardo Wong), despite the fact that several of the people participating in the check in had a DUI or some sort of mark on their criminal record. Finally, the event included the participation of a much broader range of advocacy organizations- particularly groups from other marginalized communities such as the Black Youth Project and Arab American Action Network. These organizations had begun to work together on the Erase the Database campaign, as well as the Expanded Sanctuary

Campaign[27], two campaigns that arose out of the need to push for local protections, as opportunities for advocacy at the federal level diminished. The 'Mega-Check-in' benefited from a big turn out and a lot of visibility for Heloisa's case, and ultimately, they achieved their goal- representing both a victory for Heloisa, but also an affirmation that with increased unity, local organizations could still defend members of their community from deportation.

5.3.1 Interracial Coalitions- Unity in Marginalization

So far in this chapter I have demonstrated the ways that shifts in federal politics, and the targeting of those immigrants previously viewed as "good immigrants", motivated cooperation among organizations as well as innovation in the strategies used for collective defense. I gave examples of the ways that coalitions of organizations began to form, coalitions like La Villita se Defiende, and illustrated how an increase in criminalization motivated an awareness of the flaws in rhetoric that identified certain immigrants as more deserving of support than others. However, shifts in frame were not localized within Little Village- across the city, marginalized communities began to fear for their well-being within the Trump administration, and this generated incentives for different communities to build relationships and unite against a common enemy. Events like the workplace raids in May described above provided evidence to the Latino community that law enforcement "confused their skin color and their language for probable cause" and as criminalization became as salient to the Latino community as other criminalized ethnic groups, such as Black and Arab communities, advocates from these communities came together. Prominent examples of this trend were two emergent campaigns that arose following Trump's election, the Erase the Database campaign, and the Expanded Sanctuary campaign. I will trace these campaigns from their birth- at the beginning of the Trump presidency, and show

[27] Described in more detail below.

how they evolved over time and gained traction as attacks on the immigrant community motivated increased engagement within social movements.

In November of 2016, an emergency meeting was hosted at the Chicago Teachers Union, in which representatives from the Arab American Action Network, Black Lives Matter (Chicago chapter), Asian Americans Advancing Justice, and Communities United to Fight Deportations spoke on a joint panel to discuss the ways that the racist undertones of Trump's campaign was anticipated to affect their communities, and the need for unity among marginalized groups in order to fight this trend. During this panel, these leaders discussed the importance of Chicago's status as a 'Sanctuary City', and emphasized how in the new administration, marginalized groups would have to come together to demand 'Sanctuary for All'. This concept became the basis for the "Expanded Sanctuary Campaign", a city-wide campaign organized to put pressure on local city government to expand protections for marginalized and immigrant groups targeted by the Federal government. The Expanded Sanctuary campaign particularly focused on pushing city government to revise the "Welcoming City Ordinance", the policy that formalized Chicago's stance as a Sanctuary City by guaranteeing that the city would not ask about immigration status, disclose information about status to federal authorities, or deny city services to anyone based on their immigration status. The Welcoming City Ordinance represented an important commitment by the city to back up its promise to defend and protect its immigrant communities. However, in the face of the growing criminalization of immigrants under Trump- particularly incidents like Edgar's arrest, and the arrests of others with similar circumstances- local advocacy groups took notice of the fact that the Ordinance included important exceptions to the protections that it offered- exemptions for anyone who had any criminal warrants, felony charges, or was identified in the gang database. Advocacy organizations argued that the city's promise to treat "all

members of the immigrant community, and more broadly communities of color.. with respect and dignity" were severely undermined by particular exemptions in the ordinance that leave those with criminal records exposed.

The call for "Sanctuary for All: No Exceptions" became a rallying cry for a cross-cultural coalition of immigrant and minority advocacy groups across the city. Participating members came from far-left activist groups such as CUFD, the Arab American Action Network and Black Lives Matter, as well as from more traditional legal firms such as the MacArthur Justice center, the National Immigrant Justice Center, and the Chicago Religious Leadership Network. Because of the diversity of backgrounds and organizing tactics, the coalition organizing this campaign began to employ a wide range of strategies in order to put pressure on the Mayor, as well as the City council, to amend the Ordinance such that there were no exceptions. They also pushed the city to include within the Ordinance expanded priorities to re-define "Expanded Sanctuary", which to these groups entailed the city's commitment to de-funding the police, and increasing funding for education and mental health services for black and brown communities in Chicago. In a strategy meeting, each organization committed to polling members and the coalition created a master list of all group members and the wards they lived in. The organizing team then planned meetings by ward, uniting members who were active in disparate activist groups but lived in the same neighborhood, in order to plan community meetings with their respective aldermen to talk to them about their interest in a more inclusive definition of Sanctuary.

I attended several of these meetings, including one held at the headquarters for the non-profit organization "Chicago Community and Worker's Rights", for residents of the Pilsen area. There were almost 40 people in attendance, and the audience was markedly more diverse than meetings organized exclusively by immigrant advocates- in attendance were white nurses, concerned

about the way political changes were affecting immigrants' access to preventative care, asylum seekers from Nigeria who had struggled with housing and came on behalf of a group that works on issues of fair housing, Latinos, invited by CUFD and immigration activists in Pilsen, several black women who were representing a group called "Moms United Against Violence and Incarceration" as well as several representatives from the Arab American action network and Asian Americans advancing justice- two organizations that were active partners in the Expanded Sanctuary campaign. As we discussed the talking points the group wanted to cover in a meeting with their Alderman several members of the group mentioned how the diversity of those involved should be emphasized because, as one of the Nigerian men commented:

> We all came here today because we are all being directly affected by the unjust policies of this administration. And we need to tell him [the Alderman]- this isn't just about black people or brown people anymore- we've got every color under the sun saying 'This is a problem for my community, and you need to do something about it.'

