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Subjectivity Making in Undocumented Immigrant Student Organizing

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by

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

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This master thesis project explores the ways in which the deserving/undeserving immigrant binary politically targets subject for incorporation into a national neoliberal project, while excluding others. Simultaneously, I also investigate the ways in which these targeted subjects have organized in response to structural inequities and in the process, have been making their own sense of political subjectivity. In this research I ask, what are the myths of good immigrant that have been created around undocumented immigrant students that produces a kind of exceptionalism that justifies incorporation? In what ways are undocumented student organizers consenting and contesting these narratives?

I examine the process of *subjectification*, "being made" through social norms and laws and "self-making" through everyday modes of resistance, of undocumented immigrant student organizers. I argue that undocumented immigrant student organizers have deployed a *differential consciousness* that has allowed them to identify ideological differences and oppositional expressions of power as opportunities for coalitions of resistance to challenge inequities within higher education and the dehumanization of immigrant morality binaries.

The thesis of Chantiri Ramirez Resendiz is approved.

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INTRODUCTION

Undocumented immigration and the social construction of who is excluded and who is recognized to be worthy of belonging in the polity has been a major aspect of nation building discourse in the United States. Investment in constructing an immigrant morality binary has been one of the key components in how the boundaries of the contemporary immigrant rights debate have been maintained. These boundaries are set within a binary of "good" and "bad" immigrants.[1] The "good" immigrant becomes a politically constructed subject worthy of some type of liminal inclusion, what Aihwa Ong calls "differentiated citizenship", an articulation of the immigrant's capacity to contribute to US capitalism and hegemony (Ong, 2006). In acknowledging the way this immigrant morality binary functions, I turn to examine the social construction of undocumented immigrant college students as "good immigrants" understood as subjects with potential "to make great contributions to US economy and society" (Immigration Policy Center, 2010, p. 1).

In this master thesis project I ask: what are the myths of good immigrant exceptionalism that have been created around undocumented immigrant students to justify incorporation? In what ways are undocumented student organizers consenting and contesting these narratives? I examine the experiences of undocumented immigrant students in institutions of higher education and in the undocumented immigrant youth movement to understand how subjects living in a condition of liminal legality have become socially constructed as "good immigrants" who then have become selectively incorporated by institutions of higher education. I investigate how undocumented immigrant students have developed their own repertoire of informal,

[1] I draw from the work of Alfonso Gonzales (2013) who describes the good vs. bad immigrant binary as one-dimensional images of immigrants who based on over simplistic characteristics one immigrant deserves to be detained and deported countered by simplified images of an immigrant who deserves to stay (p. 6-7). Gonzales identifies this binary as one of the primary causes for the production of legal violence against immigrants.

intrapersonal and social movement tactics for coalitional resistance, such as testimonio and the appropriation of public space. These tactics have been used to gain access to resources, critique and act against educational inequities. My research finds that undocumented immigrant student organizers have deployed what Chela Sandoval calls, *differential consciousness*, which has allowed them to identify oppositional expressions of power as tactics for coalitions of resistance to challenge inequities within higher education and the dehumanization of immigrant morality binaries.

This work draws from a decade of personal involvement to immigrant rights activism. I became politically conscious during the large immigrant rights marches of 2006, participating in the legislative and grassroots strategizing of that moment, and the protests to contest the hyper criminalization of undocumented immigrants that the Congress bill, "The Border Protection, Anti-Terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005" and similar proposed state legislation. These marches were one of my first socialization into what an image of a "good immigrant" was: a holder of an American flag, a "hard worker", an exploited laborer, a deportable subject, who resorted tactically to their morality, their law-abiding gratitude to this nation, and their contribution to US capitalism to convince skeptics of their value to this country. In this public sphere of the performance of the immigrant rights marches, I first learned the parameters of the immigrant rights debate and the investment in immigrant morality as a source of political immigrant rights tactics.

I have navigated seven years of my post-secondary education as an undocumented immigrant student in the University of California System. Higher education taught me the codes to understand hegemony, resistance and infrapolitics. At the same time, it taught me the codes that normalize and consent to social inequalities. Various times I found myself in learning

settings where I understood myself as the subject that was being studied. I have felt like a refugee inside an institution that functions in complicity with capitalist, white supremacy systems that consented and reaffirmed my Otherness inside and outside of the classroom. Undocumented student organizing and activism taught me to do work from the discontinuities of power within the university and to from a differential consciousness to challenge any type of learning that justified or consented to my own oppression.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATIONS

In this project, I use Aihwa Ong's reading of Michel Foucault concept of *subjectification* to study the ways in which undocumented immigrant students are in process of "being 'subjected', by objectifying modes of knowledge/power, and of 'self-making', in struggling against imposed knowledges and practices" (Ong, 2006, 16). I examine the various policy and social modes of making an "undocumented immigrant college student subject" and the ways in which undocumented immigrant subjects also self-make their own sense of identity to objectifying modes of power. My research finds undocumented student activists use differential forms of consciousness in the undocumented immigrant student movement. My findings are guided by Chela Sandoval's theory of differential form of consciousness as well as social movement frameworks. Sandoval's concept of *differential consciousness,* discusses "the practitioner's ability to read current situations of power and adopting the ideological stand that best suits a push against that configuration" (Sandoval, 2000 p. 60).

This master research project draws from twelve in-depth interviews I conducted as well as content analysis of newspaper articles, public statements and media releases made by university administrative officials in different university campuses across the US. I also draw from ethnographic data collected over two years of research at two University of California

campuses, Los Angeles and Berkeley, to offer a contribution to the literature on undocumented student organizing in higher education that remains critical to institutional integration as a remedy to social inequalities and the myth of immigrant morality binaries.

THE MAKING OF THE UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANT SUBJECT

In the this section I look at the ways in which academia, educational policy decisions, and legislative actions, have constructed the "undocumented immigrant student subject." Guided by Ong's study of subjectification of Cambodian refugees in their process to American citizenship (Ong, 2003), I also examine the intersection between policies, legislative actions and educational policy that have created the "undocumented immigrant student" subject. With the rise of undocumented youth political mobilization and their presence in political debates and mainstream news, there has also been a growing interest in academic literature aiming to better understand their economic, educational, emotional needs and the strategies undocumented youth are utilizing to overcome educational institutional barriers (Abrego, 2006; Gonzales, 2008; Gonzales, Suarez-Orozco, & Dedios-Sanguineti, 2013; Negron-Gonzales, 2009; Olivas, 2012; Perez, 2009). According to a review by Roberto Gonzales et al. (2013) of recent studies across social science fields conducted in the last five years, we know that undocumented youth experience high levels of stress due to the barriers of their unauthorized status and have shown decreased educational motivations in high school. The transition to adulthood for many undocumented youth is one of "becoming illegal"; institutional inclusion becomes limited as they become adults and find exclusion to access in the labor market or higher education (Abrego, 2008; Gonzales, 2011). Some have no recollection of life outside the United States and some still hold memories of their homeland. For them, the life cycle of "becoming illegal" constitutes a

disruption of life as they know it, where feeling that they belong to this nation begins to fall apart as access to documents that confirm their belonging such as drivers licenses, social security numbers and work permits, are denied.

In particular, current literature has given much emphasis to the experiences of undocumented youth in the secondary and postsecondary educational institutions. Scholars have investigated the intersection of immigration status of undocumented immigrant youth experiences and their experiences in pursuit of higher education and find that there is a "wasted talent" of undocumented youth due to institutional and financial barriers that prevent them from attending college and thus being limited to low-wage sectors where their economic potential and intellectual value is not being utilized. Much literature has also examined the legal aspects of undocumented youth in education. Under this category falls literature examining the impacts of policies such as Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), state and federal legislation such as the federal Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, and state bills that grant exemptions from out of state tuition fees, have in shaping the lives of undocumented students. Research critical of these policy interventions have examined how the passage of DACA is an incomplete measure that will not resolve the student's liminal citizenship status and serves to distribute false and unsustainable hopes to undocumented youth (Olivas, 2012).

Other aspects of undocumented youth subjectivity, such as Genevieve Negron Gonzales study on undocumented immigrant youth involvement in political participation and activism and their constant battle for citizenship recognition have also been investigated; specifically, strategies of visibility, self-representation and the larger implications of the movement to questions of citizenship and inclusion (Glenn, 2011; Negron Gonzales, 2011;Perez, 2009). The

DREAM/ Undocumented Immigrant Youth/Student Movement has been categorized as a movement whose claims to national belonging fundamentally challenge the basis of inclusion into the national community (Zimmerman, 2011). Their act of claiming public space, of presenting the self and the body as visible, and educating through affect, a politic of using emotions as a tool for humanizing their lives, have been utilized by undocumented immigrant youth activists as political tools to reject the secrecy, shame and criminalization of their immigration status.

LEGAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE UNDOCUMENTED STUDENT SUBJECT

Undocumented immigrant student's liminal legality—the fact that they live their lives in educational institutions that allow them to belong, and at the same time, are vulnerable to the immigration laws that deem them vulnerable to deportation—is a result of policy decisions. I review this legal history in order to first situate and understand the "undocumented immigrant college student", a subject whose existence within the parameters of these institutions is a product of legal and policy decisions. In California, the juridical and policy interventions that have contributed to this exclusionary membership include the Supreme Court cases *Plyer v. Doe*, *Leticia A. v. Board of Regents*, *Regents of California v. Superior Court*, the California Assembly Bills 540, 130, 131 and the presidential discretionary program Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals.

The 1982 Supreme Court case decision *Plyer v. Doe* is a landmark decision holding that states cannot constitutionally deny students a free public education on account of their immigration status (Immigration Policy Center, 2012). In 1975, the Texas legislature revised its education laws to withhold state funds from local K-12 school districts that provided an

education to undocumented students. This revision also authorized schools to deny enrollment to undocumented students and spread fear among immigrant Mexican American communities. A lawsuit initiated by Mexican American plaintiffs on behalf of undocumented Mexican students moved through the Texas courts to the U.S. Supreme Court. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Plyer v Doe* that undocumented immigrant students could not be denied free access to public schools; explicit implications of this ruling declared that undocumented students have benefits as guaranteed by the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.The implications of *Plyer v Doe* instituted specific restrictions for public school districts and their personnel when working with immigrant students. For the next 30 years, the precedent of *Plyer v. Doe* would be a substantial population of undocumented youth growing up with legal access to public education through high school, but facing legal and economic barriers to higher education (Abrego, 2006).

