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Los Angeles

Citizens of Heaven

Fear, Faith, and Political Participation of Undocumented Americans

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Urban Planning

by

Emily Jean Erickson

2017

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Citizens of Heaven

Fear, Faith, and Political Participation of Undocumented Americans

by

Emily Jean Erickson

Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Planning

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Abel Valenzuela, Chair

Everyday life for undocumented Americans entails coping with fear, stress, and anxiety related to the threat of deportation and family separation. In recent decades, changes in immigration trends, policy, and policing have created a lived reality for undocumented Americans that have an increasingly high cost and risk of deportation; not only have the chances of deportation grown but so too have the costs of deportation. However, as risks and fears of deportation have risen, so too have political mobilizations of undocumented Americans as undocumented peoples demand protection of DREAMers, an end to deportations, and campaign for comprehensive immigration reform at the nation level and sanctuary status at the state and local level. In recent years immigrant rights mobilizations and political protests have brought undocumented Americans from the shadows to the glaring lights of the American political arena. Through a comparative case study of a Catholic Parish in Los Angeles and Albuquerque, this

dissertation explores how undocumented Americans overcome or set aside fear of deportation to participate in American political arenas in one traditional institutional setting – the Catholic Church.

Religious institutions play a fundamental role in the American political system, providing opportunities to participate, motivations and desires to participate, and enhance individual capacity to participate through acquisitions of civic skills (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Through engagement with a Catholic Church, the primary institutional affiliation of Latino and Latino immigrants in the U.S. (Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001), undocumented Americans enhance their means, motives, and opportunities to participate politically. This occurs within a physical and institutional setting that shields individuals from deportation fear, hostile geographies of fear, and negative contexts of reception. The church facilitates political participation through aiding undocumented Americans in setting aside of a legal identity and adopting an identity based on religious faith – becoming a brother or sister in Christ while participating in Church groups, events, and activities. The church may support this identity formation and sense of belonging through social service provision, catering faith-based services to immigrant traditions, and engaging in campaigns in support of immigrant rights and protections. Some church-affiliated groups may also act as de-facto civic organizations, convening meetings with local politicians, participating in community-based activities beyond the realm of faith-based activities, thus providing not only opportunities to participate but the potential of participating with institutional cover and legitimacy provided by the Catholic Church. Through engagement with a church, undocumented Americans can adopt a sense of belonging in urban America while engaging in political activities that further cement their presence in the United States.

The dissertation of Emily Jean Erickson is approved.

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2017

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Living in the shadows no longer describes the entirety of undocumented life in the United States. While the term aptly encapsulated life for undocumented Americans in the early 1990s when anthropologist Leo Chavez wrote *Shadowed Lives*, in recent years immigrant rights mobilizations and political protests have brought undocumented Americans from the shadows to the glaring lights of the American political arena. Famously, millions of people took to the streets in 2006 to protest a congressional proposal that would sharply curtail immigrant rights and increase interior and border enforcement of undocumented people and entry (Heredia, 2011; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008). Understanding this willingness of individuals facing the threat of deportation to demand recognition and rights publically is an intriguing puzzle. By comparing undocumented engagement within Catholic churches in Los Angeles and Albuquerque, this dissertation project begins to unravel this puzzle.

In this study of how undocumented Americans become politically engaged through their participation in religious institutions, I find that the role of identity, belonging, and contexts of reception shape individual's willingness to participate. In the case of a Los Angeles church, undocumented parish members replaced a legally-based identity with a spiritual one, becoming a "brother and sister in Christ" rather than an undocumented American. Through supportive church practices that engaged in direct service provision and incorporated Latin American religious practices, the church fostered spaces of belonging, dampened fears of deportation, and provided institutional legitimacy and cover, all of which supported political participation among undocumented parish members. The experiences of undocumented Catholics in Los Angeles are quite distinct from undocumented members of a Catholic Church in Albuquerque where fear of

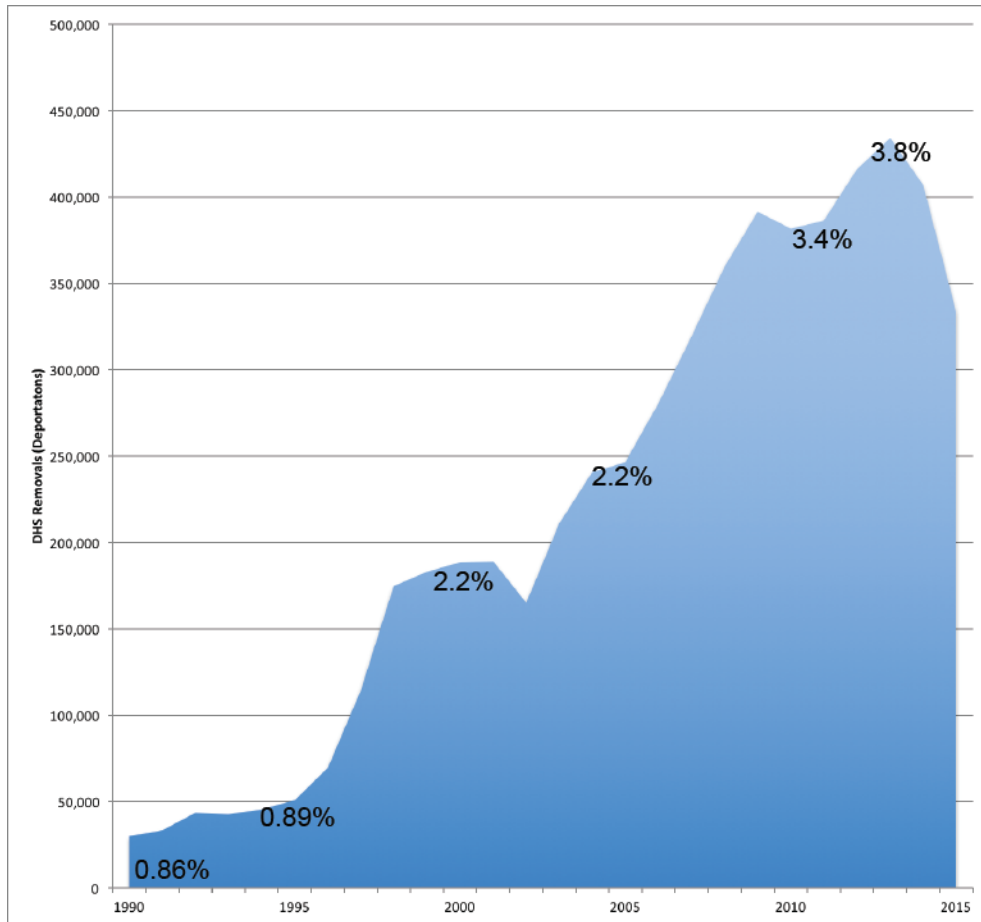
deportation and stepping out of the shadows limited even participation in faith-based activities. The significant differences in experiences of deportation fear and relative size of co-ethnic communities, two key local contextual factors, favored participation and engagement in Los Angeles while limiting it in Albuquerque.

Everyday life for undocumented Americans entails coping with fear, stress, and anxiety related to the threat of deportation and family separation. This fear of deportation, experienced by millions of undocumented people and the U.S. citizens and legal permanent residents that love them, is not just a fear of having Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents show up at the door, but also fear of removal from the home, family, financial investments, and community. Danger and violence in the countries of origin (where people are deported to) compounds the fear of deportation. In recent decades, changes in immigration trends, policy, and policing have created a lived reality for undocumented Americans that have an increasingly high cost and risk of deportation; not only have the chances of deportation grown but so too have the costs of deportation.

Figure 1 charts the number of deportations annually since 1990. While deportations remained under 50,000 annually through the mid-1990s, they subsequently increased. At the height of the Obama Administration's deportation push in 2013, the number of removals reached 434,015 (Department of Homeland Security, 2016). Figure 1 demonstrates two significant historical moments. The first is the mid-1990s push for increased border security through programs such as Operation Hold the Line and Operation Gatekeeper (Nevins, 2010). These programs increased policing and border build-up in response to the "historically unparalleled level of official and public concern about the U.S. government's ability – or lack thereof – to police the U.S.-Mexico boundary and prevent unauthorized or 'illegal' immigration from

Mexico” (Nevins, 2010, p. 2). While this border build-up set historical precedence, the response to the 2001 terrorist attacks on New York and the Pentagon soon dwarfed these earlier border investments. While the total number of immigrants and undocumented immigrant inflows has increased over this time period, border buildup has far outpaced the overall growth of undocumented migrants in the United States (Massey, Durand, & Pren, 2016; Passel & Cohn, 2017). Superimposed on the chart of deportations are the percent of deportations, what Department of Homeland Security calls removals, based on estimates of the total number of undocumented people living in the United States that year. As demonstrated in the graph, the rates of deportation have increased over time - from removals accounting for less than one percent of the total undocumented population to almost four percent. This percentage represents a significant uptick in the risk of being deported and having family members face deportation. While in 1990 one in one hundred undocumented people faced deportation, by 2013 this number rose to nearly one in 25. Days into his presidency, Mr. Trump signed Executive Order 13768 increasing interior immigration enforcement, a move that threatens to increase the number of deportations under his Administration (Pierce & Capps, 2017).

Figure 1: Number and Percent of Deportations, 1990-2015. (Author's calculations from the Department of Homeland Security, 2016; Passel & Cohn, 2017)



The deportation rates reflected in Figure 1 also are due to the unintended consequences of U.S. policy on immigrant flows (Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2002). As a result of an intensive push to secure the border, fundamental changes have taken place in migration patterns from Mexico and Central America. What Massey, Durand, and Malone (2002) call a "wrench in the works," U.S. policy has resulted in the unintended consequences of long-term settlements of undocumented immigrants in the United States. Instead of discouraging migration from Mexico, the border buildup has converted circular, seasonal migration patterns into one direction migration resulting in long-term settlement in the United States. While historically workers would migrant to the United States to work in seasonal industries as diverse as agriculture,

construction and tourism, the costs of clandestine border crossings make returning to Mexico during the offseason untenable (Massey et al., 2016). One-time seasonal labor migrants now opt for long-term settlement in the United States (Cornelius, 2009; Massey et al., 2016). While the rise of female and youth migration has diverse causal mechanisms; the long-term settlement in the United States of fathers and husbands has encouraged this movement. Family reunification is a leading cause of migration to the United States from Mexico; the border build up that intended to keep undocumented migrants out has instead encouraged them to settle with their families permanently in the United States – the policy has “backfired” (Massey et al., 2016).

As individuals without legal status remain in the United States for longer stretches, their lives become more deeply entwined with American culture and lifestyles – they have U.S. born children (resulting in mixed-status households), financial investments, employment histories, and social ties. The growth of deeper roots in the United States makes the rupture of deportation even more jarring. Individuals are no longer only deported from a workplace, but increasingly deportation means separation from family members – spouses, children, and parents.

For people who are deported but wish to return to the United States – to reunite with their family or return to work – the return costs have risen with the increased investment in border policing. There are two primary costs associated with clandestine border crossings and entry into the United States – financial and physical costs. In 1993, the average fee paid to a smuggler to get across the border was \$980, in 2013 the median fee paid to smugglers surpassed \$3,000 (Cornelius & Lewis, 2007; Noriega, Gomez, Kroeger, & Leon, 2015). The rising cost in smuggler fees is correlated to U.S. border enforcement as fees "are a function of the perceived probability of being apprehended by Border Patrol agents" (Noriega et al., 2015, p. 21). More troubling than the rising financial cost is the physical toll of clandestine border crossings for

individuals seeking to return to the United States following deportation. Death is a growing risk for those entering the country illegally. In 1998, there were 263 border deaths; in 2012, this number rose to 477 (Anderson, 2013). Massey, Durand, and Pren (2016) attribute the increase in border deaths to the increase in border enforcement (calculated by the border patrol budget) finding that had border enforcement budgets remained at “1986 values through 2010, there would have been a total of 5,119 fewer deaths along the border” (Massey et al., 2016, p. 1581).

Rising border enforcement and changing settlement patterns of undocumented Americans mean that there are greater odds of being deported and greater consequences of deportation. As I have discussed, deportation means family separation, loss of income, and increased difficulty of return. Far from an irrational response, fear is a logical emotional response to the risk of deportation. Increased fear is a natural response to the rise in risk and the increased consequences of deportation. Importantly, this fear may be felt by citizens and legal residents if they are members of a mixed-status household. A recent study of undocumented families in New Mexico found that U.S. citizen children can experience heightened levels of anxiety and fear related to deportation threats as they worry about having their parents forcibly removed from the country (Valenzuela & Erickson, 2015). The growing risks and costs of deportation make fear a rational response to the specter of deportation for citizens and immigrants alike.

Fear and emotional experiences are not strictly personal processes. Building from the concept of emotional geographies, deportation fear can be conceptualized as part of a geography of deportation fear. Geography of deportation fear is a concept I introduce that begins from the premise that the world is mediated by emotion. Emotionality is traditionally “regarded as something apart from the economic and/or as something that is essentially private and does not substantially infuse public/policy sphere” (Anderson & Smith, 2001, p. 7). Emotional

geographies, as a concept, challenges this separation; it contends that the personal experience of emotion may be politically created (Pain & Smith, 2008). The personal and political fuel, reinforce, and challenge each other. These politically-created emotional states are contoured by topographies of fear as power is expressed spatially through the policing of space, restricting of people, othering in space (Pain & Smith, 2008; Thien, 2005). For undocumented Americans, the policing of otherness may be reaffirmed by border and migration enforcement, and everyday exploitation of vulnerability due to immigration status (see Fussell, 2011).

The consequences of deportability are both individual and societal. For many undocumented Americans, the workplace is the primary location for the exploitation of deportability; undocumented workers experience depressed wages, exploitation, unsafe and unhealthy working conditions, and a variety of workplace abuses (Bernhardt, Boushey, Dresser, & Tilly, 2008; Bernhardt et al., 2009). Fussell (2011) describes the relationship between deportation threat and workplace abuse as a Deportation Threat Dynamic (2011). In this concept, she highlights the role of power and the ability of non-employers to take similar advantage of the threat of deportation; her model identifies the mechanism at play wherein the policing of undocumented Americans gives power to unscrupulous employers' threat of deportation to illegally extract higher surplus values from undocumented workers. As Fussell (2011) contends, this mechanism is so well known that non-labor market actors are using this mechanism for other purposes, notably crime (see also: Melendez, Theodore, & Valenzuela, 2008).

This exploitative relationship between undocumented Americans and employers seeking illegal and unfair advantage is ratcheted up as the enforcement of undocumented immigration is increased in both number and rhetoric (Fussell, 2011). Not only are the sheer number of

deportations and raids increasing, but the localization of immigration policing means that thousands of municipalities across the country have signed memoranda's of understand (MOUs) with Immigration and Customs Enforcement and now comply with ICE detainer requests (Varsanyi, 2010). This collaboration with ICE turns routine interaction with local law enforcement into the potential for detention and deportation (Varsanyi, 2010). As the threat of deportation increases through law enforcement, labor, and other abuses likely will rise in equal measure, resulting in increased experiences of deportation fear and further exploitation of this fear (Fussell, 2011).

For humans, the fundamental emotion of fear combines both ingrained impulse and a level of cognition (Stearns, 2006). Fear is part of the human brains' self-defense system, while all animals experience the tensing of muscles and raising blood pressure in response to a threat, the subjective feeling of fear requires a self-awareness only known in humans (Debiec & LeDoux, 2004). Chronic exposure to fear can lead to depression, schizophrenia, social disorders and posttraumatic stress disorders (Debiec & LeDoux, 2004). Geller and colleagues (2014) show that the relationship between the external threat from law enforcement such as Stop and Frisk Policing (the temporary detainment of civilians on sidewalks based on suspicion of criminality) can lead to just such outcomes among young men of color.¹

Scholars have not yet examined the effect of Stop and Frisk-style policing on the mental health and well-being of immigrants who face similar policy and policing approaches. It is reasonable to assume that the Border Patrol's Show of Force practices (where patrols and technologies are concentrated in specific areas to discourage illicit crossing and presence) may

¹ A recent study of New York City's stop and frisk policy found that increased stops by police of young people resulted in elevated levels of anxiety and reduced mental health (even when controlling for race, ethnicity, criminal background, poverty, and other potential spurious variables) (Geller, Fagan, Tyler, & Link, 2014). Repeated stops and intrusion by police is a significant predictor of anxiety and PTSD symptoms ($P < 0.001$) (Geller et al., 2014).

result in similar outcomes for undocumented individuals living in areas of the United States where such policing is a regular practice. Indeed, evidence from a report on New Mexico's undocumented households found that people living adjacent to the U.S.-Mexico border where the Border Patrol has increased police powers,² experienced high levels of fear, anxiety, and depression; one young man described living in the area between inland border checkpoints and the international border as "living in a cage" (Valenzuela & Erickson, 2015).

Even in cities such as Los Angeles where Border Patrol agents do not police the streets, and the police department has publically and officially distanced itself from immigration policing, fear of deportation still exists. Over half (52 percent) of undocumented college students at a Los Angeles university said the fear of deportation made attending university difficult; twenty-six percent of respondents had sought professional help from a campus psychologist; and an additional 45 percent sought mental health support from other avenues (Valenzuela, Erickson, Castillo, & Villagomez, 2015).

As policing of immigrants and the ratcheting up of deportation fear grew in the last decades, immigrant mobilizing and undocumented political participation has also grown in presence and weight (Fox & Bada, 2011; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008; Voss & Bloemraad, 2011). As non-citizens, undocumented Americans are not eligible to vote in federal, state, and most local elections³ – although a variety of other participation means are open to them including protesting, demonstrating, attending meetings, and contacting elected officials. Religious

² Within 100 air-miles of any United States border or port of entry Customs and Border Patrol officers “have the right to stop and conduct warrantless searches on vessels, trains, aircraft, or other vehicles” including private cars (ACLU, 2014). Officers can also enter private property without warrants within 25 miles of international ports of entry. It is this regulation that enables the Customs and Border Patrol to operate internal checkpoints such as the one on Interstate 5 north of San Diego, California, or Interstate 25 north of Las Cruces, New Mexico, and the property searches that frequently accompany Shows of Force operations.

³ Some cities across the country have granted voting rights to non-citizen residents in municipal and school board elections (Leitner & Strunk, 2012; Varsanyi, 2004)

institutions have played a major role in supporting these activities. In a 2008 book on the role of religious institutions and faith leaders in the immigrant rights campaigns of the early 2000s, Hondagneu-Sotelo outlines the role of religious activists in the fight for immigration reform and rights in the United States. She begins her book with a description of the religious undertones of demonstrations in 2006 when millions of people took to the streets in response to a Congressional bill designed to curtail immigrant rights sharply:

On downtown boulevards across the nation, the marchers, who were predominantly but not exclusively Latino, chanted, “Aquí estamos, y no nos vamos” (We’re here, and we’re not leaving), “Hoy marchamos, Mañana votamos” (Today we march, tomorrow we vote), and “Sí se puede!” (Yes, we can!). Joining them were prominent leaders from labor unions, civil rights organizations, and ethnic organizations. The American flag became the most prominent symbol of the movement, but marchers also carried crosses, votive candles, and banners of la Virgen de Guadalupe or of local congregations. At one candlelight vigil that began at the historic La Placita [Catholic] Church in downtown Los Angeles, a huge crucifix with a semicircular sign proclaiming “Cristo de los Inmigrantes” (Christ of the Immigrants) hovered higher than the sea of American flags, hinting at the critical role of faith in fueling this movement.

Religious leaders were also visible and vocal in these immigrant rights marches. Cardinal Roger M. Mahony, the leader of the nation's largest Catholic archdiocese, garnered national media attention when he denounced the proposed bill as "un-American." He even sent informational packets on immigration to all parishes in his district. Catholic leaders had initiated the Justice for Immigrants campaign for immigration reform in 2004, but they were not the only religious leaders involved in this campaign. In Los Angeles, Muslim, Buddhist, Jewish, and Protestant religious leaders also supported the marches and served as featured speakers. (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008, pp. 2-3).

Religious leaders from many faiths participated and led groups and campaigns for immigrant rights. Hondagneu-Sotelo (2008) identified four key roles that religious groups played in the immigrant rights movement which speaks to the broader role of religious institutions in American politics. First, religious institutions provide a moral justification and motivation for action. Perhaps the most famous example of this is Martin Luther King Jr.'s use of Bible themes to frame the civil rights movement and as a call for action. The moral justification crosses religious sects as "notions such as Christian kinship, Jewish righteousness and Muslim charity"

are easily merged with social movement ideologies (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008, p. 19). The second role of religion is its potential to provide resources; resources can include social networks and/or other, more tangible, resources such as funding, meeting spaces, and telephones. Additionally, clergy often brings their education and skill set to bear on the movement. The third role of religion is to provide shared cultural and symbolic rituals that can unify people across organizations and provide a shared language among participants. Finally, religious groups also provide a level of legitimacy not easily obtained otherwise. In the United States, Christianity “carries tremendous moral weight and political legitimacy” and as such, religion is uniquely “suited to offer legitimacy to unpopular causes because it can operate as a relatively autonomous arena, acting as it does from a higher ground” (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008, pp. 20-21). For organizing undocumented Catholics, the church's provision of legitimacy may prove increasingly important as the institution and its leaders provide cover, legitimacy, and ties to power brokers.

Religious institutions are not the only mobilizers of immigrant rights campaigns and individuals. Labor unions have engaged in organizing for immigration reform and have turned to undocumented and immigrant worker organizing to provide new life to a struggling labor movement (Fine, 2006). Worker centers bring together immigrant workers and communities to advocate for workplace and community needs, protection of vulnerable undocumented workers, and improve the enforcement of workplace rights while providing English language classes, know-your-rights campaigns, and general assistance for immigrants navigating life in the United States (Fine, 2005; Sugimori, 2008). Through worker centers like the Clean Carwash Campaign in Los Angeles, undocumented workers have taken to the streets protesting poor working conditions, picketing unscrupulous carwash operators, and demanding the enforcement of

existing workplace protection laws (Erickson, Shaddock-Hernandez, Narro, & Valenzuela, 2015).

College campuses are also sites of mobilization as undocumented youth, or DREAMers, organize for immigrant rights, the regularization of status, and access to education and employment opportunities. DREAMers, who take their name from a failed congressional bill to provide a pathway to citizenship for undocumented youth, have mobilized on college campuses to demand services for their communities, protection from their universities, and political change from their representatives (Wong & Guarneros, 2015).

Political activities coordinated through religious, labor, and educational institutions involve undocumented Americans rallying for change, taking to the streets, and stepping out of the shadows. This activism relates to models of political participation that highlight the role of institutions in facilitating and supporting participation in American politics. To be politically active, an individual must have the means (e.g. skills, language, know-how), the motive (e.g. the desire, engagement with politics, and belief in change) and the opportunity (those who are politically active likely have been asked to get involved) (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Traditional socioeconomic status indicators such as wealth, race, education, and gender as well as institutional involvement influence the acquisition of participation-enhancing factors (Verba et al., 1995). In Verba, Schlozman and Brady's (1995) model demographic characteristics and childhood experiences are combined with institutional involvement in adulthood to predict the likelihood of political participation (see a recreation of their model in Figure 3). Their model highlights the significant interaction of institutional involvement with demographic characteristics and, in particular, the added value of institutional exposure and engagement. It is through institutions that individuals can make up a skill deficit (the means to participate

politically), acquire the motivation to participate through institutional ideologies and practices, and are asked to participate (the opportunity).

While Verba, Schlozman, and Brady's (1995) model examines participation by racial and ethnic groups, immigrants are mostly absent from their analysis, especially undocumented Americans. Similarly, most studies of immigrant incorporation and assimilation leave undocumented Americans out of discussions of political participation as a benchmark of assimilation (Jones-Correa 2005; Bloemraad 2006; Portes & Rumbaut 1996). This absence places undocumented Americans in the academy's shadows, its footnotes. Failure to study or theorize political participation of undocumented Americans is to participate in the delegitimization of their presence in the country while simultaneously accepting limits on the quality of democratic institutions and processes. Undocumented Americans, a population roughly the size Ohio, are not transient, temporary visitors to the U.S. Border build-up, long-term settlement, and family migration (Cornelius, 2010; Massey et al., 2002) mean that undocumented people are not just seasonal residents in the American economy, but are community members, families with children in local schools, home mortgage holders, and people with political opinions, voices, and expanding American roots. Failure to recognize undocumented people as members of the American public accepts the marginalization and legal violence (Menjívar 2006) that shape everyday life of undocumented Americans.

THE STUDY

What factors explain acts of public political activity among undocumented Americans particularly in an environment in which the costs, consequences, and fears of deportation are

growing? It is this question that I seek to answer. I divide this broad question into the following research questions that form the foundation of this study:

- What is the nature of deportation fear experienced by undocumented Americans in two U.S. cities—Albuquerque and Los Angeles?
- How do religious institutions address the fear of deportation among members?
- How do religious institutions facilitate or encourage political participation among undocumented members?
- How do differences in local contexts shape experiences of fear, engagement with religious institutions, and political participation?

To address these research questions, I utilize a comparative case study of two religious institutions in two different contexts of reception (the governmental, societal, co-ethnic, and emotional factors shaping immigrant experiences in destination cities, states, and countries). Case studies allow for thick descriptions and identification of processes and mechanisms at play within a particular site. Comparative case studies are particularly useful both methodologically and conceptually to understand immigrant political participation and organizing (Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008). Comparative case studies highlight the role of place, immigrant group, and organization type to help understand stratification of participation rates and efficacy across immigrant groups and individuals (Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008). Utilizing a comparative case study method, I compare two similar religious institutions in two different locations, a Catholic parish in Los Angeles and Albuquerque. The comparison of similar institutions allows for the analysis of the role of place and context in participation. Smith (2005) asked, "what does America do to its immigrants?" This study helps to answer this question by exploring the experience of undocumented Americans in two different community contexts.

After a multi-stage case selection process, I began data collection and preliminary analysis in a Los Angeles Catholic Church. I developed a working theory of undocumented political participation before replicating data collection processes at an Albuquerque church. The

data I collected included in-depth interviews with church members, staff, and clergy along with extensive participant observation with various church-affiliated groups, religious services, and events. I uploaded interview transcripts and field notes into the qualitative analysis software program Atlas.ti where I coded and analyzed research materials to identify theories and findings.

RATIONALE

The rationale for this study emerges from my desire to more fully incorporate undocumented Americans into U.S. cities and the academy. As a population group, undocumented Americans are frequently left out of discussions, debates, and analysis, except as victims or villains – further marginalizing a marginalized community. By placing this population and their potential political participation at the heart of the study, this dissertation redefines traditional ideas of citizenship reflecting Sandercock’s “new notions of citizenship – multicultural and urban – that are more responsive to newcomers’ claims of rights to the city and more encouraging of their political participation at the local level” (2003, p. 152). The study also attempts to challenge the tacit acceptance of the legal violence, the socially sanctioned suffering, that legal status has on the estimated eleven million undocumented Americans (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012; Passel & Cohn, 2011).

By identifying mechanisms that foster and support political participation in one type of institution, this project can offer ideas on how to transfer these mechanisms to other institutional arenas and thereby increase political participation among undocumented Americans. Further, the focus on local contextual factors allows for conclusions to be drawn identifying the role of place and setting in shaping opportunities and emotional geographies; with locally-forged contexts comes the potential to shape these contexts. I find that participation is more likely to occur in

sanctuary-like cities and context, such as Los Angeles. This finding suggests that policies of sanctuary and public support for undocumented Americans are not empty statements but have tangible impacts on the everyday lives of undocumented Americans.

This study provides insight into the role of context in political participation and in shaping the experiences of immigrants. It provides additional support for the concept of contexts of reception, while also emphasizing the important role of localities by highlighting the vastly different experiences of undocumented Americans in Albuquerque and Los Angeles. This study is also able to contribute to theories of political participation by identifying how it occurs with a hyper-marginalized group for whom non-electoral politics are the only means of participation available. Finally, by analyzing the political participation of undocumented individuals who experience fear of deportation, this study gives planners and policy-makers insight into how localities can foster inclusive and just cities.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

As a qualitative study on religious institutions and political participation, it is necessary to describe my background, perspectives, and insights that prepare me for a study of this kind and may influence my interpretations of the data. At the time of conducting this study, I was a doctoral candidate at the University of California, Los Angeles' Department of Urban Planning with a background in studying immigrant labor and organizing. While a master's student in a Latin American Studies program, I explored the racialization of space in municipal attempts to regulate day laborers in Southern California. Thus, I bring to this study a focus on local contexts and understandings of immigration experiences.

Raised in a fourth-generation Irish Catholic middle-class family in suburban San Francisco, in college I developed an interest in the study of migration, borders, and social justice movements. After years of academic study on the Latin American region and migration, and time spent living and working in various parts of Mexico, I bring with me a bias in support of Immigrant Rights Movements and a commitment to working for social justice in immigration policies and policing.

Born into a Catholic family, I attended Catholic school through grade eight, went to church every Sunday with my family, and said a prayer before nightly family dinners. Catholicism was both a faith and a cultural cornerstone of my family. These experiences facilitated entry into the Catholic parishes of this study. I knew when to sit, stand, kneel, and shake hands with other people attending religious services. I could receive communion on Sundays along with the hundreds of faithful in attendance. As discussed more fully in Chapter 3, knowing the cultural cues and utilizing them for research purposes required frequent check-ins with myself, my peers and advisors, and occasionally the people I met at these parishes. For while I have a desire to belong to a faith community, I have equal parts doubt, repulsion (to the scandals, abuses, and ill doings of the church) and faith. However, I do have respect for many individuals involved with the institution who are genuinely kind and loving people, who accept rather than judge, and see it as their duty to respect others and fight for social justice.

My identity as a white failing-Catholic conducting research in Latino church communities made me simultaneously an insider and an outsider and may bias my interpretations of data, experiences, and understandings. To address these subjectivities, I tried to strengthen the credibility of this study through engaging in regular dialogue with colleagues and advisors and designing safeguards into the research design process. I triangulated data and used member-

checks with participants. These potential biases and attempts to mitigate them are discussed more fully in Chapter 3.

ASSUMPTIONS

Based on my personal background, academic experiences, and fields of study, I enter this research with three primary assumptions. The first is the assumption that political participation is a valuable part of the American experience. This assumption, while normative, is based on assimilation models that identify political participation as a marker of Americanness and membership in the destination country (see Bloemraad, 2006; Gordon, 1964). Relatedly, a second assumption is that undocumented individuals and communities desire and see value in participation as a way to shape their communities and the world as a whole. This assumption emerges from examples in the media, academic texts, and recent histories of immigrant political mobilization in confronting crackdowns on immigration presence, policing, and rights. Finally, I assume that undocumented people living in the United States deserve a voice in political decision-making. This assumption is seen in the normative goal of identifying how people overcome the fear of deportation and participate politically in order to replicate fear mitigation mechanisms in other institutional settings. This assumption and perspective explain the use of *undocumented American* rather than undocumented immigrant – a reflection of the decline in circular, temporary migrations.

TERMINOLOGY

Throughout this dissertation, I use the following terms:

Ethnic identifications among people with origins in Latin America are multiple, overlapping, and varied. In this study, I use the term *Latino* to refer to people of Latin American descent, including immigrants from Mexico and Central America. *Hispano* is used to refer to native New Mexicans who claim Spanish ancestry. The preference for the term *Hispano* is reflective of the self-identification of people who participated in this study at Sacred Heart Church in Albuquerque. Many in New Mexico trace their ancestral roots to the time of the Spanish Empire in the Americas, when the Spanish Conquistadores established the Kingdom of New Mexico in 1598 (Gutiérrez, 2010). For a diversity of reasons including extreme racism against Mexicans and those identified/identifying as Mexican, descendants of these early settlers claim Spanish Ancestry and deny connections to Mexico and Mexican culture (Gomez, 2007). Respecting the self-identification of many as *Hispano* or Spanish, I use the term *Hispano* to refer to New Mexican's with older roots in the region than the *Latino* immigrants from Mexico and Central America who began to arrive in significant numbers 20 years ago.