Over lunch, I spoke with Fernando, an undocumented man in his mid-50's, who had come on behalf of the Independent Workers Union. He shared that he was glad so many different people were in attendance that day, although he was sad because of what he thought it meant. He shook his head sadly, and said he felt sorry, because people were getting involved because of a rising sense of terror. He specified: "not so much fear, but terror. Terror is bad." I asked him how he understood the difference:

> We all have fear, sometimes we might be afraid to cross the street because we know something bad could happen to us. But one knows that they can look both ways, they can take precautions so that doesn't happen. Terror has to do with the uncertain, when you can't imagine what could happen. When they can't even imagine what could happen, it stays stuck in their head, those people are constantly thinking about how they don't know what they can do to take care of themselves, they don't know what's going to happen... that's what makes people sick…. We're all here today because we are all suffering from the same sickness. When we come together and share our stories we see that even though we come from different places, we work in different jobs, we have different beliefs- but we are all being affected in the same way. I feel glad that were are finally coming together, to work together to look for a solution. But it's a shame that it can only happen

> because things are so bad, for everyone. It's a shame we have to ask the city to protect us from our federal government, or from our own police.

Both my interlocutors at this event recognized the value of unity- and were excited about the opportunity for previously separated groups to collaborate in pushing local politicians to create more inclusive protections for marginalized communities at the city level. But they also recognized that in some ways, it was only through an overwhelming feeling of desperation that came from a shared sense of persecution that motivated their alliance.

Despite the dire circumstances that facilitated the collaboration of advocacy groups who worked on very different issues, and in very different ways, this new coalition was able to pool resources such as the political power of members, as well as employ a more diverse range of political strategies, drawing from the strengths of different organizations. In addition to more traditional strategies of organizing, such as meeting with local politicians, many of the groups collaborating in the Expanded Sanctuary campaign began asking their members to allow participating legal organizations to submit FOIA requests on their behalf, and to encourage friends and family to do the same. Because the Welcoming City Ordinance allowed exceptions for people with criminal records, it was important that people know what their records indicated- the coalition reasoned- and also important to gain a broader understanding of the way law enforcement was tracking and targeting certain people within the community. Campaign organizers were searching for more information about instances in which criminal records caused individuals to be turned over to ICE. This campaign also dovetailed with the Erase the Database campaign, as both campaigns denounced the gang database, and the FOIA investigations were also central to better understanding the ways that police and ICE had collaborated during Edgar's violent arrest, and determining if there were other cases like his.

The release and preliminary analysis of the FOIA information related to Edgar's case

provided evidence that would serve as the foundation for the Erase the Database campaign. The records revealed that Edgar had been listed in two opposing gangs within the database, and that the circumstances that motivated his inclusion in the gang database were not sufficient cause for his arrest. Armed with concrete evidence that the information in the database was flawed, a coalition of organizations [28] began to mobilize. In November of 2017 these organizations supported Edgar in filing a law suit against the city- arguing that he was wrongfully listed in the gang database, and should be released immediately. At that point he had been in detention for 6 months, and was struggling with inadequate medical care for his needs- he had begun to have regular seizures. While court proceedings moved slowly, organizers used developments in his court proceedings as opportunities to attract media attention in order to create pressure for both the Erase the Database campaign, as well as the campaign for Expanded Sanctuary. Edgar's case represented the extreme of the violence exercised by Immigration Enforcement- his information was used after being the victim of a shooting, and then he was violently arrested in front of his children, causing serious physical and emotional damage for both himself and his family. Yet the violence of his arrest is what opened the door to his pursuit of alternative strategies to fight his deportation- his supporters were able to use his case to pressure the city to eliminate technologies of surveillance like the Gang Database, and to strengthen the policy the Welcoming City Ordinance by making it more inclusive. Edgar's campaign was a cause taken up by multiple organizational actors across the city- organizations that ranged in their political perspectives, but who came together in agreement that his treatment was unjust. Locally, Edgar's family also received a great deal of support from the immigrant community of Little Village- the

[28] Lead by NIAF, La Villita Se Defiende and CUFD, but including Black Youth Project, Arab American Action Network, and the Chicago Religious Leadership network

neighborhood raised money to help cover his medical expenses, volunteers offered to help care for Nora's four children when she had to work in order to support their family, and at Edgar's court appearances the court room was consistently full. Edgar's case gained local resonance because it represented a worst-case scenario, stoking the immigrant community's concerns about the unjust and racially biased actions of immigration enforcement, as well as law enforcement. The mobilization of a broad range of cross-cultural, grassroots organizations city-wide ultimately gained the attention of city officials, who began to ask questions.

In conjunction with the submission of massive FOIA requests and meetings with alderman, direct action organizing groups staged several marches in the spring and summer of 2017, and organizers of the campaign drafted and submitted an amendment to remove the exceptions in the Welcoming City ordinance in July of 2017. In November of 2017, the city council met with leaders of the Expanded Sanctuary Campaign, and told them that they would be willing to revise the ordinance, but they did need to have exceptions for criminals. Valeria, the representative from CUFD who met with the city council, shared in a report-back of this meeting "They put a piece of paper in front of us and said, you write the exceptions- you decide who we should be deporting. But there has to be exceptions, because we can't look soft on crime." The coalition of advocates remained firm in their position that there should be no exceptions to the ordinance, and decided to continue to pressure the city rather than negotiate about maintaining exceptions. The fact that the City Council had brought grassroots leaders to the table to negotiate was perceived as a victory, and organizations were encouraged to move forward with the campaign. In June of 2018, leaders from these campaigns succeeded in convincing Alderman Muñoz to sponsor another ordinance that sought an investigation and reform of the gang database. When Muñoz announced his decision to take on this goal, he commented:

> Thirty-five years ago, when I was hanging out, I would have been on that list. Not as a gang member, but just as somebody from the neighborhood. I'm concerned about them labeling people and destroying them. I'm doing this because too many people on that list shouldn't be on it. It has to do with the neighborhood I represent and the fact that the list is unfair.

While the new Ordinance has not yet been passed, the campaigns have continued to grow in prominence, and in the mayoral elections of 2019 the mayoral candidates' positions on the city's Sanctuary city policies were a key point of debate.