One year later in 1983, California amended its Educational Code to provide in-state tuition to non-citizen resident students, including undocumented students (Rincon, 2008). One year later the State Attorney limited that benefit only to legal residents, stating that undocumented students could not establish residency for tuition purposes (Chen, 2013). Two years later, five undocumented students challenged the State Attorney's interpretation and filed a case against the University of California. In what later became known as the *Leticia A*. ruling, in 1985 the Supreme Court case *Leticia A v. Board of Regents* struck down the residency provisions in the California Educational Code and made undocumented students eligible for in-state tuition and financial aid (Albertch, 2007). Under this ruling any student between 1986-1991 enrolled at a UC or CSU campus was able to establish residency without proof of citizenship. The benefits of this ruling were short lived when in 1992 the Supreme Court case *the Regents of California v.*

The Supreme Court (Bradford) overturned the *Leticia A.* case and undocumented students attending public higher education institutions were again charged out of state tuition and lost eligibility to receive financial aid. By losing the possibility of having access to receive financial aid, many undocumented students were back to the uncertainty of not knowing if they would be able to afford their schooling.

In 1994, two years later after the *Bradford* decision, undocumented immigrant communities faced the draconian and anti-immigrant sentiments of the ballot initiative Proposition 187. Proposition 187 passed by the California voters and sought to established a state-run citizenship screening system and prohibit health care, public education, and other state social services to undocumented immigrants. Under Proposition 187, children could not attend public schools until they proved legally residency. The constitutionality of Prop 187 was challenged in several lawsuits and was eventually overturned. Prop 187 is part of the extremely hostile discursive, social and political environment of the 1990s in California.

During the turn of the millennium, the California Assembly successfully passed a bill making undocumented students eligible for in-state tuition. Assembly Bill 540 (AB 540) was signed into law on October 12, 2001 by then Governor Gray Davis. AB 540 became effective until January 1st, 2002. The bill's singular provision was to allow students who meet certain criteria to pay in-state tuition. Ten years later, Assembly Bills 130 and 131, also known as the California Dream Act, were passed by the California Legislature and signed into law by Governor Brown. The bills allowed eligible student beneficiaries of AB540 to apply for state and non-state financial aid benefits. AB 540, AB 130 and AB131 are not immigration policy, meaning they do not change a student's immigration status, make a student eligible for any federal government aid, nor do they provide a pathway to citizenship (Chen, 2013).

The latest piece of legislation that has had an impact in the experiences of undocumented students in California higher education is the 2012 Department of Homeland Security's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), a prosecutorial discretion program that defers removal action against an individual for a certain period of time and provides eligibility for work authorization. In 2014 the Migration Policy Institute estimated that there are 371,000 eligible youth between the ages of 15-30 who could benefit from this program. The eligibility to seek out legal employment has benefited undocumented students in higher education who prior to DACA had limited sources for funding their college education (Gonzales, Terriquez, and Ruszczyk, 2014).

A brief legal history on undocumented students in the California educational system demonstrates that undocumented student incorporation to higher education is deeply intertwined with the law and public policy making. For the past four decades, different Supreme Court case decisions, local, federal and state legislative actions have created an "exclusionary membership", an uncertain and limited access, for undocumented immigrant student incorporation to institutions of higher education. Legislative maneuvers have helped constitute the political subject "undocumented student". Yet, I do not intend to position undocumented immigrant youth as passive recipients of policy that has radically changed their lives. Both Ong and Foucault point out that "every power relation implies a strategy of struggle" (Foucault, 1991, p. 225). I argue that the ways in which undocumented immigrant youth have been making a collective political subjectivity draws from acts of activating their personal narratives in the public sphere and in the process diminishing the feeling of shame associated with illegality.

QUEERING TESTIMONIO: THE SELF-MAKING OF THE IMMIGRANT STUDENT ORGANIZER

The formation of the undocumented immigrant youth movement and their presence on the national political stage presents a deviation of traditional sociological expectations that suggest that hostile environments would encourage undocumented immigrants to turn away from the public sphere of receiving countries (Nicholls, 2013). Despite the implementation of technologies of surveillance post 9-11, undocumented youth have taken their stories to public spaces: they have narrated their testimonies at the steps of city halls, given interviews to journalists and academics, released their status through videos in user-generated video-sharing websites, and engaged publically in national organizations that fight for immigrant rights. The act of self-disclosure by narrating one's story is especially complicated for undocumented immigrant students who risk arrest and deportation for simply telling their life story.

Yet, sharing public testimonies, even when the experiences are quite painful or shameful, is not a new technique of social justice movements. Throughout the course of the undocumented immigrant youth movement the undocumented immigrant youth testimony has been used as a tool for educating, self-healing, informing and advocating. The method of *testimonio* has been critical in movements for liberation in Latin America, offering an artistic form and methodology to create politicized understandings of identity and community (Acevedo, 2001). As a genre, those who lack access to self-representation have used testimonio as a means to make their story public. Likewise, undocumented immigrant youth have utilized the testimony as a tool for politicized individual /collective identity formation. The narratives of undocumented immigrant students may be considered counterstories in the sense that their story sharing in public spheres engages in a discourse that questions, resists and renegotiates previous hegemonic

conceptualizations of undocumented immigrants and youth (Galindo, 2012). In this way undocumented youth create their own public spheres, what Nancy Fraser (1990) identifies as *subaltern counterpublics,* the competing public spheres and cites of contestation of exclusionary bourgeois public discourses, as the alternative spaces where the marginalized circulate counterdiscourses and create oppositional interpretation of their identities.

My investigation of the public spheres and counterpublics builds from the contributions of scholars who critically engage intersectionality at the center of their theoretical frameworks. The contributions of Chicanx and Latinx queer scholars and scholars of migration offer us a better approach to understand the fomation of subjectivity through intersectionality and different positionalities that acknowledge the history and structure of various systems of intersectional oppressions that undocumented immigrant populations have been subjected under. When thinking about the appropiation of public space by undocumented youth, Maria Keta Miranda (2005) study of girls in gangs reminds us that the examination of speeches at the cross-sites offers a way to understand how specific power arrangements shape the discursive spaces. Counter publics are constituted by social groups that interepret their needs, invent their identities, and collectively formulate their political commitments by appearing and claiming public spaces. In a study of Chicana activism and creation of print culture in the 1960s and 1970s, Maylei Blackwell (2011) frames Chicana print culture as a counterpublic that mediated new ideologies, discourses and political praxis of a subordinated group. By investigating Chicana feminist interventions as a counterpublic within the Chicano movement, Blackwell demonstrates the constant negotiation and contestation of power within even the most emancipatory social movements. Similarly the interventions of queer and women in the undocumented immigrant youth movement demonstrate that the act of "coming out", the method of bringing the private to

the public is not only a powerful counterpublic tactic against hegemonic public discourses of immigration. In the case of queer and women, it is also a tactic of constestation against narratives of undocumented immigration that seek to obscure the intersection of race, gender and sexuality that reveal the complexity of how illegality is gendered and sexed.

The public expression of multiple identities, especially sexuality in the case of queer youth, is a departure from an earlier strategy within the immigrant rights movement of narrowly focusing on the attributes that made undocumented youth good, exceptional and deserving immigrants (Nicholls, 2013) The inclusion of self-identified queer and undocumented immigrant youth has added a layer of intersectionality to the movement, pushing both activists and scholars to rethink the many layers that affect the lived experiences of undocumented youth living in the racial, gender hierarchies of power in the US. Chicanx queer scholars acknowledge and have explored the intersection between immigration and sexuality. As Lionel Cantu reminds us, this intersectional analysis starts by recognizing the relationship between economic and political processes of migration and issues of identity that both "are shaped by the immigration experience and constitutive of it" (Cantu, 2009, p.2).

In theorizing the performances of queer people of color, Cuban American queer theorist theorist Jose Esteban Muñoz constructs a theoretically informed concept of *disidentification*. *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*, explores the ways in which those "outside" "negotiate majority culture not by aligning (assimilating) themselves with or against exclusionary works, but rather by transforming these works for their own cultural purposes" (Muñoz, 1994, p.1). Disidentification serves as a way of reading and a mode of performance by shifting between reception to production in the public space. Muñoz points out that disidentifications is meant to offer a lens to elucidate minoritarian politics that is not

monothematic, but calibrated to discern a multiplicity of interlocking identity components and the ways in which they affect the social, a blueprint for minoritarian counterpublic spheres. Like Muñoz, Nicholas De Genova and Cristina Beltran have engaged with the complex politics established by the queer movement and its influence in the undocumented immigrant youth movement.

Political theorist Cristina Beltran's (2010) reading of "oppositional publicity" of the 2006 engages queer counterpublics to examine how the undocumented can live "illegality" in a state of isolation, but through the collective action of publically "coming out" undocumented "marchers challenged the state's ability to define the parameters of membership" (Beltran, 2010, p 147). Beltran examines the participatory potential of the immigrant marches and the practices that promoted inclusive participation and collective subjectivity as a counterpublic where subjectivity was produced and transformed through those civic encounters and thus the marches signify a capacity to produce new citizenships (Beltran, 2010). However, Beltran cautions that even the emancipatory potential of the marches and the participatory democratic use of the public sphere can come to the cost of subjecting marchers to a dehumanizing discourse of massification. The limitations with participatory democratic engagement, as seen in the 2006 marches, is the potential for creating a homogeneous image of immigrants which can function for construction of xenophobic narratives.

According to Beltran (2012), the precedent of the gay rights movement set in doing politics differently has influenced "Dreamers" to *queer* the politics of migration by seeking transformation of existing social structures, rather than merely accommodation within them. Beltran argues, "the use of new social media has facilitated, what [Beltran] coins as a 'queer' vision of democracy, participatory politics that rejects secrecy and criminalization in favor of

more aggressive forms of nonconformist visibility, voice and protest" (3). In the study of the 2006 marches, Cristina Beltran argued that participants challenged the stigma of illegality by articulating a common world in which recognition was not contingent on citizenship and similarly to the queer movement, feelings of shame and marginalization were overcome in the collective scene of disclosure.