Confusion abounds when using terminology to describe the Latin American origin population and the Native New Mexican population of Spanish origin. Hayes Bautista and Chapa (1987) argue that the best term to use for people of Latin American origin is *Latino* since it:

“Preserves the flavor of national origin and political relationship between the U.S. and Latin America...it is culturally neutral with respect to Latin American cultures...it is also racially neutral...[and] perhaps most important, the term ‘*Latino*’ has been, in the authors’ experience a term that most Latinos find least objectionable” (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987, p. 65)

Hispano or *Hispanic* is a preferred way to identify people of New Mexico who predate recent migrations from Mexico and Central America. A key distinction between the two groups is their relation to the United States. *Latinos* have a shared experience of being subject to American foreign policy influence, following the 1823 Monroe Doctrine which declared the Western

Hemisphere as under the U.S. sphere of influence and demanding European powers abide by non-intervention policies in the region (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987). However, Hispano, Hispanic, or Native New Mexican people were not subject to U.S. foreign policy but domestic policy after the ratification of statehood in 1912 (after decades delay due to concern about the high population rates of non-whites in the state (Gomez, 2007).

Throughout this dissertation, I use the term *American* to refer to institutions, norms, ideas, and people from the United States of America. The term American is fraught with connotations of imperialist claims of superiority over the Western Hemisphere, erasing cultures and claims of the identity from countries and people across the American continents. However, no other term yet exists in common parlance to describe the traits of people from the United States of America. Terms like USAmerican have been proposed by scholars like Boykoff (Boykoff, 2006) to replace American, but they are not yet in common use and may add to the confusion regarding ethnic identification. As such, with full knowledge of the baggage, I use the term “American.”

After much consideration, I decided to describe those who live in the United States without legal status as *undocumented Americans*. Like many other hyphenated identities, such as Korean American or Italian American, undocumented American indicates a duality of identities while claiming membership in the American community. It also firmly declares that those without legal status in the United States are still, in fact, members of the United States. While this is a political statement, it aligns with the normative underpinnings of this project which seek to understand how undocumented Americans engage in political actions in the United States.

A *mixed-status household* is a household of people with a variety of immigration statuses. Frequently families are comprised of various legal standings. Parents and older children may arrive in the United States with or without legal status; children born in the United States are granted citizenship under the country's *jus soli* citizenship policy. Individuals may come in and out of legal status as we see in the conceptualizing of *liminal* statuses; the government may grant temporary protective status but later revoke it; a student visa may expire before a new visa can be obtained; an undocumented American may marry a U.S. Citizen and then gain citizenship themselves (Menjívar, 2006).

I use the phrase *fear of deportation* to describe the emotional response of individuals without legal status or citizenship may when faced with actions and activities that put them at risk of deportation. This fear of deportation may be experienced differently across different geographies since a geography of fear can elicit an emotional response to legal insecurity. Similar to Sibly's geographies of exclusion which asks, "who are places for, whom do they exclude, and how are these prohibitions maintained in practice" (1995, p. ix), *geographies of fear* speak to the politically created areas of threat and exclusion those without legal standing in the United States experience. While people with privilege pass through unseen borders, for those with deportation fear, crossing into certain neighborhoods, driving down an interstate freeway with border checkpoints, or walking in front of police stations may elicit fearful emotional responses.

Throughout this dissertation, I describe the neighborhood Catholic Churches at the center of this study as *Catholic Parishes*. A Catholic Parish is a formal designation of church authority and powers, a community church that has its own leader, a Pastor, who reports to regional

authorities at a Diocese, a Bishop. In this study, the Parish of St. Catherine's is part of the Los Angeles Diocese and the Parish of Sacred Heart is part of the Santa Fe Diocese.

Finally, throughout this dissertation, I use *political participation* to describe the engagement by individuals and groups in overtly and de facto political actions. These actions include protesting, marching, campaign work, contacting representatives, attending local meetings and events, voting, and voter information activities.

STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The format of this dissertation follows a traditional six-chapter structure common in qualitative dissertations. The structure and organizing rationale was adapted from Bloomberg and Volpe's (2016) 3rd edition of their guidebook, "Completing Your Qualitative Dissertation," an excellent resource for students in shockingly limited supply at university libraries.

In Chapter Two, I present the conceptual framework undergirding this dissertation following a careful review of the literature on political participation and the undocumented experience. Building from Verba, Schlozman, and Brady's (1995) model of political participation, undocumented political participation can be studied and understood. To do so requires the bringing together of migration-related variables (Heredia, 2011; Jones-Correa, 2005; Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001), considerations of undocumented Americans fear of deportation (Fussell, 2011), and traditional participation factors (Verba et al., 1995). The deportation fear that shapes quotidian experiences should be accounted for in theories of undocumented political participation. Furthermore, it is reasonable to hypothesize that institutional provision of the means, motive, and opportunity to participation should also account for deportation fears in mobilizing church members. Chapter Two ends with a presentation of the visual

conceptualization of undocumented political participation as mediated by religious institutions (Figure 10).

Chapter Three presents the research design this dissertation utilizes to address the research questions based on the conceptual model (introduced in Chapter 2). In this chapter, I review the rationale for a comparative case study within a qualitative approach, underscoring its utility in context-specific inquiry, particularly relevant to urban theorists. I also discuss the complex, multi-level site selection process and conclude with an introduction to the two case sites – Saint Catherine’s Catholic Parish in Los Angeles’ Pico-Union neighborhood, and Sacred Heart Catholic Parish in Albuquerque’s South Valley. Both churches minister to undocumented and immigrant communities in the area, but the size, scale, and magnitude of these parishes differ; St. Catherine’s Parish in Los Angeles is home to 11,000 registered families and Sacred Heart in Albuquerque to 1,200 registered families.

The fourth chapter reviews my key findings. I present and analyze the experience of deportation fear in both cities followed by a discussion of the augmentation of a legal identity with a spiritual one in church settings. This spiritual identity is fostered through a sense of belonging to and membership in the church; in turn, the church operates as a social service provider to undocumented and immigrant members and the local community. Church groups, staff, and events provide *de facto* opportunities to participate in local politics. Political leaders, public agency representatives, and others engage with various church-affiliated groups. This engagement provides undocumented parish members the opportunity interact, work alongside, and campaign for local issues to local political leaders. As part of their social justice vision, the church also may become involved in public campaigns for community safety, immigrant rights, and pro-life campaigns. Parishioners engage in voter information drives, marches, and prayer

sessions around these issues. There are many limitations to participation, namely the restrictive nature of operating within Catholic hierarchical chains of command and rotating parish leadership; I discuss this as part of the findings from this study.

Chapter 5 provides a critical analysis of the findings considering the conceptual framework derived from the literature. I return to Verba, Schlozman, and Brady's (1995) means, motives, and opportunities highlighting the role of feelings of belonging, membership, and identity formation in fostering undocumented political participation. Additionally, I discuss the role of local contextual forces as a critical factor in influencing opportunities to participate as participation in both the church and in politics was significantly lower in Albuquerque than in Los Angeles.

This dissertation ends with a concluding chapter in which I highlight the implications of this study for both research and policy. I also discuss areas of future research and reevaluate the role of institutions, planners, and academics in serving, supporting, and community building with undocumented Americans.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE & CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Research on immigrant political incorporation often neglects the potential of undocumented Americans as political agents; seeing electoral participation, which this group is likely never to achieve, as the standard benchmark (Bloemraad, 2006; Jones-Correa, 2005; Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001; Ocampo, 2015; Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008). Similarly, the literature on political engagement and participation tends to address immigrants in passing and, as such, undocumented Americans frequently go unmentioned. A population, roughly equivalent to the population of Ohio, is omitted from the discussion. After decades of life lived in the shadows, the academy has also placed these communities in the shadows and footnotes of scholarship. Failure to address the potential for political participation among undocumented Americans simultaneously delegitimizes their presence and right to a voice while undermining the quality and legitimacy of democratic processes. It also assumes the temporary state of undocumented life, reflective of histories of seasonal migration that brought men to the United States for a few months before returning to Mexico and Central American to live out the remainder of the year with their families. However, with the buildup and militarization of the US-Mexico border, cyclical migration patterns are no longer the norm (Cornelius, 2009, 2010; Cornelius, FitzGerald, & Borger 2009; Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2002; Massey, Durand, & Pren, 2016). Undocumented people are not temporary residents with minimal ties to their U.S. homes and communities. The border buildup has resulted in a bottling up of undocumented people that has facilitated long-term settlement accompanied by family reunification of undocumented households on the U.S. side of the border (Cornelius, 2010; Massey et al., 2002).

Today's undocumented communities are not just seasonal laborers, but families with children in local schools, home mortgages, growing American roots, and political opinions and voices.

This study seeks to understand the processes that facilitate and encourage participation of undocumented Americans. Specifically, in this research, I examine how a specific set of religious institutions, local Catholic parishes, promotes political participation among undocumented Americans. As foundation for this analysis, I first present a critical review of existing research on barriers and entry points to political engagement. I then examine the literature on the fear of deportation as part of the undocumented experience in America. A review of the literature on political engagement and democratic inclusion provides an understanding of the context in which Americans engage in politics and democratic processes, including the activity-enhancing factors of participation. I place particular emphasis on the role of religious institutions as there is historical precedence for mass mobilization of undocumented Americans through Catholic parishes across the country (Heredia, 2011; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008). I also review the research on the fear of deportation and emotional geographies to provide the context for undocumented American's engagement in political structures and religious institutions. Included in this analysis is a review of the literature on immigrant context of reception which provides a framework for understanding the national and local opportunity structures. I summarize the relationship between the existing body of scholarship and my research questions in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Relationship Between Existing Scholarship & Dissertation Research Questions

<i>Literature</i>	<i>Political Participation & Institutions</i>	<i>Geographies of Fear & Contexts of Reception</i>	<i>Deportation Fear</i>
<i>Research Question</i>	How do religious institutions address the fear of deportation among members? How do religious institutions facilitate political participation of undocumented members?	How do difference in local contexts shape these processes?	What is the nature of deportation fear experienced by undocumented Americans?

Based on existing studies, I hypothesize that the political participation of undocumented Americans is more likely to occur when they are engaged with Catholic parishes where they receive the means, motive, and opportunities to participate in a physical setting that shields individuals from deportation fear and the negative contexts of reception. As such, these church institutions provide a buffer from negative contexts of reception and geographies of deportation fear. I first review the scholarship on political participation before turning to the research on fear, deportation, and the lived experience of undocumented Americans. As an introduction, I start with a note on the method used to conduct this review.

To carry out this literature review, I used multiple information sources including books, journal articles, internet resources, and periodicals. Beginning with the major works in the areas, identified through assistance from advisors, previous course work, and readings, I moved into more recent work, focusing on books and articles published in the last ten years (2006 – 2016). In addition to reviewing the relevant stacks at UCLA's Young Research Library, sources were found and accessed by examining past editions of key journals (*Social Problems*, *Social Forces*, *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, and *Journal of Planning Literature*), and internet searches for course syllabi from various institutions. I used combinations of the following set of

keywords to guide internet based searches: assimilation, Catholic Church, civic engagement, context of reception, emotional geographies, fear of deportation, immigrant organizing, migration, political participation, and undocumented. I first reviewed sources for relevance, and if deemed appropriate, I compiled detailed reading notes and summaries of works.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION DEFINED

Participation within the American political system is a key measure or benchmark of immigration and the broader assimilation processes. The tendency to leave out immigrants, let alone undocumented Americans, from discussions of politicization and participation while conversely leaving political assimilation out of the immigration debate “implies seeing immigrants as only ‘the other’ not as potential members in a common polity” (Jones-Correa, 2005, p. 77). Furthermore, leaving significant portions of the population out of the processes of democracy and political institutions undermines the legitimacy of democracy (Jones-Correa, 2005). The following paragraphs explore the nature of political participation, the factors that enhance participation, the nuances of participation and democratic inclusion for Latino immigrants, and the role of institutions in facilitating participation among traditionally marginalized and excluded groups.

Table 2: *Forms of Participation (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995)*

<i>Forms of Participation</i>
<i>Voting</i>
<i>Campaign Work</i>
<i>Campaign Contributions</i>
<i>Contacting Representatives</i>
<i>Protest</i>
<i>Informal Community Activity</i>
<i>Attending Local Meetings</i>
<i>Board Membership</i>
<i>Affiliation with Political Organizations</i>
<i>Attend Meetings of Political Organizations</i>

Lack of citizenship status (and a pathway to citizenship) limits the breadth of potential means of political participation for undocumented Americans. Without large-scale immigration reform that goes well beyond executive action to include a pathway to citizenship, there is little hope of ever gaining this right. However, political participation takes many forms. Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) identify nine forms of political participation, many of which are open to individuals regardless of their immigration status (Table 2); these include participating in protests, engaging with representatives, and getting involved with local community groups.

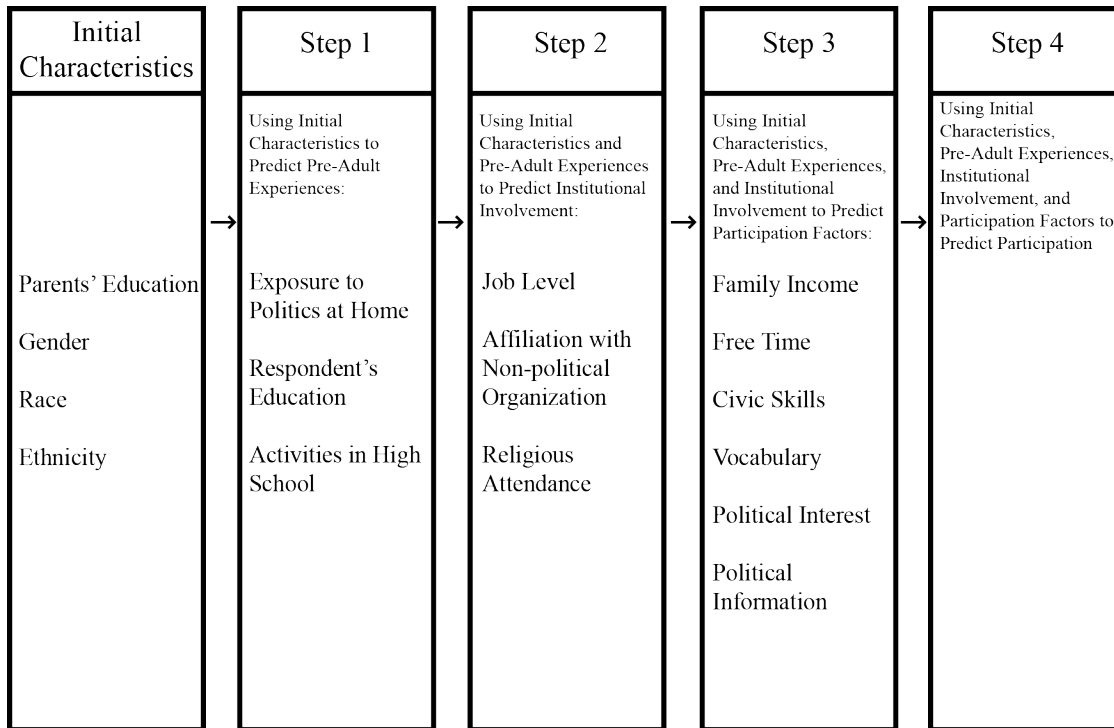
Not all forms of political participation are equal regarding power, voice, and respectability. Lee (2016) notes that the broader public views non-voting forms of participation, especially demonstrations and protests, less favorably than electoral participation. Further, marginalized people in a democracy may engage on a daily basis with “subtle and roundabout improvisations of resistance” (Lee, 2016, p. 6), but these actions are not likely to register within the modes of participation outlined above. For immigrants and especially undocumented Americans without access to the vote, avenues of participation are limited. So, while the options

of protest and demonstration may not carry the weight of other strategies and, therefore, may not have equal power and influence, they remain a primary avenue to participation.

MODELS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Engaging in any form of political participation requires the means, motive, and opportunity to participate, or what Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) termed the capacity, motivation, and opportunity. To be active politically, one must have the means (e.g. skills, language, know-how), the motive (e.g. the desire, engagement with politics, and belief in change), and the opportunity (those who are activated politically are likely to have been asked to do so). These participation facilitators are "rooted in the basic structures of American society" as wealth, race, education, and gender influence their acquisition (Verba et al., 1995). Together, all of this is compounded by inequalities of opportunity and skill acquisition beginning in childhood and continuing into adulthood through engagement with various institutions (Verba et al., 1995). Based on a 1989 phone survey and in-person interviews, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady's model moves beyond the influence of socioeconomic status on political participation and introduces the role of societal structures and institutions. See Figure 2.

Figure 2: The Roots of Participatory Factors (Verba et al., 1995)



In this model, personal characteristics (i.e. race, gender) are only the foundation of a four-step process that predicts participation. The first step is the interaction of initial characteristics with pre-adult experiences, combining the childhood exposure to political processes and organizational know-how learned through informal channels such as sports teams, school clubs, and family discussions. In adulthood, institutional involvement (step two) can increase or decrease the likelihood of political engagement. Engagement with religious and civic organizations is likely to result in higher political participation. The third step focuses on factors related to capacity and interest. Individuals must have the time available to participate and the requisite skills and vocabulary. According to their model, these three factors build on each other and, in Step Four, reliably predict political participation (Verba et al., 1995).

Verba, Schlozman, and Brady's (1995) model underscores that participation is rooted in three aspects of American society. First, social structures of race and class divide American

society and lead to inequality in participation rates. Second, intergenerational transmission, or the inherited social status and political socialization, exacerbates inequality of participation. Third, institutional engagement may compensate for inequalities based on the American social structures and inherited social status that influence participation rates. The authors explain that "the propensity to take part is not randomly distributed across politically relevant categories...disparities in political activity instead parallel the fault lines of significant political and social divisions in America" (Verba et al., 1995, p. 11). The divisions of race, class, gender and education across the United States parallel disparities in political participation (Verba et al., 1995).

In step two of Verba, Schlozman and Brady's model, early experiences and initial socioeconomic characteristics interact with institutions in adulthood. The three broad categories of institutions that this model explores are job level (the education and vocational training required for a position), non-political organizational affiliations, and religious attendance. In other words, through people's participation in work, worship, and non-political organizations, Verba and colleagues can predict Americans' the factors that influence participation and the likelihood of participation (listed in Step 3 of their model). For example, there is a positive relationship between religious attendance and being recruited or asked to participate in political activities, and church attendance has a similarly positive effect on the acquisition of civic skills (Verba et al., 1995). Institutionally based political recruitment is a significant predictor of political participation (a beta coefficient of .14, significant at the 0.01 level) (Verba et al., 1995, p. 389).

While Verba, Schlozman and Brady's model predicts individual likelihood of political participation, other models address the democratic or political inclusion of particular population

groups. Political engagement among marginalized groups is often seen as a linear process of marginalized groups hitting benchmarks on the road to full democratic inclusion – echoing a straight-line model of assimilation. Schmidt (2002) identifies five such steps to full inclusion: "(1) full access to participation, (2) representation in critical decision-making processes and institutions, (3) influence in/power over government decisions, (4) adoption of public policies that address group concerns or interests, and (5) socioeconomic parity" (in: Hero & Wolbrecht, 2005, p. 4). In this cumulative model, it becomes clear that undocumented Americans – as policy currently stands – have little hope for full democratic inclusion. Legal status precludes the first benchmark (full access to participation), necessarily limiting access to later benchmarks. Undocumented Americans do not live in a vacuum – their family members, community members, and social networks may have full access and push for political policies (benchmark 4) on their behalf. However, full inclusion is still elusive in this hypothetical work-around.

The straight-line model does not reflect the political realities of some individuals within the undocumented American community. Examples of mobilizations around undocumented DREAMERS and the enactment of DACA show the potential for democratic inclusion outside this straight-line path as activism by non-voters shaped political outcomes (Wong & Guarneros, 2015). Another shortcoming of this linear model of democratic inclusion is the inherent assumption that democratic institutions and processes are open to the inclusion of new groups. However, Browning, Marshall, and Tabb (1986) found in a study of openness in local politics, it is not that marginalized groups take advantage of open democratic processes but that they claw these institutions open. Structures of political participation are not guaranteed to be open to undocumented Americans.

Segmented models of political participation and democratic inclusion alter the straight-line model for marginalized groups, highlighting instead the social structures that shape opportunities. Three such models are the class stratification model, the pluralist model, and the racial hierarchy model. The class stratification model argues that “the political and governmental institutions in a polity are not autonomous but are embedded in a wider network of social, economic, and cultural forces,” restricting access (Hero & Wolbrecht, 2005, p. 7). A pluralist model presents an American political system as open to diversity, allowing outsiders access to institutions of power. The final model, a racial hierarchy model, highlights the racism inherent in the pluralist model that has allowed white immigrants access while denying non-whites from full inclusion.⁴ While these models provide a way of considering and understanding political engagement and democratic inclusion while also explicating differential levels of participation by racial and ethnic groups, they lack a focus on the institutions already shown to enhance predictions of participation.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION & ETHNICITY

Not all ethnic and racial groups participate in political activity at the same rate. Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) calculated the mean number of political acts by race or ethnicity of participants in their survey (Figure 3). The mean number of political acts among all survey respondents is 2.1. The number among Anglo-Whites is slightly higher than average (2.2). Among Latino citizens, the number of political acts is much lower (1.4), and among all Latinos (a category that includes non-citizens) the number is even lower (1.2). When looking at different types of political activities by race, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady again find clear racial and

⁴ See Hero and Wolbrecht (2005) for a review of these three models.

ethnic distinctions. Compared to Whites and African Americans, Latinos and Latino citizens participate in the lowest number of activities in most categories except board membership. They participate considerably less than Anglo-Whites and African-Americans in voting, campaign contributions, contacting political representatives, and affiliations with political organizations. (See Table 3 for details from their study.)

Figure 3: Mean Number of Political Acts by Race and Ethnicity (Verba Schlozman and Brady, 1995)

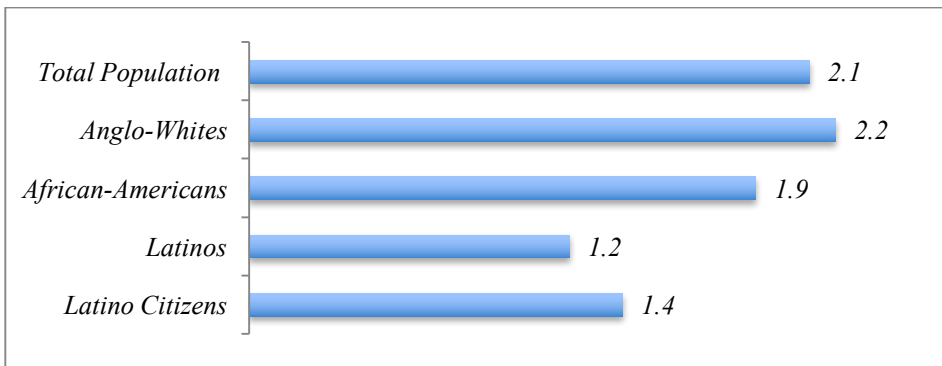


Table 3: Political Acts by Race and Ethnicity (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995)

Activity	Anglo-Whites	African-Americans	Latinos	Latino-Citizens
Vote	73	65	41	52
Campaign Work	8	12	7	8
Campaign Contributions	25	22	11	12
Contact	37	24	14	17
Protest	5	9	4	4
Informal Community Activity	17	19	12	14
Board Membership	4	2	4	5
Affiliation with Political Org.	52	38	24	27

In an OLS regression of the determinants of participation for specific subgroups of the population, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) find that institutional involvement had nearly no significant effect for any group (men, women, blacks, Latinos, and the poor). However, for

Latinos, church involvement had a strong, positive, and significant relationship to recruitment into political activity (significant at 0.01) (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). For undocumented Latino immigrants whose primary association is the Catholic Church (Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001), recruitment at church could be a very significant predictor of participation. Since opportunity is an essential participation factor and the church is the primary affiliation of undocumented Americans, churches are also likely to be the main venue for recruitment and opportunity to participate politically.

Regardless of legal status, immigrants face a unique set of factors that influence their political participation. Verba, Schlozman and Brady's model highlights the role of intergenerational factors and for immigrants, this typically is a transnational process. Among immigrants who arrive in the United States as adults, the best predictor of their political engagement is political engagement in their home country (Fox & Bada, 2011; Jones-Correa, 2005). Further, differences among and within immigrant groups in socialization, language, education, and occupational status translate into "differential political incorporation" (Jones-Correa, 2005, p. 80).

While Barreto and Munoz (2003) find that traditional socioeconomic status variables remain significant (e.g. education and gender), among Mexican immigrants to the United States, language fluency, percent of life spent in the United States, and attitudes toward the U.S. opportunity structure are significant contributors to their predictive model of political participation. They also find that immigrants from Mexico are as likely to participate politically as U.S.-born people of Mexican descent (Barreto & Munoz, 2003). In comparing foreign- and native-born Mexican Americans, Barreto and Munoz (2003) find that they are equally likely to participate politically (defined as working for a political campaign, attending public meetings or

rallies, and donating money to a candidate or cause). Many socioeconomic characteristics place undocumented Mexican immigrants at a disadvantage, increasing their barriers to participation. A 2008 study found that 61 percent of Mexican-born immigrants have less than a high school degree and 40 percent of their children live in poverty; Mexican-born immigrants have an average income of \$23,000 (Pew Hispanic Center, 2008).

A new avenue of inquiry into political participation among Latino immigrants explores the role of identity. In a recent dissertation, Ocampo (2015) provides a theory of Latino political participation that focuses on the concept of belonging. She identifies three reasons why belonging is important to understanding Latino political participation. First, the social-psychological literature establishes the need of humans to belong and create bonds with each other. Secondly, belonging is key to inter- and intra-group behavior. Finally, belonging is tied to the everyday lived experiences of Latinos (Ocampo, 2015, p. 11). If undocumented Americans experience othering and fear in many parts of everyday American life, institutional involvement (e.g. churches) may provide a feeling of belonging; it may be possible to parlay belonging in other settings.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION & INSTITUTIONS

Institutions have a significant role in political mobilization and participation in the United States. Institutions serve as sites of recruitment, skills acquisition, and disseminators of political information. Motivation and capacity to engage frequently emerge from non-political institutions that people encounter early in life such as family, schools, organizations and religious institutions (Verba et al., 1995). For many undocumented Americans, these institutions are in their countries of origin. As adults, institutional involvements (in churches, unions and non-

political organizations) help foster political interest and skills, and the potential for recruitment. There is no reason to presume that these intuitions would play a different role among immigrants, as institutions can assist in compensating for low socioeconomic status and other disadvantages within the American social structure (Verba et al., 1995).

Institutions play several roles in facilitating political participation. The role of institutions as recruiters is straightforward: those individuals who are politically involved are likely to have been asked and institutions function as networks of recruitment (Verba et al., 1995). Institutions can operate as skill incubators and have the ability to level the playing field by counterbalancing the role of education and early life exposure which can result in cumulative skill acquisition. Institutions may also act as filters for power and influence as “institutions determine the context (incentives, constraints, opportunities) in which political elites respond to demands for inclusion by disadvantaged groups” (Hero & Wolbrecht, 2005, p. 2).

Over time, institutions have taken on an increased role in mobilization and political incorporation, filling a gap left by political parties. Reliance on political parties to incorporate new arrivals was more prevalent in the era of machine politics than today. In these settings "citizenship and other factors could be exchanged for votes" (Jones-Correa, 2005, p. 78). As citizenship, along with many other immigration policies moved from local to national control, political parties have shifted their focus toward mobilizing people who are already party supporters rather than bringing in new members to the voting public (Anderson & Cohen, 2005, p. 192).

Among nearly all racial and ethnic groups, religious institutions have been historically significant to American political participation. Churches and church attendance have served as a “locus of recruitment” and an equalizer of skills and opportunity, providing the means, motive,

and opportunity of participation (Verba et al., 1995). For U.S. Latinos and Latino immigrants, the church takes on added significance as the primary associational affiliation (Heredia, 2011). Although Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) downplay religious affiliation among Latinos, subsequent studies have highlighted the important role of the church. For example, Jones-Correa and Leal (2001) found that in addition to basic demographic factors, regular church attendance is statistically significant with a positive relationship on Latino political participation. Further, being Catholic is significant and positively associated with congressional election turnout (at 0.05) and school board elections (at 0.01). Their findings point to the role of Catholic Churches as religious institutions and as a home for many associational ties among Latino Catholics. Research shows that while church attendance is an important predictor of Latino political participation, personal religious experience and the centrality of religion in one's life are *not* significant determinants of participation; these findings underscore the role of churches (Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001). Jones-Correa and Leal (2001) find that the Catholic Church plays an important organizational role, providing members with opportunities to get involved in church groups as well as connections to other organizations and efforts. It is this role that facilitates participation, not faith or spirituality.

The relationship between Catholic churches and Latino political participation has grown in significance, as the Catholic Church has become heavily invested in mobilizing its members for immigration reform in the mid-2000s (Heredia, 2011). The Catholic Church has become vocally involved in the immigrant rights movement, likely furthering participation among Latinos and Mexican immigrant church-goers. In her review of the 2006 demonstrations, Heredia (2011) shows the Catholic Church's engagement in both top-down and bottom-up organizing strategies to promote comprehensive immigration reform. She points out that church teachings

and core values aligned with the immigrant rights movement and were used to preach from the pulpit, organize demonstrations, and lobby public officials. In Los Angeles, the Catholic Church's mobilizing potential was (and continues to be) strengthened by a large Latino population; seventy percent of Los Angeles Catholics are Latinos (Heredia, 2011, p. 104). Latino political incorporation through affiliation with Catholic churches and religious institutions is not unprecedented in the United States; the American black church was instrumental in the civil rights movement as churches organized and politicized African American congregations (Leighley, 2005).

Religious institution's ties to political participation have historical precedence in the United States. The role of black churches in the United States provides historical context and insight into current political mobilizations at religious institutions. Credited with providing the foundation for the civil rights movements (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008), black churches in the United States have a history of providing a sense of belonging, social services, and political mobilization among their members. Black Christian churches in the rural South at the end of the 19th century (during Southern blacks first Great Migration to the North) required substantial participation by church members. This involvement fostered a sense of belonging as "the church instilled in its members an intimate sense of place, as well as a community, a sense of being comfortably at home, and an experience of rootedness" (Grossman & Raboteau, 2009, p. 306). So tightly knit were these small congregations that they sometimes migrated north together – as one or in stages (Grossman & Raboteau, 2009, p. 309). By the second Great Migration, Northern churches ballooned, filling older congregations and establishing new ones. These churches provided social services at the church which included "employment bureaus, day-care centers, kindergartens, adult education classes, drama groups, orchestras, social clubs, athletic events,

outreach clubs, and various youth programs” (Grossman & Raboteau, 2009, p. 310; Venkatesh, 2006). As these Northern churches provided settlement assistance, religion also provided a “symbolic and social system for mapping their location in a world changed by migration” (Grossman & Raboteau, 2009, p. 305). During this era, the American Black Church provided a sense of belonging, access to a variety of social service and settlement programs, and a sense of rootedness in a new place. Some denominations like the Pentecostals also provided a buffer from the "hostile white world" through strict rules dictating daily life (Grossman & Raboteau, 2009).

As urban churches in the North grew in membership size, they also grew in political clout (Grossman & Raboteau, 2009). Congregational leaders and pastors developed patronage relationships with local politicians, exchanging votes for political influence, and inviting candidates to use the Sunday pulpit to plead their case (Grossman & Raboteau, 2009). As Grossman and Raboteau found, "although the church was still a civic space for community building, it was also a venue for black and white politicians to reach captive Sunday audiences" (2009, p. 315). Church leaders were community leaders and often respected civic elites. They had the power to “channel public and private resources into their political districts and neighborhoods” (Venkatesh, 2006, pp. 230-231). Venkatesh (2006) explains that:

Black spirituality does not evolve in a hermeneutic vacuum, organized only around the analysis of texts and scripture. It coalesced out of the church's central role as a social and religious center, as an institution that responded to both profane and spiritual matters affecting black Americans (pp. 217-218).

Emerging from this overlapping relationship between religion and society is the role of the American black church in the late 1950s, early 1960s civil rights movement. Churches provided foundational elements to the movement as "biblical scriptures provided the rationale for condemning racial discrimination and oppression," and charismatic clergy became leaders of the movement (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008, p. 33). Leaders like Martin Luther King emerged from the

pulpit of a black church to lead a national movement, calling on his oratory skills, charismatic persona, and employing biblical references to provide a rationale for the cause of civil rights.