Of course, while organizations came together to work on campaigns and to advocate for marginalized communities more broadly, I am not arguing that ideological differences did not remain- as we saw in Chapter 5, in the debate among organizers over CUFD's inclusion in the march for "Families Together"[29], ideological divisions still existed in the ways that different advocacy organizations choose to express their message. I observed that in events like the "Families Together" march, as more traditional and national institutions got involved with political events- the more pressure there was for these organizations to appeal to the more "mainstream" audiences and to adopt less-risky political positions. I also do not argue that all organizations became more radical as a result of changes in the political environment- compromises had to be made in both directions. Radical organizations like CUFD or Black Youth Project prided themselves on their abolitionist stance, but within the Expanded Sanctuary campaign, they worked with politicians who were dedicated to reforming the gang database, rather than eliminating it. But the evidence I have provided in this section speaks to the way that mounting pressure from the federal government stimulated a surge in local advocacy that resulted in the generation of new campaigns, the collaboration of a diverse coalition of organizational advocates, as well as the criticism of narratives that drew distinctions between

[29] A nationally-coordinated event in response to the separation of families as Trump implemented his new "zero-tolerance" policy at the border.

criminality and illegality, and a push to generate more inclusive narratives that sought to emphasize the shared commonalities of marginalized communities being targeted by Trump.

6.4 Conclusion

As part of a process of adaptation to a threatening environment over time, increasing experiences of injustice at the hands of law and immigration enforcement both heightened the salience of criminalization to the immigrant community of Little Village, and offered opportunities for engagement. At the individual level, as more immigrants identified with victims of police aggression and deportation, they felt motivated to engage with organizations who provided information, resources, and solidarity. High profile incidents of aggressive enforcement also sparked individuals to question their understandings of the justice of law enforcement, and seemed to motivate an increased disposition towards resistance. These shifts in perspective also began to trickle up- as organizational leaders responded to feelings of urgency and fear within their communities, advocates came together to strategize how to adapt their approaches to advocacy to better protect and defend their communities given an increasingly conservative and unreceptive political climate at the federal level. Local instances of aggressive enforcement- such as the O'Hare detention of travelers and subsequent protests, the violent arrest of Edgar Castillo, and the workplace raids- motivated organizations to unite and coordinate a collective response. By working together, organizations benefitted as they were able to employ a more diverse range of strategies, as well as engage a larger and more diverse audience. However, they also needed to compromise in constructing a coherent message, and this necessitated an increased flexibility around ideological differences and organizational strategies that had impeded collaboration between advocates in the past. While these ideological differences did not dissolve, an increased focus on the injustice and the racial bias implicit in the actions of law and

immigration enforcement created dissonance with the previously dominant frame of the deserving immigrant, and motivated a collective shift towards a narrative focused on social justice. My evidence demonstrates how as triggering events that shift people's cultural understandings of their vulnerability accumulate, we also see shifts in collective engagement; within the immigrant community of Little Village, this involved concrete changes in relationships and behaviors that ultimately re-shaped what it was like for residents to live in community, and what social action looks like. I also show the ways that a shifting political environment can shake up relationships of power and hierarchy between advocacy organizations; as organizations are forced to reorient themselves, new perspectives and relationships can come to the fore. My account ultimately sheds light on how shifts in individual experiences and understandings articulate and fit together to make a growing movement in a time of political change. While Viterna (2013) argued that participants join social movements when political change leads to the re-articulation of individually-based identities such that activism becomes a valued activity, my data- tracing the development of a growing social movement in real time- suggests that political change can also motivate a broader sense of identification among marginalized groups, and that narratives that seek to cross identity boundaries and identify a shared sense of social injustice can also be effective in mobilizing communities to fight back. My work contributes to our understandings of the ways that narratives compel participation, and the micro and meso-level factors that shape individual engagement with social movements.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

One of the most prominent political and social issues that both the U.S. government and the international community is facing, is that of migration. The U.S. in particular has become the largest destination for migrants worldwide, and the salience of irregular migration has continued to rise as our political leaders have proposed it is closely linked with both the economic and social security of U.S. residents (Donato &Armenta 2011). In addition, there are clear signs that unauthorized migrants can no longer be characterized as the stereotypical single male searching for employment- the issue has become a family affair, with a growth in both women and children migrants, as well as a rapidly rising number of mixed status families (Ibid). With respect to children, the most recent estimations have approximated that currently 6 million children are living in households with at least one undocumented parent, close to 7% of students currently enrolled in U.S. elementary and secondary schools (Passel & Cohn 2010). As the nation's approach to the treatment of unauthorized migrants has shifted towards restriction, criminalization, and deportation, the social stakes for immigration enforcement have never been higher for immigrant families. Yet there remains much to be understood about the consequences of migratory status for mixed-status families, and while the past decade there has been a significant growth in the literature focusing on particular populations of undocumented individuals, more research is needed to understand the ways that migratory status shapes the lives of families, and communities. In addition, as internal enforcement is rapidly expanding under a vocally anti-immigrant white house administration, there is an urgent need to better understand how the growing criminalization of immigrants is impacting lives and relationships within the immigrant community, as well as the formation of social movements in defense of immigrants' rights and social justice for marginalized groups.

Prominent migration scholars have called the condition of illegality a master status; these

scholars have examined how living without documents shapes every aspect of undocumented immigrants lives in some way, including their subjective understandings of the world (Coutin 2002; DeGenova 2002; Gleeson 2012). However, while the literature has documented the ways that living without documents presents both practical and emotional challenges, there is relatively less evidence of the ways that these challenges also shape the lives of documented members of the immigrant community who have relationships with people who are undocumented. My evidence reveals how even before Trump's election, the strains that come from living without documents had far-reaching consequences for those who were in intimate relationships with undocumented people. Mixed status families experience imbalances in power and responsibilities that can facilitate abusive or conflictual interactions. Having a loved one in deportation proceedings can also have serious consequences for the mental health of children, spouses, family and friends as they must all experience the precarity and uncertainty that accompanies the threat of removal of a loved one. Yet the relevance of immigration policy to immigrant-descendent residents of Chicago was never more clear than in the aftermath of Trump's election.

I began this study by asking how identity serves as an anchor within local reference groups that shapes how people use cultural frames to interpret how events at the macro-level of society are relevant to their sense of self, and sense of vulnerability.. I proposed to address this question by studying relationships at the meso-level of social interaction, examining the conditions under which threats to individuals were framed as threats to the collective, and the circumstances that shapes how cultural frames are wielded within interactions, modified over time, and ultimately used to guide action.