Likewise, in a reading of the immigrant rights marches of 2006, anthropologist Nicholas De Genova used queer theory framework for purposes of exploring a politics of migration that exceeds the normative confinements of citizenship altogether and subverts the fetishized fixities of identity (De Genova, 2010). *Queering,* in this case, is a reference to what Queer cultural theorist Michael Warner refers to as "resistance of the regimes of the normal", a state of oppositional relationship to the norm (103). For De Genova, it is important to note the affinity between the crucial articulation of this radically open ended politics of migrant presence with the similarly abject and profoundly destabilizing politics of queer presence. De Genova offers a reading of the immigrant marches as a politics of human mobility "that foregrounds a practice of freedom that can never be recuperated to the constituted status of citizenship and instead emphasizes freedom as an exercise to be objectified and delimited as "rights" (106). In summary, the concept of *queering* as a tactic of contesting normativity has been crucial to the undocumented immigrant youth movement. Arguably, the aim of staking out a political subjectivity based on the undocumented immigrant "in-between" status challenges the established norms of what constitutes American belonging and citizenship.

Thus far, I have focused on the formation of the political subjectivity of undocumented immigrant activists in the public sphere. I have called attention to how strategies from the queer movement, the "resistance of the normal," as well as staging visibility through "coming out,"

have been present in the undocumented immigrant youth movement since its beginnings to its present. Undocumented immigrant youth movement activists and organizers have used public performances to contest feelings of shame and isolation. In order to bridge this work on subjectivity-making in the undocumented immigrant youth movement to organizing in institutions of higher education, I draw on the following conceptual framework that critiques the neoliberal discourse of inclusion in sites of higher education.

THE GOOD IMMIGRANT IN THE NEOLIBERAL UNIVERSITY

In the previous sections, I have discussed the ways in which undocumented immigrant students have been legally, politically and socially constructed as subjects living in liminal legality; subjects who hold an in-between status in legal categories that allow them to partially belong to the nation state. I explored how through their amplification of voice and space have been constructing and self-making their own sense of political subjectivity. My theoretical framework is at the intersection of understanding subjectification and tactics in undocumented student organizing and the function of the neoliberal university in the U.S. My conceptual framework of higher education builds on the work of Roderick Ferguson, Aihwa Ong, Jodi Melamed, Marc Bousquet, Fred Moten and Stefano Harney and situates the university as a site of neoliberal multiculturalism.

In *The Reorder of Things*, Roderick Ferguson (2012) explores the impersonal nature of power and how it is derived from the ways in which a "hegemonic investment in minority difference and culture are distributed across institutional and subjective terrains during and after the period of social unrest" (7). Established networks of power then appropriate racialized difference. He explores how in different terrains of knowledge production the student

movements of the sixties and seventies represent both " a portion and disruption" of the genealogy of the academy as a site of reticulation of the nature of state and capital. Drawing from Ferguson, I investigate the ways in which institutions of higher education invest in undocumented immigrant youth during a period of hypercriminalization and record high expulsion of immigrants from the nation.

Second, my framework is also informed by Jodi Melamed's work in *Represent and Destroy: Racializing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism* (2011), and her reading of Aihwa Ong's concept of differentiated citizenship. According to Ong and Melamed, the neoliberal world order makes some practices appear fair by innovating new systems of ascribing privilege and stigma to racial groups. Melamed argues, "US universities have become a key site for racializing individuals valuable to neoliberalism as multicultural and for teaching them the codes of privilege and stigma that naturalize contemporary biopolitics and its uneven distributions" (155). Melamed and Ong offer me a framework to understand the ways in which the universities function to attract multicultural, multinational, mobile populations who are then taught the codes of privilege and stigma that naturalize inequalities and makes them the most valuable to multicultural global citizenship.

Third, my understanding of the university is influenced by the extensive body of literature that examines the ways in which higher education has become increasingly commercialized and utilized as a place "to prepare students to be competitive in the global market." In *How the University Works: Higher Education and the Low Wage Nation,* Marc Bousquet argues that the university administration over the past 40 years has "steadily embraced the values and practices of corporate management" (Bousquet, 2008, 1). Universities' organizational culture has encouraged a market-based culture of competition, a flexible

workforce, and profit-motivated research. Henry A Giroux (2014) and Christopher Newfield (2011) have also investigated the rise of neoliberalism as directly linked to the dismantling of public universities as a site for critical thought and civic engagement. As Newfield points out in *Unmaking the Public University* (2011), the financial and political crises of public universities are not the result of economic downturn or a restructuring, but a campaign to end public education's democratizing influence on American society.

Finally, my thesis research and my understanding of institutions of higher education is influenced by the work of Fred Moten and Stefano Harney's (2013) *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study.* In the *Undercommons*, Moten and Harney draw on the theory and practice of black radical tradition to critique and imagine beyond the neoliberal configuration of today's university and its betrayal of emancipatory commitments that education promises. Moten and Harney describe the transformation of universities to profit-motivated, corporate institutions as a continuation and intensification of a colonial, hegemonic function to be complacent with neocolonialism, capitalism and white supremacy. Moten and Harney remind us that, from its origins, "the method of the universitas," or the method of the academy, has produced racial others and "education has been a key technology in creating the material conditions for colonization" (Smith, Dyke, and Hermes, 2013).

METHODOLOGY: INSIDER ETHNOGRAPHY

When working with undocumented immigrant populations, researchers have to be conscious of the sensibilities and the many obstacles these populations go through. Undocumented immigrant populations are not only immigrants navigating institutional and cultural paths of incorporation, but are also subjects of policies and laws that criminalize and

police their very existence. In my time working as a researcher, and politically organizing with undocumented immigrant populations, I have found qualitative methods such as in-depth interviewing to be effective in providing important insights about their life stories and struggles.

Oral historian Valerie Yow (2005) reminds us that "truth" is not necessarily to be found in authoritative texts, which themselves are social constructions intertwined with unequal power relations. Instead of focusing on truth, methods of oral history, testimony and in-depth interviews, allow us to give consideration to how individuals *describe, explain, and reflect* upon their life stories. It is important to remember when working with the oral histories of a community of undocumented youth to keep in mind how a set of references may articulate patterns of a shared reality. For me as a researcher, it has been seeking those patterns of shared realities, rather than "truth", that have guided my work with these communities.

In this project I explore twelve in depth-interviews, seven in-depth interviews with undocumented immigrant student organizers. Aside from listening to their stories, I also spent months and in some cases years getting to know undocumented immigrant student organizers, meeting undocumented student alumni and building relationships of trust before proceeding with collecting interviews and oral histories. For instance, I spent the summer of 2014 as an intern in the Dream Summer National Internship program where over the period of 10 weeks I had the opportunity to build rapport with immigrant youth organizers in the Los Angeles and Southern California region. In the case of the Bay Area interviews, I had the privilege of build relationships of trust since 2007 when I first began organizing with the undocumented student-organizing group Rising Immigrant Scholars through Education (RISE).

It is important to note how in the process of conducting interviews with undocumented populations, both interviewees and interviewer become involved in a process of reclaiming

history and healing. Chicana feminist scholar, Eden Torres, (2003) suggests that in the process of documenting oral histories from communities living with trauma we (those involved in both sides of the process) can learn to release negative emotions to nourish healthier ways of thriving.

I was honored to have the chance to listen to the narratives of resilience and resourcefulness and even learn about some deep and private episodes in the lives of my interlocutors. Like Torres, I agree that in the process of documenting histories, the interviewee can release negative emotions that can lead to more appropriate emotional responses of the events of day-to-day life. I found that giving people space to share their life trajectory was as important portion of trying to understand patterns of shared undocumented immigrant realities. As an undocumented immigrant myself, I found the process of listening to their stories as a very difficult experience that also offered me the opportunity to heal and reconcile with some of my own traumas of living as an undocumented immigrant. I hope that researchers who work with students like the ones I work with keep in mind how their position and preconceived notions about their interlocutor affects the type of questions and the way they guide their interviews. In the process of conducting the interviews they will most likely begin to understand the very dynamic, often contradictory, ways people describe their lives and the ways they give meaning to them. Being completely present and flexible to the interviewee's thought process is a crucial part of formulating meaningful and in-depth data.

Undoubtedly my personal experiences, my *sitio,* and *lengua,* are factors in the interpretation of my research process and data collection. Unlike other disciplines where the researcher is believed to be an objective instrument in the research inquiry, Chicana and Chicano Studies acknowledges the subjective character of the research inquiry and process. Working from a Chicana feminist epistemological framework, my work stands in opposition to hegemonic

discourses, I find the absences and exclusions and argue from that standpoint (Collin, 1991). Dolores Delgado Bernal eloquently demonstrates that "conventional notions of objectivity and universal foundations of knowledge for erasing the specific intersectionality and location of Chicana experiences" (Delgado Bernal, 2012, 2). I am conscious that my cultural intuition provides unique viewpoints to the research process and that my methodology and epistemological orientation are closely connected and that as undocumented immigrant student myself I a repertoire of knowledges and experiences that give me theoretical sensitivities.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION, PARTICIPANTS, SAMPLING METHODS

This study focuses on two of the flagship campuses of the UC system, institutions that have been at the forefront of supporting undocumented students: University of California, Los Angeles and University of California, Berkeley. These two institutions were selected for their growing level of institutional support for undocumented students and for their high enrollments of estimated "possibly undocumented" students (University of California Office of the President, 2013).[2] In terms of institutional support, both of these universities have had senior administrators who have come out in public support of undocumented students and actively participated in providing support such as meeting with congressional representatives to advocate for undocumented college students or actively seeking the financial support of foundations.

I began to conduct participant observation at various events where undocumented college students, student organizers on undocumented student issues, long-term institutional advocates, community members, and institutional representatives came together. Appendix 3 discusses in detail some of the campus events I attended and the observations I made from participating in

[2] According to the UC Office of the President (2013), in 2013 there were estimated 900 undocumented immigrant students attending the University of California. At the UC Summit I attended in May, 2015 I confirmed from staff in UCOP that UCLA and UC Berkeley continue to be campuses that attract the most number of undocumented students.

these series of events. Gaining visibility in these spaces also allowed me to begin building bridges with different community members and developing partnerships for future research projects. I was honest about my research intentions from the beginning of my interactions with people in these spaces. For the most part, people were excited to support my work and offered great feedback for the research design of my project, questions, and future research directions.