Black churches in the United States continue to provide important avenues of political engagement through "nurturing leadership, developing skills, and providing an organizational infrastructure for political action" (Verba et al., 1995, p. 317). Indeed, in their study, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady found that church participation puts people of otherwise similar socioeconomic backgrounds at less of a disadvantage. When considering the opportunity to hone civic skills, African Americans have an advantage due to high levels of church engagement (Verba et al., 1995, p. 320).

Religion is often central to migration experiences, and frequently the act of migration is a "theologizing experience" (Smith, 1978). The "alienation and confusion that results from their uprooting" and movement to a foreign place is countered with deepening reliance on religion (Ebaugh & Saltzman Chafetz, 2000, p. 7). In this way, religion counters the potential for anomie, ensuring social cohesion and reaffirming the links between society and individuals. In destination societies, immigrants often "joined or founded religious organizations as an expression of their historical identity as well as their commitment to building a local community" (Hirschman, 2004, p. 1207). The social function of religion in immigrant communities is to shield from negative contexts of reception. Religion, according to Hirschman, provides refuge, respect, and resources (in Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). Engagement at churches grants immigrants legitimacy and religious participation is part of "becoming American" (Hirschman, 2004), and link to networks for access to jobs, housing, and social services (Ebaugh & Saltzman Chafetz, 2000).

U.S. Americans are considerably more religious than residents of other developed nations and instead reflect levels of religiosity found in developing nations; about 6 of 10 Americans say religion “plays a very important” role in their lives (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, p. 307). This figure is more comparable to rates in Mexico, where 57 percent said religion is ‘very important,’ than Canada (30 percent) or France (11 percent) (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). As such, the joining of a church or religious organization is itself an act of assimilation. The respect toward religion in American life also lends increased legitimacy to participants and has proven an “effective channel of political mobilization and empowerment” (Mooney, 2013, p. 100).

Catholic ties to immigration reach across history, from old testament writings to 21st-century declarations on the rights of immigrants. The history of the Catholic Church in the United States is a story of an "immigrant church in an American nation" (McAndrews, 2015, p. 3).

Catholic Bibles are rife with references to stories of migration from the exodus of Jews from ancient Egypt to the migration of Joseph and Mary upon their son's birth, and parables of Jesus saying, "I was a stranger, and you invited me into your home" (Matthew 25:35). A 1995 report from the U.S. Council of Bishops, a Catholic leadership organization, included an epistle on the rights of migrants:

First, persons fleeing persecution have a special standing and thus require special consideration as emigrants. Second, workers have a right to live and work without exploitation. Third, family reunification remains an appropriate basis for just immigration policy. Fourth, every effort should be made to encourage, aid, enable highly skilled and educated persons to remain in or return to their homelands. Fifth, efforts to stem migration that does not effectively address its root causes are not only ineffectual, but permit the continuation of the political, social, and economic inequalities that cause it (in McAndrews, 2015, p. 12).

While individual parish priests may highlight or skip over parts of papal and institutional canon, like the above epistle, the broad institutional support of immigrants by the American Catholic Church is significant.

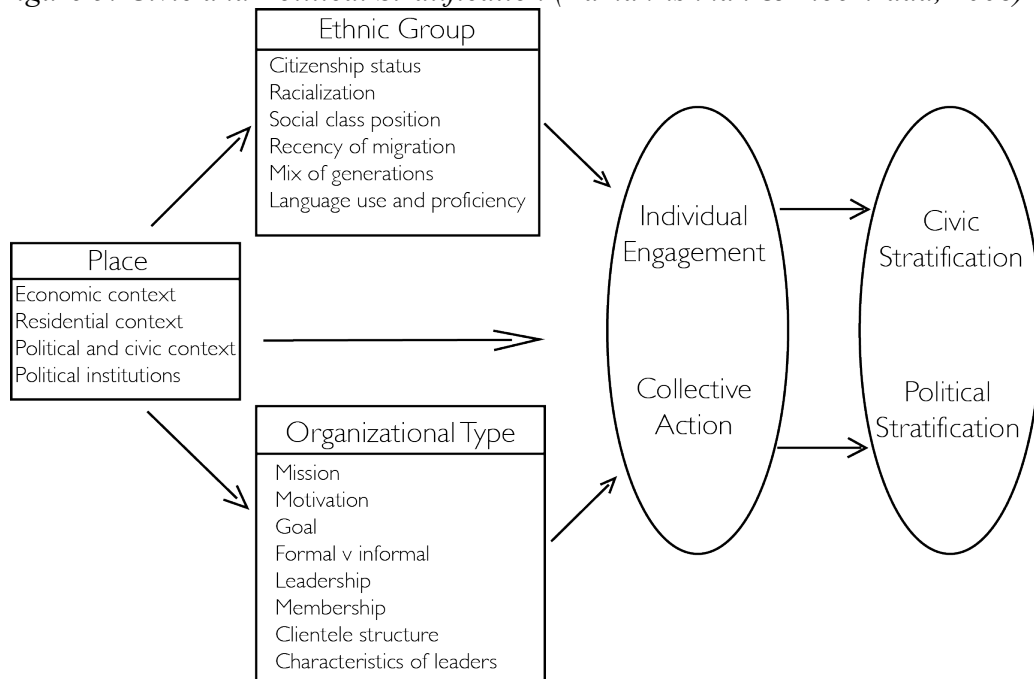
Institutions and Catholic parishes are not created equal; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad (2008, p. 20) provide an analytic framework of stratification among organizations (recreated in Figure 4). Their framework rests on three areas of analysis: (1) resources of an organization (i.e. money, space, staff), (2) the presence and visibility of the organization in the broader community (perceived legitimacy and alliances), and (3) weight or the influence of the organization on public officials and decisions. Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad argue that the stratification of the political weight among groups results in stratified individual voices; an immigrant may engage in collective action through a hometown association, yet the weight of the collective voice of this group may not equal the weight of the local Rotary Club.

Figure 4: Organizational Stratification (Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008)

Stratification Among Organizations	
Resources	Budget Personnel Physical space & equipment
Presence	Visibility & recognition within the general population and media Degree of isolation or connection with other organizations Legitimacy, formal incorporation or state recognition Legitimacy, perception in role of governance
Weight (ability to...)	Advance interest in civic realm Influence resource allocation Influence civic projects

In addition to typologies comparing organizations and institutions, Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad provide a model for understanding individual and organizational political stratification in immigrant communities (Figure 5). They argue that the local context combined with organizational traits lead to stratified collective actions while contexts combined with ethnic group traits lead to stratified individual engagement. Together these result in political stratification (Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008). In their model, local contextual factors shape individual and institutional factors, a theme expanded on below.

Figure 5: Civic and Political Stratification (Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008)

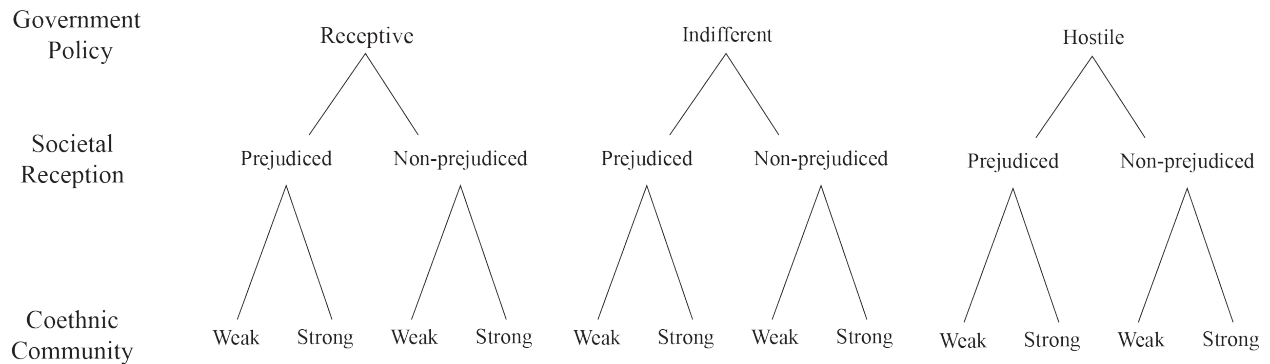


CONTEXT OF RECEPTION

Structural factors shape the assimilation process, a finding that is also present in the scholarship on the context of reception. Conceptually, the context of reception theory emerges from the segmented assimilation literature. Born from Portes and Zhou (1993), segmented assimilation proposes three modes of incorporation that characterize immigrant assimilation:

traditional upward mobility, downward mobility to the American underclass, or selective assimilation with upward mobility in co-ethnic communities. Contextual factors unique to each immigrant group (government and social receptiveness and strength of co-ethnic community) influence these modes of incorporation. As Figure 6 shows, government policy can be receptive, indifferent, or hostile. An example of a receptive policy is the reception and support of refugees from Cuba granting them instant legal status, and providing them support upon arrival through language courses and assistance with housing. Examples of hostile government reception policies are the undocumented arrivals of Mexican immigrants faced with increased criminalization and the forcing of immigrants into the shadows. In Portes and Zhou’s typology societal reception can be prejudiced or non-prejudiced and co-ethnic communities weak or strong. The co-ethnic community can act as a buffer to prejudice and hostile environments while providing opportunities for mobility within co-ethnic communities. Light (2006) describes ethnic communities as having the potential to act as buffers that “expand the carrying capacity otherwise imposed by mainstream employment, welfare benefits, and transfer payments” (p. 9). Portes and Zhou also highlight the potential for co-ethnic communities to buffer hostilities from government and societal receptions.

Figure 6: Modes of Incorporation (Portes and Zhou, 1993)



Traditionally these contexts of reception are conceived of at a national level, changing with different immigrant groups but nationally uniform. However, Stepick and Dutton-Stepick (2009) explored the localized nature of contexts of reception in Miami comparing the experience of Haitians and Cubans. With the diffusion of immigration policing authority from federal agencies to state and local agencies, the governmental context of reception can vary dramatically from place to place within the United States. Similarly, the societal reception and sentiments toward new arrivals can vary from prejudiced or non-prejudiced in different municipalities as local racial and ethnic attitudes widely vary. Finally, co-ethnic communities vary in size and strength from locality to locality, a standard feature of new destinations among immigrant groups (see for example Marrow, 2011).

A significant example of localized governmental policy receptiveness is the diffusion of immigration police powers from federal agencies. Two programs highlight this shift: the 287(g) and Secure Communities programs. Enacted as part of the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), the 287(g) Program (named for the section of the law) allows the Department of Homeland Security (and previously the Department of Justice) to delegate immigration policing authorities to state and local law enforcement agencies through the signing of a memoranda of understanding (MOU). The law stipulates the number of officers in each local agency and requires appropriate training of officials in immigration law policing (Waslin, 2010, p. 99). Immigration policing powers are delegated from the Department of Homeland Security to local law enforcement agencies only through these formal channels.

The program remained largely unused until the terrorist attacks in September 2001 when Florida and Alabama signed MOUs and became the first states to adopt the program. By January 2010, sixty-seven local and state agencies had signed MOUs, training 1,075 officers (Waslin,

2010, p. 103). At the time of this writing, ICE identified 37 law enforcement agencies across 16 states that have current 287(g) with 1,822 officers certified to enforce immigration law (Enforcement, 2017a).

The Secure Communities Program—a program that created cooperation between the Federal Bureau of Prisons and immigration enforcement—also pushes immigration policing to local authorities. When an individual is transferred to or placed in a federal prison, authorities verify immigration status by running prisoner’s data through Department of Homeland Security databases. Any immigrant who commits a crime or is suspected of a criminal act and is placed in a federal prison has their biometric data run through the FBI and DHS databases. If the person is identified as an undocumented American, regardless of criminality related to the original charge, ICE will request that the individual is held by the local prison until their agents can transfer him or her to an immigration detention center. Cities and counties across the country are in the process of deciding when to comply with ICE detainers. Importantly, these ICE detainers do not require a conviction, just a criminal charge or suspicion of having committed a crime. In January 2013, ICE implemented Secure Communities in all jurisdictions across the country. Although the Obama Administration later suspended the program in November 2014, days after taking office President Trump signed an executive order reinstating the program in all law enforcement agencies in the country (Department of Homeland Security, 2017b). Unlike the 287(g) Program in which agencies must opt into the program, Secure Communities now covers all law enforcement agencies in the country.

Interior enforcement programs like 287(g) and Secure Communities move the deportation threat from the border into communities around the country. Any admittance into a federal jail will put an immigrant at risk of detention and deportation; this is true regardless of guilt for the

crime accused. Consequently, immigrants may fear deportation while driving a car, crossing the street, and stepping out of line in any number of ways.

These programs significantly heighten fears of deportation and feelings of vulnerability. Evidence of this can be seen most explicitly in domestic violence cases where victims are less inclined to reach out to police agencies for help and protection because they fear deportation as a result of interaction with the police. Advocates from the Partnership against Domestic Violence claim that "287(g) has ensured that many survivors of domestic violence remain in the shadows-terrified to call the police or even reach out to organizations like [PADV] for help" (Shahshahani, 2011). Similarly, in an amicus brief for the U.S. Supreme Court challenging Arizona's SB 1070, ACLU attorneys wrote:

Immigration status significantly affects the willingness of immigrant women to seek law enforcement help. Rape and sexual assault already have low reporting rates. Immigrants who are victims or witnesses of sexual assault will be even less likely to report and aid in the prosecution. Immigrants with stable, permanent immigration status are more than twice as likely as women with temporary legal immigration status to call police for help in domestic violence cases (43.1% vs. 20.8%). This rate decreased to 18.8% if the battered immigrant was undocumented. These reporting rates are significantly lower than reporting rates of battered women generally in the United States (between 53% and 58%) (Shahshahani, 2011).

In response to concerns about public safety, police agencies in multiple jurisdictions have publically declared non-compliance with ICE and the Department of Homeland Security (Ramakrishnan & Wong, 2010; Strunk & Leitner, 2013; Waslin, 2010). Often dubbed sanctuary cities, these jurisdictions will declare non-compliance with ICE detainer requests, publically stating their non-compliance with ICE in enforcement and immigration raids. Examples of sanctuary cities include Washington D.C. and Takoma Park, Maryland (Strunk & Leitner, 2013)

In addition to public safety concerns and deportation fears, the context of reception also has broader effects on assimilation and incorporation experiences. Bloemraad (2006) found that

a favorable context of reception for immigrants to Canada – which included language assistance, settlement programs, and a welcoming political environment – led to high rates of naturalization when compared with the laissez-faire attitude inherent in the United States' context of reception.⁵ Scaling down from the national level, Stepick and Dutton-Stepick (2009) found that the attitudes of the native-born populations and the strength of the co-ethnic population in urban areas can significantly shape the economic potential of immigrant groups. The trajectories of Haitian and Cuban immigrants in Miami depicted in Stepick and Dutton-Stepick's study provide an excellent example of this finding. Haitian immigrants had weak co-ethnic ties and, therefore, experienced significant racism and nativism; in contrast, Cuban immigrants had a strong co-ethnic social network that insulated them from these issues and provided them with multiple avenues for incorporation and economic advancement (Stepick & Dutton-Stepick, 2009). While federal policy continues to influence the barriers and opportunities facing immigrants, localities now play a growing role, shaping immigrants' social reception as well as their access to jobs, services, and co-ethnic support networks.

FEAR & IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCES

Chapter 1 reviewed the rising risks and costs of deportation due to increased policing and changes to migration patterns. These changes in policing and migration patterns have heightened fears of deportation, increasing its impact on the experience of migration.

The academy has long sidelined the study of fear and other emotions; this is part of a gendered politics where rationality is considered masculine and appropriate, and emotion labeled

⁵ In the United States, we have many immigration policies (policies that police and regulate the entry and exit of foreign-born people), but not an immigrant policy (policies that would shape the immigrant experience once they are here).

and subsequently dismissed as feminine (Anderson & Smith, 2001). However, studies of the role of emotions have emerged in multiple fields. Sociologist Simon Williams provides a rationale for increased focus on emotionality in the social science identifying

The influence of critical and feminist debates about rationality and critiques of master narratives; a greater interest in the body as discursive (following Foucault), as phenomenological (Merleau-Ponty) or hyperreal (Baudrillard); an increasing consumer culture and the resulting commercialization of emotions; a therapeutic culture within which we are advised to manage our emotions (emotional health); and a set of political debates about emotions, democracy and life (emotion as communication with or commitment to others) (in: Thien, 2005).

The growth of emotion studies is part of a broader emotional turn and critique of rationality in the social sciences (Anderson & Smith, 2001). Much of social science work on human behavior is built from the rational choice model of humans acting in their self-interest, but Sen (1977) highlights limitations of such rationality based studies wherein “the only consequences considered in evaluating acts are those on one’s own interest” (342). Yet individuals are not simply Homo Economicus, acting in their exclusive self-interest, but take into consideration a host of relationships, competing commitments, and emotional states (Sen, 1977; Anderson & Smith, 2001).

Emotional geography is a small but growing field within geography that incorporates insights from multiple disciplines to “understand how the world is mediated by feeling” (Thien, 2005). Emotional geographies and an incorporation of emotion and affect into planning thought follow Thien’s conceptual positioning that these geographies “re-draw yet again not only the demarcation between masculinist reason and feminized emotion but also the false distinction between ‘personal’ and ‘political’ which feminist scholars have extensively critiqued” (Thien, 2005). For immigrants and undocumented Americans, the politics of migration policing is a

deeply personal and embodied process. This project places emotion as a central framework for understanding the everyday experience of urban life for undocumented Americans.

Fear is an emotion that is felt individually but also is contagious across communities and entire societies. It is experienced not by passive, empty vessels, but by individuals with agency and power over their emotional and experienced lives. Inserting emotion into studies of the everyday does not mean a loss of agency; nor does it assume that residents simply react to emotional triggers across space. Rather, it provides researchers with a key avenue to understanding how individuals experience, respond to and shape the spaces they occupy. This project seeks to heed Pain's (2009) warning that scholars must leave room for agency in the discussion of emotional geographies as too few have "considered that emotions stimulate action and affect the practices, progress and shape of politics at different scales" (p. 474). Undocumented Americans in the United States do not experience the fear of deportation in the same way, with the same reaction, or the same consequences. Rather with the full knowledge and conditionality of individual agency, I aim to describe the conditions surrounding individuals in which they live out their emotional daily lives. By exploring the emotion of fear, the culture of fear, and the geography of fear, this project seeks to understand the everyday lived and felt realities of being an undocumented American.

FEAR

Bauman (2006) poetically describes the experience of fear in the everyday late modern, and it is with this quote that I begin to delve into the role of fear in American life and the immigrant experience:

Our life is anything but fear-free, and the liquid [or late] modern setting in which it is bound to be conducted is anything but free of dangers and threats. A *whole*

life is now a long and probably unwinnable struggle against the potentially incapacitating impact of fears, and against the genuine or putative dangers that make us fearful. It is best seen as a continuous search for and perpetual testing of, stratagems and expedients allowing us to stave off, even temporarily, the imminence of dangers” [emphasis in original] (Bauman, 2006, p. 8).

Quotidian fear is an American trait of the late modern era as twenty-four-hour news networks, corporate sales strategies capitalizing on fear, and increasing diversity and polarization fuel fear of the other (Macek, 2006). For undocumented Americans, the added fear of forced removal, detention, and family separation weigh on their daily lives.

For humans, the emotion of fear is part of everyday life and combines both ingrained impulse and a level of cognition (Stearns, 2006). As part of the brains’ self-defense system, fear alerts the body to the presence of a threat (Debiec & LeDoux, 2004). Pavlov's (1917) discussion of fear conditioning is the point of departure for much of the psychological literature on fear. A learned fear is a conditioned fear wherein

“a relatively neutral event (a conditioned stimulus or CS), such as tone or light, is paired with an aversive event (an unconditioned stimulus or US), such as electric shock. After pairing with the US, the CS acquires an ability to elicit behavioral, autonomic, and endocrine response”

(Debiec & LeDoux, 2004). For example, after seeing images on the news of Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents in uniforms with “police” written on them, or watching a family member end up in deportation proceedings following a routine traffic stop, a person without legal status may begin to associate police presence (a CS) with deportation (a US). Simple activities such as walking to school, attending a community meeting, or seeking housing can risk exposure of status and may trigger fears of deportation and family separation.

For fears that are learned, or conditioned, there are four key considerations (Debiec & LeDoux, 2004, p. 809). First, conditioning happens quickly as part of a biological defense system; humans do not necessarily have control over emotional reactions to an event. Second,

once conditioned, fear can remain with the person for the duration of their life; so, an undocumented American who fears the police, because of police ties to immigration authorities, may experience this fear their entire life. Third, although exposure to the stimulus may lessen conditioned fear, it is easily retriggered through new traumatic experiences. As individuals grow accustomed to the fear of deportation through routine exposure to risk, a single event may cause a relapse into chronic states of fear and anxiety. Finally, fear motivates other behaviors such as avoidance and approach which can become ingrained parts of one's behavioral patterns. A person's fear of deportation and family separation may lead to moments of paralysis where the fear of exposure counters the desire for a goal; such moments of equilibrium may become a common pattern.

Learned and conditioned fear which is both instinctual and long lasting is similar to Bauman's conceptualization of derivative fear. In derivative fear, fear guides and directs behavior even if the threat is not immediately present. Bauman writes, derivative fear is a

Steady frame of mind that is best described as the sentiment of being *susceptible* to danger; a feeling of insecurity (the world is full of dangers that may strike at any moment with little or no warning), and vulnerability (in the event of the danger striking, there is little if any chance of escape or successful defense; the assumption of vulnerability to dangers depends more on a lack of trust in the defenses available than on the volume or nature of actual threats) (emphasis in original) (2006, p. 3).

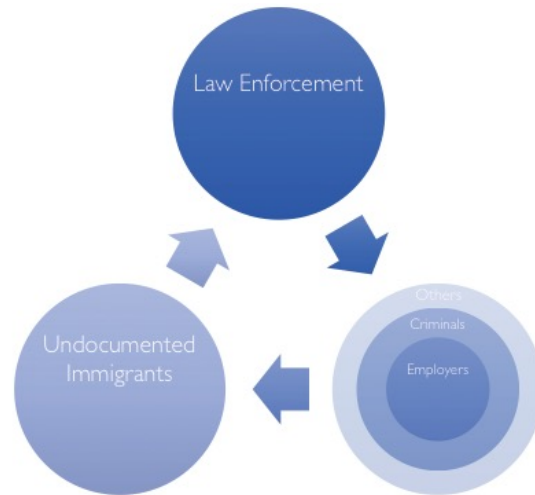
While Bauman writes of the condition of life in the late modern period, his words hold special meaning for those seeking to understand the experiences of undocumented Americans. While all individuals living in late modernity may experience feelings of uncertainty and vulnerability, the legal, social, and political limbo of undocumented Americans in the United States, similar to the millions of refugees living in physical sites of limbo (camps), is heightened by the global political, economic forces that perpetuate uncertainty.

Bauman also identifies three forms of fear-inducing moments. These are (1) threats to one's body or possessions, (2) threats to the social order's reliability and durability that secure livelihoods and income, and (3) threats to one's place in the social hierarchy and identity (Bauman, 2006). The threat of deportation is woven into these three forms of danger. To be deported is to be physically removed from one's chosen home. Deportation may return individuals to dangerous and life-threatening circumstances, either in home country communities or the dangers of an illegal border crossing. Forced removal also poses a threat to immigrants' livelihood and potentially to their role in the social order. Deportation job and earnings loss – the most common pull factor for immigrants from Mexico (Massey et al., 2002). Deportation disrupts communities on both sides of the border as an individual is forcibly displaced from her chosen community and returned to the community of her birth. This disrupts communities in the United States and the country of origin, changing work and income opportunities, remittance flows, and family and household dynamics. The loss of employment that accompanies deportation can threaten immigrants' place in the social hierarchy of migrant-sending communities. Remittances sent abroad bolsters individual and family stature in the home community, deportation threatens this stature (Cornelius, 2009; Cornelius & Lewis, 2007).

The psychology of fear, conditioning, and reactions to fear provide valuable insights into the everyday individualized experience. However, fear and emotionality go far beyond a pathologized, individualized experience. Fear is individually *and* collectively experienced. Stearns (2004) contends that fear is not only an individual experience but a “variable social emotion – often contagious, often affecting group behavior and social policy” (p. 4). While individuals encounter and experience fear differently, the contagious nature of fear is significant.

Fear of deportation has many implications on the lives of undocumented Americans. While the threat of deportation has shaped multiple areas of life for undocumented Americans, to date much of the literature focuses on the impact this threat has had in the workplace. Undocumented workers experience depressed wages, exploitation, unsafe and unhealthy working conditions, and a variety of other workplace abuses (Bernhardt et al., 2009). Fussell (2011) describes the relationship between the deportation threat and workplace abuse as the Deportation Threat Dynamic. Through this framework, she highlights the role of power and the ability of non-employers to take similar advantage. An adapted version of her schematic, recreated below in Figure 7, identifies the mechanism at play wherein the policing of undocumented Americans gives power to unscrupulous employers' who threaten deportation to extract higher surplus values from undocumented workers illegally. As Fussell (2011) contends, this mechanism is so well known that non-labor market actors are using this mechanism for other purposes, such as committing a crime. For example, immigrants, especially those assumed to be undocumented based on physical appearance, are increasingly targeted as victims of crime – often called “walking ATMs” (Fussell, 2011). Criminals target undocumented Americans because the fear of deportation limits undocumented people's willingness to report a crime (Brady, 2007; Fussell, 2011; Thornton, 2010; Valenzuela, 2006).

Figure 7: Deportation Threat Dynamic (Fussell, 2011)



The exploitative relationship between individual undocumented Americans and employers seeking illegal and unfair advantage, described in the deportation threat dynamic, is ratcheted up as the enforcement of undocumented American has increased in both numbers and rhetoric. Not only are the sheer number of deportations and raids increasing, but also the localization of immigration policing means that municipalities across the country have signed memoranda of understanding with Immigration and Customs Enforcement in which they agree to comply with ICE detainer requests. Mundane interaction with local law enforcement can result in detention and deportation. As the threat of deportation increases through law enforcement, the labor, and other abuses rise in equal measure. The effects may vary over space and across municipalities as levels of cooperation with immigration authorities and declaration of sanctuary status are locally determined.

In their discussion of black voter participation in Mississippi in the 1960s, Salmon and VanEvera (1973) find that not apathy but fear and discrimination kept black voters out of polling stations. They argue that fear and subtle socioeconomic coercion worked in conjunction to reduce black political participation; however, organizations can help to overcome these fears.

Salamon and VanEvra (1973) argue that organizations work not only to help stimulate individuals into political participation by “reducing apathy and stimulating interest” but also to overcome this fear as individuals can learn to “manage their fear through group solidarity” (Salamon & Evera, 1973, p. 1298). They describe fear management as

“cost-benefit logic that confronts any individual contemplating political action in a context that has traditionally rewarded such action with violent reprisal. In the absence of organization, there is no way to share risks by orchestrating coordinated action by many. As a consequence, no one wishes to act, since the individual risks are too great. Furthermore, the very process of building an organization which would permit mass action will probably never develop spontaneously, because to begin it would require a very risky initiative on someone’s part. So everyone is paralyzed – no one dares to move. But if organizations can be forged, some of this fear-induced paralysis can be relieved. If a thousand people march through the county seat one morning, the risk run by each marcher is only one in 1,000, while it would be closer to one in one for the first solitary picketer or voter registrant in an unorganized context” (Salamon and VanEvra 1973, p. 1298).

For undocumented Americans, political participation is not always rewarded with violent reprisal, but the risk is present through the forcible removal from ones’ home and family for the act of participating in politics as many forms of participation involve public demonstrations, contacting political leaders, and stepping out of the shadows. Some also fear deportation as a means of state repression of political activism – the mother of a Los Angeles-based advocate for undocumented Americans rights faces deportation after being caught in a drug sweep. Her daughter and fellow activists told the Los Angeles Times "we think [the deportation] is retaliation against her mother for her daughter's activism" (Hamilton & Winton, 2017).

While fear can discourage participation, fear can also be a political tool to motivate voter turnout and participation. In a study of Latino voters in California, Pantoja and Segura (2003) found that in response to Propositions 187 and 209.⁶ During the mid-1990s, immigrant Latinos

⁶ Passed by California voters in 1994, Proposition 187 called for the state to screen residents for citizenship status and banned undocumented residents from utilizing any non-emergency health public services, public education, and

within the state were engaged with politics and possessed higher levels of political information than before as they saw the racial threats as a significant issue within the campaigns. In the 2016 presidential election cycle, naturalization rates increased as legal permanent residents submitted roughly 200,000 more naturalization applications from 2015 to 2016, a response to the hyperbolic nativist rhetoric that defined many political candidates and policies (Preston, 2016). In response to sociopolitical threats, naturalization rates increase as do incentives to participate in politics.

Fear is central to undocumented American experiences of urban life; the threat of deportation looms heavy as individuals go about daily life. The personal experiences of fear are attributed to and must be understood in conjunction with the political realities and legal violence that sanction social suffering for undocumented people (Menjívar, 2006; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012). This fear and emotionality are played out not only in the personal but also in and across physical geographies. The intensity of emotion and feelings is "part of the way in which we experience places and the socio-spatial circumstances in which we live" (Panelli, Little, & Kraack, 2004).

EMOTIONAL GEOGRAPHIES

The field of emotional geographies rejects an oversimplified, pathologized approach to the experience of emotions. Pain and Smith (2008) describe this medical, pathological model of fear as a model "which presumes that risks are objective, that they cause or pass on fear in the way a pathogen causes disease, and that the condition can be both prevented and cured by

other social services. It was struck down by the courts before implementation. Proposition 209 was passed by California Voters in 1996 prohibiting affirmative action and the consideration of race, gender, ethnicity in public schools and institutions.

applying the appropriate formula” (p. 9). In this medical model, “avoiding, evading, or removing real risk is...a logical way to deal with grounded and immediate fears” (Pain & Smith, 2008, p. 9). While experiences of emotion, particularly fear and anxiety, can have concrete physiological effects,⁷ the process does not imply that emotions are not also socially created, collectively experienced, and without room for individual agency.

Emotional geographies, therefore, step away from individual, pathologized understandings of emotion and instead focus on socially- and spatially-created experiences. Emotional geographies “understand emotion, experientially and conceptually – in terms of its *socio-spatial* mediation and articulation rather than as entirely interiorized subjective mental states” (emphasis in original) (Bondi, Davidson, & Smith, 2005, p. 3). In this way, emotion is not solely a personal, internal experience but a collective experience mediated through and placed within space. Emotion is both embodied and emplaced, yet it is also dynamic. Emotional geographies change with major life changes, whether through the natural aging process or destabilizing events such as births, deaths, relationship beginnings or endings (Bondi et al., 2005). Further, landscapes and places can mobilize emotion – whether they are a calming health center, an isolating prison, or anxiety producing identification checkpoint along a busy city street. In these places, emotions are vulnerable to manipulation (Bondi et al., 2005).

⁷ Chronic exposure to fear and can result in hypertrophy or growth of the amygdala, leading to depression, schizophrenia, social disorders, and forms of posttraumatic stress disorder (Debiec & LeDoux, 2004). A recent study of New York City’s stop and frisk policy found that increased stops by police of young people of color resulted in elevated levels of anxiety and reduced mental health (even when controlling for race, ethnicity, criminal background, poverty, neighborhood and other potential spurious variables)(Geller, Fagan, Tyler, & Link, 2014). Repeated stops and intrusion by police has a coefficient of 0.43 in predicting anxiety and a coefficient of 0.33 in predicting symptoms of PTSD among young men in New York (significant at $p < .001$). There is evidence that chronic exposure to fear and threat is felt across many immigrant communities. Undocumented young adults from New Mexican communities near Las Cruces identified similar detrimental mental health consequences of having their communities routinely patrolled not just by local police departments but the border patrol as well (Geller et al., 2014).

Emotion and emotional geographies provide a critical avenue to study and understand difference, racism, and oppression. As Pain and Smith (2008) write, the link between marginality and fear is strong, “as the contours of anxiety within cities tend to follow topographies of inequality” pain (Pain & Smith, 2008, p. 4). For example, Sibley's (1995) geographies of exclusion describe ways in which otherness and exclusionary qualities of society play out in space; "power is expressed in the monopolization of space and the regulation of weaker groups in society to less desirable environments" (Sibley, 1995, p. ix). Similarly, Panelli et al. (2004) argue that inequality within a community will shape one’s experience of emotions and the marginalization of women shapes their experiences of rural communities and the fear, isolations, and security they experience in their home spaces. Indeed, to fully understand power and racism, emotion (especially those of fear, anxiety, and hate) must be taken into account (Bondi et al., 2005; Kobayashi & Peake, 2000; McKittrick, 2000).