Here as before, I begin with the individual (but still socially constructed) layers that shaped

the way that Trump's election was felt and understood, and then move upward, tracing the role of both individual and collective identities, as well as reference groups in shaping the way people determine what cultural frames are relevant and useful in understanding a shift in their circumstances, and how to act in response. When these factors and their interdependencies are considered together, a contextually-embedded answer to my research question emerges.

7.1 Key Findings

7.1.2 The Social and Emotional Impacts of a Sudden Political Shift

At the beginning of the Trump administration, the immigrant community experienced a shock- the realization that the next leader of the country was elected on a platform that emphasized the threatening nature of immigrants, and a concurrent rising sense of insecurity given the incoming President's commitment to heightening immigration enforcement. Living without documents had always been stressful, and involved a great number of risks, even under a President who had ostensibly been pro-immigrant and had promised to treat immigrant families with leniency. Trump would offer no such leniency- exacerbating the threats posed by illegality.

In the days following the elections, the fear that gripped the immigrant community of Little Village was palpable- participants reported a precipitous sense of withdrawal within the immigrant community. Immigrants stopped shopping, they stopped travelling, they stopped greeting each other on public transit. They began talking to their relatives about what it would look like if they were forced to go home. They began to question what home meant, anymore. While the stakes were particularly high for those who were living without documents, my evidence shows the symbolic import of the election of President Trump affected the entire immigrant community as many of my participants expressed that the elections forced immigrants

to reckon with hidden- and deeply racist truths- about the country that many had come to think of as their home. As immigrants were forced to reconfigure their understandings of the place they lived and their belonging within it, they began to change their behaviors and plans even before President Trump was able to enact changes in immigration policy.

Trump's election sparked widespread uncertainty that also served as a trigger for many who had learned to suppress their feelings of vulnerability to deportation in order to cope. While many undocumented immigrants had learned to avoid listening to the news, or to focus on the present moment rather than dwelling on their state of precarity, media attention to Donald Trump's anti-immigrant campaign, as well as the surge of discriminatory incidents in the wake of his election made it much more difficult for immigrants to block out or ignore the risks their status inherently carried. My evidence reveals how at the start of the Trump administration, the anticipation of a rising threat of deportation motivated changes in the expectations that immigrant families had for their ability to remain in the United States, stoking a collective environment of insecurity. Advocacy organizations were also caught up in this collective sense of urgency, and immediately went to work planning emergency meetings that sought to anticipate changes in the political environment, and to devise new strategies to protect the immigrant community under the new administration.

7.1.3 Cultural Frames and Vulnerability to Deportation

While in the first analytic chapter I demonstrated the ways that political events generated feelings of vulnerability within the immigrant community, in my second analytic chapter I explored the ways that immigrants cope with their feelings of vulnerability, by situating their own sense of risk in reference to the risk other immigrants face. While immigration scholars and advocates alike often refer to the 'immigrant community', I show how immigrants drew upon

political narratives that emphasize the distinctions between 'felons' and 'families' in order to anticipate the likelihood that they would be targets for immigration enforcement. While daily life as an undocumented immigrant is filled with uncertainty, some immigrants re-assert their sense of agency and quell their anxieties about detention by telling themselves things like "Protection is not committing a crime. As long as I don't do that, I am preventing anything bad from happening to me", in Eduardo's words. I demonstrated how this narrative can be helpful at the individual level as undocumented immigrants and their family members seek stability in their daily lives, but also the ways it can be harmful at the collective level-reproducing social hierarchies within immigrant groups as social supports are tied to judgements about the personal responsibility of those in deportation proceedings.

I demonstrated how dominant political frames shape perception and mental health, but also the way a frames' utility is contingent upon its ability to present a coherent understanding of the world, and to continue to resonate with immigrants' experiences and identities. Those who had direct experiences with the harassment or deportation of a themselves or a loved one despite their attempts to emulate the characteristics of the deserving immigrant described how they had come to be disillusioned with the justice of the system of immigration enforcement. For people like Leo, the recognition that his father's hard work and dedication to his family did not matter to ICE generated feelings of apathy and despair. Others, like Ramona and Arturo, shared how they dealt with their feelings of hopelessness by finding new meaning as they participated in organizations that sought to challenge the racist social structures that they identified as being the primary driver of immigration enforcement. While I found that those who identified immigration enforcement as an issue of social justice- rather than moral deservingness- to be more likely to engage in collective organizing, I also show how ultimately conflicts arise in spaces of collective

action when immigrants hold competing narratives about how systems of law and immigration enforcement work, and who should be supported. These conflicts began to have broader implications as more examples of aggressive immigration enforcement created dissonance with the traditional narrative of the deserving immigrant.

7.1.4 Collective Mobilization in the Face of Rising Political Threat

My final analytic chapter examined how criminalizing changes to immigration policy under the new administration motivated a rise in events that created dissonance for the dominant deserving immigrant frame and a wider sense of vulnerability, leading to broader changes in the engagement of immigrants with social movement actors and organizations. As it became increasingly clear through the acts of immigration enforcement that law-abiding, 'deserving' immigrants were also becoming targets for enforcement, these political changes sparked a broader questioning of the justice of the immigration system, and a greater collective interest in intervening with the goal of motivating change. I demonstrated how a sense of increased vulnerability motivated many to take steps to educate themselves on their rights, or to prepare themselves for the possibility of their own detention- and these actions also brought them into greater engagement with collective organizations fighting for social justice. My evidence also demonstrates how frame shifts among individuals in turn motivated shifts within organizations dedicated to advocacy; organizations who had utilized the narrative of deservingness as a strategy of political advocacy agreed upon a new set of values that both called into question the narrative of moral deservingness, and identified their common struggle with other historically marginalized communities, such as Black and Arab communities. These organizations began to band together to lead campaigns dedicated to dismantling policies that excluded those with

criminal records from protection, to increase resources and supports for black and brown communities, and to fight systems of surveillance that target communities of color. I argued that the heightened visibility of the criminalizing actions of law enforcement, in combination with the immigrant communities' heightened sensitivity to perceived attacks were critical in generating collective frame shifts within the immigrant community. It is not the case that under Obama no injustices were committed- abuses by law enforcement of the City's Sanctuary policies, the wrongful entry of people into the gang database, the apprehension of elderly grandmothers for minor traffic infractions, the detention of an immigrant while applying for a state driver's license intended to protect undocumented citizens; these events all happened before Trump came to office. But as political change motivated an increased sensitivity to the abuses of law enforcement, this stimulated a greater consciousness of contradictions to the dominant narrative that the previous political order had maintained- that only the "criminals" were being targeted. Under Trump, a growing sense of injustice stimulated greater criticism to narratives that were used to maintain systems of oppression- particularly motivating a shift away from narratives that emphasize individual merits as the basis for social inclusion, towards narratives that focus on the shared humanity of marginalized groups. The Trump administration created tensions and contradictions to dominant, individualist cultural frames that became impossible to ignore, ultimately contributing to a growth in activism for social justice and a sense of increased solidarity beyond identity-based boundaries among marginalized communities in Chicago.