I began this research project seeking out interviews with administrators and students who have been publically out and actively participating in various grassroots and campus initiatives in support of undocumented students issues on campus. To recruit additional interview participants for this study I used a snowball technique where key informants referred me to others who fit the selection criteria. I conducted five in-depth interviews with institutional allies who shared their experiences about working with undocumented students, three at UCB and two at UCLA. In addition, I collected seven in-depths interviews with current and past student organizers and the challenges they faced or are currently facing in mobilizing for undocumented student issues. The sample of institutional allies included five employees from student affairs and one from graduate division.

FINDINGS

My research questions for this master thesis project are: what are the myths of the good immigrant that create a unique form of exceptionalism around undocumented immigrant students to justify incorporation? In what ways are undocumented student organizers consenting and contesting these narratives? I have divided my findings in three parts. I begin by offering the historical context of building infrastructures of undocumented immigrant student support at UCLA and UC Berkeley. This part draws from information I gather from interviews, pamphlets, and participation observation. In the second part I conduct content analysis of news reports,

media releases, and speeches to investigate the myths of good immigrant exceptionalism that have been created around undocumented immigrant youth to justify their incorporation to institutions of higher education. The last part analyses the differential consciousness that undocumented immigrant student organizers have identified, opportunities and tactics for coalitions of resistance at different stages of the undocumented immigrant youth and student movement.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT: BUILDING AN INFRASTRUCTURE OF SUPPORT THROUGH ALLIES, PEER SUPPORT, COMMUNITY

The institutional ally network that has supported several undocumented immigrant college student generations in the 2000s was set in place decades prior to the arrival of the first undocumented AB540 student on a college campus. During and after the *Leticia A.* case ruling, advocates for immigrant students in Southern California formed a coalition called the Leticia A Network. In 1984, counselors, teachers and employees from all three higher education services, community advocates, students, parents and civil rights advocates came together to form this coalition. The advocates from the Leticia A Network continued to play a key role in building and supporting undocumented student organizing across California and the United States. Throughout the 1980s, the Leticia A Network served as a way to exchange information on policies and practices at different campuses across the state concerning the classification of undocumented students. The Leticia A Network was crucial and instrumental in ensuring that the court order was widely known and followed.

At UC Berkeley, the Immigrant Student Issues Coalition (ISIC) consisted a group of staff and faculty who advocate for immigrant students at UC Berkeley. The coalition raised awareness, built alliances, and effected policy change through a variety of educational activities.

ISIC first came together in the 1970s to support Asian Americans and Asian international students to help socialized them to the American academic expectations. In the late1980s and 1990s, ISIC began to support the increasing Latino and 1.5-generation students, many who were benefactors of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, and help them incorporate to the expectations of the university setting. According to my interview with Roberto, who became involved in undocumented student issues through his participation in ISIC, their early ISIC work was to serve as a "translator for the administration on the experiences of immigrant students" (Roberto, 2016). Yet, the passage of AB540 signified a change in the focus of ISIC previous work. The implementation of AB540 meant that ISIC also became involved, not only on supporting the socialization process of first generation and international immigrant students, but also finding ways to support the needs of immigrant students who also had to learn how to survive in an academic environment without legal documents.

Institutional allies played a big role in supporting undocumented students through the first stages of the developing undocumented student movement. At UCLA, staff from the Academic Achievement Program, Community Programs Office, the Labor Center and the Cesar E. Chavez Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies became instrumental supporters for students. In the early 2000s, students were navigated the institution without knowing that other undocumented students just like them occupied those same spaces.

Some undocumented students would strategically reach out to individuals they perceived as allies. The process of disclosure for undocumented students was difficult. Their undocumented status made them vulnerable, yet some found counselors and directors of student service programs with whom they could share their status and struggles. As these patterns of undocumented student disillusionment, unscheduled, but financially necessitated breaks, and

dropping out were occurring, supportive staff members and faculty who had interaction with them began to strategize on best ways they could help retain undocumented students.

The formation of peer support groups was a way for undocumented students to come together to collectively form camaraderie formed by shared experiences, struggles and successes. After the first undocumented student meeting in 2003, undocumented students at UCLA began meeting each other and getting to know each other. Tam Tran, Cynthia Felix, and Susan Melgarejo were among the first undocumented students to begin Improving Dreams, Equality, Access and Success (IDEAS), the first student organization created to support undocumented students at any UC campus (IDEAS, 2016). In a period of just three years, by 2006, IDEAS had evolved from support network to a student organization and community project. Through informational workshops, student panels, counselor conferences, and community events, IDEAS began to provide information on educational and financial resources available to the communities of Los Angeles and Orange County.

At UC Berkeley undocumented students also began meeting with each other and emotionally supporting each other at a peer-to-peer level. Just like at UCLA, at UC Berkeley, a group of counselors and staff allies started to become aware that undocumented students were showing up at their doorsteps more and more often. The allies called in a meeting in 2005 and students began to meet each other. Rising Immigrant Scholars through Education (RISE) became the first student-led group to support undocumented students at UC Berkeley. It did not take long for students in RISE to start becoming political. One of the first mobilizations by the student group happened in 2007, when five members of the newly formed RISE participated in a hunger strike in San Francisco (Franco, 2007). The hunger strike was part of a larger community effort to call attention to the DREAM Act. In September 2007, two RISE members were sponsored by

CHIRLA to go lobby at Washington DC. For many undocumented students, RISE became a place where they found their voice through lobbying, advocating, speaking at rallies or just finding other peers who they could relate to.

Peer groups were one of the fundamental parts of building the undocumented student mobilizing that happened at UCLA and UC Berkeley. At every stage of the student groups' growth, allies offered a different array of support including offering time and trainings, connecting students to community organizations and offering a safe space for students. The growth of the student organizations also led to experimentation with different models of leadership and organization. For instance, when the groups were smaller, students felt comfortable in just meeting and taking lead on projects. As the groups grew, leadership models such as co-chairs, leadership boards, and committees became more common way of diversifying leadership. Much of the sustainability of student groups depended on the mentorship of allies who could support students with knowledge on how to navigate administrative and financial ambiguities in the institution. Community organizations became another major component of the undocumented student movement with the knowledge they offered on how to navigate build a movement on larger local, state, and national scales.

Many undocumented students participating in campus student organizing were also active with community organizations that connected them to the larger Los Angeles and Bay Area landscapes and infrastructures of social movements organizing. It was also common for allies to be active members of community organizations. Being intertwined within the larger community outside of the UC led students to make strategic coalitions, which not only advanced their goals for institutional transformation, but also for the larger immigrant rights movement. Community organizations, such as the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights (CHIRLA), the Mexican

American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), and Educators for Fair Consideration (E4FC), and The Greenlining Institute offered students different trainings, summits, and invitations to project collaborations. Undocumented students and community organizations worked together closely, but these collaborations were not free of disagreements.

Some of my bay area interviews discussed the impact of Educators for Fair Consideration in the national immigrant rights movement. E4FC began with the leadership of Kathy Gin and Carrie Evans, two educators who saw the lack of information, resources, and support available to undocumented students who wanted to pursue higher education (E4FC, 2016). They began to provide direct services and support to undocumented students. By 2009, E4FC began expanding their advocacy work by training students to do press releases, providing scholarship opportunities for local undocumented students, and educating the public by releasing a video on the lives and struggles of five local undocumented college students.

Community organizations at Los Angeles also helped support students with a different array of goals. For instance, research centers connected with community organizations, like the UCLA Labor Center, collaborated with students to create and disseminate knowledge on undocumented students. Publications such as *Underground Undergrads* (2008) provided a way for students to disseminate their stories through the support of a community organization that offered the resources for them to do so. The UCLA Labor Center provided a place for students to begin amplifying their stories to larger audiences through book publications. Many students also became involved with community organizations like CHIRLA that works diligently in creating summits for undocumented students to meet across the state and country and train students to lobby and work with elected officials to advance immigrant rights campaigns.

Between the years of 2002 to 2006, the political construction of an undocumented student identity in this time period was influenced by the lack of accessibility undocumented students had to resources, mentorship, and educational opportunities. Undocumented students began to form connections with each and construct an identity under the label "AB 540" student. AB540 offered an identity label for students that relieved the stigma of being an undocumented and, instead, offered students an identity that reflected their educational realities without having to openly release their immigration status in educational contexts.

The changes in immigration policy at the national and state level I discussed in my literature review created a series of material changes in university campuses for undocumented students. Both of these universities are also the first campuses in the UC system to establish undocumented student support centers with full time staff. At UCLA, the AB540 Student Services Center located at the Bruin Resource Center was established in 2010 and served as an information hub and referral program with a part-time staff coordinator. In 2013, the AB540 Student Services Center changed their name to the Undocumented Student Program and now consists of two full time staff and six undergraduate student interns. At UC Berkeley, The Undocumented Student Program and the Robert D. Haas Dream Resource Center were established in 2012 as part of a philanthropic 1 million dollar gift from the Haas Jr. Fund. At the time, this gift was described as the "nation's single largest gift for scholarships to undocumented students" (Rodriguez, 2012). Currently, the UC Berkeley Undocumented Student Program consists of three full time staff and two student interns. Funding for the centers and the salaries for staff come from temporary sources—gifts, grants, and private, not from a permanent established source.

PRODUCING EXCEPTIONAL SUBJECTS

Ideas of exceptionalism based on the myth of the "good immigrant" have been produced in higher education to justify the incorporation of undocumented students. Undocumented immigrant students were reduced to their economic potential and academic talent in order to create, mobilize, and sustain a network of individuals, community members, allies and educators who collaborated in creating institutional and policy changes. The use of economic and intellectual reductionism provided undocumented immigrant students proximity to agents of legislative, financial and administrative decisive power. These *myths of exceptionalism* have become an important component of *subjectification* of undocumented immigrant students in higher education. I turn to two short excerpts in testimonies, excerpts from press releases and communication between university officials and student organizers, that explore the ways in undocumented immigrant students and university officials created images of exceptionalism.

In her personal essay, "Undocumented to Hyperdocumented: A Jornada of Protection, Papers, and PhD Status," Professor Aurora Chang, speaks about her experience of *hyperdocumentation* as a means to legitimacy and acceptance in America society. As a former undocumented immigrant student, Chang shares her personal journey in the US educational system and Immigration Naturalization Services and her continuous search for belonging to country that constantly rejected her existence. Chang shares, "Now, more than ever, I understood that *hyperdocumentation* was critical to my survival, legal or not. I continued to accumulate my documents in the form of degrees, theses, awards, and the like in order to further build my case. I wanted people to know that I was *qualified and deserving* of my place in this country."
Using her testimonio as a method for theorizing, Chang shares her need to hyperdocument her existence through "degrees, theses, awards and the like" to create an identity of resistance. In the

process of hyperdocumentating her life, Chang identifies how she found a way to make herself visible and to feel protected from the fear of feeling illegitimate. Chang identified hyperdocumentation as a form resilience that depended on proving that she, like any other US citizen, was worth and deserving of a place (and a chance) in the United States.