Not only do emotional geographies enable the understanding of socio-spatial inequality, but also they provide a rubric from which to understand the relationship between global and national events/discourses and the everyday embodied experience of emotion. Writing in the midst of post 9-11 heightened sense of global fear, wars against and of terror, Pain, and Smith (2008) argued that the experiences of geopolitical and everyday fear are not in a hierarchical relationship of global events trickling down to shape individual emotional responses but rather in a symbiotic relationship. Using the double helix shape of DNA, Pain and Smith (2008) provide a visual metaphor to understand fear as simultaneously everyday and geopolitical. In this double helix, the hierarchy of global events being felt at the everyday is replaced with the “two equivalent strands (geopolitics and everyday life) that wind into a single structure and form the building blocks of every assemblage of fear” (Pain & Smith, 2008). Continuing the metaphor,

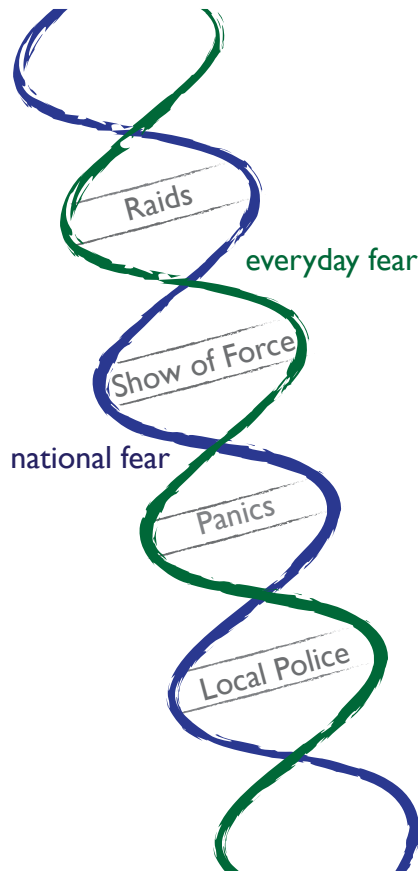
the links or connectors that bind the two strands together are the “events, encounters, movements, dialogues, actions, affects,” and they serve to connect the everyday and geopolitical (Pain & Smith, 2008, p. 7). It is these connectors that provide the opportunity to design new ways of being; while fear is an inevitable part of the human condition, the connecting units can be changed, deconstructed, or reinforced.

The double-helix metaphor works well with the understanding of fear and undocumented Americans. By understanding the emotional geographies within which undocumented Americans live, work, recreate, and worship, socio-spatial studies of fear can comprehend the emotional environment that shapes the everyday experiences of being undocumented in America. The importance of this framework can be seen at scales as small as households, as the topographies of inequality leak into the most intimate of spaces and threaten domestic and intimate violence. Domestic violence is just one example of the "extensive catalog of hidden harm in private and unpoliced spaces stemming from racist violence, domestic violence, child abuse, elder abuse, police brutality against the young, homeless, and dispossessed" (Pain & Smith, 2008, p. 4).

In a 2015 report, Valenzuela and Erickson found that undocumented youth in New Mexico experienced space and the everyday as mediated by fear of deportation, family separation, and exposure of legal status. Residents in the northern two-thirds of the state described the difficulty of traveling to visit family and friends or working to organize social movements in the southern third of the state due to the buffer zone of increased police powers near the US-Mexico border, including interior border checks along major interstate freeways. Similarly, undocumented young people in the lower third of the state described feeling "caged" in by invisible borders across the region (an international border to the south, and interior border

checks to the North, East, and West) (Valenzuela & Erickson, 2015). These spaces left not only local undocumented people feeling caged but also created tangible geographies of fear.

Figure 8: Double Helix of Deportation Fear, (Pain, 2009)



Building from Valenzuela and Erickson’s findings in New Mexico and Pain and Smith’s double helix model, I propose an understanding of fear among undocumented Americans shown in Figure 8. This DNA structure links the everyday and the geopolitical fear and demonstrates the links between national and local scales of emotion and the events that tie them together. For many undocumented Americans, this double helix of geopolitical/everyday fear is carried around with them daily, and triggering events may activate or heighten this fear. As individuals cross visible and invisible borders across our cities and regions, these emotions may be heightened or

dissipated, manipulated, or supported. Borders may be, for example, railroad tracks, municipal boundaries, or ICE and Border Patrol interior checkpoints. Communities experience deportation fears mediated social and spatially.

Conceptual Framework

This project marries two distinct bodies of literature – political participation and immigration experiences - to understand how a population frequently left out of the scholarship on political participation can assert claims to political voice while experiencing the fear of deportation. In the following paragraphs, I present the conceptual framework that builds on these studies and provides the theoretical and methodological underpinning for this study.

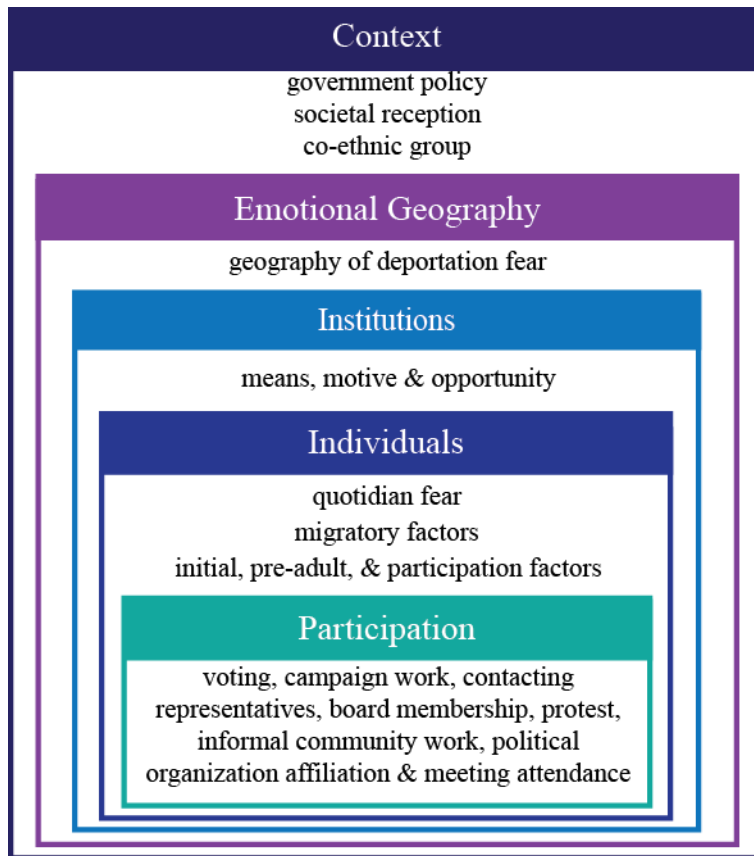
Following Bernard and Ryan’s approach (2010, in Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016, p. 88), I began the construction of this framework by identifying the component concepts from the literature and returned to the models discussed above to determine ways in which to link them theoretically. In reviewing this literature, the following points emerge:

- Emotion and emotional geographies are important but missing components of our understanding of the everyday life of undocumented Americans.
- Individualized models of political participation must be refined with migration- specific variables and incorporate the early steps that take place in immigrants’ country of origin.
- Models of political participation occur within contexts that vary over space and across ethnic groups. This context includes government policies, co-ethnic group traits, emotional geographies, and societal response to migration.

- Catholic churches are potential sites of inquiry among undocumented Americans. Not only are they spiritual homes but also, they serve as primary associational affiliations for Latinos.
- Churches not only may provide the means, motives, and opportunities to participate but also mitigate the fear of violent reprisal and deportation.

Based on these observations I have developed a framework that includes contextual and individual migratory factors as well as emotion. Figure 9 presents a diagram of this framework.

Figure 9: Conceptual Mapping



Framing this conceptualization is context. The characteristics that change over space and time are place specific and shape not only individual experiences but also institutional capacity. The context includes government policies (federal, state, and local) that both set immigration

policies, define eligibility benefits, and have discretion over policy and law enforcement. Societal reception can also vary across space; communities, states, and regions may be more or less accepting or welcoming to immigrant arrivals and the institutions that serve them. The relative strength or weakness of a co-ethnic group in a given community will shape individual experiences through access to networked resources and information while institutions may be better or less equipped to serve groups based on the size of a co-ethnic community. Unique to this project is the inclusion of emotional geographies in this series of contextual factors. The emotional meaning and reaction to space vary; spaces can be shaped or utilized to elicit certain emotional responses (such as the Border Patrol's Show of Force Policies).

Within the contextual variables described above, individuals live, work, recreate, and worship; institutions are formed, staffed, and operate. Individuals frequently participate in politics on their own, by finding causes, campaigns, or politicians for whom they care. However, when individuals become involved in institutions, their likelihood of political participation increases. I drew the individual characteristics and experiences from Verba, Schlozman and Brady's (1993) model with the addition of migration factors (language, percent of life spent in the United States, attitudes toward the U.S. opportunity structure) (Barreto & Munoz, 2003; Jones-Correa, 2005; Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001). To these, I add the experience of fear – that double helix of national and everyday fear of deportation. In addition to means, motive, and opportunity, institutions may also provide a sense of reduced fear. Fear mitigation for undocumented Americans mean spaces free from high levels of anxiety over deportation, family separation, and related concerns.

In summary, the double helix of everyday and global risk reinforces deportation fears. Deportation fear varies over space as raids, enforcement, and sanctuary is unevenly distributed.

This deportation fear has the potential to shape not only interactions with institutions that otherwise encourage participation but also participation in and of itself. In addition to facilitating participation, I expect to find that institutions can break down the fear of deportation among members and create safe spaces for undocumented Americans who experience fears of deportation.

The importance of context provides a strong rationale for a comparative research project, one that juxtaposes different contexts, holding many other variables constant. As discussed fully in the next chapter, this study utilizes a comparative case study approach in which I select cases using a most likely, least likely sampling.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN

This dissertation utilizes a qualitative research methodology to understand how individuals living in the United States without legal status can overcome the fear of deportation and family separation to become engaged in politics as mediated through religious institutions. I examine the political participation of undocumented Americans in Los Angeles, California and Albuquerque, New Mexico through a series of in-depth interviews and participant observation in two Catholic Parishes that are home to sizable undocumented communities. Given their history of organizing and political mobilization, religious institutions can provide the means by which to examine the political engagement of undocumented church members and, potentially, insight into how these processes can be replicated through other institutions.

I address the following four questions: (1) What is the nature of deportation fear experienced by undocumented Americans in different urban contexts? (2) How do religious institutions address the fear of deportation among members? (3) How do religious institutions facilitate political participation among undocumented members? and (4) How do differences among local contexts shape these processes? The remainder of this chapter reviews the research design and data collection methods and concludes with a discussion of validity and reliability (often referred to as credibility and dependability in qualitative work).

RESEARCH DESIGN

This dissertation utilizes a comparative case study approach within the qualitative research tradition. Qualitative research is an investigatory process that often requires the research to take place in the phenomena's natural setting and the researcher to gradually explicate the

social phenomena in question (Creswell 2003). Qualitative research methods are ideal to understand a particular group, interaction, event, or social situation (Creswell 2003, 198). Some characteristics of qualitative research design that often distinguish it from quantitative designs include the following (a selection from Creswell's 2003, 181-183):

- Research is conducted in its natural setting, where events occur, people live, and the phenomenon of study unfolds.
- Multiple methods are used that are interactive such as interviews, observations, image, and document review.
- It is often an “emergent process rather than tightly prefigured,” where questions may change as doors of opportunity open and close over the period of research (p. 181).
- Theories and patterns may emerge through an iterative process of codes, broad themes and “coalesce into grounded theory” (p. 182).

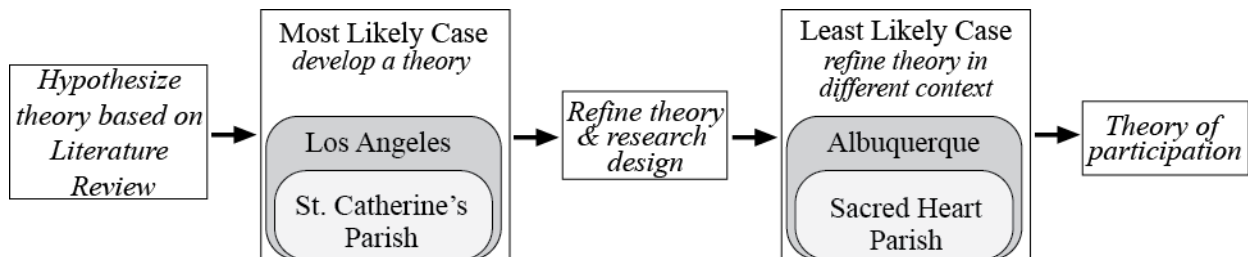
Within the qualitative methods research tradition, this project utilizes a comparative case study approach. Case study designs are commonly used in the fields of psychology, sociology, political science, urban studies, and other fields to “contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political, and related phenomena (Yin 2009, 4). Case study designs are useful in addressing *how* and *why* research questions that focus on contemporary events but do not require control of events (Yin 2009). As defined by Merriam (1998), case study methods fit the aims of this study as the approach is useful to understand processes within bounded contexts. As Merriam describes it,

A case study design is employed to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved. The interests are in the process rather than outcomes, in context rather than a particular variable, in discovery rather than confirmation. Insights gleaned from case studies can directly influence policy, practice, and future research (Merriam 1998 in Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016, p. 170).

This project’s study of undocumented political participation within specific contexts of reception and church institutions fits well into the case study approach. It allows for the understanding of the contexts shaping political participation outcomes rather than specific variables.

Additionally, I use a modified comparative method and build on the tradition of a most-likely, least-likely case study approach. I have selected case study sites within cities where political participation among undocumented Americans is more or less likely to occur⁸. Figure 10 below depicts the structure of this research project which utilizes a two-phase case study approach. The first phase includes a most likely case around which I develop theory; I then test and refine this theory using a least likely case.

Figure 10: Research Design



The first phase of this research project is a review of literature that has guided the research design, data collection, and analysis. The proceeding chapter presented a review of the literature and presented a conceptual framework for understanding the interplay of various literatures related to undocumented experiences and political participation. The rest of the research design is iterative; I conducted data collection in two phases.

⁸While Albuquerque is not necessarily the *least* likely case city, as demonstrated below, it is a considerably *less* likely case. However, convenience and feasibility of interviews in Albuquerque made it a better case to study than other less likely cases such as Phoenix.

The first case to which I bring my theory is a *most likely* case. The logic of a *most likely* case selection is most easily explained by cribbing from Frank Sinatra; if the relationship between organizations and immigrants cannot make it here, it cannot make it anywhere. Meaning that if a relationship between two variables cannot be seen in a location where it is most expected it to, it probably will not happen elsewhere. For this project, I selected a site—Los Angeles—that has a long history of immigrant protection and mobilization, a large population of undocumented Americans, and a history of activism. If I fail to see a relationship between undocumented American political engagement in a Catholic parish in Los Angeles, it is unlikely that I would find such a relationship elsewhere, including my least-likely city, Albuquerque. Los Angeles and its Catholic Diocese have been on the forefront of the immigration reform movement for decades, and individual parishes are intimately involved in organizing for immigrant rights (Heredia, 2011; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008). Compared to Los Angeles, Catholic churches in Albuquerque have had less of a tradition of activism around immigrant rights issues, although Bishop John C. Wester, appointed to lead the diocese in mid-2015 portends a more activist church in central New Mexico (San Martin, 2016; Uyttnebrouck, 2015).

From the data collected, interviews performed, and observations made in a Los Angeles Catholic parish, I developed a theory of immigrant belonging and political participation. Adapting the design with this working theory, I then tested it in a least-likely case study in Albuquerque. The City of Albuquerque is struggling to define its relationship with a growing undocumented community; a community often hidden from sight in the city's colonia (de la Torre, Chavez, Pedraza, & Gonzales, n.d.; Valenzuela & Erickson, 2015). Compared with Los Angeles' activism on behalf of immigrants, Albuquerque's Diocese (the Diocese of Santa Fe) has a history of limited engagement with the immigrant rights movement before Bishop Wester's

appointment (Uyttebrouck, 2015). Through studying a Catholic Parish in Albuquerque, I refined the theory developed in the Los Angeles case. Taken together, the two case studies allowed for an analysis of the role of disparate local contexts in shaping the political participation of undocumented Americans.

The remainder of this chapter reviews the methods used to understand the roles of religious institutions in mitigating fear and promoting participation among undocumented Americans. I present the multi-layer case selection process, beginning with the rationale for selecting the Catholic church as an appropriate institution of inquiry, the cities of comparison based on contexts of reception, the identification of specific neighborhoods within each city, and finally the selection of a single church in each case study site. I then briefly introduce the parish in each case study city. Utilizing the categorization Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad (2008) developed, I analyze each parish's resources, presence, and weight in local politics. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations and ethical considerations of this dissertation project.

DATA COLLECTION METHODS

To understand the experiences of deportation fear and the forms of political participation among undocumented churchgoers in Los Angeles and Albuquerque, I coupled in-depth interviews with participant observation. By participating in weekly church services and attending group meetings, I collected valuable data and created trust among research participants. This trust was necessary to discuss undocumented life with respondents. I describe these data collection methods in detail below and, in Table 4, summarize the number and types of interviews and the approximate number of observation days at each site.

Accounted for in Table 4 are a total of 15 undocumented Americans that partook in the study through in-depth interviews or less formal frequent dialogues with the researcher, over multiple site visits. This number includes people who are currently or formerly undocumented (some have since regularized their status through marriage or specialized visa programs). A significant number of the other parishioners are immigrants of other precarious legal status such as those with Temporary Protective Status (TPS), a frequent occurrence, particularly in Los Angeles. Approximately 75 percent of documented respondents are part of this precarious or liminal status. Previous research on the experiences of undocumented and mixed-status households that included roughly two weeks of field work in Albuquerque and two weeks of field work across New Mexico support the figures on data collection in Albuquerque. This research provided me with an understanding of local politics, social movements, and immigrant experiences in the state.

Table 4: Overview of Data Sources: Interviews and Participant Observation

	<i>St. Catherine's Los Angeles</i>	<i>Sacred Heart, Albuquerque</i>
<i>Staff Members</i>	4	2
<i>Parish Members</i>	14	8
<i>Total number of Interviews</i>	18	10
<i>Undocumented Interviewees</i>	12	3
<i>Participant Observation</i>	55 days	17 days

The “Total Number of Interviews” category includes people of all immigration statuses. The “Undocumented Interviewees” are people already accounted for in the total, but who are undocumented.

These research activities took place over a twelve-month period beginning in January 2016. I began in Los Angeles at St. Catherine’s in the January of 2016 and concluded formal data collection there in January 2017. By August of 2016, I began to also collect data from

Sacred Heart, Albuquerque over a series of site visits beginning in the late summer 2016 and continuing through the mid-January 2017.

Participant Observation

As a participant observer at St. Catherine's in Los Angeles I attended church services and events and joined the Social Justice Group. At Sacred Heart in Albuquerque, I attended church services and various group meetings. The participant observation method was essential in understanding the context and witnessing firsthand the experience of congregants in the church setting. Firsthand experience is a noted advantage of participant observation; as Creswell (2003) stated, it is useful in "exploring topics that may be uncomfortable for participants to discuss" and provides experience with participants (p. 186). Research participants must have high levels of trust in the interviewer before engaging in open dialogue on the topic of illegality because an interview is a form of outing oneself and carries the risk of deportation. Participant observation also enabled my relationships with various parishioners to grow, cementing my role as a member and ally as I probed respondents and parishioners on their experiences related to the fear of deportation and its effect on political participation.

To guide observations, I adapted a note-taking and observation framework from Whitehead (2006). The framework prompts notes on the actors, space, emotions, and language used to which I added categories of fear and other emotions. Formatted as a worksheet that I carried in my field notebook, this framework served as a collector of notes and a reminder of how to observe ongoing at the church. A sample of this observation guide is in the Appendix. I took these and other field notes during and following site visits, interviews, and interactions with parishioners and staff members.

My observations began by attending church services on Sundays and during the week. Being raised in the Catholic faith tradition, I was able to engage and participate in these religious rites fully. I knew when to sit, stand, kneel, shake hands, and, perhaps most significant in the Catholic setting, receive communion, a rite reserved only to Catholics and a clear sign of belonging to the global church, if not the local parish.⁹ After a few weeks of study, I was able to recite the common prayers in Spanish and to become more involved in the services. Through attending Mass and other religious services, I observed the framing of issues of significance. I analyzed the priest's sermons, the announcements made by affiliated groups, and individualized petitions or prayers that addressed community issues such as a storm headed to Central America or a Pro-Life prayer session.

At St. Catherine's I joined the Social Justice Group, a group designed to support the parish community and local neighborhood. The group is run by the Social Services Director of the church, a full-time paid staff member, and has a core membership of approximately 20 parishioners. After meeting members of the group outside of the church one Sunday I was invited to a meeting and soon became a regular member, attending weekly meetings. At my first meeting, I introduced myself, explained my role as a researcher, my dissertation project, and my interest in the community at St. Catherine's. I also shared my personal history and motivations for taking on the project and offered to help the group in any way I could. Through interaction

⁹ At times, it felt fraudulent to be in church, practicing Catholic rites knowing the doubt and disbelief that I hold. To address this concern, I was open with my feelings toward faith, letting research participants know that I struggle with my beliefs; while I would like to believe, I often do not. There was no way to communicate these feelings through subtle interactions and observations during church services. However, I was able to do so during in-depth interviews and as a participant observer in church groups. I openly shared my thoughts about religion and faith; people were largely supportive and understanding. I aimed to be as honest and respectful as I could throughout the data collection process. I believe that sharing these feelings was not only essential for the academic integrity of the project but also that they helped to build bridges of understanding between participants and myself.

with this group, I met dozens of people, both group members and others engaged in various activities such as a legal fair and assisting with special events and celebrations.

At Sacred Heart in Albuquerque, the process of data collection was similar. I began my research by attending church and engaging in informal dialogue with members and staff following church services. I slowly ingratiated myself into the community. I participated in the Friday night prayer group, the only immigrant group at the parish, but also participated in a few other group meetings such as the Blue Army, a prayer group dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Fatima.

My status as an outsider was rarely in doubt as physical appearance and phenotypical traits set me apart from the nearly entirely Mexican and Central American community at St. Catherine's. At Sacred Heart, the small community of faithful identified me as an outsider based on both physical appearance and the dense social networks where everyone knows everyone. The most frequent question that I fielded was "do you speak Spanish?" as I left a church service that had just been conducted in Spanish. I learned to segue this into an introduction and an explanation of my interest in the experience of immigrant Catholics. Through participant observation I collected five notebooks of field notes and two binders of newsletters, handouts, and programs from various events held at both St. Catherine's and Sacred Heart.

In-Depth Interviews

I conducted in-depth interviews to buttress the data that I collected through participant observation. I conducted interviews with parishioners and staff at both St. Catherine's and Sacred Heart. I conducted the interviews as a guided conversation, with an interview protocol that served as a rough guide to the conversation. I include the interview protocols in the Appendix. Interviews allow for the collecting of thick description and opportunities to capture

respondents' experiences and perspectives (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2003). The interviews allowed participants as experts of their own lives to speak directly to the issues of this project. This approach is supportive of Patton's claim, "qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit" (Patton 1990 in Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016, p. 173).

I developed two interview protocols drawing from my ongoing review of the literature, critical examination of qualitative research methods, and examples of preexisting protocols. The first interview protocol was aimed at staff members of each church and included questions about parish activities resources, and challenges as well as respondents' understanding of how undocumented parishioners participated within the church community. The recruitment efforts for these interviews relied on a combination of phone requests and in-person requests during office hours. Priests and Deacons at both sites were readily available and willing to speak after a phone call request for an interview. I audio recorded and later transcribed each interview. I recruited other staff members such as church secretaries through email follow-ups to in-person greetings. I visited the church offices (a separate building form the church sanctuary), asked for general information about the church, and requested a time for a more formal interview; I also recorded these interviews.

Parishioner interviews were less formal and grew out of the participant observation process. As a member of the Social Justice Group, I regularly spoke with various group members about the role of deportation fear and a life lived in precarious legal standing. All members had personal experiences with this, either through their own personal experience or that of a close family member. The leader of this group lived in Los Angeles without legal status for over ten years before receiving a green card through marriage to a U.S. citizen. At group events, I spent

numerous hours with group members and had the opportunity to ask them about their life histories, experiences in Los Angeles, thoughts on political opportunities, and about the 2016 presidential election (political knowledge is component of the means of participation). These conversations were informally guided by an interview protocol developed for interviewing parishioners; however, rather than a formal sit-down interview, these discussions occurred over multiple days and between other activities. In all, I collected the stories of 18 parishioners of St. Catherine's and ten of Sacred Heart. I did not use an audio recorder at group meetings or during these informal interviews with church members. Instead, I relied on extensive field notes, a combination of notes taken in the moment and detailed summaries written up after the fact.

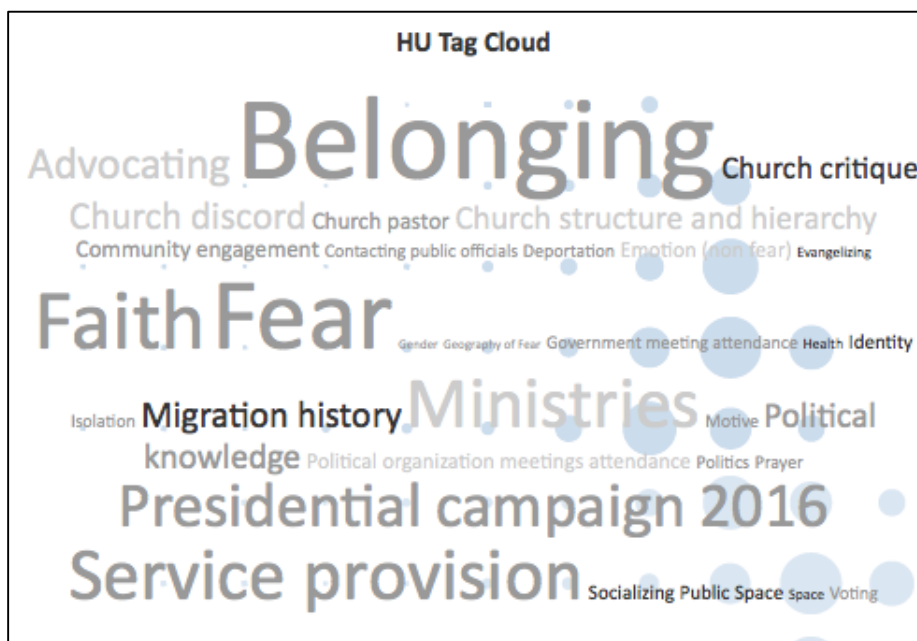
I conducted other parishioner interviews outside of group activities and recruited interviewees following church services and parish events. For example, sitting on a bench outside St. Catherine's one morning, I met an elderly Salvadoran man who has called Los Angeles home for twenty years but lacks legal status in the country. After explaining my project and my role at the church, I asked him some of the questions from the Parishioner Interview Protocol. I repeated similar processes at Sacred Heart where after a meeting of The Blue Army, a Monday afternoon prayer group, I walked around the church grounds while talking to one parishioner.

Data Analysis

I analyzed the data throughout the collection process and formalized the analysis at the close of the data collection period. As a stepped process, I began the data analysis of the Los Angeles case in Fall 2016, while the Albuquerque data collection was still ongoing. At the close of all data collection, I uploaded all research materials, notes, and transcripts into atlas.ti, a qualitative analysis software program. I first scanned my ethnographic field notes and converted

them to PDF files. I sent the interview recordings to Rev.com for transcription of English language interviews. I translated and transcribed the Spanish language interviews myself. I uploaded all transcripts and field notes into atlas.ti. I then coded these materials based on a preliminary code list developed from the interview protocols and initial thoughts on the main concepts. In the end, I developed a code list of 36 concepts; a list of these concepts is included in the Appendix. I then analyzed the data, identifying significant trends and key concepts. These are represented visually by the word cloud atlas.ti created from the coding; a duplicate of this cloud can be found in Figure 11.

Figure 11: Word cloud from atlas.ti¹⁰



In the second layer of analysis, I examined the code concurrence table, an output of the overlap of codes across all documents. This process highlighted the interconnections of some concepts like faith and fear or fear and belonging, two of the codes with the highest level of

¹⁰ “HU” stands for *Hermeneutic Unit*.

concurrence. The finding from this component of the analysis led me to consider how concurring concepts work together to evoke the experience of fear.

From these processes four key findings emerge which I present in Chapter 4. I support these findings with quotations from interviews and field notes. In Chapter 5, I evaluate these findings in light of the existing research on the topic. Finally, based on my findings, I discuss the implications of this study.

CASE SELECTION: CATHOLIC CHURCHES

Religious institutions have a unique role in American politics. They frequently provide the means, motivation and opportunity for political participation, making up for inequalities in socioeconomic status, and likely "play a role in bringing into politics those who might not otherwise be involved" (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995, p. 385). Participation in religious institutions has been shown to positively influence the likelihood of participation in political activities (Verba et al., 1995). Further, as the primary institutional and religious affiliation of Latino immigrants (Luisa Heredia, 2011; Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001), the Catholic Church is an apt site of inquiry for assessing the experience of deportation fear and the political participation of undocumented Americans. The relationship between affiliation and politicization in U.S. Catholic Churches for immigrant and undocumented Americans may have increased in recent decades as the church engaged heavily with immigrant rights campaigns (Luisa Heredia, 2011). Studying Catholic parishes across cities and regions also allows for a level of variable control as Catholic Churches are subject to strict hierarchical direction, constraints, and teachings.

Led by the Pope in Rome, Catholic authority is distributed and diffused by geographic powers of authority. In the United States, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops

(USCCB) acts as an “assembly of the hierarchy of the United States and the U.S. Virgin Islands”; this body includes cardinals (appointed by Rome and who hold voting power at the Vatican but can simultaneously hold the title and responsibilities of bishop), and 448 active and retired bishops (USCCB, 2017). Bishops are regional leaders and administrative and spiritual heads of Dioceses. For example, Bishop John Wester of the Diocese of Santa Fe oversees the Catholic Parishes across all Central and Northern New Mexico. The mission of the USCCB is to offer assistance to American Bishops, support collaboration between American and other global church outputs, and facilitate collaborative actions on key issues (USCCB, 2017). These issues include the immigrant rights movement and right to life campaigns. With the support of the national level USCCB, Bishops provide “pastoral care of both the church and region appointed to him” (USCCB, 2017). The Santa Fe Dioceses is home to 91 parishes while the Los Angeles Diocese is home to 288. A priest runs each parish, and he has a pastoral mission of care to lead the local community, both administratively and spiritually. The uniformity in the structure of the church facilitates both region and neighborhood comparisons. While each individual in this structure of hierarchical power has individual agency and the ability to focus time and resources on pet issues and causes, they must undertake these efforts within the broader framework of Catholic orthodoxy. For example, the Bishop of Los Angeles may write an epistle against corporal punishment and encourage local parishes and priests to promote and support the measure, but an individual priest has significant levels of agency in shaping how he chooses to enact that measure. He may bury the message in a small flyer at the back of the church or promote it widely during Sunday sermons.

Selecting Catholic parishes as sites of inquiry, with their uniformity and variation allows for the comparisons of contexts of reception in shaping the experiences of undocumented

Catholics and their possible political engagement because of this religious participation. Further, raised Catholic and educated in Catholic schools until the age of 13, I am knowledgeable about Catholic structures and teaching; this background also makes the selection of these particular institutions convenient.

As the primary institutional and associational affiliation of Latino immigrants in the United States, Catholic parishes uniformity due to the hierarchical systems of authority and teachings, and my personal exposure and understanding of Catholic Churches, they serve as the ideal sites of inquiry for understanding undocumented American political participation as mediated through religious institutions.