7.2 Implications for the Literature

7.2.2 Migration Literature

At the beginning of this study, I proposed to contribute to the migration literature by

examining how legal and political forces shape relationships within mixed-status immigrant communities: between members who occupy different social roles, and mobilize their different legal and socioeconomic positions in relationship. I also sought to respond to the calls of previous immigrant scholars who have urged a greater attention to the complexities of the local production of unauthorized status- the diverse ways that local political contexts matter in shaping immigrants' experiences of illegality (Donato & Armenta 2011). Examining one immigrant community- far from the border and nestled within a Sanctuary city- represents a particularly interesting case study to fill in these gaps in the literature, as the contradictions between the federal political climate and the local serve to highlight the ways that local contexts provide opportunities for resistance. In addition, by focusing on small groups as my unit of analysis, I connected individual processes of meaning-making with large scale social forces, generating insights about the articulation between the individual and the collective.

I demonstrated how the election of an anti-immigrant President, combined with an expanding system of internal immigration enforcement, led to large-scale disruptive effects on immigrant families, and communities. I was able to observe the reaction of the immigrant community to Trump's election in real-time, and to capture the ways that his election had important symbolic weight before he assumed his position and had the chance to make changes in immigration policy. Feelings of tension, and depression lingered in the air following Trump's election, and my participants described the way that their understandings of the country in which they lived, and their place within it, were shaken as they were forced to face the fact that a strongly anti-immigrant president had been chosen by the American public to be the next leader of the United States. This realization had real social, emotional, and behavioral consequences for immigrant communities. While immigration literature has emphasized the ways that the logistical

challenges posed by restrictive immigration policies generate feelings of exclusion, my evidence also underlines the importance of the symbolic messages that underly legal policies and political positions in fostering feelings of exclusion, or belonging. Individually and collectively, Donald Trump's election challenged the mental health of immigrants because his popularity forced immigrants to re-consider how many people in the U.S. might also be anti-immigrant, and this recognition hurt. These feelings also went far beyond just the undocumented population- because of the racial and cultural rejection these political changes signified, these changes were meaningful to citizens with immigrant roots as well as recent immigrants.

My account also contributes to the immigration literature by highlighting the importance of processes of social comparison and reference groups within mixed-status communities as immigrants attempt to generate expectations for their own future, and potential interactions with law enforcement. I shed light on the way that joint understandings are formed within immigrant communities; as immigrants hear about the experiences of others, and evaluate how similar or different they are from those people, they use these perceptions to form ideas about their own vulnerability. The detainment of immigrants with green cards at national airports, or the cancellation of TPS was thus highly traumatic to immigrant groups, not only because of the direct consequences it had for those with similar legal positions, but also because it struck terror in the hearts of those who recognized they had a relatively weaker claim to protection and belonging in the U.S. Incidents like challenges to DACA and the high profile arrests of archetypal 'deserving immigrants' also created dissonance for the narrative that immigrants had constructed to understand their own vulnerability to deportation- which had widespread impacts for immigrants' mental health- increasing feelings of anxiety for both the undocumented and those in relationship with them.

These findings have implications both for immigrant advocacy organizations, as well as policy makers. Even before Trump's election many activists in the immigrant community had sought to challenge the narrative of the deserving immigrant, as they recognized how these narratives pushed for changes in the protections of certain idealized- and rather small-populations within the immigrant community, but left many others out. However, immigrant activists who challenged this narrative tended to assume that it was based in ignorance, rather than recognizing the psychological benefits it afforded to those who invoked it. While the Trump administration has begun to chip away at the utility of this narrative, collapsing distinctions between illegal and criminal, I believe it is important that advocates recognize the ways that larger political narratives shape strategies of coping for their communities as they struggle with the effects of social marginalization. Advocates should be sensitive to these issues as they seek to challenge dominant narratives and create new ones. My findings also have important implications for policy makers, as they speak to the reverberating consequences of policy changes not only on individuals' lived experiences, but also on collective understandings of belonging and inclusion.

Finally, my dissertation adds to the immigration literature by presenting a diverse account of the way local contexts matter in shaping the social production of illegality. I demonstrate the importance of local political resources in creating opportunities for advocacy and resistance despite the hardening of the political environment at the federal level. Some might assume that the shift from the Obama administration to the Trump administration would have exclusively negative effects on opportunities for political advocacy for immigrant communities- but my results speak to the generative effects of these political changes. Organizations that before had been divided by ideological differences felt compelled to overcome these differences and

collaborate in the face of an undeniable, and overwhelming, threat. More traditional organizations, and politicians, were motivated to become more flexible in who they decided to support, and how. While old strategies of advocacy were no longer viable, this pushed the innovation of new and creative strategies that, in combination with emergent campaigns, contributed to changes at the local level, and proved to be effective in fighting deportation cases for people like Edgar and Heloisa. My work speaks to the importance of local contexts in shaping the social construction of unauthorized status- bringing nuance and diversity to the literature by showing the contradictions and opportunities that arise within an immigrant stronghold facing an anti-immigrant federal government.

7.2.3 The Role of Frames within Social Movements

This study has important implications for the way in which urban sociology currently conceptualizes the relationship between local cultural contexts and individual action and experience, as it illuminates the role of political processes in shaping individual understandings of the self, as well as the operation of networks of support. In this section, I discuss my findings in relation to the literature on cultural frames and their role in the growth and change of social movements.