Prior to the publication of Chang's personal essay on hyperdocumentation, Tam Tran, the late UCLA alumn and national immigrant rights activist, shared her testimony before the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship, Refugees, Border Security and International Law on May 18th, 2007. In her testimony, Tran described the ways in her own liminal legal status impacted the educational and economic outcomes of her life. "I have the desire and also the ability and skills to help my community by being an academic researcher and socially conscious video documentarian, but Ill have to wait before I can become an accountable member of society. I recently declined the offer to the PhD program because even with these two fellowships, I don't have the money to cover the $50,00 tuition and living expenses. I'll have to wait before I can really grow up." Through her personal experiences and narrative, Tran spoke to the importance of Congress passing the DREAM Act, which at the time was up for debate at that time. Tran shared how without the DREAM Act she would forever "be a perpetual foreigner in a country where [she] always considered [her]self an American." Until the day of her death in May 2010, Tran's activism included using film as a method for documenting and humanizing the lives of undocumented immigrants. Through the use of documentary film, Tran captured the testimonies of undocumented youth around her to counter the invisibility of living without immigration status and visualize the infantilizing effects illegality had in their adult lives.

The testimonies of Tran and Chang both explore the desire to be *legitimately* included to the place they identify as home. By *legitimately*, I make textual reference to Chang and Tran's

desires for documentation either through legalization (the passage of the DREAM ACT) or through validation (using educational credentials to demonstrate a capacity for being a productive member of society). They both resorted to their abiding to good acts of citizenship to prove their worth for inclusion. They hoped to see themselves and new generations of undocumented immigrants also incorporated to the place they called home. Tran and Chang share stories of dreams and "wasted talent", the platforms that have been used by undocumented immigrant youth, allies, educators, community members, and politicians to elevate the visibility of undocumented immigrant youth in institutions of higher education.

In my interview with Lorena, a former undocumented immigrant student organizer at UC Berkeley, she shared the importance sharing her story with supporters and the impact these supporters could have in the undocumented immigrant youth movement. Lorena stated, "You know, we have to target the key players. If we don't target the main guys nothing is going to change." Lorena emphasized the importance key players had in advocating for undocumented students. In her perspective people with decisive power could really affect the future of undocumented students in higher education. In our interview, she further stated: "The governor is not willing to listen to me, but he is willing to listen to the chancellor because he has influence…It's about being strategic … and having that power and that sort of influence. If we really want to push for something, if we want the DREAM Act to happen we have to go after top administrators that's what's really going to help because once people start speaking out for us and saying why it's necessary for us to have these kind of rights…" Like Lorena, many undocumented students and allies believed in the potential power high end administrators had in transforming the discourse around undocumented youth. When high-level administrators came out in support of undocumented students, much of the discourse they used fell around validating

the incorporation of undocumented students and changing immigration policies because of the potential economic contributions of undocumented immigrant youth to the US.

Administrative Support: "Terrible Waste of Talent—talent this country desperately needs."

In 2010 leaders in higher education, including UC Berkeley Chancellor Robert Birgeneau, called on Congress to take immediate action on the DREAM Act. On July 20, 2010 Birgeneau joined the heads of University of Houston, Eastern Washington University and Northern Virginia Community College on a press teleconference organized by United We Dream to urge DREAM Act supporters to take action. During this press conference Birgeneau stressed the importance of offering undocumented immigrant students opportunity in higher education. Chancellor Birgeneau noted, "As a society we should everything we can to support these top students who have earned the right to a college education" (*Public Affairs*, 2010). In addition, Birgeneau also stated "with all of the challenges that California is facing, we must take advantage of the extraordinary talents of these exceptional young people, many of whom have overcome incredible challenges to gain admission to great universities like UC Berkeley" (*Public Affairs,* 2010). Birgeneau, like many other politicians and allies at the time, recognized that tapping onto the economic potential of undocumented immigrant youth could be a point for support of undocumented immigrant youth in the debates for the DREAM Ac.

Many administrators shared Birgeneau support for undocumented immigrant students across the US. Many of these supporters shared their support through writing Op Ed articles, participating in press conference, and by writing letters to elected officials. For instance, in a 2013 press release to the *Huffington Post*, "Opening the Door to the DREAMers" Eugene J. Cornacchia, President of Saint Peters University, stated that "These [undocumented] students

have enormous economic potential that this nation surely could use." Cornacchia, like many other allies, recognized that in order to make an appealing argument for policy changes, reminding legislators of the importance of the "economic potential" of undocumented immigrant students was a must point. Cornacchia further stated that "These DREAMers simply want a chance to achieve what so many other Americans dream of achieving: a college degree, a good career and the personal satisfaction that comes from obtaining a college degree." For Cornacchia, supporting undocumented students had to do with the economic potential they could offer to the US and the recognition that in many ways undocumented immigrant youth had a potential to be easily incorporated to the American dream—to obtaining a college degree and good career. High-level administrators were a key component of building a legislative support for policies that could benefit undocumented students in higher education and post graduation. Additionally, supporters and advocates were very careful in stating that their support was within the parameters of existing law. The potential of further policy changes, many of them argued, could have provided a window for further support.

Kimberly Goff-Crews, Vice President for Campus Life and Dean of Students, shared in an October 7, 2010 public release The University of Chicago's stand on students and prospective students "who are undocumented immigrants". In her release she states, "The University of Chicago has been a place where the best and brightest minds from around the world can gather to shape ideas, produce new knowledge… our community has been deliberately inclusive…we are committed to assembling a community of talented individuals regardless of their backgrounds, financial circumstances or national origins… In accordance to the law, the University admits and enrolls undocumented students and uses private funds to provide financial aid to support their studies." Goff Crews, highlights the importance of incorporating "the best and brightest minds

from around the world" to the University of Chicago regardless of their backgrounds or financial circumstances. His statement highlights that the university's decision to support undocumented students was in fact "in accordance with the law" and that only private funds would be used to support undocumented immigrant student's educational pursuits. Highlighting that the university was in fact in "accordance with law" when supporting undocumented youth is a significant distinction administrators made.

The ambiguity between what actions were within "accordance to the law" is also highlighted in communication between Janina Montero, UCLA Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs and co-chairs of IDEAS in 2010. On December 18th, 2009 IDEAS members had a meeting with Chancellor Block and members of his administration to discuss the following topics: development of private financial support, institutional aid campaign, increasing availability of research and fellowship opportunities and the development of an "AB540 manual." Follow up communication was sent to IDEAS co chairs highlighting that the development of private financial support and in particular "that the idea of holding fund-raising events at the Chancellor is still under review." University administrators did not know what actions could lead them to not comply federal law. Montero specified that "The Chancellor is supportive of the concept, and it appears that the law will allow it," yet the support was limited because of the legal uncertainties of even hosting undocumented students at the Chancellor's residence. Montero also highlighted that further work would have to be allocated to "work out the details on how to reimburse the University for the cost of any significant resources that might be used to support such activities in order to ensure compliance with federal law." This continuous uncertainty on how to allocate resources for undocumented students became a point

for further research and back and forth communication between allies, administrators and students.

In the spring of 2009, Chancellor Birgeneau requested Vice Chancellor Gibor Basri to form and chair a taskforce on undocumented students. The task force was charged to identify and articulate issues and needs for undocumented students and with making recommendations for campus initiatives to support undocumented students, within the contours of legal reach of the University. The taskforce was made up of faculty, student services, undergraduate students, community partners and staff from the office of equity and inclusion. Eight major issues and 19 recommendations were articulated in the report. One of the recommendations was the creation of resource centers for undocumented students (Chancellor Task Report, 2010). Both UCLA and UC Berkeley have been able to establish resource centers for undocumented students.

Both of these universities are also the first campuses in the UC system to establish undocumented student support centers with full time staff. At UCLA, the AB540 Student Services Center located at the Bruin Resource Center was established in 2010 and served as an information hub and referral program with a part-time staff coordinator. In 2013, the AB540 Student Services Center changed their name to the Undocumented Student Program and now consists of two full time staff and six undergraduate student interns. At UC Berkeley, The Undocumented Student Program and the Robert D. Haas Dream Resource Center were established in 2012 as part of a philanthropic 1 million dollar gift from the Haas Jr. Fund. At the time, this gift was described as the "nation's single largest gift for scholarships to undocumented students" (Rodriguez, 2012). Currently, the UC Berkeley Undocumented Student Program consists of three full time staff and two student interns. Funding for the centers and the salaries

for staff come from temporary sources—gifts, grants, and private, not from a permanent established source. The funding for these types of support programs is not guaranteed.

DIFFERENTIAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANT STUDENT ORGANIZING

The use of economic and intellectual reductionism in creating the myth of "good immigrant" exceptionalism provided undocumented immigrant student organizers access to agents of legislative, financial and administrative power who then worked collaboratively to create policy and political changes in higher education. These *myths of exceptionalism* have become an important component of *subjectification* of undocumented immigrant students in higher education. Gayatri Spivak refers to the process of shuffling between creating meaning systems in order to enact "strategic essentialism" as a necessary tactic for intervening in power on behalf of the marginalized. Women of color feminisms have theorized that oppressed and marginalized peoples draw from repertoires of alternative oppositional stands to reconstitute power. In this last section of my findings, I turn to examine and discuss the differential mode of consciousness that undocumented immigrant student organizers have used to consent and contest narratives of immigrant exceptionalism.

I draw on Chela Sandoval's concept of differential consciousness, as "the differential mode of social movement and consciousness [that] depends on the practitioner's ability to read the current situation of power and self-consciously choosing and adopting the ideological stand best suited to push against its configuration" (Sandoval, 2000, p.60). Through each stage of undocumented student organizing: survival, radicalization and tactical conversations with university officials, undocumented immigrant student organizers have deployed forms of

differential consciousness, that have allowed them to identify oppositional expressions of power as tactics of resistance and opportunities to build coalitions that challenge inequities within higher education and the dehumanization of immigrant morality binaries. I draw from my interviews and observations from the National Coming Out of the Shadow campaign to discuss the different manifestations of differential consciousness in the subjectivity making of undocumented immigrant student organizers.