CASE SELECTION: CITIES

To increase validity and strengthen understanding of undocumented political participation within churches I used a most-likely, least-likely case selection process. I outline my case selection method below first discussing selection of case contexts in Los Angeles, California, and Albuquerque, New Mexico, and then selection of a specific neighborhood parish within each city.

In selecting the case cities, I considered local contexts of reception (the governmental reception, societal reception, co-ethnic community, and local geographies of fear). Both New Mexico and California are former territories of Mexico. However, we can only consider Mexican migration and later Central American migration to these areas after the United States won the Mexican-American war in 1848 and gained these areas (in total, Mexico lost nearly one-third of its land because of the war) (Gutierrez, 1995).

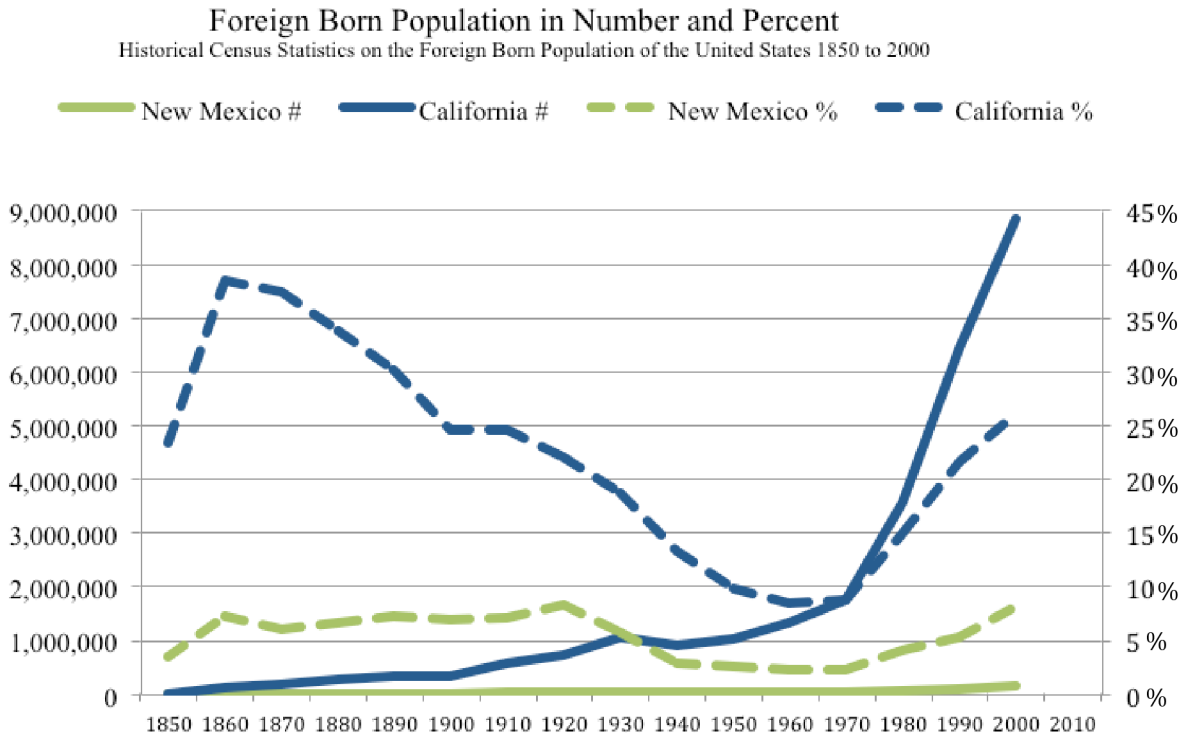
Los Angeles has a long and storied history of Mexican migration, predating the westward expansion of the United States. For nearly a century, Mexican labor migrants to the United States settled in two traditional receiving states – California and Texas; workers were drawn to these two states by agricultural jobs (Durand et al. 2005). This pattern of migration increased during the middle of the 20th century, primarily because of the Bracero Program (1942-1964). By 1960, California housed 42 percent of the country’s Mexican immigrants, many of whom ended up in Los Angeles during off seasons (Durand et al., 2005, 5). Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Nicaraguans, and other immigrants from Central America have relatively newer roots in the United States, and Los Angeles in particular. While the Pico-Union neighborhood of Los Angeles had a small pocket of Salvadorans dating back to the 1970s, the 1980 Census counted just 94,000 Salvadorans in the entire country (Gonzalez, 2000, p. 129). This figure jumped to 710,000 by 1990 and by 2000 there were over 1.2 million Salvadorans in the United States (Gonzalez, 2000, p. 129). Many of these Central American arrivals came with precarious legal standing, a reflection of uneven policies of reception from the U.S. Government as civil war and strife spread across Central America – Nicaraguans were granted immediate asylum but Salvadorans and Guatemalans were not (Gonzalez, 2000). Many Central Americans ended up in traditional receiving states and cities; the U.S. Census puts the City of Los Angeles as home to 13.3 percent of the country’s Salvadoran born immigrants and 12.9 percent of Guatemalans (see Table 5 for an overview of the changing concentration of Latinos in Los Angeles, Albuquerque). While Los Angeles is home to a significant percentage of the United States’ Central American population, the slow rates of growth (and for some negative growth) indicate that destinations within the United States are diversifying. New immigrant arrivals are choosing to settle outside of Los Angeles (demonstrated by negative or slow percent changes in Table 5).

Table 5: Distribution of Foreign-Born Latinos in the United States (2015) and Percent Change from 2010 to 2015 (2015 ACS 5-Year Estimates)

<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>Los Angeles</i>		<i>Albuquerque</i>		<i>National Percent</i>
	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Change from 2010-2015</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Change from 2010-2015</i>	
<i>Mexico</i>	4.6	-0.07	0.29	-0.05	-0.95
<i>El Salvador</i>	13.3	0.02	0.02	-0.41	-0.85
<i>Guatemala</i>	12.9	0.06	0.07	0.75	-0.85
<i>Honduras</i>	3.6	0.11	0.05	1.49	-0.96
<i>Nicaragua</i>	4.7	-0.02	0.01	-0.90	-0.95

In contrast, Albuquerque has a much newer relationship with Mexican migration and migration from Central America. Although originally settled by the Spanish during the time of Spanish rule in Central America, New Mexico was never a primary destination for new arrivals, with low levels of in-migration for decades (see the graph in Figure 12). Only recently have the number of immigrants begun to rise in New Mexico; since 1990, the number of undocumented Americans calling the state home has more than tripled. While the state’s entire population grew by a rate of 13.2 percent from 2000 to 2010, the Hispanic and Latino population grew nearly twice as fast, by 24.6 percent (Ennis, Rios-Vargas, and Albery, 2011). While this growth is not solely due to immigration (documented and undocumented), there is no doubt that significant portions of this growth are from non-native born New Mexicans. The state's slow economic growth and the weak labor market has historically led immigrants to bypass this border state. However, border enforcement in more traditional receiving destinations along the border, coupled with declines in circular migration (Massey, Durand and Malone 2003) have worked in concert and have led to rising numbers of immigrants in New Mexico, especially undocumented Americans.

Figure 12: Foreign-Born Population Over Time, Number and Percent



In Los Angeles, the sheer size of the foreign-born community acts as a buffer; Figure 13 demonstrates the total number and percent of the foreign-born population over time in each state. Table 6 shows the size of Mexican and Central American populations by geography demonstrating the large size of co-ethnic communities in Los Angeles relative to Albuquerque. Traditional centers of migration, like Los Angeles, provided the shield of invisibility and protection desired by many undocumented Americans. Light (2008) identifies the buffers in places like Los Angeles as areas where services and activities within the ethnic economy "expand the carrying capacity otherwise imposed by mainstream employment, welfare benefits, and transfer payments" (Light, 2006). Not only does the co-ethnic community create a safe space, but they have the potential to create opportunities for socioeconomic advancement; this can further attract immigrants to a specific city (Durand, Massey, & Capoferro, 2005; Light,

2006; Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2002). Albuquerque’s co-ethnic community is much smaller than Los Angeles’; the chronically weak economy and labor market in New Mexico has led to low levels of immigration to the state. However, as the undocumented population grows (undocumented Americans in New Mexico have grown by over 300% since 1990), the anti-immigrant rhetoric has risen along with it, creating tensions between native-born and newly arrived New Mexicans (Valenzuela & Erickson, 2015).

Table 6: Foreign-Born Populations: Percent and Number by Countries of Origin (2015 ACS 5-Year Estimates)

	<i>U.S.A</i>		<i>Los Angeles</i>		<i>Albuquerque</i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>#</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>#</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>#</i>
<i>Mexico</i>	27.9	11,621,581	35.8	533,870	57.2	33,639
<i>El Salvador</i>	3.1	1,267,108	11.4	169,785	0.5	309
<i>Guatemala</i>	2.1	893,862	7.8	115,652	1.0	615
<i>Honduras</i>	1.3	547,629	1.3	19,598	0.5	266
<i>Nicaragua</i>	0.6	252,818	0.8	11,984	0.0	16
<i>Total FB</i>		41,716,929		1,489,914		58,829

In sum, the cities of Albuquerque and Los Angeles provide significantly different contexts within which to study undocumented American political participation. As such, studying similar institutions in each case provides insight into the role of context in shaping the experiences of undocumented Americans within religious institutions and the city.

CASE SELECTION: NEIGHBORHOODS

Within the two case-study cities, I selected a single Catholic parish for data collection and analysis based on its neighborhood characteristics, feasibility, and ultimately trial and error. Using spatial analysis via the web-based GIS tool Social-Explorer, I identified neighborhoods in Los Angeles and Albuquerque likely to have high levels of undocumented Americans from

Mexico and Central America. This involved mapping the rates of foreign-born residents, foreign-born people who are not citizens, the foreign-born of Mexican and Central American origin, and poverty levels. In Los Angeles two neighborhoods stood out, Boyle Heights and Pico-Union, areas with long histories of immigrant reception from Mexico and Central America and immigrant organizing. In Albuquerque, the South Valley area stood out as the likely home to many of the city's immigrants with precarious legal status. In both cities, the spatial analysis mirrored previous analyses of the locational clustering of undocumented Americans, obtained through prior research in the areas (Table 7 provides data on the neighborhood characteristics for each city). The maps, created to assist the selection process, are reproduced in the Appendix.

Table 7: Neighborhood Characteristics of Study Sites (2015 ACS 5-Year Estimates)

	<i>Los Angeles</i>	<i>Albuquerque</i>
<i>Median Age</i>	33.6	37.2
<i>Percent in Poverty</i>	29.9	28.4
<i>Median Household Income</i>	\$31,521	\$34,605
<i>Party Affiliation of Congressional Reps</i>	Democrat	Democrat
<i>Percent Hispanic or Latino</i>	74.1	79.7
<i>Percent Non-Hispanic White</i>	3.9	37.2
<i>Percent Foreign Born</i>	60.1	16.5
<i>Percent Not a Citizen</i>	42.7	11.8
<i>Percent Foreign Born, Not a Citizen</i>	71.0	71.6
<i>Foreign Born Percent Change Since 2000</i>	-10.7 %	44.7
<i>Percent of Foreign Born from Central America & Mexico</i>	72.2	94.6

I then mapped Catholic Parishes in each city drawing on addresses obtained from the Diocesan websites. In Los Angeles, I initially selected the parish of St. Joseph's in Boyle Heights; however, after discussions with leaders at that parish, they directed me to a church in the Pico-Union with a history of serving undocumented Americans and involvement in local and

national political campaigns. I selected St. Catherine’s a parish located in this second area, after initial observations and dialogues with church leaders.

Table 8 compares the rates of foreign-born residents by neighborhood. The neighborhood in which St. Catherine’s is located is predominantly foreign-born; sixty percent of residents are born outside of the United States of which 72 percent are from Central American and Mexico.¹¹ The neighborhood is heavily Latino and immigrant; it is significantly more foreign-born than both the City and County of Los Angeles. St. Catherine’s neighborhood is not only heavily Latino (74 percent overall), but the remaining 26 percent of residents are majority non-white; non-Hispanic whites account for less than four percent of the total neighborhood population. The St. Catherine's neighborhood is low income with nearly one-third (29.9 percent) of all residents living under the federal poverty line, and a median household income of just \$31,521 – a tough income for households to live on in a city as expensive as Los Angeles. The poverty of the neighborhood may be seen through the general state of development and (dis)repair of the building stock as well as the number of homeless who live on city streets in the area.

Table 8: Foreign Born (total and Mexican & Central American) Population Rates for Geographic Scales around Each Parish (2015 ACS 5-year estimates).

	<i>Foreign Born as Percent of Total Population</i>			<i>Mexican & Central American Origin as Percent of Foreign Born Total</i>		
	<i>County</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Zip</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Zip</i>
<i>St. Catherine's (LA)</i>	34.7	38.2	60.2	54.0	56.1	72.2
<i>Sacred Heart (ABQ)</i>	10.7	10.6	16.5	63.5	59.6	96.4

To select a specific parish in Albuquerque’s South Valley, I again mapped out all Catholic parishes within the general area. On an early site visit, I crisscrossed the South Valley in a rental car gathering information on churches, chatting with people in parish offices, and

¹¹ Neighborhood refers to the postal ZIP code within which each church is located.

collecting their weekly newsletters. This process helped me to narrow the selection to two churches. After interviewing a deacon at St. Dunstan's Church nearer to Downtown Albuquerque, I was encouraged to study Sacred Heart, located more in the heart of the South Valley. Furthermore, Sacred Heart has a more engaged immigrant community and a staff more involved in direct outreach and service provision to the immigrant community.

Sacred Heart is located southeast of Downtown Albuquerque and is home to large Hispano and Latino communities. Nearly 80 percent of the neighborhood is Hispanic but only 16.5 percent of these are foreign-born, reflective of the area's unique cultural heritage with residents who trace their ancestry back to Spain and the Spanish Empire in the Americas but do not identify as Mexican or Mexican-American. The 16 percent of foreign-born residents in this neighborhood is significantly higher than the percentage of foreign born in both the city of Albuquerque and Bernalillo County, both of which are closer to ten percent. Setting the neighborhood apart is the level of foreign-born people from Central American and Mexico; nearly all immigrants living around the church are from this region, even though they only account for 60 percent of the city's foreign-born population. The growth of the area's foreign-born population has been dramatic; a 44 percent change from 2000 to 2015 in Sacred Heart's neighborhood. While the South Valley neighborhood's total foreign-born population numbers are smaller than Los Angeles' the percentage is growing rapidly rather than declining as in Los Angeles. Finally, the median income of residents living in the Sacred Heart neighborhood (\$34,605) is slightly higher than for residents in the St. Catherine neighborhood (\$31,521). This difference likely reflects the higher rates of native-born and more established residents in Albuquerque compared to Los Angeles.

While both case-study neighborhoods are home to communities of low-income, foreign-born people from Mexico and Central America, in general, the Sacred Heart neighborhood in Albuquerque is older, whiter, and has lower rates of foreign-born residents than the St. Catherine neighborhood in Los Angeles.

ABOUT THE PARISHES

While both St. Catherine's and Sacred Heart Catholic Churches are home to significant numbers of undocumented Americans and others of precarious legal status, they are vastly different parishes, notably due to the difference in size and, therefore, scale of activity. Table 9, below, summarizes these differences.

St. Catherine's is home to 11,000 registered families. Staff estimates that thousands more regularly attend church services but prefer not to register. St. Catherine's holds nine Sunday church services, all but one of which is celebrated in Spanish. Each mass, with the exception of the one English language mass, fills the large church building to near capacity. Midweek services reflect the divide between the English- and Spanish-language services midweek services; of the three daily masses the English Mass is the least well attended and is occasionally celebrated in both English and Spanish depending on the priest celebrating the mass's language ability. Serving this massive church community are three priests, two deacons, and seven full-time staff members, not including the affiliated K-8 school staff.

Table 9: Parish Characteristics. Author’s tabulations

	<i>St. Catherine’s Los Angeles</i>	<i>Sacred Heart Albuquerque</i>
<i>Number of Members</i>	11,000 families	1,200 families
<i>Number of Priests</i>	3	2
<i>Number of Deacons</i>	2	2
<i>Number of Paid Staff</i>	7 full time	9, half part time
<i>Number of Affiliated Groups</i>	40	17
<i>Number of Weekday Masses</i>	1 English 2 Spanish	1 English 0 Spanish
<i>Number of Sunday Masses</i>	1 English 8 Spanish	2 English 1 Spanish

St. Catherine's is also home to approximately 40 affiliated groups open to parishioners and local community members. These groups range from those supporting sober living to bible study groups. Some groups are associated with country of origin-related religious topics such as the Guadalupe Society of mostly Mexican-born Catholics working together to celebrate the Virgin of Guadalupe, a major Catholic figure across Mexico. There is also a Honduran Catholic Society, a Committee of Monsignor Romero, a political and religious martyr from El Salvador. Other church groups include self-help groups such as Over-Eaters Anonymous, Al-Anon, and the Prevention and Rescue Group for drug abusers. One of the religious groups is the Social Justice Group, led by parish staff and open to all in the church community. This group aims to reduce neighborhood violence, support community development, and increase support for broad social justice initiatives. It is worth noting that there are roughly ten groups from the parish that are part of the El Sembrador (The Sower) ministry. El Sembrador has made St. Catherine’s famous around the globe. Started in the mid-1990s, El Sembrador is a Friday night prayer and evangelizing event that is now televised and streamed on radio stations across the Americas. El Sembrador has its own affiliation of groups within St. Catherine’s; these include groups

dedicated to music, prayer, evangelization, and event organizations. El Sembrador still has strong ties and a presence at St. Catherine's; however, they also have independent offices and a film studio in exurban Los Angeles County.

The size and scale of St. Catherine's Parish are apparent on Sundays. Masses run almost continually throughout the day; a food stand operated by the church is located just outside the church doors serving pupusas, tamales, and other fresh foods that parishioners and community members eat at picnic tables scattered across church property. Vendors line the sidewalks all day selling fruits, jewelry, household goods, and Avon products to churchgoers. The Mariachi music of the 12:00 pm Mass can be heard booming from the church almost a block away as speakers placed outside the church allow those eating pupusas to listen to the Mass going on inside. Various groups set up tables to recruit members from among the faithful. All of these activities take place on an ordinary Sunday. On days of special significance, like the Feast of the Lady of Guadalupe, the festivities are brought to a fever pitch culminating in a neighborhood procession and a party at the nearby school with free food, live music, and carnival-style games.

Located at the northern end of Albuquerque's South Valley, Sacred Heart Catholic Church is home to roughly 1,200 registered families it is just over a tenth of the size of St. Catherine's. Serving the parish are two priests, two deacons, and nine front office staff members, although most the staff are part-time employees. With just three Sunday Mass services and no affiliated Catholic School, the church complex is much quieter than their lively counterpart in Los Angeles. Following Sunday services a single ice-cream vendor pushes his cart down the sidewalk offering frozen treats to worshipers on their way out of the 11:00 am Spanish-language Mass. The Mass is well attended, blending Hispano families with long New Mexico roots and recently arrived families and individuals from Mexico and Central America. Ministering to and

serving the parish community at Sacred Heart are approximately 17 affiliated groups ranging in mission from Al-Anon to the Blue Army, a group of women who gather Monday mornings to pray to the Virgin of Fatima, an apparition of Mary in Portugal. Other groups include a Friday night prayer group that, similar to El Sembrador at St. Catherine's, blends prayer, music, and evangelizing. This group is comprised entirely of immigrant families from Mexico and Central America and is the only group that, *de facto*, is exclusive to this immigrant community. Parish leaders and community members work to incorporate the growing immigrant community at Sacred Heart, a church largely comprised of long standing, often multigenerational, Hispano parishioners.

With New Mexico's Hispano Heritage, the Spanish language services have been present long before the recent arrival of Mexican and Central American immigrants to the area. Rather than the Spanish language Mass acting as a means of segregation, the Spanish language Mass forces integration between these two communities at Sacred Heart. In many ways, Sacred Heart is a microcosm of immigration issues in Albuquerque more broadly. The high rates of native-born people that speak Spanish in Albuquerque facilitate incorporation of newly arrived Latino immigrants, as do similar cultural backgrounds in areas of faith and food. Yet, scratching below the surface reveals conflicts and struggles seen in communities across the country as native-born Hispanos actively distance themselves from newly-arrived Latino immigrants, who are negatively racialized. These processes emerge in subtle tensions over how to celebrate the Day of the Dead, a Meso-American based celebration around the Catholic All Saints Day. Hispano parishioners proudly point to their Spanish roots as being distinct from the Mexican and Central American cultural roots.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical issues are of vital concern in any research study (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2003), but these are especially challenging in doing research on undocumented participants. In going through the process of human subjects' approval I put in place safeguards to protect participants and their data. Consent was critical in this process. I used oral consent, rather than written consent, to limit the paper trail of identifying information. As such at the beginning of each interview I asked participants for consent. I shared with them an oral consent sheet and an information sheet describing my research project; this information was available in both English and Spanish. I scrubbed any identifying information from the data before inputting information into atlas.ti. I use pseudonyms for all individuals - both staff and parishioners. The names of the parishes are also pseudonyms to provide an extra layer of anonymity. All materials for this project have been kept in a locked office on the UCLA campus and stored on password-protected computers.

In addition to IRB required ethical considerations, I felt personal ethical dilemmas with the level of engagement with individuals and being transparent about my personal faith. On an early visit to St. Catherine's I was asked for the names of immigration lawyers to help with issues of legal status. After consulting with colleagues and advisors, I decided to share, when asked, a list of legal aid providers identified by reputable local non-profit agencies, including Catholic Charities a diocesan level Catholic agency. The extent of my engagement with these services was to provide a list of names and phone numbers.

ISSUES OF TRUSTWORTHINESS

In qualitative research designs, the role of researcher as principal data collector requires the identification of one's personal values, biases, and assumptions prior to the process. The researchers' involvement in the research setting can be useful rather than detrimental (Locke 1987 in Creswell 2001). My personal perceptions of the Catholic Church and immigration are shaped by my personal experiences with both. Although no longer a practicing Catholic, I was born and raised in the Roman Catholic Church, attended a Catholic school until the 8th grade, received sacraments, and attended Sunday Mass with my family. As part of a student group in college, I traveled to Tijuana, Mexico where I forged my views on immigration. After college, I returned to Tijuana to work for a year at a nonprofit housing and community development organization during which time I frequently saw the dignity of individuals denied by the presence of the border, U.S. immigration policies, and binational social, race, and class structures. While these experiences shape my perceptions of immigration and religious faith, understanding these contexts enhanced the analysis and helped me to gain access to the research sites. Due to these previous experiences, I bring certain biases to the project. Although I took every effort to maintain objectivity, biases may shape my interpretations of the data. I began this study with the perspective that the immigration experience from Mexico and Central America to the United States is often dehumanizing and unjust, and that the Catholic Church, although deeply flawed, has many positive people, programs, and influences on its members. As discussed subsequently in the data collection processes and analysis, I routinely checked in with myself, the research participants, and colleagues to address biases and their impact on this project.

Qualitative research and case study designs within the qualitative tradition can be judged on issues of trustworthiness, credibility, dependability, and transferability (Bloomberg & Volpe,

2016; Creswell, 2003; Yin, 2009). These are seen as distinct from concerns of validity in quantitative research but address similar concerns of reliability, accurateness or plausibility. While the distinction in terminology of trustworthiness in qualitative and quantitative research is significant, so too is the continued push for researchers to be aware of and seek to control biases that may be present throughout the design, collection, and analysis phases of their projects. I feel this is especially important for this project in which I collect the voices, stories, and knowledge of undocumented Americans for academic research which will have little to no impact on the lived realities of participants.

Credibility of qualitative research assesses the participant's opinions, perspectives, and experiences against the portrayal of them in the analysis (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Credibility is similar to measures of internal and external validity in quantitative research.¹² Ensuring credibility of this project was critical in the design of the study. I enhanced the reliability of my results by utilizing multiple methods, prolonging the time in the field collecting data, utilizing informal participant checks, and regular reflecting on the biases that I, as researcher, brought to the study. The use of both in-depth interviews and participant observation increases the credibility of the findings as information observed was corroborated through information obtained through interviews and vice versa. The sheer length of time spent in the field, engaging with communities at St. Catherine's and Sacred Heart further boosted the credibility of the findings as prolonged involvement provided me with a more nuanced and in-depth understanding of processes of political participation and the subtle influence of the fear of deportation at each church. While at first blush there were no overt political participation efforts taking place at St.

¹² In quantitative studies, work is valid if it "clearly reflects the world being described" (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016, p. 162). Research is reliable when "two researchers studying the same phenomenon will come up with compatible observations" (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016, p. 162). Evaluating qualitative research requires different sets of criteria than validity and credibility. Following the example of Bloomberg and Volpe (2016), I use the criteria of credibility, dependability, and transferability to measure the trustworthiness of this study.

Catherine's, after months of involvement with the parish I saw relationships between policy makers, political actors, and others in and through the church.

Through interviews and interactions with parishioners at both sites I utilized member checks to ensure that my biases did not influence the accuracy of the findings. I performed these checks done at the end of each interview by repeating back to each interviewee what I had heard and how I had interpreted their comments. With participation in various groups, member checks looked different; I would talk with other group members about the significance of events or discussions and ask how they related to broader issues of immigration fears or politicization. Finally, I regularly engaged in a self-reflection process to check my biases and remind myself of the risk of letting these biases seep into the analysis. In addition to field notes, my notebooks are full of questions and reflections to myself on the role of perspectives and biases in the daily activities of fieldwork.

While reliability is not feasible in most qualitative research designs, dependability is a parallel criterion. It is not assessed by statistical procedures, but rather on the dependability of findings based on the data collected (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). To this end, I have attempted to provide an audit trail, or detailed explanations, of how data were collected and analyzed so readers can judge the dependability of this process. The utilization of a comparative case study methodology provides an internal check of dependability. By repeating the methodological process in a new less-likely case setting, the results of the first case can be challenged or reinforced. The theoretical sampling of a most-likely and least-likely case added robustness to the findings (Yin, 2009).

While this comparative approach does not lend itself to generalizability, it does work to increase conformability. The concern with confirmability is to ensure that findings are the result

of the research process and not previous biases on the part of the researcher (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). The audit trail, or detailed description of the process of analysis, and a record of data collected allow readers the opportunity to assess the robustness of the findings. An audit trail is made possible through thick description of individuals and findings, along with detailed information on the context in which these events and interviews occur.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study is subject to a number of critical limitations. In this study, as with many qualitative projects, the “findings could be subject to other interpretations” (Creswell, 2003, p. 149). A critical concern, then, is researcher bias in shaping the findings. A key limitation of this study is my previous relationship to the central institution of study – the Catholic Church. By explicitly acknowledging these biases and engaging in a critical self-reflection process, I sought to minimize the impact of this limitation but it remains a potential influence on the study.

A related limitation is a risk of "participant reactivity" to the researcher as a clear outsider to the group and community (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Participants knew they were being observed and interviewed and may have altered their responses or actions to please the researcher. This risk is especially salient among undocumented Americans fearful about deportation; respondents may have been more likely to perform according to some preconceived notion of what I, as the researcher, wanted to hear or to mask experiences that may put them at legal risk. To counter this limitation, I spent prolonged periods of time in the field, interacting with participants, building trust, and reassuring them that I had no relationship with Immigration and Customs Enforcement. With extended periods of time in the field, I was successful in

building trust with participants, an accomplishment furthered by my “in-status” as someone with a Catholic background.

SUMMARY

In summary, this chapter provides a description of my research design and methodology while also introducing the two case sites. I adopt a comparative case study approach within the qualitative research methodology tradition and compare most-likely and least-likely sites of immigrant political participation within the Catholic Church. I reviewed the case selection process in detail, beginning with the selection of the cities providing the context of actions, explaining the selection of specific neighborhoods within these cities, then identifying individual churches within these neighborhoods to study. I collected and analyzed data from in-depth interviews and participant observation. The use of multiple methods in a comparative framework enhances the credibility and dependability of the findings.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

Fear is a daily part of life for undocumented Americans in Los Angeles and Albuquerque, yet through engagement with Catholic Churches, it is possible to replace a legal identity with a spiritual one and engage with local political issues. This is the major finding that emerged from the data collected during a year of fieldwork undertaken at St. Catherine's Catholic Church in Los Angeles and Sacred Heart Catholic Church in Albuquerque. This fieldwork was conducted to answer the central research questions of this dissertation project. What is the nature of deportation fear? How is this fear affected by participation in religious institutions? Finally, how do these institutions facilitate political participation among undocumented Americans? The comparative case study method enables analysis of a final research question; how do differences in context shape these processes of fear and political participation?

This chapter introduces five key findings that emerge from the data collected from fieldwork through in-depth interviews with staff and members and participant observation at both parishes. I uploaded field notes and interview transcripts into the qualitative analysis program atlas.ti and coded all materials. I analyzed trends and relationship with the assistance of this software program, which led to the development of the following five findings. All translations from Spanish to English are the authors. Respondents and church names are all pseudonyms to protect the identities of individuals within these institutions.

Figure 13: Principal Findings

Findings

- 1. Deportation fear is an everyday experience*
- 2. Spiritual identity may supplant legal one in churches*
- 3. Church operates as a social services provider*
- 4. Church facilitates political participation*
- 5. Churches face key limitations in organizational structure*

I summarize the five principal findings of my analysis in Figure 13. The first finding is that fear is real and an everyday part of life among undocumented people in both Los Angeles and Albuquerque. The second finding points to the role of the church in assuaging this fear and replacing a legal identity with a spiritual identity. The third finding describes how the church acts not only as a religious site but a social service provider to the undocumented community. The fourth finding looks specifically at political participation and finds that churches may provide opportunities to participate and provide institutional cover and legitimacy further facilitating participation. Finally, the fifth finding highlights the limitations of the previous findings – these include issues of leadership, knowledge, and institutional structure and stratification. In this chapter, I present each of these findings, drawing on support from my analysis of the data. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of these findings and a preview of Chapter 5, which analyzes the significance of these findings in light of current academic scholarship. While the findings are introduced and developed in this chapter, the role of different contexts of reception and geographies of deportation fear are discussed in Chapter 5 where I analyze the findings in light of literature.

FINDING 1: DEPORTATION FEAR IS AN EVERYDAY EXPERIENCE

The first finding confirms the prevalence of fear among undocumented Americans in both Los Angeles and Albuquerque. The Los Angeles case demonstrates that asylum seekers, those with temporary protective status, and others with precarious legal standing in the United States also experience a fear of deportation, exposure, and family separation. Legal instability related to immigration status often means that immigrants move through various statuses that exist between and across the categories of legal and illegal (Menjívar, 2006). Further complicating these liminal identities are the diversity of legal statuses found within families; deportation fear may be felt by more than just those who are currently undocumented. Priests, church staff, and individual churchgoers all spoke of the high levels of fear experienced by undocumented parishioners. Of the 15 currently or formerly undocumented interviewees, all of them identified fear of deportation as a significant part of their daily life in the United States.

For recent immigrants, the anxiety of navigating life in their new adoptive city can compound fears related to their precarious legal standing. American cities are governed by unique social norms and legal regulations, many of which are different from immigrants' country of origin. A regular attendee of St. Catherine's' in Los Angeles discussed the importance of the foreignness of life in American cities and how fear of stepping out of line becomes equated with a fear of deportation. Juan explained that upon his arrival in Los Angeles everything was new, everything was different – the streets, the customs, the language; “it is all different.”

Juan began by describing street life in his native San Salvador. It's chaotic. Busses stop to drop off or pick up passengers in the middle of the road; stoplights are only occasionally obeyed, and to cross the street on foot requires zigzagging between traffic. Here in the United States, Juan explained, life is fundamentally different. Crossing the street here in the United

States is a process, an ordeal full of regulations and rules that must be obeyed. He goes on to tie this experience to deportability explaining that in Los Angeles, even crossing the street can produce anxiety – “to cross the street when a [green] light is not on can get you a ticket that says, ‘present yourself to the judge.’ Some people get this and [he snaps his fingers] they leave the city.” Juan explained, "La migra is combined with the police in peoples' mind." A jaywalking ticket, then, can lead some to flee the area for fear of facing deportation proceedings. Juan had initially arrived in Los Angeles on a tourist visa that quickly expired, and lived for many years without status but eventually regularized his status under a 1986 immigration act (IRCA). Juan’s story highlights the role of cultural differences, as mundane as how to navigate road traffic, in evoking feelings of difference and fears of deportation.