Based particularly on Snow and Benford's (1988) path-breaking work, there has been a resurgence of studies examining the role of cultural frames and social movements. This resurgence was centered around an interest in understanding how ideology and framing processes shape the mobilization of movement participants, and the development of social movements. Collectives form interpretive frames to make meaning of their experiences and guide future action (Snow & Benford 1988; Small, 2004). The literature has shown that the ways

that particular groups portray a problematic situation can affect collective solidarity and the development of social movements, as groups may identify a common problem, but differ in their understandings of who should be held responsible, and how to resolve the problem (Benford 1993). However, while this literature thinks through the multiple purposes of a cultural frame the approach tends to neglect the way that individuals use culture frames to make sense of themselves, and to make the challenges they face bearable as they struggle with the risks that accompany their social position.

This study underlines the fact that people use dominant political narratives to construct frames of meaning that help them cope with the challenges they face, as well as how they identify with particular groups within their community, creating social hierarchies that can sometimes fragment the development of collective solidarity. My evidence indicates that some individual immigrants utilize stereotypes about "good" or "bad" immigrants to interpret their own experiences with law enforcement, as well as to make sense of the stories about immigration enforcement that circulated within their social context. I observed how these cultural frames played a role in the ways that individuals comforted themselves about their own vulnerabilities to deportation, as well as the ways they utilized dominant narratives to understand- and sometimes-justify the deportations of others as well as their own willingness to offer support. These processes ultimately lead to the reproduction of hierarchies of power and privilege within a marginalized community.

While these results are in line with sociological literature that speaks to the ways that marginalized groups react to discourses that negatively characterize their group (Brookes Higginbotham 1993; Sykes and Matza 1957; Waquant 2010), my account bring together literature that speaks to the reproduction of inequality with the social movement literature. I

demonstrated how framing processes that allow individuals to cope with their marginalized status are malleable and contingent upon shifting political climates, and the ways that political changes can shift collective frames in ways that were more conducive to the development of a social movement. My results elucidate the social life of frames, examining the conditions under which frames are utilized, the circumstances that sustain them, and the events that can stimulate their abandonment or transformation. While my case illustrates the ways that criminalizing rhetoric was reflected in social divisions drawn by immigrants themselves, it also shows how these distinctions can come to break down when an accumulation of injustices generates a rise in social consciousness about the oppressive nature of dominant narratives. I show how triggering events- the implementation of Trump's anti-immigrant policies- shifted people's cultural understandings of being vulnerable, and motivated changes both within individual understandings of their place within a field of social action, as well as collective strategies of advocacy and collaboration.

Sociologists often consider the ways that power operates at structural levels, generating patterns of social inequalities that can be seen on a large scale. My account represents a window into the juncture between the macro and the micro- exploring the ways that inequality infiltrates the thoughts and actions of individuals, in turn shaping their relationships with their family, friends, and community. I do so by exploring the way that cultural frames, often construed in the literature as flatly cognitive frameworks, also matter for the ways people feel- about themselves, and about their society. Individual and collective processes of meaning-making shape the way the political events are interpreted and contextualized, and the way communities respond with social action.

I also contribute to the literature by contributing to emerging scholarship that seeks to deepen

our understandings of the circumstances that motivate individual decisions to engage in the activity of social movements (Viterna 2013). Viterna proposed that political changes create opportunities for movement recruiters to re-frame identity-based narratives in order to motivate feelings of interest and obligation for individuals to join. My evidence does affirm her conclusion that political upheaval can motivate changes in the ways that individuals see themselves and challenge the narratives they use to understand their social roles, but I found that in my field site political narratives began to move away from distinguishing characteristics that divided immigrant communities, and that advocates worked to develop a shared identity of struggle using Trump as a galvanizing force to motivate solidarity within and between marginalized groups in the city of Chicago.

7.3 Limitations

While I have provided findings from an in-depth ethnographic investigation of one immigrant communities' experiences in a shifting political climate, drawing from the perspectives of many diverse individuals within the community, this study does come with limitations. The limitations of my work are also inextricably tied to the strengths of my approach, in that they reflect the (dis)advantages of what Mario Small (2004) described as the "trade-off between generality and context". My work privileges the particular, examining the web of relationships between particular actors and small groups within one neighborhood in Chicago. This means that my case may not be representative of all immigrant communities, and it may not lend itself to universalist generalizations about undocumented or immigrant communities across the nation. My approach focuses on the local context and the intermediary factors that shape individual and collective experiences of inclusion and vulnerability within a particular community- but my case is unique in certain ways. Chicago is a Sanctuary city, far

from any international border, and for this reason the political and social factors that shape immigrants' experiences may be different in important ways than those accounts of immigrants' experiences in border regions, for example. However, it is for these reasons that this case is important- it differs from the places where immigration scholars have typically focused their work, contributing to the diversity of our accounts of immigrants' experiences, and also particularly addressing gaps in the literature regarding the role of internal immigration enforcement and law enforcement in shaping the social production of unauthorized status.

The use of narrative data also does have certain limitations. While I was able to explore in depth the experiences of particular people within the community, there are likely perspectives that were unaccounted for since it was not possible for me to speak with everyone in the community. Narrative accounts are also limited given social science research that has suggested that the relationship between emotional reaction, judgement, and decision making is internalized and habitual, sometimes operating outside of our conscious awareness (Joas 1996, Haidt, 2001). The justifications people supply for their beliefs and actions in an interview context may be insufficient for deeply understanding how the dimension of culture operates, since they are given while removed from the social context in which these frameworks are enacted, and some of the motivations behind feelings and decisions may not be accessible to conscious awareness. In addition, critics of narrative accounts have also voiced the concern that narrative accounts are typically constructed within a normative conversational context, in which social pressures may be sufficient to call into question the accuracy of the speaker's statements. I attempted to compensate for these particular limitations by observing and measuring beliefs and behavior from a number of different angles, collecting both first-hand reports of individual belief and action, and conducting ethnographic observation of the cultural contexts and particular situations

in which individuals acted and expressed themselves. While this data is still undeniably filtered through my own perceptions- which are limited by my own abilities to be present and aware of what is going on within any particular social context- to the best of my ability I worked to be reflexive in considering the way my own particular characteristics shaped the data that I was able to collect, and to be professionally responsible in attempting to account for my own limitations when interpreting my results.