Survival

Hannah, Edgar and Daniel reflect some of the survival tactics undocumented students had to do to negotiate survival in higher education. Edgar recalls that in March 2006, during his first visit as an incoming freshman to University of California, Los Angeles, a staff member from the department of his intended major discouraged him and his family from enrolling at UCLA right out of high school after he shared with his immigration. Edgar remembers that the staff member tried to discourage him and his family from taking on four years of financial responsibility, arguing that he, most likely would not be able to graduate from UCLA. In her experience as an undergraduate student advisor, most undocumented students faced financial constraints preventing them from graduating in normative time. Edgar recalls, "She said I would not finish UCLA, that it was too expensive and that a lot of students would start but didn't finish." Edgar did attend UCLA and graduated in 2010 with a double major in Chicana and Chicano Studies and Political Science. Edgar does not resent the student advisor who attempted to turn his family and him away. In fact, during our interview, he recognized that it was common for students to enroll and not graduate. Edgar began attending UCLA at a time when limited resources were

available for undocumented students and when only a few undocumented students knew how to navigate the university.

In 2003, three years before Edgar began his journey in higher education, Daniel, a current doctoral student in the humanities also started his undergraduate educational journey at UC Berkeley. Daniel was an undocumented transfer student, who in 2002 became eligible to benefit from AB540, which made it possible for him to pay in-state tuition fees. Daniel remembers the enthusiasm and disillusionment he felt in his first year as a transfer student. He remembers, "When I first transferred to Berkeley in the Fall of 2003, I didn't find the resources and support undocumented students now find on campus… since I tried to maintain a full course load while at the same time working more than 30 hours per week, I soon realized it would be impossible to succeed at Cal." Daniel went into depression and dropped out after one semester because of the limited support that was available to support him. He worked for two years and saved money before coming back to UC Berkeley to finish his degree. He came back to the UC Berkeley campus in 2005, but this time, he began reaching out to a group of undocumented students who were starting to come together to form the peer support group Rising Immigrant Scholars through Education (RISE) in 2006. Daniel graduated in Chicano Studies with honors from UC Berkeley in 2008 and continues to navigate his educational journey as an undocumented immigrant doctoral student.

Aside from the limited financial aid they had access to, the limited knowledge staff and faculty had on undocumented student issues further complicated their incorporation. Hannah, a previously undocumented undergraduate student in the UC system during the early 2000s and a former institutional ally at UCLA, remembers the isolation she felt when she was completing her studies. Hannah recalls, "I went through this really dark moment and just feeling really

isolated… If I even saw a sign, one sign, you know, come talk to me or you know, I think it would been so reaffirming." The lack of information regarding undocumented student issues on campus was an obstacle for Hannah, Daniel and Edgar. They had to learn to navigate an educational system with little support as staff and faculty had limited understanding of the issues they were facing and/or how they could support them. Edgar, Daniel and Hannah developed a sense of differential consciousness and survival skills that allowed them to seek allies. Learning to share their story became one of the crucial components for survival in an institution where they existed as liminal members.

For many undocumented students this was the first opportunity where they began to hear and amplify their own voices. Many undocumented students I interviewed discussed the importance of learning how to tell their story, a skill that was practiced to effectively lobby, issue press releases, organize other students and build trust among each other. Students began using their testimonies as instruments to politicize themselves, peers, and other potential undocumented student organizers. They mastered the scripts to engage in conversations with politicians and other university administrators.

Radicalization

For many undocumented youth who were "coming out," the issue of how they perceive themselves and how others perceive them has been dominated by identifying as "undocumented". The "undocumented" collective identity would often become seen as the only, or most important, political identity through which they view the world around them. Identity formation of undocumented immigrant students has lived among many contradicting feelings of how they wish to identify themselves and how they should identify themselves. Because the very

identity of being "undocumented" can lead to compromising legal consequences, being undocumented is an identity negotiated in multiple spheres and according to different spaces. Undocumented immigrant students were learning to navigate and carefully disclose this identity with allies and supporters. This marks a major shift in the forms of differential consciousness that activists deployed in moving away from survival tactics towards asserting difference and developing the affective tactic of being unafraid and unashamed.

To further understand student testimonies and the national context that formed part of this time period, I examine the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign started in Chicago, Illinois. On March 10th, 2010 undocumented youth declared themselves to be "undocumented and unafraid" at the Federal Plaza, facing the immigration and federal office building. Around the country, other undocumented youth engaged in similar activities, which sometimes escalated to civil disobedience actions in support of immigrant rights. Later that year, on December 8th, 2010, the only piece of legislation that could have had an impact in regularizing the legal status of some undocumented immigrant youth, the Federal DREAM Act, died in the U.S. Senate. This legislative failure, which a lot of immigrant rights activists had organized and worked towards, only escalated the amount of frustration and disillusionment among the undocumented immigrant communities. As a result, many undocumented activists opted to start new and more independently-led organizations outside of the existing activist organizations. In March, 2011 the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign became a movement guided by a slogan that differed from the previous slogans, which had emphasized the law-abiding, high achiever profile of undocumented young students. This time "Undocumented, Unafraid and Unapologetic" became the chant and the slogan for unity.

The tactics of the *National Coming Out of the Shadows* movement that emerged in Chicago, in 2010, has since spread throughout the country. I read these new political tactics through a Latino queer performance lens. Performance Studies scholar, Diane Taylor, argues that performance and performance studies allow us to take seriously the repertoire of embodied practices as an important system of knowing and transmitting knowledge and that "every performance enacts a theory, and every theory performs in the public sphere" (Taylor, 2003, p. 26). Latino Queer performance theorist, Ramon Rivera-Servera proposes performance as a technology that creates alternative counterpublic. In his multi-sited, long-term study of Latina/o queer performances, he proposes the concept of utopian performative as way to describe how the performances he witnessed created the space for new possible queer futures within the straight present by creating an affective collective instersubjectively bond among all particpants (Rivera-Servera, 2012). Both theorists contribute to my understanding of how the cultural production of public performance can be understood as a transmission of embodied knowledge, and a mode of enacting an alternative counterpublic offers other possible futures. I argue that the tactics of *National Coming Out of the Shadows* can be seen as s a public performance, an embodied practice where the immigrant subject, through the use of their voice, body and narrative choreographs a collectively imagined alternative. This alternative offers the possibility of living without fear of deportation, of releasing the pain of hiding, and the shame induced by discourses that criminalize immigration, and, in the process, *disrupt* the hegemonic social constructions of undocumented immigrants. Under this framework, *National Coming Out of the Shadows*, can be read as the embodied practice where using one's voice, body, and its sensory capacities, and the collective response it produces, serves to elicit the kinds of affective forces required to instigate political change.

Immigrant rights activist groups advocated for immigrant community participation in the *National Coming Out of the Shadows Action* as a process of emancipation. In this process, transmission of knowledge through personal narrative is shared with an unknown public audience, often in public spaces such as in front of city halls, university plazas, and other government buildings. *Coming Out of the Shadows* requires the choreographed disruption of a public space through the use of megaphones, the audiences' political chanting, the public display of feelings, and the effect of a spatial, politically charged context. I read these performances as public disruptions that question the legitimacy and exploitative character of the US immigration law system.

Through most of the national actions, a script for "coming out of the shadows" has developed across regions, organizations, and individuals. This script includes the person's name, their age, sometimes a few details about why they migrated, a description of their migration journey to the United States, and a closing statement, usually a call for others to come out and engage in political campaigns for immigrant rights. The following is a sample opening script from a released video by Chicago-based Immigrant Youth Justice League three days before staging the second Coming Out of the Shadows demonstration in front of Chicago's City Hall: "My name is Cindy. I'm 21 years old. I'm undocumented. I'm unafraid. And I'm unapologetic. On March 10, 2011, we are going to have undocumented youth proclaim their undocumented status. They will tell everyone that they should not be sorry for being in the United States. That they should not apologize for getting an education, that they should not be sorry for their parents trying to make a living in the U.S. By coming out we share our stories. We put our face to this issue. We are human." Cindy's call for youth to come out of the shadows resonates with the type of "hopeful anger" that Rivera-Servera, in conversation with Jose Esteban Munoz, found in the

campaign for the cultural community center La Esperanza in San Antonio, Texas. It is a script that mobilizes a type of politically-motivated anger and uses affect or the feeling of anger to advocate for a movement and a social awakening. As Rivera-Servera states, the efficacy of collective performance as a social practice is that it creates the "temporary shared space in hopes that the encounters experienced over the course of a few hours might yield longer relationships with potentially political implications" (Rivera-Servera, 2012, p. 4). The emergence of a collective affectivity born out of a community in practice of performance relies on the emotional optimism of a futurity and a need for creating change starting in the present. Therefore, we can interpret Cindy's statement, "By coming out we put a face to this issue," as a call to make our presence known as an act of humanizing political discourses around immigration. By coming out of the shadows without shame, our presence challenges the normative ideals of American nationalism.

Around the country the *National Coming Out of the Shadows* campaign called upon undocumented youth, undocumented student organizers, and allies to come forward and support a radical position against the lack of legislative support for undocumented immigrant communities. The importance of appropriating the public sphere was a change in student organizing and tactics. National Coming Out of the Shadows changed the discourse around how undocumented immigrant youth and student organizers were relating to the scripts of morality that were imposed by political agendas of legislators, educators and even academics who were further perpetuating the division between good and bad immigrant binaries. They read the context of power that inscribed being worthy of citizenship with creating a normative "good immigrant" subject and shifted ideologies to assert their own difference thereby effectively

practicing differential consciousness in deploying the tactics of coming out as undocumented, unafraid and unashamed.

New Stages: Disidentifications with the scripts of morality and citizenship

One of the latest turning points in political organizing for many undocumented students in the University of California came with the naming of Janet Napolitano as president of the University of California. On July 18th, 2013 Napolitano was named the 20th president of the University of California and took office on September 18th, 2013. Undocumented students at most UC campuses began organizing in the summer of 2013 to bring forward their concerns about campus climate and resources for undocumented students. President Napolitano met with students October 2013 and since then there have been series of conversations between the UC Office of the President and undocumented student coalitions across campuses.