While Juan’s migration was from urban San Salvador to urban Los Angeles, for those arriving in Los Angeles and Albuquerque from rural settings this shift can compound fears of deportation. This was the case for Marie, a Los Angeles parishioner of St. Catherine’s who moved to the city from rural Honduras. When she arrived in Los Angeles without papers, she too felt the fear of deportation compounded with anxieties about her new life in Los Angeles. She described her feelings in the following way, “For me, Los Angeles was a monster that sucked people up and finished them off.” She attributes to this fear and anxiety her willingness to remain at low pay work as a live-in nanny for a family of five children earning \$150 per week. While the pay was low, it provided a sense of security protecting her from the city, the risk of deportation, and, therefore, her fears.

When Marie migrated to the United States, she left two children behind in Honduras, but her experience of undocumented life made her loath to send for her children to join her in Los Angeles. She explained:

I was not interested in bringing [my children] to me as undocumented immigrants because I knew what it was to suffer coming here without papers. At the time I felt that – it's not being negative or pessimistic – but our reality here is if we do not come with a bit of faith, this rich little thing faith, then we fail. We fail in this country and we become, we become a failure. Ending up depressed, with illness, depression and we don't advance. We remain in darkness.

In 1996 Marie received a work visa giving her legal permission to live and work in the United States. She described the feeling of leaving the immigration office with that work permit, legitimizing her presence in the United States saying, "I left the life of living closed-in, now I could be more free."

But even with this temporary work visa, Marie still had lingering concerns about her precarious status in the U.S. As we spoke, she pulled from her purse a plastic baggie full of all her work permits since 1996. She said, "these are my history, my proof I've been here." She carries these expired visas with her everywhere in case anyone challenges her belonging or identity. She feels the precarity of her status. Reauthorization of her temporary status is never guaranteed. Consequently, Marie lives in fear of being denied a visa and forced to either return to Central America or to live, once again, as an undocumented American in the United States.

Juan and Marie's experiences highlight the feelings of fear experienced by arrivals to Los Angeles. But this fear also exists in Albuquerque. At an Albuquerque religious event, two men shared their experience living in New Mexico without papers. Jacob, a young father of three who is a legal resident of the United States but has mixed-status children, said "it's nerve wracking to think they can't grow up together" if they are deported. Fear, anxiety, and concern about deportation extend beyond the undocumented individual and threaten the entire family. Following a Friday night prayer meeting, I spoke to Susan while drinking hot cocoa and indulging in Mexican pastries. Susan, a musician at the church, described the fear children have for their parents in the Sacred Heart community. They have concerns that a parent may not return

from work or that, somehow, a child's action may threaten their parents and result in a deportation.

Another young church member in Albuquerque described his fear of deportation, not just fear for himself, but also for his parents. He grew up, "living not in fear, but with fear of being found out [as undocumented], and fear of exposing his family [to deportation]." Ricardo explained,

I came here and everything was so different, everything was so odd to me. English, to me, sounded like Chinese. I didn't understand it... [as a teenager] I was living not in fear but with fear, I say with fear because it was this fear of being found out, this fear of am I going to expose myself – I was young, I didn't really think that one through – but I didn't want to expose my family. There was one time we were going to a [soccer] tournament and the tournament was in Las Cruces though and I was like, I wanted to go, but I faked an illness because I didn't want to go and be found out.

Between Albuquerque and Las Cruces, there is an interior border checkpoint along the major highways. Ricardo viewed participation in an after-school activity as a potential risk of exposure for himself as well as his family. Ricardo lived with an eye out to make sure that he did not threaten himself or his family with deportation. Deportation fear cloaked his everyday life in Albuquerque.

Father Timothy of Sacred Heart Catholic Church in Albuquerque explained that the undocumented members of his parish are full of fear and that they "come to this country and all they have is fear." He explained that the "culture [in the United States] is different, the language is different, and they are already untrusting because they've been taken advantage of" on their journey to the United States. Father Timothy explained that Albuquerque is not used to undocumented immigration because it has never had the economic base to attract foreign workers and that the city is still a difficult place for this community. While the nearby city of Santa Fe is a sanctuary city, Albuquerque is not and parishioners do not have that added level of

protection. Father Timothy struggles to elicit the full participation of undocumented churchgoers, as many prefer to keep a low profile in the United States, a risk management tactic. As such, many undocumented churchgoers attend Sunday services but do not join the church formally or participate in any of its groups.

While participants expressed fears of deportation and family separation in both Albuquerque and Los Angeles, interviewees in Los Angeles noted and appreciated the immigrant protections that the city and state had put in place. Interviewees in Albuquerque did not offer such praise as New Mexico has not yet taken a stance on undocumented Americans.

When speaking to a regular churchgoer at St. Catherine's in Los Angeles who arrived without papers in the early 1990s, he said that there was little reason to be afraid of deportation now in Los Angeles, as it is a sanctuary city.¹³ Mark explained, "police won't deport you here, it's a sanctuary city." Even the occasional federal raids seemed less on people's minds at St. Catherine's than in Albuquerque. For Mark, the sanctuary city law was not an obscure or purely symbolic policy stance. Instead, it conveyed safety, security, and protection to undocumented Americans. He and I spoke of Los Angeles' sanctuary city laws while sitting at a picnic table outside of St. Catherine's. Mark mused for a moment on the double meaning of sanctuary in our discussion – a city claiming sanctuary for all people, regardless of legal status and a church providing sanctuary as a spiritual home. Little did we know that following the election of President Trump just months after this discussion that churches across the country would take in individuals facing deportation removal proceedings, providing them with sanctuary. Father Timothy in Albuquerque discussed the origins of Catholic Churches as physical sanctuaries, a role that dates back to the Middle Ages. He also reviewed the work in his parish in preparing to

¹³ This conversation took place in early 2016 before sanctuary cities became a major part of the 2016 presidential election.

provide sanctuary if President Trump enacts mass deportations. Sanctuary or not, parishioners and church leaders regularly discussed the fear of deportation in both Los Angeles and Albuquerque.

The difference in the two cities was one of scale and urban landscape. The fear and potential for exposure in Albuquerque are almost palpable; the city does not provide a dense community within which to hide. The sprawling city's wide streets, quiet downtown, and high desert landscape shrouded with the Sandia Mountains to the East adds to feelings of vulnerability and visibility. The small co-ethnic community is spread out in low-density sprawl across the city's South Valley, where street life is limited, and sidewalks and streetlights are rare. Albuquerque's small co-ethnic community of Mexican and Central American immigrants is tiny in comparison to Los Angeles, limiting the ability to provide buffers to provide services and protection. During a meeting on the relationship between the church and immigration in Albuquerque, Joseph shared that he was the head of a mixed-status family saying, "It's nerve wracking thinking [my children] might not grow up together...we live in the shadows." The co-ethnic community was not large enough to buffer Joseph's family from the fear of deportation and daily life that is lived among the shadows, not within a bustling co-ethnic community. Conversely, in Los Angeles, Mexican and Central American communities are decades old with numerous resources, the streets are crowded and can either swallow you up or hid you. Fear is conditioned in Albuquerque and can result in a retreat from even innocuous quotidian activities like registering with the church. This echoes the isolating potential of chronic fear found from the psychological study of emotion reviewed in Chapter 2; fear in Albuquerque isolated peopled from religion In Albuquerque, Sacred Heart Church staff is working to transition into a site of sanctuary, while in Los Angeles it has offered sanctuary for decades. This conception of the

church as a sanctuary is significant to the next finding; in churches, undocumented Americans can shed their legal identities and adopt religious ones wherein legal status has no relevance.

FINDING 2: SPIRITUAL IDENTITIES CAN REPLACE LEGAL IDENTITIES THROUGH FAITH AND FEELINGS OF BELONGING

My second finding is that in spite of feelings of fear, undocumented Americans can shed their legal identities at church and instead adopt spiritual identities. The parishes' open attempts to foster a sense of belonging and an inclusive interpretation of their faith supports this finding. A sense of belonging and an identity beyond legal status is significant as it reinforces the motivation necessary for political participation –the desire for change and the belief that change is possible. A sense of belonging also helps to diminish fears of deportation among undocumented Americans.

Church leaders and parishioners worked together to create a sense of belonging within parish confines. The church secretary at Saint Catherine's, Laurie, explained that for many immigrant arrivals to the Pico-Union neighborhood, the church functions as a second home. She described the relationship between faith, belonging, and the church's attitude:

Many of them are very recently got here [to St. Catherine's]. It's like a second home for them. They come here and they worship. They get involved in ministries. They live their faith. They feel close to God and they receive the messages they need to hear. I think that helps calm their fears [of deportation], knowing that...as Catholic, we always think God has a plan for us...it's just by living your faith and feeling close to God and it gives you that peace... a lot of immigrants come and look for that. It's like a second home, like a second family for them. Of course, we [as a church] always try to have our arms open for them...[immigrants here at St. Catherine's] feel protected, I think. They feel part of something...they forget their [legal] situation somehow.

As demonstrated in this excerpt, faith calms fear of deportation while engagement with the church provides a sense of belonging and identity that is outside of the realm of immigration policing. Laurie explains that members of St. Catherine's parish often define their identity as

Catholic, not as immigrant. Laurie's experience comes from her direct interaction with the thousands of immigrant families that call Saint Catherine's their spiritual home. As I discuss below, her role in the church office puts her on the front lines of offering aid, comfort, and services for this community.

Marie collaborated the belonging and protection Laurie described by Laurie. Marie, a Central American woman who spent the first decade of her life in Los Angeles without legal status. Marie explained that when she began attending services and getting involved in activities at St. Catherine's, she also began to see herself in a new way. She said, "I, myself, began to understand that if, as a woman, in the eyes of God I have dignity, then independent of being undocumented I have dignity...so there is dignity and this dignity makes you fight, makes you feel safe, makes you feel good. Right?" Marie's faith in a higher being reinforced her sense of human dignity and contributed to her feeling of belonging at St. Catherine's. Faith combated the negative connotations of illegality by reinforcing a belief in human dignity. Marie's identity as a woman of faith superseded her identity as an undocumented American.

The individual and collective faith of people create a shared identity and a sense of belonging. As a deacon at St. Catherine's explained, "The history of the church is global. It gives strength to its members." The prayers, Mass celebrations, songs, all of these are the same in Oaxaca, Honduras, and Los Angeles. The consistency of faith then provides strength to its members and a sense of comfort. A priest at Sacred Heart Church in Albuquerque echoed this sentiment saying that for immigrants, "coming from a foreign country, the church is something familiar...[it is] recognizable." This familiarity, then, helps to convey a sense of belonging and security among new arrivals to the country. Ricardo, the college-aged undocumented man from Albuquerque, supported this idea as he said "But thankfully I'm a Catholic. When I went to

church with my grandma [in the USA] I saw familiar images; I saw things that made sense to me, that I understood." For Ricardo, his faith led him to feel at home within an American Catholic institution. He called upon his identity as a Catholic to augment his identity while living as an undocumented American in Albuquerque.

No one I spoke with was a convert to Catholicism. Rather, this was a religious tradition and spiritual faith that they grew up within their home communities and brought with them to the United States. As such, the universality of the church and its teachings coupled with regional adaptations and traditions replicated in the host community furthered a sense of belonging.

While universal in its core beliefs and practices, Catholicism also includes regionally specific figures and celebrations. At Saint Catherine's in Los Angeles, the parish sought to bring some of these foreign celebrations into their core practices to better serve their immigrant population. Laurie, the parish secretary at St. Catherine's, described her churches' efforts to minister to Oaxacan community members,

Many of them, they're illegal so they cannot go back to their town. We do all the festivities [as] if they're over there. Even Father Roy our [former] Pastor, went to Oaxaca and brought [back] an image of the Virgin, exactly like the one they had there. They were so excited. They think it's very miraculous. They ask a lot of favors to Our Lady of Juquila...This [parish] is like a sanctuary for immigrants. What we do is we let them do their celebration like if they were in their [home] countries. What do you do in your country to celebrate Our Lady of Guadalupe? What do you do here with your Patron Saint? We welcome them. We're open to them. Our Pastor is very open to that. We support them. We get a committee together, and we investigate how we do it...[so] they feel like they're at home.

To serve their community of immigrants from across Mexico and Central America, St. Catherine's welcomes the regionally specific traditions of their parishioners.

Sacred Heart Church also works to incorporate celebrations from Mexico to honor and minister to their large Mexican immigrant community. They have begun to host Day of the Dead celebrations and events to honor the Virgin of Guadalupe, an event of major significance in

Mexican Catholic Churches. However native-born Hispanos and Anglos in the parish complained, “That is not how we do it, that is not our tradition.” These sentiments have led to some conflict between native-born Hispanos and new Latino immigrant arrivals in Albuquerque. A longtime member of Sacred Heart, Eric, described this tension explaining that the neighborhood around the church is one of the original Spanish Land Grants and that there has always been an active Hispano presence in the parish, reflecting the Hispano residential population. There has always been a Sunday morning Spanish-language mass, but until a few years ago attendees were mostly native-born Hispanos. Now, however, there are a large number of Latino immigrants from Mexico that both live in the area and worship at the church. So, while many older parishes experience the *de facto* segregation of populations by the language in which clergy celebrate masses, at Sacred Heart, the two communities worship alongside each other at the 10:00 am Sunday Spanish-language mass. The celebration of Day of the Dead, the incorporation of foreign Catholic traditions does not occur in a separate mass, but in a mass, that has long been home to native-born New Mexicans. The church Pastor said he tries to encourage members, both foreign- and native-born, to be open to new traditions; he sees it has a major part of his vocation but acknowledges it is not always an easy task.

The conflict was not limited to Albuquerque; in Los Angeles, the celebration of the Feast of the Savior of the World, the Patron Saint of El Salvador, was brought to an abrupt halt when a new Pastor asked for the altar decorations to be removed. I will examine the impact of rotating leadership on parish culture when discussing the fifth finding.

Generally, the parish and its leaders seek to welcome and create a sense of belonging by accommodating specific traditions and practices. But this feeling of belonging is also created from the pulpit through church readings and sermons.

Catholic Church teachings and texts are rife with stories in support of immigrants, travelers, and foreigners. In a sermon given in July 2016, the Associate Pastor at St. Catherine's centered his message on the origins of the word 'parish' which is derivative of the Greek word for foreigner or stranger. He spoke about the role of the parish church as a home for strangers and foreigners. He then went on to quote Saint Paul's letters to the Philippians (3:20) that says that as followers of God, "we are all citizens of heaven." As citizens of heaven, when undocumented Americans enter the church doors they shed a legal identity and take up a spiritual one. Similarly, the phrase "brothers and sisters in Christ" is a common refrain, a reminder that regardless of national origin if someone believes in a Christian God, they are part of a universal family. The faithful derive this assertion from a line attributed to Jesus by Saint Matthew in the Bible, "for whoever does the will of my Father in heaven is my brother and sister and mother." In Albuquerque, they pray at Sunday masses for "refugees, migrants, and all who search for a place to call home. May they find welcome and opportunity wherever they alight."

Many interviewees in Albuquerque and Los Angeles referred to fellow church members as "Brothers and Sisters," a sign of both faith and shared peoplehood. Weekly Bible readings include stories of belonging and are designed to serve as a guide for Catholics today. The exile of the Jewish people from ancient Egypt accounts for multiple chapters in the Catholic Bible, along with the migrations of Jesus himself, whose birth story is one of returning to the city of origin. These stories are relevant to the experiences of American immigrants.

One Sunday's reading focused on God's attention to the cries of Jewish slaves in Egypt and said,

I have heard their cries against their oppressors. And I know their suffering. I have descended to liberate my people from the oppression of the Egyptians, to take them from that land and bring them to a safe, spacious land, a land of milk and honey.

Catholic faith, then, means a belief that a God hears his believer's cries and will lead them to a promised land – either on earth or in heaven. In an excerpt from a letter written after the death of Jesus, Saint Paul pleads that followers of God "did not receive a spirit of slavery to fall back in fear, but...received a spirit of adoption through which we cry, Abba, Father." These parables tell Catholic believers that they are not alone, that they belong to a God, and that this God will liberate them from oppression and grant his followers freedom from oppression. Therefore, when the readings say, "In your justice, rescue me... in your hands is my destiny, rescue me," Catholics like Marie hear comfort, belonging, and the reinforcement of human dignity. Spiritual identity and belonging experienced within the church is the product of a faith in the single family of God, outreach efforts by parish members and staff, and the direct services offered to immigrants by the church.

Through outright efforts to include undocumented Americans in churches and a shared faith that fosters a sense of common peoplehood outside the realm of the state, parishioners can adopt, even if only temporarily, a spiritual identity and sense of belonging to the church. Parishioners echoed this sentiment through the use of the phrases, "my church" or "our church, our community," indicating joint ownership and belonging to the group.

FINDING 3: CHURCHES OPERATE AS SOCIAL SERVICE PROVIDERS

In addition to fostering a sense of belonging through faith, these Catholic parishes also do so through direct service provision. These services take place through the parish office and individual ministries. The church is not just a site of worship, but also a social service provider.

As church secretary at St. Catherine's, Laurie oversees much of the direct services the parish provides to members in need; the church provides these services regardless of an

applicant's immigration status. Twice a month the church operates a food bank available to anyone who lives in the area – Catholic or not, legal immigrant or not. The church also has a fund to help families in need of emergency financial assistance:

Most families are very poor, very poor. For them, it's, do I pay for these [bills] or do I eat or do I pay rent? We see a lot of people that suffers [sic]. We see a lot of pain...we have families that come and say, "can you help us pay rent, we're short this month." [The church] has the Saint Vincent De Paul Fund. Sometimes we help them. They say, "We cannot pay the rent. We cannot pay the electric bill. We cannot pay." We never make checks payable to them; it's always payable to the water company, to the gas company. Sometimes our families that we know that they have been here for a while, we look at their registry. Whenever they can, they help the church.

The church provides this kind of direct aid to parishioners, but other forms of assistance, like the food bank, is open to all. The church office also functions as a referral service. Laurie shared an example of this:

Sometimes [people] come here and they say 'I lost my job. I was living in a room...and I'm undocumented. I can't find a job anywhere. What do I do? We're like, "well you can go to this shelter."

When church members come to the offices at St. Catherine's seeking help, staff connects them with service providers across the city.

Sacred Heart Church in Albuquerque provided similar services such as emergency bill paying assistance, distributed monthly food baskets to those in need, and operated as an informal referral service to local social service agencies. Father Timothy described this referral process as based on individual networks – not individual parish relations with organizations, but individuals within the parish office who have relationships with various outside organizations like health centers and housing shelters. As I discuss later, this mechanism leads to the potential for information loss as there is a focus on individuals rather than ongoing institutional relationships and networking.

In addition to direct services like food banks and bill paying, the Church in Los Angeles also brings in third-party service providers. These organizations must receive diocesan approval, a step designed to limit the potential for fraud as the diocese conducts background checks on these organizations. As Laurie at St. Catherine's explained, in the past people have sought to "just take advantage of the community...and there's a lot of people that try to commit fraud" by taking advantage of parishioners who are foreign born, low income, or with low level of education. As such when the parish puts on events or invites organizations into their community everything is verified by the regional offices of the Catholic Church. Examples of organizations collaborating with the parish in this way are the Red Cross, Council District Offices, public agencies, police departments, and legal aid foundations.

Following the enactment of a California law allowing undocumented Americans to obtain driver licenses, the parish hosted an event to provide parishioners information on eligibility and application procedures. As parishioner Christina explained, they invited "local police representatives from the Olympic and Rampart divisions and someone from the DMV. They explained the new law and helped about 100 people to sign up for a California driver's license." Plans were also underway to host a health event to share information with the church community about health care options for undocumented Americans. The parish Social Justice Group will coordinate this event along with local health agencies, and advocacy groups, all of who need diocesan approval.

St. Catherine's' Faithful Citizenship Program is an example of how, through service provision, the parish can minister to its people and create a sense of belonging. The Faithful Citizenship Program at St. Catherine's provides a course to help immigrants prepare for citizenship tests, legal fairs to assist legal permanent residents in applying for U.S. Citizenship,

and an immigration legal fair to answer legal questions or concerns related to immigration. For the first time, in the summer of 2016 St. Catherine's church hosted a legal fair, inviting over 70 lawyers with a variety of specialties to provide free consultations to the community. There were over 170 individuals who signed up to receive a free immigration law consultation at the Church. A small number of participants also sought help with issues related to workplace concerns, family law, and criminal law.

This event underscored the complicated nature of providing services that are not directly faith- and church-related, showing the difficulty of the hierarchical bureaucracy of Catholic governance and the challenge of internal parish buy-in to the services. This fair had varied results. While many participants felt the consultation was helpful in removing doubt and uncertainty about immigration statuses, three months after the fair, some participants were still awaiting a promised follow-up to the legal fair. Additionally, there were some apparent conflicts of interest. If an immigrant requires the aid of lawyers, a twenty-minute free legal consultation is insufficient to address anything other than generalized concerns. Furthermore, the organization providing the lawyers was a professional association of lawyers, not a legal aid foundation. In other words, most of the lawyers worked for private law firms. The fair served as a potential recruitment tool, as only the consultation was free and not whatever further legal aid participants may require. While I saw no evidence of explicit recruitment or up selling, given the conflict of interest, the risk remains. One lawyer I spoke with stated that word-of-mouth is their only advertising approach and that events like the St. Catherine's legal fair provided opportunities to spread that word.

The church and lawyers promised to provide free follow-up consultations for those applying for U.S. citizenship. The parish along with a handful of lawyers pledged to provide a

document review of the N400 citizenship application form. Three months after the legal fair, the parish held an event to help eligible legal permanent residents apply for citizenship. While completing the N400 form does not require a lawyer, the diocese coordinated the provision of lawyers to supervise and review completed forms. The parish provided 14 volunteers to help fill out the forms before the four volunteer-lawyers review.

Two important issues emerged from this follow-up event – the difficulty of operating within a large, hierarchical bureaucracy and the difficulty of buy-in from local parishioners. Parishioners and organizers from St. Catherine’s became frustrated with the long gap—three months—between the legal fair and the follow-up document review. But this three-month wait underscores the difficulty of service provision at one end of a bureaucratic chain. The parish provided volunteers to fill out forms; the volunteers were ready to do so at any moment. Parishioners applying for citizenship were also ready throughout that three-month delay. But the complex coordination of multiple agencies and individuals delayed the follow-up event. Although the N400 forms do not need a lawyer, the diocese required that lawyers review the work of volunteers. Furthermore, the diocese required that volunteers go through two rounds of training, the first to fill out the N400 form and the second to complete the fee waiver request forms. These additional requirements protect the applicant from needless rejections of applications for minor errors, and they also insulate the church from legal recourse should something go wrong. The multiple steps resulted in months of coordinating among the lawyer's organization, the lawyers themselves, the diocese, the diocesan group who would train volunteers, the school where the event was to take place, etc. Hence, these steps caused a three-month lag between the first and second events. This delay did not go unnoticed by participants. When the second event was finally scheduled, and the training had taken place, volunteers called

about 60 church members who had signed up to receive assistance with their N400 form. While most of these calls went smoothly, one woman spent five minutes yelling at a volunteer about the delay and claimed she was giving up on applying for citizenship. At least two others had tired of waiting and had submitted their applications without the help of the church (using either private lawyers or doing it on their own).

These responses highlight the second challenge to such an event – creating trust and reliability between the church and parishioners. The legal fair required that participants, first, trust that the people St. Catherine’s recruited to provide services were trustworthy and, secondly, that parishioners would honor the system –show up, keep their appointments. The complaints about timing and the response rate at the follow-up event illustrate these issues. Ahead of the second event, members of the Social Justice Group called 60 individuals; all sixty confirmed that they would be present at the event with their documents. Based on previous experience, the parish planned that only 30 (or half) would actually show up. In reality, the turnout was substantially lower than the church expected; only seventeen people attended the follow-up event. As the parish works to provide regular, reliable services, they may be able to earn reliability and trust from parishioners for future social service events.

A final service that parish offices provide for undocumented and immigrant community members is the act of registering with the parish and providing translation services. These services were a major component of St. Catherine’s’ church in Los Angeles, but much less so at Sacred Heart in Albuquerque. Registering with the church is one way to provide proof of residency and proof of a life in the United States for those living in the shadows. At St. Catherine’s, the church newsletters and announcements from the pulpit, priests, and staff members encourage churchgoers to register with the parish. The materials explain that not only

is it useful as part of their faith formation but also that it can be helpful in immigration proceedings. Registration with the parish is a simple process. Those wishing to register with the church must fill out a form with their name, address, and age, and provide information on all members of their family. While at St. Catherine's (as in most parishes) this is a free process, at Sacred Heart staff ask for a \$5 registration fee to help cover the cost of envelope printing. As a member of the parish – in Los Angeles or Albuquerque – a family receives a package of personalized envelopes to be used to hold their donations to the church made at Sunday mass. This process allows the church to track donations and to provide tax information on charitable contributions to parishioners at the end of every year. While there is no financial contribution required of parishioners, the church encourages it.

From a faith perspective, the utility of registering with a parish is the intangible benefit of faithful belonging (discussed above) and the ability to receive all sacraments at that parish – to baptize children, hold weddings, funerals, and so forth. From an immigration perspective, church registration provides proof of residency and implies good moral character. Speaking about a program that grants temporary protective status to some Central American groups, church secretary Laurie explained:

We tell [families], 'as soon as you come here, register. Register that you're a part of the church.' They fill their registration cards and families... [if they are] going to get legalized through programs like TPS...usually [the government] says 'we need proof that you've been in the country for the past five, seven years.' We have the records. We keep records of everything. We keep records that they got here. They married here. They baptized their children here. There is first communion here. We have records of everything. They have their Sunday envelopes; we keep track of when they come to church when they give a donation...it helps them when...they're going through all the paperwork to legalize their situation.

When a member of the parish comes to the church offices to seek a letter of support for their renewal application or any number of different other immigration-related proceedings (from

U-visas to TPS), the church secretary can write a letter outlining the members' participation in the church. Laurie explained the difficulty when someone who is not registered requests a letter,

Sometimes they come in, and we're like, 'well, you're not registered in our parish.' They're like 'well I always come here.' We're like 'we can give you a general letter, but it's not going to have any dates. We just say that you come here regularly to our services.' Then they understand, 'now I understand why I need to register.'

In addition to letters of support and proof of residency, the parish of St. Catherine's frequently assists members in translating correspondence between parishioners and immigration authorities. On my first day at St. Catherine's, Deacon James invited me to sit in on a meeting he had with a woman recently arrived from El Salvador. She had received a letter from the Immigration and Customs Enforcement office written in English which she neither spoke nor read. The Deacon translated the letter into Spanish, explained its meaning, and used the reference number on the letter to track her case through the government's online system. Further, he helped her coordinate a ride to the meeting scheduled for the following week in Anaheim, an hour and a half away from the Pico Union neighborhood.

The church office at St. Catherine's also assists with other translation needs. In many applications or appeals to federal immigration authorities, applicants need to provide a translation of foreign birth certificates. The church secretary and receptionists can do this, free of charge, to parishioners and community members. Laurie explained,

They come, and they bring their birth certificate, and they're like 'can you translate it for me because I'm going through my paperwork.' They talk to the priest, they talk to our Pastor, Father Roy and he's like, 'well you know, just go to the secretary, and we'll help you,' and of course we don't charge them.

All of these services are offered at no cost and can serve as proof of residency in immigration proceedings.

Church provision of these direct services go beyond faith-related work and represent a form of immigration service and advocacy at the parish level. However, this type of service was unique to Los Angeles and did not occur in Albuquerque. Catholic priests and lay people repeatedly told me that undocumented Americans in Albuquerque are too afraid of deportation to even register with the church that they attend every Sunday. As the Pastor of Sacred Heart explained,

The undocumented won't register with the church; they'll come to the church [for Mass and] come when they need help...the church here [in the United States] is in a different position [than in Latin America] we are not a Catholic country and registration is not seen as worth [the perceived risk].

While the church registries are not affiliated with government agencies nor will they be turned over to immigration authorities, immigrants in Albuquerque fear formally stating their residency, they see it as too high a risk. The church in Albuquerque also did considerably less outreach to encourage people to register than in Los Angeles. At Sacred Heart, Church leaders and staff did not write letters of support on behalf of parishioners to immigration authorities.

By providing a sense of belonging through inclusive interpretations of faith and the provision of services, parishes can create a space for immigrants to set aside their fears of deportation. Deportation fears are mitigated in an environment in which undocumented Americans see themselves as children of a God worthy of human dignity, as was Marie's case, or the ability to live with fear and not in fear, as Ricardo said. The next finding examines how this emotional transition can be used to facilitate political participation.

FINDING 4: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IS FACILITATED BY THE PROVISION OF OPPORTUNITIES, COVER, AND LEGITIMACY

The data show that churches can facilitate political participation among undocumented and immigrant parishioners through a) the creation of opportunities to participate in politics and b) the provision of institutional cover and legitimacy. This takes place within parish organizations as well as at the parish-wide level. While political engagement is a regular part of church activities at St. Catherine's, it was not a component of the activities at Sacred Heart.

Political participation is facilitated first by creating opportunities to participate among members. One way in which this involvement takes place is by bringing outside political groups and issues into the church community and providing members with opportunities to engage outside of the church with organizations, groups, or causes that are of interest and align with the churches' views. I repeatedly witnessed this form of political participation at St. Catherine's in Los Angeles but never seen at Albuquerque's Sacred Heart Church. In neither setting did I see significant rates of political action outside of the church, because my study did not follow individuals outside of church-related activities. Instead, as will be demonstrated below, political participation among undocumented Angelenos took place under the auspice of the church – people met with elected leaders, organized community activities, and engaged in political discourses during various interactions with the church.

The parish of St. Catherine's has a strong relationship with the offices of the first Council District (CD1) in the City of Los Angeles. It is a district that represents the St. Catherine's' neighborhood and over 200,000 other Angelinos, according to the 2010 Census. Former California State Senator and Assemblyman Gil Cedillo currently represents Council District One (CD1). A member of Councilman Cedillo's staff occasionally attends meetings of the Saint Catherine's Social Justice Group and coordinates events to be co-hosted by the church and the

council member. These events are secular, neighborhood initiatives such as e-waste drives, bulky item pick-ups, neighborhood cleanups, and block captain training. Through these activities and interactions, the parish community learns about politicians and political issues. Church members, regardless of immigration status, have access to politicians and political agents in a safe setting. This involvement extends their sense of belonging from the church to the community and is acknowledged by local leaders. At a CD1 event in which members of St. Catherine's were invited, I asked a Council staff member why the councilmember focuses on St. Catherine's, a church with high rates of non-citizens. He explained that church members might not vote, but many live in households with voters or know voters in their community. He also stressed the councilmember's dedication to immigrant rights as a motivation for engaging with St. Catherine's specifically.

An example of a specific event supported by CD1 in collaboration with St. Catherine's is a 311-reporting day. One Saturday morning in the fall of 2016 city staff invited parishioners to learn about the city's 311 services, how to report issues on smartphones, and how to collectively report problems in their neighborhood. Participants were divided into teams of four to walk, block by block through the neighborhood surrounding the church. They took pictures of graffiti, trees in need of trimming, sidewalk cracks, and bulky trash items to report these problems to the city for repair. The St. Catherine's Social Justice Group hosted this event. At a meeting of this group before the event, Serene, a group leader, explained the importance of reporting neighborhood issues to the city. An excerpt from my field notes summarizes her explanation:

Serene explained in [wealthy] West L.A. hundreds of people call in to report bulky items left on the sidewalk. In Pico-Union, only 12 people have called in. This [event is] an effort to hold the city accountable and empower individuals to demand of the city equal participation and receipt of city services.

Christina, a parishioner and member of the Social Justice Group, described a block captain training she attended in conjunction with the CD1 offices, St. Catherine's, and a local interfaith non-profit organization. The training included 15 other parishioners who were trained to be captains of the blocks on which they live. Block captains create ties among people that live on their street, report graffiti and illegal dumping, and act as creators of social capital and neighborhood ownership. Again, this is a secular political activity mediated through the church that creates political ties between members and local politicians.