7.4 Conclusion

As the forces of globalization continue to push and pull migrants across the globe, the regulation of immigration, as well as the incorporation of migrants into their receiving communities, is becoming one of the most pressing social issues of our generation. And as more and more migrants have come to establish themselves and build families within the U.S., the ever-growing number of mixed status families only amplifies the effects of illegality on communities living in the U.S., as children, parents, partners and friends of the undocumented are all affected when in relationship with someone struggling with the challenges of living without legal authorization. In an era in which structures of mass incarceration and technologies of surveillance are rapidly growing, we urgently need more information about the ways that families and communities are collectively managing the threat these systems pose to their well-being. My project responds to this need, by exploring both in-depth and over time the way that individuals and collectives work to adapt to the threats posed by the Trump administration, and the way these processes of adaptation re-shape their understandings of their place in the U.S., as well as their community. My study has several primary implications for advancing the sociological understanding of the immigrant experience, criminalization and social movements.

My most striking contributions to the literature are the insights my dissertation provides regarding the social life of frames- the way they are utilized as coping mechanisms and as guidelines for allocating scarce resources, the circumstances that motivate their transformation, or abandonment, and their role in the development of social movements. Yet my dissertation also shows the importance of examining the overlaps between experiences of illegality and criminality- pointing the ways that these distinctions matter, and the circumstances that cause these distinctions to collapse, within the day to day experiences of mixed-status immigrant families. While the criminalization literature would predict that an increase in criminalization would be accompanied by social withdrawal and division, my work speaks to the generative aspects of dramatic political changes that can motivate shifts in criminalizing narratives and an increased sensitivity to issues of social justice. As the Trump administration continues to blur the lines between criminal and illegal, it will be important that future research continues to examine the way that the social construction of these legal categories shift, and how communities continue to adapt to these changes, translating their feelings of injustice into social and political action. I add to the immigration literature by leveraging the experiences of one particular community to explore how local context shapes social understandings of illegality, and by more deeply exploring the spillover effects that the threat of deportation has on the communities in which undocumented migrants are embedded. My findings speak to the symbolic impacts of public policy in shaping how immigrants come to understand their belonging within their larger sociopolitical context, but also to their flexibility and resilience in the face of hardship.

Appendix 1: Glossary of Terms

Asamblea

In English, "Assembly". A community meeting in which members of a collective discuss and decide about common issues they face and generate resources and strategies for addressing collective needs.

Asylum

An immigration benefit for which nationals of other countries can apply if they have a well-founded fear of future persecution on account of certain protected characteristics. Persecution on account of sexual orientation, transgender identity and HIV-positive status have been found to be grounds for asylum.

Bond

A sum of money which a detained foreign national posts with the Department of Homeland Security in order to be permitted to be free from detention while removal proceedings are pending.

Cancellation of Removal

This is an immigration benefit which may be obtained only in immigration court. There are two types of cancellation of removal. First, non-LPR cancellation: a foreign national may be eligible for cancellation if the individual is out of status, but has resided in the United States continuously for ten years; possess good moral character; and removal (deportation) would result in an extreme and exceptionally unusual hardship to a U.S. citizen or legal permanent resident spouse, parent or child. Second, LPR cancellation: a foreign national may be eligible for cancellation if the individual has resided in the U.S. for at least seven years, has permanent residence, and the Department of Homeland Security attempts to take away permanent residence status.

Citizen/U.S. Citizen

A person holds U.S. citizenship if they were born in the U.S. regardless of the immigration status of their parents. A non-citizen who becomes a lawful permanent resident may acquire citizenship through a legal process called naturalization. Children born to U.S. citizens abroad may also be U.S. citizens. Legal permanent resident children may obtain citizenship if their parents naturalize while they are minors. Citizens, even naturalized citizens, cannot be deported unless they committed fraud during the naturalization process

DACA

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals is a program created by President Obama to offer

deferred action to certain foreign national youths who were brought to the U.S. before they turned 16 years old.

Deferred Action

A minimal humanitarian status which The Department of Homeland Security can grant in cases of compelling humanitarian facts (such as a life-threatening illness). The status permits an individual to remain in the United States for a limited period of time (generally two years). Deferred action is sometimes renewable.

Deportation/Removal

Removal, formerly called deportation, is a legal proceeding through which immigration officials seek to remove a foreign national from the United States for violating an immigration law or other U.S. law. These proceedings generally take place in immigration court before an immigration judge. However, removal may also be quickly enforced at the border.

Detention

The process by which the U.S. government holds foreign nationals in Immigration facilities, prisons, or jails while their removal proceedings are pending.

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (or ICE)

The enforcement branch of the Department of Homeland Security. This is the branch of DHS which includes deportation officers and trial attorneys in immigration court.

Immigrant

This is a technical legal term which means a foreign national who has been granted permission to remain in the United States permanently, that is a "legal permanent resident" or "green card holder" and as such is distinguished from a "non-immigrant" who comes to the United States on a temporary visa. The term "immigrant" is often used more broadly to mean any person who is not a U.S. citizen.

Lawful permanent resident

Status granting foreign nationals the right to reside in the U.S. permanently and eventually (if the foreign national so chooses) apply to naturalize as a citizen. Although this status is intended to be permanent, certain actions can lead to a lawful permanent resident being placed in removal proceedings and being deported to his or her home country. These actions include convictions for certain crimes, remaining outside the U.S. for long periods of time, or committing immigration fraud. For in-depth information on the rights and obligations of legal permanent residence see the DHS publication Welcome to the United States: A Guide for New Immigrants.

Public charge

Most applicants for legal permanent resident status must prove that they are not "likely to become a public charge." This means they must prove that they can support themselves through employment, assets, or family members and are not likely to require government assistance in the future. See the USCIS Guide on Public Charge for more information on what benefits affect public charge determinations.

Removal/deportation

Removal, formerly called deportation, is a legal proceeding through which immigration officials seek to remove a foreign national from the United States for violating an immigration law or other U.S. law. These proceedings generally take place in immigration court before an immigration judge.