In May 2014, the first national UC Summit on undocumented students took place in Oakland, California. The summit was an unprecedented UC event organized by the UC President's Advisory Council on Undocumented Students. The conference was planned out for participants to discuss immigration legal services and support, civic engagement, community involvement, financial aid and support services and career and professional development. The two-day summit brought students from each UC campus together and from the first night students met, an action was planned out. On the first day of the official summit, students decided to take a stand against the lack of transparency in the planning of the summit and collectively decided to walk out during Napolitano's opening speech. As students stood up from their chairs, they rose their fists up in the air and said, "We are not here to simply fill your seats for your political gain," said one. "We demand that you listen to us," said another. "You cannot make

decisions ... about our lives without knowing our personal struggles," said another one. Undocumented students at the summit made a clear statement during the summit. By standing up as a collective body, undocumented students across each campus came together to take a position of disidentification with the good immigrant scripts of morality and exceptionalism that had been prevalent in the representations of undocumented students in higher education.

A disidentifiation with scripts of morality and exceptionalism has led me to question what the importance of the undocumented immigrant youth has in our understandings of citizenship and belonging. In the last minute of my interview with Hannah, she made a remark about the importance of undocumented youth activism to the immigrant rights debates and its significance to the history American citizenship. Hannah concluded, “If you look at Comprehensive Immigration Reform and the DREAM Act I think there’s something unprecedented in having a college degree as a path to citizenship. Historically we’ve always favored or given privileges to immigrants with a college education but that could be earned here or earned abroad. But now we’re explicitly saying if you get your college degree then this this could be your pathway.” For the first time in history, undocumented immigrant youth led a movement that is reshaping the concept of American citizenship, asking many policy makers and scholars to rethink about how we think about citizenship. Citizenship has been commonly defined as being vested with the privileges and duties of a citizen within the dimensions of legal and political identity. With so many scholars exploring the different manifestations of citizenship in our globalized world, it is not surprising that undocumented student mobilizing offers another framework to study this complex concept.

CONCLUSION

In this master thesis project I have examined these two questions: what are the myths of good immigrant exceptionalism that have been created around undocumented immigrant students to justify incorporation? In what ways are undocumented student organizers consenting and contesting these narratives? The experiences of undocumented immigrant students in institutions of higher education and in the undocumented immigrant youth movement helps us explore how subjects living in a condition of liminal legality have become socially constructed as "good and moral" immigrants subjects who then have been incorporated by institutions of higher education. As I was conducting this research I kept in mind literature that remains critical to higher education and the ways in which US universities have become a key site for racializing individuals valuable to neoliberalism as multicultural and for teaching them the codes of privilege and stigma that naturalize contemporary biopolitics and its uneven distributions. I kept in mind the ways in which higher education institutions have opened their doors to undocumented immigrant students, at the same time tuition fee hikes have been complicating the possibility for low income students of color to afford a college education.

This master thesis project only examines a few sources of a long-term commitment to the issues of undocumented immigrant students I have worked on for several years. I believe that the story I am trying to tell is far more complex than what I have contributed in the previous pages. I examined the testimony of Tam Tran delivered to the US Congress; the public testimonio sharing in the National Coming Out of the Shadows demonstrations across the US; the positions of high-level administrators like chancellors and deans across the US, to reveal the tensions between the ways undocumented student organizers are self-making their own subjectivity and being made by legislators and people in positions of decisive power.

APPENDIX 1 DATA COLLECTION AND INTERVIEWEES

Interview data collection was conducted over the period of January to March 2015. One interview with a student organizer conducted on February 2013 is also utilized in this project.[3] Seven recorded and six not recorded interviews were collected with activists and institutional allies who worked on undocumented student campus affairs within the last fifteen years. [4]In addition to recording interviews, the researcher attended regional educators' conferences, regional ally trainings, online webinars, fundraiser events, and faculty-student dinner dialogues to collect information regarding current initiatives by the UC campus to support undocumented students, as well as the discourse utilized by activists and institutional representatives to advocate and implement these services.

During the third week of March the interviewer spend a week (March 16-March 22) at the UC Berkeley campus conducting additional formal and informal interviews. The interviewer also attended a weekly RISE meeting where she got the opportunity to speak to current undocumented student organizers at UCB and learn about the campus climate regarding undocumented student issues and student activism.

In addition to the interviews, the researcher relied on UC reports on undocumented student climate conducted in 2010 by "UC Berkeley Task Force on Undocumented Students" and the recently released United We Dream's 2015 report titled "Institutional Policies With and For Undocumented Students". Reports and pamphlets were important sources of data that

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[3] I utilized sections of one interview from a previous research project because many of the topics covered in the interview resonate well with the project and fit this project interview protocol. I attached the analysis of the interview and the transcript for you to review. This interview was conducted on February 2013 in Berkeley, CA and was utilized for a paper presentation at NACCS in San Antonio, TX. The paper presentation was titled "Policy Changes, Work Permits and Partial Belonging: Undocumented Youth Speak Out about Deferred Action and the Undocumented Movement" http://www.naccs.org/images/naccs/archives/Programs/2013_40_SanAntonio.pdf

[4] In addition to currently collected interviews I also plan to conduct at least one more interview with a long-term advocate for student issues at UCLA who has been active since the *Leticia A Network*. I would hope to at least get two more interviews, but given time constraints I will only strategize to get this targeted interview.

allowed the interviewer to better understand the current efforts being implemented to support undocumented students at the UC campuses and compare it to other efforts in other campuses.

Overview of Interviewees

February 2013

Lorena, 21 at the time of interview, UCB student consultant to the Haas Foundation Family, Entre Familia Scholarship coordinator, Dream House Coordinator

From the moment Lorena entered UCB, she became involved with organizing for undocumented student issues at UCB. With the support of Lupe, Lorena became a student coordinator for the mentorship scholarship program Entre Familia. She is also the founder and was coordinator of Dream House- a rented house that offered affordable housing to undocumented students attending UC Berkeley. In her last three years at UCB, Lorena became a student consultant for Elise

and advised her on program implementations, offered recommendations for how and where to allocate funding.

Lorena is an indigenous Zapotec woman from a matriarchal town in the highlands of Oaxaca, Mexico. She learned Spanish and English when she arrived to the United States. She is currently working as a program coordinator for 67 Suenos in Oakland, CA. (Transcribed about 30 mins used for this project)

December 2015

Carlos, 26, UC Berkeley 2011 Alumni and current staff with UCB Undocumented Student Program

Carlos was a student organizer at UCB during the tuition fee hikes in 2009 and 2010. Carlos is now staff for UCB USP and organizes across campuses (state and national) to support best

practices for undocumented student populations. Carlos interview covered some of the current practices that are being implemented across UCs to support students. He highlighted that institutions are slow to respond to policy changes, that the work of taskforces, committees and teams take a very long time to be materialized at the institutional level. I was particular interested in his efforts to continue doing work on educational equity across UC, CSU and community college campuses—always under the belief that this work is not about institutionalizing immigrants into the neoliberal university model, but about conducting educational equity work that will support the growth of the students, their families and their communities. (Transcribed 45 minutes)

January 2015,

Shawn, 22, UCLA 2014 Alumni and IDEAS Organizer.

Shawn is currently an active organizer in the immigrant rights movement. His interview brought to light some of the issues student organizers face. When Shawn entered the university he faced serious financial constraints, one year later the CA Dream Act was implemented and his tuition was covered. Regardless of the financial advantage he now had, he was still committed to immigration issues and continued to be involved through IDEAS. His generation was the last generation of undocumented students with no financial support (pre CA Dream Act). With new generations of undocumented students entering the university, this story of perseverance and organizing is getting lost. He is concerned about the sense of entitlement a lot of undocumented students feel entering the campus, without being conscious of the historical struggle that it was and requires to sustain the infrastructures set up in place. (Transcribed 45 minutes)

January 2015

Hannah, UCLA Staff at Undocumented Student Program

Hannah has been working for the UCLA USP for two years. Prior to her appointment there was a .5 FTE running the USP under the name AB540 Program. Over the course of the last two years the name of the program and the staffing of the center has changed (There are now 2 staff members and student employees who run programing at the center). Our interview covered some of the current institutional landscape (Transcribed 95 minutes)

February 2015

Karina, 22, UC Berkeley 2014 Alumni and East Bay Immigrant Youth Coalition Organizer

During her time as an undocumented student ally, Karina became involved with immigration issues on campus and with the larger immigrant community in the Bay Area. Even though Karina is not an immigrant, her mother's experience as an undocumented Guatemalan war refugee, always inspired her to continue doing work with immigrant communities. Karina's interview covered some of her experiences on forming coalition work with undocumented immigrant youth and the obstacles of organizing against Napolitano's appointment to UC presidency. Karina was one of the twenty UC student representatives who met with Napolitano to advocate for undocumented student issues (Not recorded)

February 2015

Edgar, 26, UCLA 2010 Alumni and Former UCLA Community Programs Office Staff

Edgar enrolled at UCLA in 2006, three years after IDEAS was founded. At the time there was still a lot of grey areas about how institutional best practices for supporting undocumented students. Edgar relied on his peer support system to overcome the emotional and mental strains of being an undocumented college student. Halfway through his education at UCLA, Edgar received his green card, but the commitment to his peers and to the immigrant struggle kept him

involved in campus issues. After graduating he worked with CPO for one year and supported in the implementation of programs that supported undocumented students. (TB Transcribed)

March 2015

Lupe G, Director Chicano Latino Agenda Office, Berkeley CA

Lupe G has been one of the prime advocators for undocumented, Chicano Latino students at UCB. Lupe G was involved in ISIC (Immigrant Student Issues Coalition) among many, many other initiatives to advocate for student issues at UCB.

March 2015

Meng, Director at the Undocumented Student Program, Berkeley, CA

Meng is currently the director at USP. He is involved with undocumented student issues across the UC campuses and at a national level. During his interview we shared some of the continuous efforts in supporting undocumented students at UCB and the role of USP in campus climate. (Transcribed 45 minutes)

March 2015

Alberto, Graduate Division, Berkeley CA

Without doubt this was one of the most helpful interviews for my project. Alberto has been involved in immigrant student issues for a long time at UC Berkeley (since ISIC) and continues to be involved now that he is serving as Director of Graduate Diversity. Alberto continues to sit in task forces and during our interview he reflected on the many changes UCB has had towards their treatment of undocumented students. (Transcribed 45 minutes)

March 2015

Patricia and Leticia

I was invited by a staff member of USP to join the RISE meeting on Wed. March 18th at 6:30 pm. I attended the meeting and got to observe some of the challenges and opportunities undocumented student organizers are facing at UCB. I lingered from 8:30-12:30 am to talk to the two lead facilitators of the group Patricia and Leticia. Both of them are four-year transfer students who will be graduating soon. We had the opportunity to talk about the issues the group is facing, the divisions within allies, and the benefits that many students have with financial aid.