In addition to collaborations and opportunities to participate with local council members and staffers, the staff and members of St. Catherine's at times work directly with Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti and his staff. The Social Justice Group's leader Serene shared her experience in a meeting with the mayor and about 15-20 other community leaders from Pico-Union. Held at City Hall, the meeting addressed the issues of access to community colleges and transportation improvements. A quote from my field notes summarizes Serene's retelling of this meeting to members of the Social Justice Group:

At one point the mayor stopped the proceedings to translate himself what was going on for Serene and the other [Spanish speaker] in attendance at the meeting. Serene was greatly impressed by this gesture from the mayor. Serene was [insistent on] not being there as herself but as a representative of the entire St. Catherine's community. [At the end of the meeting] the mayor offered his people, his team, and his contacts in the immigration legal system to assist St. Catherine's specifically.

Serene interpreted the Mayor's attention to herself and the only other Spanish speaker in the room as not just a sign of respect for them as individuals but also a sign of respect for the organizations they represented and for St. Catherine's Church.

These interactions between local political leaders and various members of the parish staff and community are examples of community engagement in which immigrants participate

regardless of immigration status. However, these interactions are not without conflict. One woman, a member of the Social Justice Group, described an interaction with a mayoral staff member discussing neighborhood cleanliness. The following is an excerpt from my field notes:

She recalls being told that ‘You guys live how you want to live’ in reference to the massive amounts of illegal dumping and litter in the Pico Union Neighborhood. Christina took this as both accurate and correct. However, to my ears, I hear judgment and lack of understanding as to why some neighborhoods might be more likely to report trash and why some neighborhoods might receive a faster response time.

A representative from the city blamed neighborhood residents for the state of disrepair in Pico-Union, a shortsighted and overly simplistic interpretation of neighborhood conditions.

In addition to interaction and collaboration between city officials and St. Catherine’s staff and members, there is significant involvement with the Pico-Union Neighborhood Council. Neighborhood Councils in the City of Los Angeles are local citizens’ boards that empower local community members to act as advocates on behalf of a specific neighborhood. Two members of the Pico Union Neighborhood Council are also members of St. Catherine’s Parish and its Social Justice Group. Eva, a founding member of the Social Justice Group, also serves as the chair of the Neighborhood Council’s Quality of Life and Safety subcommittee. This committee meets every month at the church, just before the start of the Social Justice Group meetings. Therefore, once a month there is a direct overlap between the two organizations. During moments of overlap, Serene regularly presents the mission and current activities and issues of each group to all present, encouraging members to join the other group. For members of the Social Justice Group who only attend their church meeting and not the Neighborhood Council meetings, Serene explains in detail the mission of the council, their current projects, and how the parish can engage with these activities to build stronger ties between the two organizations and work to improve Pico-Union.

I discuss the 2016 Presidential Election more fully in the concluding chapter. However, significant here is the Social Justice Group's election outreach efforts. In October, group leader Serene proposed a voter education effort on two issues that were potentially going to be on the California ballot – the death penalty and assisted suicide.¹⁴ The Social Justice Group had a discussion of why the church is against assisted suicide, and surprisingly the sanctity of life argument did not feature prominently. Instead, participants used the slippery slope argument. One woman in her 70s said that if the law is passed, "they will kill us," referencing the relatively little power Latina immigrant women held and her fear of the potential for the law to be used to "get rid of" people seen as undesirable. This view was not countered or challenged. Instead, there were multiple nods of agreement from around the table. The group then turned to making plans for tabling for the following Sunday.

I participated in this tabling event outside Mass for approximately three hours. During that time we shared information on the death penalty measures that Serene obtained from the dioceses; this information included letters from the Council of Bishops explaining why the church supported an overturning of the death penalty. Most people who stopped by our table before or after Mass were appreciative of our efforts and the information they received. However, one woman was very upset that we did not have information on the presidential candidates and their stance on abortion. She was disappointed with us and lectured us for not including abortion-related information. I explained that we shared information from the dioceses and that we did not have any information on individual candidates, only on the death penalty issue, a direct ballot measure.

¹⁴The latter of the two did not make it onto the ballot as at the last-minute supporters decided to delay the vote.

That morning we also had forms available to register to vote and assisted those who wanted it to fill out the forms and register. Over the course of the day, I helped four people in filling out voter registration forms – filling out the form and later delivering them to the post-office. I received many hearty handshakes and profound thanks from people for this help. There was great appreciation for the individuals assisting and distributing information and for the church in providing these services at St. Catherine's. In these voter related activities, undocumented parish members were instrumental in aiding voter registration and distributing voter information.

In all of these examples, the St. Catherine's Social Justice Group features prominently. The group was founded in 2002 to address violence near the church. Its mission has always been beyond faith and religion and is very much community focused. Its leader is Serene a middle-aged woman from El Salvador who entered the United States and lived in Los Angeles for over a decade as undocumented; she currently has Legal Permanent Resident status. She described her first foray into politics in the United States while she was an undocumented immigrant. She had been driving her car near the church and hit a pothole that caused severe damage to her car. She demanded that the city repair the pothole, recognizing that for many of her peers this type of accident could have serious financial set consequences due to the financial outlay for repairs and the potential income loss from missing work. Serene said she was very nervous and scared but knew that what she was doing was correct and for the betterment of her community. So, in front of a crowded meeting she told city representatives that although she could not vote, she could gather hundreds of voters to support her and her effort to improve road conditions in the neighborhood. Serene described this event as the start of her organizing.

As the leader of the Social Justice Group and the parish's social services coordinator, Serene encourages engagement on local issues and works to build leaders within the parish and the Social Justice Group. Every decision is explained and open for discussion to the group; she makes clear at external events that she represents the community, not herself; and she works to create a sense of personal responsibility and ownership among group members. The success of this effort is evident in the success of the Social Justice Group, its ties to local leaders and organizations, and the respect she and the group elicit from other parish groups.

In a November 2016 meeting of the Social Justice Group, the team discussed the creation of a new parish group – a pro-life, anti-abortion group. This group has been struggling to get off the ground for about a year. On my arrival at the church I signed up to be a member of this overtly political group to observe its processes, but meetings did not take place at the advertised times, miscommunication was common, and the group went dormant for months. But in the fall of 2016, the group resurfaced to participate in a nationwide Catholic effort to pray for an end to abortion and organized a walk from St. Catherine's to a neighboring Catholic Church, two miles away. Approximately 50 parishioners participated in the walk, and the group prayed for the duration of the walk. At a meeting of the Social Justice Group that took place following this pro-life walk, Serene proposed the group support and even incubate the fledgling pro-life group. She suggested building the pillars of the pro-life group in a way that is similar to the functioning of the Social Justice Group - a single leader with about 3-4 core members or pillars to do the central running and coordinating of the group and its events. Committee members did not dissent with the idea of supporting the pro-life group, and it was agreed to undertake this task in 2017.

Acts of political participation as described in the preceding paragraphs were witnessed only among members of St. Catherine's Church in Los Angeles; no such activity was seen or

reported at Albuquerque's Sacred Heart Church. Participation is not the only finding lacking in Albuquerque, so too is the sense of belonging and related identity shift from undocumented American to sister in Christ that I witnessed in Los Angeles. The heightened levels of fear and subsequent lack of belonging and local claim to identity led to little or no political activism among undocumented people at Sacred Heart, Albuquerque. As Father Timothy explained, all his undocumented church members came to his city with was is fear. Without the forces to reduce this fear of deportation in Albuquerque, participation seems unlikely to grow among undocumented Americans there. However, the fear mitigating processes of belonging, institutional affiliation, and support led to various examples of political participation among undocumented churchgoers at Los Angeles' St. Catherine's church.

The preceding paragraphs highlight opportunities for political engagement through the church. However, the creation of opportunities is not the only way in which churches may facilitate participation. An important component is the provision of institutional legitimacy and cover. Through these ties between parish staff, ministries, and local politicians, undocumented community members are empowered to advocate for their needs and participate in political activities that are mediated through the church. For example, a local organization hosted a rally in support of DAPA.¹⁵ A member of the Social Justice group publicized the rally at the group's weekly meeting. Once church members decided to carpool together, other individuals began to indicate their willingness to attend. While transportation is important here, more significant is the community aspect of attending together. By attending together and under the banner of the St.

¹⁵ DAPA, or Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Legal Permanent Residents, is an Obama Administration executive order aimed at shielding parents of U.S. Citizens and Legal Permanent Residents from deportation. The executive action was put on hold after a Texas court's injunction. The injunction was upheld after the U.S. Supreme Court deadlocked, unable to come to a decision on the matter (Liptak and Shear, 2016).

Catherine's Social Justice Group individuals gain both legitimacy in the eyes of outsiders and protection, or cover, from the church.

By legitimacy, I mean that a member of a Catholic parish participating with outside organizations as part of this parish is then judged not only as an individual but also by the legitimacy with which outsiders view the institution of the Catholic Church. As such, an undocumented American with little-perceived power that is participating in meetings and advocacy efforts through the church is perceived with higher levels of legitimacy. For example, at a private event celebrating the launch of Council District One's quarterly magazine in Los Angeles, members of St. Catherine's without the ability to vote rubbed shoulders with Councilmember Cedillo, his staff, and political leaders from across the district. Further, when engaging in Neighborhood Council Events, those who identify as members of St. Catherine's operationalize their individual legitimate claim to voice while leveraging the legitimacy with which the church is seen.

At the same time, participating and engaging with local politicians and issues under the banner of the Catholic Church provides institutional cover, or protection, as an individual is not acting on their own, but with the support of an international institution with significant local power. This finding is distinct from theories of political legitimacy that focus on the citizen belief that "the existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for the society" (Lipset, 1960, p. 76) or citizen "support for and trust in or rejection of and mistrust of the political regime at various levels" (Booth & Seligson, 2005, p. 538). Instead, it is the security and feeling of belonging to the broader community that the church institution provides to individuals, regardless of immigration status, shifting the role of legitimacy from being a trustworthy regime to being a legitimate member of the polity with a voice.

Cover also occurs on a smaller scale. Parishioners at St. Catherine's trust leaders like Serene and trust that if she proposes or informs them about an event, it is likely to be safe. Parishioners believe Serene to provide this cover. They also trust the church to support them should issues arise during church-sanctioned activities. Through the provision of opportunities, legitimacy, and cover, Catholic parishes facilitate the political participation of undocumented Americans in Los Angeles.

FINDING 5: CHALLENGES TO THE PROVISION OF SERVICES AND SUPPORT BASED ON CHURCH STRUCTURE

Four key challenges face the churches in their provision of services and promotion of undocumented people. The first challenge is the risk inherent in the frequently rotating leadership within Catholic parishes. The second is the tendency for individual rather than institutional knowledge of services available to undocumented people. The third challenge highlights the limitations of action within a hierarchical institution like the Catholic Church. Finally, institutional inequality limits the ability of churches to provide opportunities for civic participation.

Challenge 1: Revolving Door of Church Leadership

In the hierarchical Catholic Church, the Pastor is the administrative and religious director of a parish. However, the Pastor serves at the pleasure of the diocesan leader – a Bishop. Pastors are moved around from parish to parish in a given diocese on a regular basis. Some may stay as little as one year in a single parish after which some are promoted to diocesan level leadership; others are given lateral moves. The local Bishop oversees this. In Los Angeles, this is the Archdiocese of Los Angeles' Archbishop Jose Gomez, and in Albuquerque, it is the Diocese of

Santa Fe's Bishop John Wester. When the Bishop assigns a new Pastor to a local parish there is an adjustment period – ranging from warm welcomes on all sides to cold receptions and disruptions of local traditions. As administrative and religious leader of the entire parish, a Pastor can distribute and redistribute funds, resources, and staff time to reflect his personal vision of how the church should function or the priority of certain groups, activities, and events. A new Pastor, therefore, can make significant changes to how a community worships and engages with members and the community. Parishioners have a limited ability to respond to leadership changes and changes in the direction of the parish. First, parishioners can obey, willingly or not, new directives. Second, parishioners can protest by leaving the parish for another one, withholding donations, or no longer attending services. Third, parishioners may decide to wait out the Pastor, knowing that his tenure will be limited. Finally, parishioners may focus on various forms of resistance or engagement with subgroups while avoiding parish-level politics.

During the time of my data collection at St. Catherine's Parish in Los Angeles, a new priest was appointed Pastor. Two vignettes from this time highlight the conflict that new leadership can create within a parish community and its potential to threaten members' sense of belonging.

As an immigrant church, St. Catherine's hosts a number of festivals throughout the year celebrating patron saints of the countries of origin for many members. These celebrations include feast days for the Virgin of Guadalupe (the most famous icon in Latino Catholicism) but also the Virgin of Juquila (from Oaxaca), the feast of Christ the Savior of the World (from El Salvador), the feast of our Lady of Assumption (from Honduras). The festivities range from a special Mass with music and decorations, to a night long party with a procession through the neighborhood, food, dancing, and raffles. Many of these celebrations include elaborate altars and the

construction of statues atop plinths to be carried through the neighborhood. The Salvadoran community created a large altar piece that was placed at the front of the church, covering the large crucifix (statue of Jesus on the cross) that adorns most Catholic Churches. This artistic and religious installation is a point of pride for the hundreds of Salvadoran parishioners and was a long-standing tradition at St. Catherine's. However, when the Bishop appointed a new priest who transferred from a community in the Echo Park neighborhood of Los Angeles, he was upset by the temporary altar covering the crucifix and had it taken down almost without warning.

Speaking with parishioners outside the church one Sunday, Marielena filled me in on the conflict that was brewing. She acknowledged the respect she felt due to the new Pastor but also the disappointment and feeling of disrespect that she experienced as part of the community that had built the large, but temporary, altar. She was both upset and slightly ashamed that the church deemed a part of her faith inappropriate. During Mass later that day, the new Pastor addressed the topic head-on in his sermon. The Pastor said he wanted to cut-off the potential for gossip about why he took down the altar and said he "was very sad" when he realized that the group had "covered-up Christ." He asked those present, "How could you permit this [covering up of Jesus] if Jesus is the center of our lives." While his stated intention was to explain his rationale and limit the potential for gossip, his message was one of public shaming of the group who practiced their faith through the creation of altars. Therefore, rather than invite dialogue and discussion, he firmly stamped his views of "correct" religious practice in his new church. For the Salvadoran parishioners, this event challenged their sense of belonging as it limited their ability to practice their faith within this church in their adopted home of Los Angeles. Marielena and her husband had spent many nights with the committee assembling the altar and felt their work, and their faith tradition was not only rejected but ridiculed. As she spoke with me about the altar, the normally

self-assured Marielena had downcast eyes and apologized for her part in the de-centering of Christ from the church. She offered a defense explaining this is how they have always celebrated the feast of Christ the Savior of the World in El Salvador. As seen in this vignette, with changes in leadership comes the potential for changes to many aspects of community life within a parish.

Another example of the conflict that can arise from the arrival of a new Pastor is the debate over the cost of music at the eight Sunday Mass services and the three daily services. A common refrain within Catholic and other Christian faiths is “singing is like praying double.” At St. Catherine’s each Sunday Mass has its own musical group leading the congregation in song throughout the hour-long mass. While parishioners lead some of these groups, others are hired to come and perform. The 12:30 pm Sunday Mass is accompanied by Mariachi band to sing songs in this traditional Mexican style. This band of about nine musicians is paid roughly \$1,000 a week to perform at this one service¹⁶. Upon his arrival, the new Pastor informed the community that he did not like the idea of paying for music and was looking for ways to transfer musical duties to parishioners or to hire a single musical coordinator to oversee all services. Before this, many of the parishioners with whom I had spoken said that the 12:30 Mass, with its mariachi music was their preferred Mass. It drew many Mexican-origin parishioners who were more frustrated with the potential for changing their tradition than the cost of the musicians. Music, in addition to being like praying twice, also serves as a cultural conduit and an open acknowledgment of the large presence of Mexican-origin people who call St. Catherine’s their spiritual home in Los Angeles. This example demonstrates the potential for a change in policy and leadership to threaten the feeling of belonging that many have with the church.

¹⁶ For reference, the Sunday collection plate (reported in the weekly newsletter) indicates the church takes in between \$11,000-\$13,500 every Sunday from all nine Masses combined.

In Albuquerque, at the time of this fieldwork, the Pastor at Sacred Heart Catholic Church had only been there for one year. He had recently transferred from a parish on a nearby Navajo Reservation. He described the frequent transfer of priests from one parish to another as by design on the part of its leadership; it creates a sense of “itinerancy.” While this creates “its own difficulty,” it also prevents a priest from becoming overly connected or having too strong a sense of ownership over the parish. “It is not *my* parish, but God's parish,” he said. In his personal efforts to create ties of understanding between the Latino immigrant population in his parish and the native Hispano and Anglos, he says he has a limited amount of time to enact change. His goal is to begin the integration of church communities in the hopes that those who come after him continue these efforts and improve upon them. He hopes that the next Pastor will continue to pursue efforts to create bridges between the two communities that worship together.

The belonging that individuals feel in their parish is one that can be cultivated at the parish-wide level, or through one of the many subgroups that are affiliated with the parish. A change in policy from a new leader can challenge the sense of belonging experienced by parishioners. Some may choose just to wait out a Pastor whose approach or teaching with which they do not agree. The Salvadoran community at St. Catherine’s may decide to wait until their Pastor changes again before seeking to reinstate their traditional altars.

Challenge 2: Individual Rather Than Institutional Knowledge

A second fundamental challenge to the support of and services for undocumented Americans within these two Catholic parishes is the reliance on individual rather than institutional knowledge. This occurs in a seemingly equal form in both Albuquerque and Los Angeles.

In Los Angeles, one woman coordinates much of the social service provision and relationships with outside agencies and organizations. Serene is the Parish Social Service Director (and leader of the Social Justice Group). During meetings of the Social Justice Group, she routinely fields questions about eligibility for housing assistance, food stamps, and where to access affordable health care. Serene can rattle off this information without referencing a single book, binder, or website. Instead, her mind contains a near encyclopedic knowledge of the programs and services available to the members of her community, and eligibility requirements related to immigration status. Should Serene leave her position for any reason, much of this knowledge would go with her; it would take a replacement months to catch-up.

In Albuquerque, a similar phenomenon occurs. The referrals and relationships the parish has with outside organizations are based almost entirely on individual staff members and their networks. While church-based services – the food baskets and emergency bill pay – are all done in-house, the referrals to outside health providers, housing assistance, and housing shelters are built on the personal networks of various staff members within the office. When individual staff members leave, they take their contacts. New staff members would need to either bring in existing connections of their own or reestablish ties with service providers used by former staff.

Challenge 3: Limits of Working Within Church Hierarchy

The third challenge to the provision of services and support to the undocumented communities within the Catholic parishes of this study emerge from the limitations of operating within the strict hierarchy of the global Catholic Church.

This challenge came to the forefront notably in efforts to provide legal aid to church members in Los Angeles. As discussed above, St. Catherine's parish was limited in their ability

to provide legal assistance and education regarding the process for applying for citizenship or seeking legal advice. These checks are in place for the protection of the parish and parishioners and to limit the possibility of fraud by unscrupulous service providers. These checks also hamper service delivery. One member of St. Catherine's' Social Justice Group spoke vehemently about his disappointment in the three-month lag time between initial service provision and the promised follow-ups. In a meeting, he said that he is "tired of being dependent on the dioceses or outside groups to get these [N400 citizenship] forms filled out." He went on to argue that members of the group should be trained by the dioceses to allow the parish to provide these services on their own rather than wait for the dioceses, outside legal groups, and the parish to coordinate their calendars. This same man went on to explain his view of why this delay was bad for parishioners; "the parishioners are demanding, if we tell them a follow-up is coming they want it now, but the dioceses has been dragging their feet, " and everyone is upset.

At Sacred Heart in Albuquerque, Pastor Timothy said he worries about becoming too political and that he "must be careful with political entanglements" that could violate church regulations, in addition to upsetting some parishioners. Rules, regulations, and norms set further up the institutional hierarchy restrain Pastor Timothy's preaching and ventures.

Challenge 4: Institutional Inequality

In comparing the experiences of undocumented parishioners in Los Angeles and Albuquerque the challenges of institutional inequality become apparent. Institutional stratification, as explicated by Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad (2008), leads to individual stratification in political and civic engagement. The authors provide a three-part typology to analyze stratification among organizations, exploring the resources, presence, and weight of institutions to understand their ability to mobilize members into political and civic action. Using

this typology and comparing the two Catholic Parishes analyzed in this study provide insight into the relationship between organizational structure and outcomes related to political participation. Table 10 below compares the two parishes along the typologies proposed by Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad. For each category, I assigned the parish a rating of high, medium, or low based on my observations of the facility, data collected through parish publications, and interview and participation observation data. Overall, St. Catherine's in Los Angeles has more resources, presence, and weight than Sacred Heart. While both churches are located within low-income communities, the institutions themselves draw upon different levels of assets. St. Catherine's had high-quality infrastructure and space, a larger revenue source from weekly collections, and more full-time staff. Additionally, the number of lay leaders was much higher at St. Catherine's than at Sacred Heart, a reflection of the wide variety of groups and ministries that call St. Catherine's home. The presence of St. Catherine's was universally high, especially in comparison to Sacred Heart. The church's interaction with local political leaders influences both their presence and weight.

The institutional inequality between St. Catherine's in Los Angeles, and Sacred Heart in Albuquerque and the similar low levels of participation and engagement among Albuquerque churchgoers supports Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad's stratification model of participation. With stratified institutions comes stratified engagement and collective action (2008). In this study, the Albuquerque research site had a more hostile context of reception, including emotional geographies, and a comparatively weaker institution, which together led to lower levels of political participation among their members.

Table 10: Institutional Stratification

		<i>St. Catherine's Los Angeles</i>	<i>Sacred Heart Albuquerque</i>
<i>RESOURCES</i>	<i>Budget</i>	Medium	Low
	<i>Personnel</i>	Medium/High	Medium
	<i>Space & Equipment</i>	High	Low
<i>PRESENCE</i>	<i>Visibility & Recognition</i>	High	Low
	<i>Isolation or Connection</i>	High	Medium
	<i>State Legitimacy</i>	High	Medium/Low
<i>WEIGHT</i>	<i>Advance interest in civic realm</i>	Medium/High	Medium
	<i>Influence resource allocation</i>	Medium/High	Low
	<i>Influence civic projects</i>	High	Low
	<i>Overall Rating</i>	High	Low/Medium

These challenges have the potential to weaken efforts on behalf of the dedicated staff and members of these Catholic parishes to provide services and support for their undocumented members. While some of these issues are not unique to Catholic Churches or religious institutions, they create roadblocks for lasting, unwavering support of members and the fostering of political participation among undocumented Catholics. For people like Marielena who apologized for her faith tradition or those who chose to use a third party to finish their N400 citizenship application form, the institutional structure created roadblocks to their engagement with the Catholic Church in Los Angeles. Without engagement in the church, the potential for political participation through the church is lost.

SUMMARY

The key findings this chapter presented are depicted visually in Figure 14. In it, the everyday experience of deportation fear and the geographies of fear that policy, practice, and the double helix of deportation fear create are at the top, influencing the emotional context within which all subsequent action occurs – and indeed in which the lives of undocumented Americans play out. However, through engagement in a church, represented visually by the roofline with a cross, a legal identity can be replaced with a spiritual one as a sense of belonging, membership, and faith change undocumented Americans into ‘brothers and sisters in Christ.’ Also under the aegis of the church are the social service provisions that undocumented communities utilize, along with others, which improve the quality of life while also strengthening a sense of belonging. Institutional stratification or inequality among and across institutions bound the potential for institutions to provide these services and foster a sense of belonging (in Figure 14, the parallel lines of different weights that replicate the pitch of a church roofline, represent institutional inequality). With this sense of spiritual belonging and membership, opportunities to participate in politics are filtered through the church. Through engaging at the church, immigrants gain legitimacy and cover further encouraging and facilitating their political participation. Civic and political collaborations with church groups and individuals then occur and further the opportunity for undocumented Americans to participate in American politics.

Figure 14: Visualization of Findings



CONCLUSION

This chapter has systematically presented data and evidence to support five key findings. Together these findings tell a story of the potential for political participation through one of the country's largest religious institutions – the Catholic Church. This chapter as laid out an argument that while fear shapes daily life for many individuals in the undocumented community, through church participation, there is potential to replace fear with a sense of belonging that individuals and institutions can parlay into politicization. Participation in political activities by undocumented Americans is possible, as demonstrated by the experience of undocumented Catholics in Los Angeles' St. Catherine's Church. Through a sense of institutional, place-based belonging, identity surpasses legal constraints to become a spiritual belonging. The institution

supports this feeling of belonging through service provision as well as the recognition and celebration of different cultural practices. At the same time, local political groups and individuals recognize the church and its members as legitimate, key stakeholders in local politics.

In the next chapter, I examine how these findings help develop a theory of political participation of undocumented American but also highlight the limitations related to the context that helps to explain the substantially lower rates of politicization in Albuquerque.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS & SYNTHESIS

Undocumented Americans at St. Catherine's Catholic Church in Los Angeles engaged in political activities ranging from voter registration drives to discussions with local political leaders. For example, the community was closely involved with Los Angeles City Council District One events and engaged in their political activities. The large co-ethnic Latino immigrant community, a supportive local policy environment, and a less hostile geography of fear supported political participation among undocumented parishioners at St. Catherine's. However, Albuquerque's context of heightened deportation fear and fraught geographies of fear suppressed participation for undocumented Americans at Sacred Heart Catholic Church. At Sacred Heart, undocumented Americans worshiped on Sundays but avoided further organizational participation with the one exception of the Friday Night Prayer Group – a group designed by and for new arrivals to Albuquerque from Mexico and Central America. Sacred heart church members did not engage with political issues, leaders, or events.

The difference in levels of deportation fear and political participation between the two cases suggests that contextual and institutional inequality shape opportunities to participate in political action within these religious institutions. Further, the processes of political engagement within the St. Catherine's community speaks to the need to reconsider the components of Verba, Schlozman, and Brady's (1995) participation enhancing factors; factors that I have dubbed the means, motive, and opportunity. Definitions of the participation enhancing factors should be updated to reflect the nature of undocumented political participation seen in this study. While a study of this nature does not indicate causality, it does suggest that under specific conditions

political participation among undocumented Americans is possible and may be facilitated through a sense of membership or belonging in geographies of reduced deportation fear.

This chapter presents a critical analysis of the findings and confirms the significance of the conceptual framework presented in Chapter Two; a framework that highlights the role of contextual factors and institutions in countering geographies of fear. In this chapter, I begin with a reexamination of the conceptual framework, updating it to reflect the forms and conditions of participation among undocumented Americans observed in this study. The second part of this chapter reviews the role of the contextual factors (the government, societal, and co-ethnic reception and emotional geographies) shaping immigrant experiences and political participation in each city. Finally, I return to Verba, Schlozman, and Brady's (1995) participation enhancing factors: means, motives, and opportunities. I discuss the need to redefine these factors based on the conditions that led to participation in Los Angeles but not in Albuquerque.

REEVALUATING THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The contextual framework, originally presented in Chapter 2, is updated in Figure 15 to reflect the findings of this research project. This image represents the likelihood of political participation by undocumented Americans as a variable mediated through institutions that operate within broader local contextual factors including governmental reception, co-ethnic group size, societal reception, and the unique traits related to the Trump era. These factors, except for trumpism, are part of the segmented assimilation theory's contextual factors that shape immigrant modes of incorporation (assimilation outcomes). As each of these three factors change, so too does the incorporation prospects for immigrant groups (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Traditionally scholars considered context on the national scale (see Bloemraad, 2006; Portes &

Rumbaut, 1996; Portes & Zhou, 1993), yet these contextual factors can be locally influenced, shaping immigrant experiences at municipal levels (Stepick & Dutton-Stepcik, 2009). Within this context individuals and institutions engage, or not, in politics. Based on studies of emotional geographies and their relationship to deportation fear, I added the emotional geography category to show the role of geographies of fear in shaping the quotidian lives of undocumented Americans and their experience of political participation.

The conceptual framework highlighted that individuals have a higher likelihood of participation when engaged with institutions (Jones-Correa, 2005; Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Individuals within institutions are distinct and their personal traits, including characteristics associated with their migration such as age at migration and political participation in the country of origin, influence their likelihood of participation (Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001; Verba et al., 1995). Through an institutional provision of means, motive, and opportunity, and spaces of reduced deportation fear, individuals can increase their likelihood of participation. While the means, motive, and opportunity are derived from Verba et. al., the migration-specific variables are from Jones-Correa and Leal (2001). I also include the variables of deportation fear and geographies of fear based on studies on emotional geography (see Pain and Smith 2008) and the importance of belonging among undocumented Americans (see Gonzales 2015; Ocampo, 2015).

My research suggests that engagement with religious institutions is associated with the participation of undocumented Americans by providing immigrants with a sense of belonging and legitimacy. Based on the findings of this study, the conceptual framework can be modified, reflecting the role of contextual differences and institutional inequality in explaining differential

levels of participation; the role of belonging and identity among individuals; and institutional provision of legitimacy and cover in political participation.

Figure 15: Reconsidering Conceptual Framework

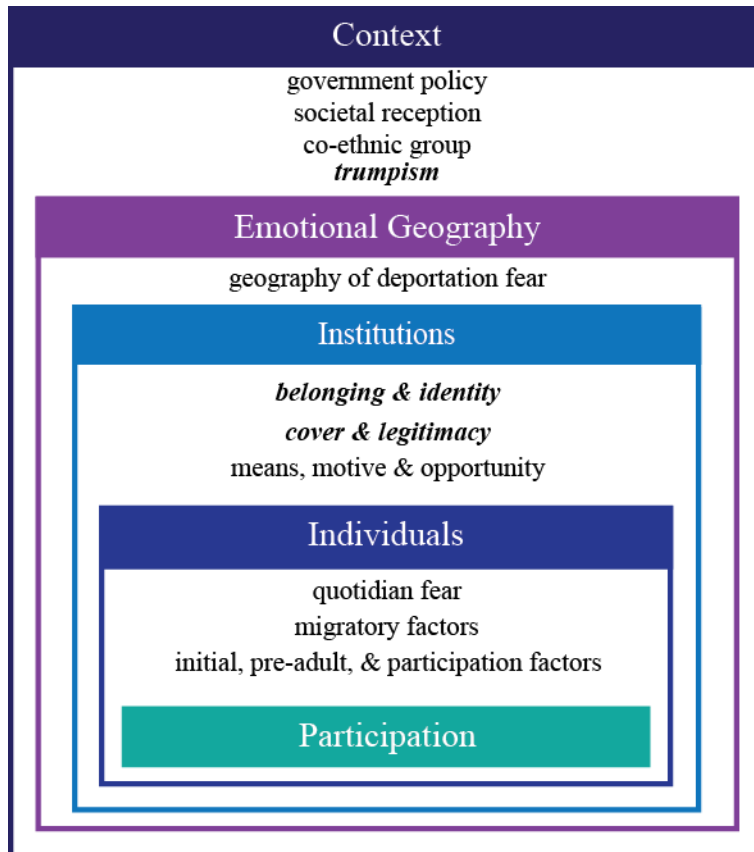


Figure 15 includes a modified conceptual framework based on the findings of this study. In bold are the three new variables to consider in predicting undocumented American political participation. These variables include the unique role of national political rhetoric and policy related to President Trump, the role of identity and belonging in fueling participation, and the provision of cover and legitimacy that enhance opportunities to participate. In the framework presented in Figure 15, contextual factors shape the environments within which individuals and institutions included in this study live. These include the traditional role of government, societal,

and co-ethnic reception (including the uniqueness of the 2016 Presidential Election context), and the geography of deportation fear which proved to be especially salient in Albuquerque.

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

Underscoring the findings presented in the previous chapter are the vastly different contexts in which the two parishes are located and, consequently, their influence on the quotidian experiences of undocumented church members. Political participation was notably higher in the Los Angeles case than in the Albuquerque case. Even though the fear of deportation was prevalent in both cases, it was a larger part of daily life in Albuquerque and, therefore, likely associated with the lower participation rates of undocumented Americans at this site compared to Los Angeles. While the Los Angeles undocumented community saw the church as a refuge and site of service provision, the Albuquerque staff had difficulty identifying undocumented parishioners let alone engaging them in services and faith groups. The difference in degree reflects the conceptual framework presented above that shows context as a determinant of political participation.