Sanctuary city

A city (or a county, or a state) that tends to protect undocumented immigrants from deportation or prosecution, despite federal immigration, by limiting its cooperation with federal immigration enforcement agents.

Temporary Protected Status (or TPS)

A blanket, temporary status that the U.S. government occasionally gives to nationals of particular countries that have undergone a natural disaster (such as an earthquake) or other country-wide strife (such as civil war.) The status is good for one year and allows the foreign national to obtain employment authorization. The U.S. determines on an annual basis whether or not to renew the status for nationals of the country. It does not generally lead to permanent status in the U.S.

Undocumented

The term used to describe foreign nationals who are present in the U.S. without lawful status. The term can refer to those who entered the U.S. without inspection (by crossing the border), those who overstayed their allotted time here, or those who violated the terms of their legal status. With very limited exceptions (notably asylum and immediate relatives of U.S. citizen petitions) a person who is not in lawful status in the U.S. cannot change from being in the U.S. unlawfully to being here lawfully.

Visa

A visa is a legal document that permits its holder to seek entry into the United States on either a temporary or a permanent basis. Legally, a visa merely permits the foreign national to board transportation to the U.S. Permission to enter the country may be granted or denied by immigration officials at the port of entry.

Voluntary Departure

A form of relief given to a foreign national in removal proceedings whereby the individual agrees to leave the United States voluntarily by a specific date rather than being deported directly by the U.S. government. The penalty on returning to the U.S. after departing voluntarily is generally less than if a person is removed at U.S. government expense. Prior to changes in the law in 1996, voluntary departure could also signify a form of humanitarian relief, similar to deferred action, whereby foreign nationals who were too sick to depart the U.S. would be permitted to remain here for two year periods of time.

Withholding of removal

A form of relief similar to asylum and applied for simultaneously with asylum. Withholding allows a foreign national to remain in the U.S. to avoid persecution in that person's country of origin. There is no one year filing deadline for withholding, but the standard is higher. Unlike asylum, withholding does not lead to legal permanent residence in the U.S. In many ways, it is a very limited benefit.

Appendix 2: Interview Protocol

Note- interviews were be tailored to the participant in question, most relevant questions to their lives and the previous knowledge the interviewer has will be selected in order to keep the interview at a reasonable time: 1-2 hours.

Life History and Activities

- Tell me about your life growing up, and your life now.
- What is your family situation like?
- Tell me about where you live.
- Tell me about who you live with.
- How do you spend a typical day?

    Tell me about your work.

        Opportunity to ask about relationship with employer, if work is legal, etc.

    Do you go to school? How do you like it?

        Opportunity to discuss relationship with school institution, feelings of fit/difference.

    Tell me about what you do in your free time.

    Tell me about any volunteer work that you do.

    Do you participate politically, in any sort of activist work?

    What kind of hobbies do you have? (sports, art, music, etc.)

- With whom do you have very close relationships? Who can you count on?

    Can you give me an example of a time when you needed something and this person helped you?

Developmental Trajectory and Identity

- Looking back to what you wanted as a kid, what is different than what you expected for your age now?

    What do you think changed? Why do you think things turned out differently?

- What do you want for your life now?

What are your dreams for your future?

What do you think is a realistic projection for your future?

How do you see your position relative to the job market?

- Looking back, what do you think your parents wanted for you when you were a child?

  How did you feel about that?

- What do you think they expect from you or want you to do now?

  How much does that overlap with what you want?

- What do your friends want for their lives?

  Is it very different than your expectations for your life?

- How do you see this stage in your life? Is it very different than a few years ago? Do you think it will be different in a few years?

  How have you felt about the changes and transitions you've had to make in the last few years?

- What is the ideal trajectory for a person like you in this country?

- How do you think of yourself as a resident of the U.S.?

  What about you feels (U.S.) American?

  What do you like about living in the U.S.?

  Do you ever consider leaving?

- What about you comes from your (insert culture of origin) heritage?

  What do you think you would like about living in (insert country of origin)?

  What wouldn't you like?

  Do you think you would consider living there again?

Social Context and Political Change

- How do you see the current political changes in the country?

  How do they affect your life and the lives of your friends and family?

  Do you think these changes have different implications for people your age and

people younger or older than you?

- Do you talk with your family about politics? What do they say to you?

  Who in your family do you agree with (and about what)?

  Who in your family don't you agree with (and about what?

- What do you think are the responsibilities of the state? What do you think is the purpose of the government and the services it provides?

  What should a person do if the state doesn't fulfill its responsibilities?

- What are the duties individuals living in the country have, in relationship to the state?

  What are the responsibilities of citizens and/or residents?

  What should the state do if citizens don't fulfill their responsibilities?

- How do you feel about safety and security in your country?

  Do you feel safe where you live? Why/why not?

- How has Trump's Presidency affected your life?

  Have you had to make any changes in your plans or in your daily life because of the political changes that are happening?

Experiences with Incarceration/Deportation

- Have you or a family member/friend been in process of deportation/been detained?

  What happened? What was that like?

  How did that change your life/family's life?

  Who helped you during that process? How?

- Do you feel the threat of detainment/deportation is higher or lower now than at other times in your life?

  Why? In what ways do you think something could happen, that they might not have before?

Participation in Small Group

- How long have you been a member of X group?

How/why did you start?

What do you like about it?

- Are you friends with the people in the organization?

  Who are you closest with? Why?

  Who do you trust the most? Why?

- How do you fit into this group?

  What do you think your primary contribution is?

  Have you ever served other roles? Have you also played this role?

- How have the activities of the group changed since the Trump presidency?

  What changes have you seen in your community?

  How do the activities of the group fit in to community life?

Mental Health and Social Support

- How do you manage stress and anxiety? What makes you feel better?
- How do you feel about your mental health overall?

In conclusion:

Is there anything else you'd like me to know about your life?

Appendix 3: Characteristics of Sample

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Sample

	Number	Percentage
Male	47	51.7
Female	38	44.7
National Origin		
Mexican	70	82.4
Central American	13	15.3
South American	2	2.4
Undocumented	36	42.4
LPR	12	14.1
Citizen	25	29.4
Other	12	14.1
Resident of Little Village	72	84.7

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