APPENDIX 2: NEWS AND WRITTEN REPORTS

Source		Name	Date
Report	United We Dream	Institutional Policies and Programs with and for undocumented students	
Blog		A Personal History of Undocumented Student Report at UC Berkeley	Sep-13
Report		Chancellor's Task Force on Undocumented members of the On-Campus Community Recommendations	5/18/11
News Report	LA Times	Grant to Aid UC Berkeley's undocumented students	12/12/12
News Report	Huffington Post	Opening Doors to Dreamers	12/12/13
News Report	The Daily Californian	For 'UndocuWeek', Dirks affirms support for undocumented students	4/9/14
Letter		Letter to Campus Community form VP for Campus Life and Dean of Students (University of Chicago)	10/7/10
Invitation	USP, BRC , IDEAS	Mariposa Convocation Letter of Invitation	9/3/14
Letter	UCLA Student Affairs	Follow up letter for IDEAS meeting with Chancellor Block	1/15/10
Email	Montero/Kent	Internal communication on AB540 Student Fundraiser	3/23/10
		AB540 Annual Financial Reports	
		Reports Chancellor Taskforce	
Email	Angela/Alfred	Internal Communication on UndocuAlly Trainings	4/2/10
Draft		Amendment of University Financial Aid Policy to Extend Eligibility for University Financial Aid	2/2/10
News Report	The Daily Californian	Chancellor Birgeneau urges Congress to pass the DREAM ACT	7/21/10
Executive Summ	Haas Innovation Gran	Innovation Grant Research Report: Working Together to Improve Campus Climate for Undocumented	2/1/13

In order to understand the material and ideological shifts that have occurred regarding undocumented student issues at the UC level, I am engaging with a series of news reports, institutional reports, NGO reports that have focused on campus climate issues for undocumented students and institutional policies and programs recommendations. These reports include:

1. United We Dream 2015

National Institutions Coming Out Day Toolkit: Institutional policies and programs with & for undocumented students. The 65-page toolkit designed for institutional allies who are seeking commitment to undocumented student issues at their home institutions. The toolkit includes 29

recommended commitments for raising awareness, building campus support services and systematic policy change. The report includes several references to UCLA and UCB initiatives that can also be implemented for other college campuses. I find this report useful for its detailed list of institutional recommendations, all which are modeled after current efforts and initiatives conducted across college campuses in the nation. All of the reports (as well as most of the interviews) voice the concern of supporting undocumented students as an educational equity fight.

> "Due to the educational inequity faced by students and the lack of access to resources and support staff, DEEP [Dream Educational Empowerment Program] invites you as an institution to commit to increasing the support and resources available to undocumented students at your school by committing to the National Institutions Coming Out Day today!" (7, UWD, 2015)

2. The Standing Committee for Undocumented Members of the On Campus Community 5/2011 *Chancellor's Task Force on Undocumented members of the On-Campus Community Recommendations to Chancellor Birgeneau* In Spring 2009, Chancellor Birgeneau requested Vice Chancellor Gibor Basri to form and chair a taskforce on undocumented students. The formal charge of the task force was to identify and articulate issues and needs for undocumented students and make recommendations for campus initiatives to support undocumented students (within the contours of legality). The taskforce was made up of faculty, student services, undergraduate students, community partners and staff from the office of equity and inclusion. Eight major issues and 19 recommendations were articulated in the report. Through the course of the next three years most of the 19 recommendations have been incorporated. I find this report useful for my study because it gives me a historical context of the institutional development of task forces and efforts to support undocumented students.

Newspapers

"Napolitano announces initiative to support undocumented students "

http://www.dailycal.org/2013/10/30/napolitano-announces-new-initiative-undocumented-students-uc/

APPENDIX 3: OVERVIEW OF SOME ETHNOGRAPHIC SOURCES

Name of Event	Time	Location	Date	Organization
IDEAS General Meeting	3pm-7pm	SAC, UCLA	10/20/13	IDEAS
Faculty Student Dinner Dialogue on Undocumented Immigrant Student Experience	5pm-7pm	DeNeve Dining Hall UCLA	11/7/13	BRC-Intergro
Educators for Fair Consideration 2014 Educators Conference	9am-4pm	Wheeler Hall, UCB	1/31/14	E4FC
UC Southern Region UndocuAlly Training	2-3:30pm	DeNeve Common Hall	5/19/14	UCOP
IDEAS at UCLA 9th Annual Banquet		Bradley Hall UCLA	6/6/14	IDEAS
IDEAS at UCLA Graduation		Bradley Hall UCLA	6/12/14	IDEAS
Opening Retreat for Dream Summer		CARECEN	6/16/14	UCLA Labor C
Mariposa Convocation: a Gathering of UndocuBruins and Families		Haines	9/12/14	USP IDEAS BR
2014 CA Higher Education Undocu Legal Webinar		Online	11/17/14	Berkeley Law
Faculty Student Dinner Dialogue on Immigration and the Undocumented Student Experience on Campus		Bradley Hall UCLA	2/12/15	BRC-Intergrou
RISE General Meeting	6:30pm-12am	Cesar Chavez, UC Berkeley	3/18/15	RISE
Art of Dialogue: Writing Workshop	5pm-8pm	Bruin Resource Center	4/15/15	ORL
UC Summit on Undocumented Students		Oakland, CA	5/7/15	UCOP

1. **"Faculty Student Dinner Dialogue on Immigration and the Undocumented Student Experience on Campus" (Sponsored by the UCLA Intergroups Relation Program) Thursday, February 12th, 2015. 5:00-7:00 PM DeNeve Dinning Hall. Faculty: Professor Jane Pizzolto and Professor Rob Teranishi** (one of the lead researchers in the UndocuScholars Research Project). I spoke to one of the student facilitators for this discussion and asked them about the reason for this dinner, she described that there are monthly dinners Intergroup Relations put together to encourage dialogue on contentious issues among different groups on campus. In their website IGR describes their work as "The UCLA Intergroup Relations (IGR) program equips students, faculty and staff with knowledge, skills, awareness, and commitment for active participation in an increasingly diverse and global society." The dinner went quite well, (participants were respectful and from the beginning the word "illegal" was banned in the conversation). After the dinner a student reached out to me who was interested in being connected to the org Pre Health

Dreamers. It is obvious that there are still students who are still "under the shadows" and who even inside a supportive campus continue to find difficulty navigating the campus as undocumented students. There were a few staff from Office of Student Life who attended the dinner and their reason for being present was to learn about undocumented students and understand what they can do to support students. Students disclosed feeling pressure of being labeled as "overachiever rockstars" A young student discussed that her professor has her in a high standards that sometimes feel overwhelming. Some students brought up the issue of having family members who are being negatively affected by immigration legislation, which makes them feel incapable of performing their best.

2. **Educators for Fair Consideration 2014 Educators Conference. Saturday, January 25th, 2014. 9:00am-4:30 pm. UC Berkeley Wheeler Hall.** I attended this conference over a year ago to present a workshop on creative writing for undocumented students and to perform a poetry piece I wrote with the E4FC Summer Creative Writing Group during Summer 2013. E4FC conference was well attended (about 400-500 educators, community members, administrators, high school and college students were present. The workshops included issues on financial aid, mental health, A-G requirements. E4FC has been at the forefront of advocating for undocumented students not only in the Bay Area, but at a national level. I first met Kathy Gin, founder and ED of E4FC, in February 2009. At the time E4FC was training a few Cal students to do media releases, in particular for a short piece they secured with Good Morning America (which aired in April, 2009). At that time, and even in the selection of their scholarship candidates, one of the things they emphasize is citizenship and American spirit of DREAMers. With the ideological shifts in the youth immigrant movement, E4FC has been responding and incorporating less of a

Dreamer narrative. I attended a workshop where Carla Trujillo spoke on some of the challenges in incorporating undocumented graduate students at UCB.

3. **IDEAS at UCLA 11th Anniversary Annual Banquet. Friday, June 6th, 2014. 6:30 PM-8:30 PM. Bradley International Center.** This banquet was a really nice event to celebrate the work of IDEAS. I met with a few students from the new and old boards to get a feeling of the projects that IDEAS is doing and will be incorporating for the year. The boards are pretty big (about 10 people with 2 cochairs). It was a key event to learn about the people that have been supported undocumented students on campus—faculty D. Hayes-Bautista, and Ron Teranishi were there. I learn from Hayes-Bautista that some students and him are working on health care access campaigns.
4. **Mariposa Convocation: a Gathering of Undocumented Student and Families. Friday, September 12th, 2014. 9:00-5:00. Haines Hall** The Undocubruin family day is a "one day introduction to resources and information as navigation tools to enhance your success at UCLA." I received an invitation to attend this one-day event to learn about the current resources at UCLA for undocumented students. I attended two workshops and met a few incoming undergraduate transfer students. Prof. Abrego was the keynote for this event. She spoke about her experiences working with undocumented students (from her time as a college counselor to what drove her beginning work in graduate school and what she does now for her undergraduate students). The event was put together by Undocumented Student Program and IDEAS at UCLA.
5. **UC Southern Region UndocuAlly Training. Monday May 19th, 2014. 2:45-4:15 pm. DeNeve Conference Hall. Los Angeles, CA**

The undocually regional trainings came out of the UC President's 5 Million-Dollar Initiative to improve campus climate for undocumented students across the UC. Most of those attending were not necessarily long term advocates of undocumented student issues, but also high ranking staff of student life affairs, academic affairs, financial aid, etc. I was invited to participate in a fish bowl activity—one to two undocumented student representatives of UC campuses participated in a Q&A activity where students had the opportunity to dialogue about campus climate issues at their campus. During the activity the students were encouraged to act as if we were in a space without the presence of the institutional representatives (that was kind of odd). I appreciated the opportunity to have dialogue with other students across UCs and learn about what current undergraduates are experiencing in their academic trajectory.

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