From a critical review of the literature, this framework proposed that context, which includes traditional contextual factors of government policies, co-ethnic group traits, societal reception (Alejandro Portes & Rumbaut, 1996), and the addition of emotional geographies, shape political participation. The selection of a most-likely and less-likely case for study in this project lent itself to an analysis of this context on participation among undocumented Americans.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the government, social, and co-ethnic contexts in Albuquerque and Los Angeles are distinct and lend themselves to comparative analysis on their effect on political participation. Unknown until my fieldwork was the variation of emotional geographies

between the two cases. In the following paragraphs, I review each component of contexts of reception: the political and governmental contexts, the social and co-ethnic community contexts, and finally the contexts of emotional geographies.

Political & Governmental Context

While federal policies of immigration and immigrant legality are the same in both Los Angeles and Albuquerque, subnational political and governmental receptions are distinct in these two cases. Both cities have mostly receptive policies and political dialogues on immigrants and undocumented immigration. Although the mayors of Los Angeles and Albuquerque have different approaches, both have made statements in support of undocumented communities and questioned immigration law enforcement through local police forces (James, 2016; Southern California Public Radio, 2016). However, there is significant variety at the state level.

At the statewide level, Governor Brown in California is mostly supportive, through speech and action, of undocumented Californians while New Mexico's Governor Martinez is prone to demonizing undocumented New Mexicans (Garcia, 2016; Santos, 2013). An example is each state's debate on the issuance of driver's licenses to undocumented residents. When signing a 2013 law granting driver's licenses to undocumented Californians, Governor Brown said, "No longer are undocumented people in the shadows. They are alive and well and respected in the State of California" (Calfeati, 2013). In the spring of 2016, Governor Martinez gained a victory in her battle against driver's licenses for undocumented New Mexicans signing into law a restriction on the number of undocumented people eligible for a driver's license. Upon signing the law, she said that the bill "ends the dangerous practice of giving driver's licenses to illegal immigrants, which had turned New Mexico into a magnet for fraud from all over the world" (Garcia, 2016). Governor Martinez had made the driver's license issue a cornerstone of her

election, promising the revocation of driver's licenses and using the issue to attack a number of state representatives facing reelection who opposed her position (Santos, 2013). Governor Martinez went on to encourage New Mexico police officers to "inquire about the immigration status of those arrested, a move described by one immigrant advocate as 'our mini SB1070' a reference to Arizona's restrictive immigration law" (Santos, 2013). The difference in the language used by each governor indicates fundamentally different attitudes toward immigrants without legal status and reflects a different context of governmental reception for undocumented residents of each state.

Ramakrishnan and Wong (2010) use partisan election results to gauge the likelihood of passing restrictive immigration policies at the municipal level. Using county-level data from the 2000 presidential election, they find that "cities in Republican areas are nearly twice as likely to propose restrictionist ordinances and more than twice as likely to pass such ordinances compared to Democratic areas." Their analysis indicates a difference in attitudes toward undocumented Americans between residents of Los Angeles and Albuquerque. Table 11 shows election results for both presidential and congressional races in Los Angeles County and Bernalillo County. Both states had strong Democratic wins, but the margin of victory in Los Angeles for Democratic candidates was much higher than in Bernalillo County. Notably, both counties show increasing democratic victory margins over time.¹⁷ Data on partisanship, previously shown to correlate to anti-immigrant policy environments, again indicate that the city of Los Angeles and Albuquerque are different in degree, but not in type – both cities are Democratic, but Los Angeles is much more so.

¹⁷ The data in this table are for the county-level presidential elections and the congressional districts that represent each parish. In New Mexico there are a total of three congressional districts, the first includes all of Albuquerque and its environs. Los Angeles County is home to 18 congressional districts. The 34th District includes the parish of St. Catherine's.

Table 11: Partisan Election Results by County & Congressional District

	<i>Los Angeles County</i>	<i>Bernalillo County</i>
<i>2000 Presidential Election</i>	63.5 % Gore (D) 32.4 % Bush (R)	48.7 % Gore (D) 46.6 % Bush (R)
<i>2008 Presidential Election</i>	69.2 % Obama (D) 28.8 % McCain (R)	59.9 % Obama (D) 38.8 % McCain (R)
<i>2016 Presidential Election</i>	72.0 % Clinton (D) 22.5 % Trump (R)	52.2 % Clinton (D) 34.5 % Trump (R)
<i>2000 Congressional Races</i>	72.0 % Clinton (D) 22.5 % Trump (R)	52.2 % Clinton (D) 34.5 % Trump (R)
<i>2008 Congressional Races</i>	71.3 % Napolitano (D) 22.5 % Canales (R)	56.1 % Heinrich (D) 43.9 % White (R)
<i>2016 Congressional Races</i>	84.6 % Becerra (D) 14.4 % Smith (R)	65.9 % Grisham (D) 34.0 % Priem (R)

Official election results from Los Angeles and Bernalillo County Registrar’s websites with the following exceptions: *Data from Leip 2016; **Data from U.S. House of Representatives (Representatives, 2017); ***(Data from Ballotpedia 2017)

State level political climates and governmental receptions vary dramatically, with California elected leaders aiming to increase opportunities and protection for undocumented Americans and New Mexican elected officials seeking to restrict and roll back existing programs and services. At the local level, it is a difference in magnitude with Los Angeles County electing Democrats by greater margins than in Bernalillo County, an indicator of political receptiveness to immigrants (Ramakrishnan & Wong, 2010).

Considering the political and governmental context of reception for Mexican and Central American immigrants as a spectrum from hostile to receptive, both Albuquerque and Los Angeles fall on the receptive side, but Los Angeles is closer to the receptive pole than is Albuquerque. This is due to: (1) the negative state level policies pushing the city further towards the hostile pole, (2) the degree of Democratic party support in election results for each area, and (3) the open declaration of sanctuary status by Angeleno political representatives. Together these

factors influenced participants in this study. As Mark in Los Angeles explained, he does not fear living in the city because, like the church, the entire city provides sanctuary to foreigners. The pro-immigrant council representative, Mr. Cedillo of Los Angeles, supported immigrant organizing taking place at St. Catherine's. Together Mr. Cedillo and the church created opportunities for undocumented church members to engage in city politics through events hosted at the church. Despite efforts to make Albuquerque welcoming to undocumented Americans, state level political rhetoric and action retarded this effort; the reverse was true in Los Angeles. As such, the political contexts in Los Angeles favored undocumented political participation more so than the political contexts in Albuquerque.

Social Context

Social indicators of a context of reception include general prejudice and discrimination toward the immigrant group by the receiving society. While both cities are minority majority cities, Albuquerque's large Hispano-identifying community is culturally and socially distinct from newly arrived first and second generation Latinos from Mexico and Central America. New Mexico's majority minority standing is unique in the American context and distinct from California's. A result of centuries of low in-migration and deep roots traced back to the Spanish Empire in the Americas, New Mexico's Hispano identity stands unique among American ethnic groups (Gutiérrez, 2010; Valenzuela & Erickson, 2015). In discussions with individuals at Sacred Heart Church, I bore witness to this; a priest proudly declared that as the son of a Hispano woman who traces her roots to Spanish settlers claiming that "we didn't cross the border, the border crossed us." Similarly, a Hispano parishioner proudly declared that his neighborhood is part of the original Spanish land grant and his family is part of that history.

California's massive in-migration beginning with the gold rush bringing white-Americans west and a subsequent century of immigration from Latin America, Asia, and the globe coupled with migration of Southern blacks to the West soon diversified and overwhelmed the native Californio presence, those who date back to Spanish colonization of the area (Gutiérrez, 2010). California's diversity results from decades of immigrants and their descendants rather than Spanish colonization.

The Spanish crown founded the Kingdom of New Mexico in 1598 over 20 years before Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock but Las Californias would not be settled by the Spanish until much later in the 18th century (Gutiérrez, 2010). While the settlers of New Mexico came from present day Mexico (then New Spain) whose seat of power was in the Valley of Mexico (home to Mexico City) for centuries these people in New Mexico have identified as Hispano rather than Mexican (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987). Hispanos, faced with little in-migration for centuries and physical isolation from national seats of power, first in Mexico City, then in Washington, D.C., and surrounded by "hostile" Native American tribes maintained a homegrown presence in the region (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987). While in California, the Californios were "quickly outnumbered" by Anglo settlers and Mexican migrants, in New Mexico it was not until after World War I that ethnic boundaries began to change with the arrival of Mexican people in the state (Gutiérrez, 2010).

In New Mexico, Hispanos differentiated and distanced themselves from Mexican immigrants identifying as Spaniards or Spanish Americans, "some went so far as to claim that they were the direct descendants of conquistadores who colonized the region in 1598 and that over the centuries they had maintained their bloodlines free of any taint with inferior races. Of course, this was more fiction than fact" (Gutiérrez, 2010, pp. 343-344). This retelling of history

as a racially and ethnically pure Spanish presence ignores that indigenous people from Central Mexico built Santa Fe's first church the early 17th century and that these builders stayed in the area and became part of the Hispano population (Gutiérrez, 2010). Further, most settlers themselves were mestizos from central Mexico and "few if any, after three hundred years of miscegenation could claim 'pure' Spanish ancestry" (Gutiérrez, 2010, p. 344; Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987). Gomez (2007) argues that the adherence to pure Spanish identity is the result of centuries of racism against ethnic Mexicans so that rather than exceptional from other Southwestern states, New Mexico is an extreme case. Whatever the history was leading up to it, identifying as Spanish or Hispano "served primarily to avoid being called Mexican" (Gutiérrez, 2010).

Today's social, ethnic, and racial make-up of New Mexico is reflective of the centuries of Hispano presence, recently augmented with the migration of Latinos from Mexico. The desire to create social distance from the racialized Mexican-origin people persists, as do claims of Spanish purity. While statistically New Mexico appears to have a large co-ethnic community, the reality is division and racism within the census created category of 'Hispanic.' This tension was seen in Sacred Heart as Hispano churchgoers felt ownership over Spanish language masses and expressed hesitancy about too much Latino influence through adaptation of cultural traditions and religious practices. In California, the diversity of people and the more immigrant, Latino composition of those the census identifies as "Hispanic" operates as more of a co-ethnic community for new arrivals than the "Hispanics" of New Mexico. While prejudice exists in both settings, the strength of the co-ethnic community in Los Angeles, discussed below, operates as a buffer for new arrivals – something not as readily available to New Mexico's Latino immigrant population.

If considering the societal reception of undocumented Americans as a spectrum from hostile to receptive, Los Angeles is again closer to the receptive pole than is Albuquerque. This more receptive societal reception favors political participation among undocumented Americans in Los Angeles. In Albuquerque, the large presence of Hispanos, and the long tradition of hyper-racism against Mexicans (Gomez, 2007) created a social hierarchy that actively pushes new Latino immigrants below Hispano, native-white, and other racial and ethnic groups in the state. While Los Angeles is not free from anti-Mexican racism and social hierarchies, the power of the Hispano community in Albuquerque and the historic anti-immigrant attitudes of Hispanos mean that undocumented Latinos in Albuquerque face a more hostile local reception. In the city of Los Angeles, more than 1 in 3 people are immigrants (38 percent according to the ACS 2015 5-year estimates). The sheer rate of foreign-born people in the city means that there are more receptive societal attitudes towards immigrant arrivals. This supportive societal context of reception creates additional opportunities for political participation among undocumented Americans in Los Angeles. Public meetings, agency information, and outreach efforts are frequently multi-lingual; and there are relatively few public displays of anti-immigrant sentiment in the city of Los Angeles' major media outlets or from public figures.

Co-Ethnic Context

A striking contextual difference between Los Angeles and Albuquerque is the composition of the immigrant co-ethnic community (see Table 6). While the immediate area around Sacred Heart Church in Albuquerque (defined as ZIP code) is substantially higher in foreign-born populations than the city and county, they still pale in comparison to the percent foreign born in St. Catherine's neighborhood (also defined as ZIP code) – 16.5 percent and 60.1 percent, respectively (ACS 2015, 5-Year estimates). While St. Catherine's neighborhood is more

diverse than Sacred Heart's, Albuquerque's South Valley foreign-born population is more likely to be from Mexico and Central America. In Los Angeles, only four percent of the neighborhood identifies as non-Hispanic White, while in Albuquerque 14.2 percent do – indicating the overall diversity of the Los Angeles case compared to the white/Hispanic dichotomy in Albuquerque (using census data we cannot easily separate out Latino and Hispano presence in Albuquerque).

The length of residency of each foreign-born community and Los Angeles' historic immigrant-receiving communities mean there are large co-ethnic networks, institutions of support, and governmental recognition of these communities. While in Albuquerque the neighborhood's foreign-born population is only recently growing, as a historically weak economy has long made it an unattractive destination for immigrants. The percent change in foreign-born populations since 2000 shows the dramatic change to historically low immigration rates to New Mexico. In Albuquerque, the neighborhood has increased by 44 percent in 15 years, while in Los Angeles it has declined by 10 percent in the same time period. Los Angeles still had 45 percentage points higher foreign born population rates than Albuquerque indicating that the starting points are dramatically different and that the 44 percent growth in Albuquerque is reflective of a rapid recent growth of a small community.

The smaller co-ethnic communities of Mexican and Central American immigrants of all statuses in New Mexico also lessened the buffer of support these communities provide relative to Los Angeles (Light, 2006). Data collected in the field reflect the high levels of fear in Albuquerque, where priests struggled to reach out to undocumented communities, people hesitated to register with the parish, and tensions frequently arose within the church between native-born Hispanos and foreign-born Latinos. Without the protection or buffer of the co-ethnic community in Albuquerque, fear prevented church and political participation. In Los Angeles,

the opposite is true; large co-ethnic communities provided a buffer while individuals engaged with the church and political activities.

Emotional Geographic Context

Finally, there were distinct differences in the geographies of fear that shaped the contexts of reception in these two sites. The experience and politicization of undocumented parishioners varied between the communities of St. Catherine's in Los Angeles and Sacred Heart in Albuquerque. The unique context of receptions in each city played a role in shaping the levels of engagement and politicization that took place within these religious institutions. While respondents in both cities cited fear as a significant factor in the daily lives of undocumented parishioners, in Albuquerque this fear was heightened, as was a sense of vulnerability and a related preference for remaining in the shadows. The variance in context likely resulted in varied levels of both participation and the suppression of participation.

The double helix of national fear and everyday risk (see Figure 8) are location based. The national threat remains constant across the country while the everyday experience and reinforcement of risk, varies by locale. The linkages of these two strands are also locally forged, through local events like raids and panics. A key distinction between the two sites was the role of local police in the reinforcement of the double helix of deportation fear. As discussed previously, the policy of non-compliance with immigration authorities by the Los Angeles Police Department created a sense of safety and security among St. Catherine's parishioners. No such sentiment of security from the police existed among Sacred Heart parishioners in Albuquerque. No one I spoke with in Albuquerque indicated a sense of safety with the police, possibly to a New Mexico state law from 2005 that requires police to check immigration status for people arrested and comply with ICE detainer requests (Mckay, 2017). Further complicating the

relationship and reinforcing the threat is the presence of Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents who operate out of local New Mexican jails verifying the immigration status of all inmates (Mckay, 2017).

Both cities and counties had an ever-changing and complicated relationship with immigration officials. While federal authorities have the power to operate independently and without local approval, cities struggled to find a balance between security and protection of their communities while enforcing immigration laws, cooperating with ICE detainer requests, or running fingerprints through federal databases. This also continues in an increasing politicized and anti-immigrant climate during the early days of the Trump administration.

Varying levels of deportation fear seen in each research site demonstrate the different emotional geographies. In Albuquerque priests and church leaders had difficulty reaching out to undocumented people. Fear was so great people chose not to register with the church, bringing their life in the shadows into the church. They worshiped in the shadows. Alternatively, undocumented Los Angeles parishioners joined the church, engaged with various groups, and adapted a spiritual identity and sense of belonging. As discussed below, this difference in emotional experience had significant implications for levels of political participation.

MEANS, MOTIVE, AND OPPORTUNITY REVISITED

Means, motives, and opportunities for political participation are rooted in structures of inequality and racism, but engagement with institutions can change this, making up for structural and individual inequalities (Verba et al., 1995). Compared to other nations with strong labor and working class political parties that engage and mobilize communities, it is likely that "religious institutions in America partially compensate...and play a role in bringing into politics those who

might not otherwise be involved” (Verba et al., 1995, p. 385). Beyond filling in the mobilization gap, religious institutions also play a significant role in this process as they have a “powerful potential for enhancing the political resources available to citizens who would, otherwise, be resource poor” (Verba et al., 1995, p. 320). Although the means, motive, and opportunity are rooted in structures of inequality and racism, religious institutional engagement can make up for structural and individual inequalities. While Verba and co-authors find this potential less powerful among U.S. Latinos, especially in comparison with African Americans, others argue that among foreign-born Latinos, Catholic Churches do fill this role (Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001). The findings from this dissertation further support Jones-Correa and Leal's finding that engagement at Catholic Churches may politically activate foreign-born Latinos.

Participation in religious institutions has a strong positive relationship with being recruited into political activity and the acquisition of civic skills and, therefore, positively influences the likelihood of participation (Verba et al., 1995). For undocumented Latino immigrants whose primary associational ties are through the Catholic Church (Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001), these sites are ideal for studying the mechanisms within these institutions that facilitate the transfer of skills, the acquisition of motivations, and the provision of opportunities to participate politically for undocumented communities. Based on the findings reviewed in the previous chapter, models of participation should be reconsidered in light of the specific participation influences among undocumented Americans.

In Verba, Schlozman, and Brady's model, recreated in Figure 2, we see that religious attendance and organizational affiliation in Step 2 predict participation factors which include: family income, free time, civic skills, vocabulary, political interest, and political information. In short, engaging with an institution increases the capacity or means of individuals to participate

while also acquiring political interest and information that create the motivation to participate. Finally, at these institutions, recruitment and the provision of opportunity to participate are likely to occur. Therefore, these factors should be reevaluated based on the experiences of St. Catherine's and Sacred Heart church members. In the following paragraphs, I individually evaluate the political participation enhancing factors of means, motives, and opportunities in light of this dissertation's findings.

Means

To participate in political activities, one needs the capacity to do so, "the resources that provide the wherewithal to participate" (Verba et al., 1995, p. 3). Through engagement in religious institutions and other non-political organizations, individuals increase their attainment of what Verba, Schlozman, and Brady call participation factors of which time, money, and skills are proven to be causally prior to participation and derived from institutional and organizational involvement such as churches (Verba et al., 1995, p. 365). For church members of St. Catherine's and Sacred Heart, participation at their respective church did not directly impact time or money, but participation for some at St. Catherine's increased civic skills and political information. Information ranged from voter guides on issues of corporal punishment and abortion to meetings and interactions with local elected leaders. This was the case following major changes to the status of undocumented people, first after the rollout of California drivers' licenses when the church provided information on eligibility and enrollment procedures, and later during DACA applications that were reviewed and applied for at church events at St. Catherine's. To put on such events required coordination and interaction with local government agencies and falls within Verba, Schlozman, and Brady's (1995) typology of political activity that includes "informal community work" (p. 48). Skill development included training on how to

report infrastructure and public maintenance issues to appropriate city agencies and information on their elected representatives and how to access them.

The case of undocumented church members at St. Catherine's suggest that additional capacity considerations should be incorporated into theories of participation, namely participation-suppressing factors such as deportation fear. While an individual's initial characteristics, pre-adult experiences, and institutional involvement may predict participation factors and subsequently participation, other social and structural factors may discourage or suppress participation. Racial threats of fear have a noted history in the United States to discourage voter turnout (Salamon & Evera, 1973), and models of participation should be expanded to include the threat of deportation in restricting and suppressing participation. Conversely, the absence or reduction of threat and fear is a factor that is likely to facilitate participation among undocumented Americans, members of mixed-status households, and others of precarious legal standing.

In the case of undocumented American political participation, the means to participate should include the reduction of deportation fear, the related provision of security, and the fostering of a non-legal identity. Fear is a chronic emotional experience for many undocumented Americans for which stepping out of line, making oneself visible, or noticed increases the fear and anxiety of deportation and family separation. As Ricardo of Albuquerque explained, he "lived with fear...this fear of being found out, this fear of 'am I going to expose my family.'" Undocumented Americans must overcome, assuage, or diminish the fear of exposure to facilitate political participation because participation necessitates stepping out of the shadows to speak with a political leader, write a letter, march in a protest, or attend meetings. This fear is not just individual fear but a familial fear – a fear that one's exposure or activities may threaten loved

ones. This fear of deportation must be overcome to facilitate undocumented participation and the political participation. At St. Catherine's, members of their Social Justice Group regularly referenced the confidence they had in the leader, Serene, to legitimize interaction and a belief that she had their best interest at heart and would not put them in a precarious situation with through interaction public officials or political actions.

As in the case of St. Catherine's, institutional engagement with the Catholic Church through parish organizations may counteract these suppressive forces through fostering a sense of belonging, the provision of institutional cover, and reduction of deportation fear during church-related activities. In light of this projects, findings models should consider an adjustment to address the specific characteristics and circumstances of undocumented residents of the United States and the set of variables that predict political participation.

Motives

The motivation to participate is a necessary condition in the United States where political participation is voluntary (Verba et al., 1995). In Verba, Schlozman and Brady's model, motivation combines the belief that change is possible and an individual's political interest in that change. The case of potential political participants in St Catherine's and Sacred Heart highlight the unique set of conditions undocumented Americans face in the motivation to participate: the feeling of belonging and the mitigation of deportation fear.

Differential levels of belonging, defined by Yuval-Davis as "about emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home' and...about feeling 'safe,'" help to elucidate the different levels of participation in Los Angeles and Albuquerque (2006, p. 197). To belong requires the feeling of being at home and feeling safe – two emotional states not expressed by undocumented and immigrants at Sacred Heart, Albuquerque. Even within the church buildings, people chose not to

out themselves as undocumented to their peers, staff, and clergy. Without a sense of security, belonging cannot follow; without belonging participation, which requires stepping out of the shadows, becomes increasingly difficult.

Yuval-Davis (2006) highlights a secondary component of belonging – the dynamic nature of it, where one's identity is ever-changing as is their identification by others. Both halves of this dichotomy are present in the Los Angeles but not Albuquerque case – belonging is both felt and recognized by others at St. Catherine's. Undocumented people are often made to feel invisible by the law, by societal receptions, and in self-normalizing processes of symbolic violence (Menjívar, 2006). However, identifying as a part of the church is a dual process where one asserts their membership and has it recognized by other parishioners, by church leaders, and clergy. Claims to sisterhood in Christ reinforced assertion and recognition of membership at St. Catherine's, unlike at Albuquerque where membership claims were built upon tenure of residency in the neighborhood. Membership identities are multiple and simultaneous – one is simultaneously a Catholic, a member of the global church, a member of St. Catherine's Parish, and a member of the 12:30 pm Mass community, while also having those identities recognized by others.

In a study of undocumented youth, Gonzales (2015) identifies place attachment as playing a role in the fostering of belonging. He identifies schools as sites that create a sense of membership and belonging because in childhood, “legality is not a prerequisite [for] participation. Children's central pursuits – school and playtime activities with friends – are not government by officially recognized citizenship statuses” (Gonzales, 2015, p. 67). This dissertation project points to a similar experience among undocumented adults who develop a strong attachment to place through church participation. Churches have the potential to create a

sense of place attachment, just as Gonzales shows that schools and neighborhoods do for children. Through the "accumulate(d) experiences through repeated exposure and interaction over a number of years," undocumented youth develop place attachment and place-based belonging. Adults at St. Catherine's mirrored this process as respondents like Mark proudly highlight their personal history at the church, showing their support for the church highlighting that he has been a member since before the structure burned down nearly twenty years ago.

This sense of belonging may also push against the erasure of personhood that the legal nonexistence of being undocumented can create (Menjívar, 2006). While belonging likely has implications far beyond political participation for undocumented Americans, this study strongly indicates that belonging is a precondition for participation. Logically this makes sense, as without belonging, feeling at home and safe, motivation to engage with politics is likely to be low.

Belonging suggests a sense that one's fate is tied not only to life in a country of origin but in the United States. This feeling of belonging is both an individual sentiment and one that destination communities and institutions can foster. As discussed in the preceding chapter, St. Catherine's and Sacred Heart worked to create a sense of belonging and shared peoplehood for undocumented members within their parishes. This was done in Albuquerque through the education of native- and foreign-born communities on the faith traditions of the others and the incorporation of these traditions into religious celebrations. In Los Angeles, a sense of belonging was fostered through the integration of foreign religious traditions, the provision of direct services, and outreach to immigrant communities through various ministries.

I conducted fieldwork during the contentious 2016 Presidential Election Campaign between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. This political environment played a major role in

heightening political interest and knowledge at both research sites. The threat of tighter immigration enforcement and increased deportations loomed large throughout the campaign and in the minds of parishioners at both Sacred Heart and St. Catherine's (this is discussed more fully in the concluding chapter). As seen following California's passage of restrictive immigration policies in 1994 with Proposition 187, this threat to immigrant communities may lead to increased political awareness, participation, and naturalization for those eligible (Pantoja & Segura, 2003). A sociopolitical threat may mobilize communities to political action, providing an external motivation for political participation.

Opportunities

In addition to imparting civic skills and motivations for participation, institutions provide networks of recruitment for political participation (Verba et al., 1995). Parishes and affiliated ministries at Sacred Heart and St. Catherine's reflected this role of churches as recruitment centers, they provided opportunities to ask parishioners to get involved in a variety of issues deemed important by the church such as abortion and capital punishment campaigns. I saw this at St. Catherine's as volunteers provided information leading up to a statewide vote on capital punishment and in Albuquerque as ministries offered prayerful reflections on the politics of the moment.

In considering the findings of this study, conceptions of opportunities created in religious institutions to facilitate the political participation of undocumented Americans should be expanded to reflect that some groups in the church function as de facto political interest groups. This was the case of the Social Justice Group at St. Catherine's, a group created in the early 2000s to combat violence in their community by bringing together their faith community and engaging local government and political agents. This group grew and became closely affiliated

with the political and civic group, the Pico-Union Neighborhood Council. Opportunity to participate was not just provided by recruiting from among churchgoers but the church created quasi-political groups to support political aims that aligned with their faith tradition.

Therefore, a final adaptation of Verba Schlozman and Brady's (1995) model suggested by this research project highlights that opportunities to participate may occur within and under the auspice of religious institutions. The opportunity, therefore, is not just about recruitment, or asks, at church but church groups are actively participating and engaging with politics and providing opportunities to participate politically through the church. Undocumented Americans equated the church with feelings of safety and legitimacy that can assuage feelings of deportation fear and threat and overcome the participation suppression these emotional experiences create. This emotional setting is fostered by overt efforts to create a sense of belonging and shared peoplehood among all church members, including those without legal status. The Catholic Church's history of providing political support and sanctuary for immigrant communities further creates a sense of safety among undocumented church members.

Churches, as individual parishes and collections of regional power like a diocese, hold legitimacy and sway in the eyes of elected political leaders. Politicians, political groups, and individuals may seek to engage with the public through churches as it facilitates engagement with large numbers easily and may foster a sense of goodwill. At St. Catherine's members of their councilmember's office regularly participated in events with the church, invited parishioners to meetings, and showed broad interest in and support for the church as a community.

In sum, the means, motives, and opportunities for political participation among undocumented Americans should include: the reduction of participation suppressing factors like

deportation fear; feelings of belonging and attachment through institutional engagement; and religious institutions provision of opportunities, legitimacy, and cover.

CONCLUSION

Participation within religious institutions, such as Catholic parishes, has the potential to provide the opportunity for undocumented residents to shed a legal identity and adopt a spiritual one. With some parishes operating as civic and political institutions, engaging with local power brokers and advocating for neighborhood improvements, the spiritual identity adopted within churches facilitates participation among undocumented churchgoers. This was the case at St. Catherine's in Los Angeles. The contextual forces shaping opportunities and emotional geographies limit the process of identity formation and participation in Albuquerque. Furthermore, the institutional inequality when comparing the massive St. Catherine's Parish in Los Angeles and the smaller parish of Sacred Heart in Albuquerque likely limits the ability of these opportunities to be created within the parish, as they lack similar levels of external legitimacy and internal resources.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

Through a comparative study of a Catholic Church in Los Angeles and Albuquerque, this dissertation presents findings on the political participation of undocumented Americans. Five key findings emerged from the study. First, deportation fear is an everyday experience in both Los Angeles and Albuquerque, but fear was greater in Albuquerque where there was a more hostile geography of fear and smaller co-ethnic community to provide cover and buffer. Secondly, through engagement with the Catholic Church, undocumented Americans may replace a legal status based identity with a spiritual identity - further separating deportation fears and deportability from church experiences. Third, these churches operate as both spiritual homes and sites of social service provision for immigrant and undocumented communities through the provision of food aid, financial assistance, and in some cases legal assistance. Fourth, undocumented Americans that engage with a Catholic Church may also engage in political participation not just through the acquisition of the means and motives but also through the creation of opportunities, cover, and legitimacy while fostering non-legal identities and a sense of belonging. Finally, while political participation was more common in the Los Angeles case than in Albuquerque, key challenges to the provision of services, support, and, therefore, participation are present in both in case-study cities..

These findings point to the ability to foster and support undocumented American's political participation through encouraging feelings of belonging and membership in institutions and broader communities. However, the noticeably lower levels of political participation and church engagement in Albuquerque compared to Los Angeles also highlights the role of contexts of reception, including geographies of fear, in shaping opportunity and political participation.

Geographies of fear, where the personal and political emotional experiences are shaped by topographies of inequality, shape quotidian experiences of legal status. Those with the privilege of legal status cross streets, boundaries, and borders with little difficulty, while those without status are othered, made vulnerable, and policed in and across space.

I draw two key conclusions from the findings of this research project. I present and review both of them below, below pointing to their academic and planning practice implications. Before concluding, I discuss the unique role of the Trump campaign and Administration in shaping the experiences of undocumented Americans in this study. I discuss the role of rhetoric in impacting both deportation fear and political knowledge before a discussion of urban planning's potential to shape immigrant experiences during the Trump era.

DEPORTATION FEAR & ITS GEOGRAPHY

Undocumented Catholics in this study expressed a fear of deportation that is an everyday part of their life in the United States. Fear of deportation was in the mind of Juan as he crossed streets in Los Angeles, knowing that in addition to everything being different compared to his native San Salvador, jaywalking in the United States could put him in front of a judge, which could lead to inquiries into his legal status. In Albuquerque, deportation fear was so great priests had difficulty serving the community, getting undocumented people to do anything beyond Sunday Mass attendance. One deacon said he offers a warm smile in hopes of conveying a welcome and hopes eventually those undocumented Catholics will engage with the church more fully and with less fear.

The implications of quotidian deportation fear among hundreds and thousands of city residents are significant for planners and policy makers alike. Planning in democratic cities

requires input from the public. Still shaking off the dust of rational planning approaches that relied on expert planners and gave cities Model Cities programs and urban renewal, the profession has moved toward more inclusive, engaged, and just modes of action (Fainstein, 2000; Rocha, 1997). Much of current planning approaches rely on community members attending public forums and events (Dalton, Hoch, & So, 2000). The dynamic of fear should be considered in the outreach efforts of planners and policy makers. Meetings held at city offices with police visible may discourage people with fears of deportation from participating. Those seeking to engage undocumented communities in planning processes should seek out sites and institutions where these communities already engage. Partnerships with religious institutions may increase the quality of democratic planning processes. More fundamentally, planners must recognize those without legal status and the vote as members of the community, with points of view, opinions, and rights to shape their environment.

For academics, there is much to understand about the consequences of deportability on the millions of non-citizens living in the United States, from analyzing the quality of democratic institutions to understanding the non-labor market effects of deportability on everyday life. To date, most research on deportability and illegality has focused on labor markets (Bernhardt, Boushey, Dresser, & Tilly, 2008; Bernhardt et al., 2009; Sugimori, 2008) and educational outcomes (Gonzales, 2015). However, other avenues should be considered, including health and social service access and community engagement.

Context Matters

The findings of political participation in Los Angeles but not in Albuquerque underscore the role of contextual factors in shaping immigrant experiences in the United States. While in both cities, undocumented churchgoers were eligible and encouraged to seek social service

provision at the church, in Albuquerque undocumented believers were less inclined to engage with the church institution as parish staff struggled to get individuals to enroll in the church. Church enrollment served not only as a measure of belonging in Los Angeles but as a way of offering support and documentation of a life frequently lived off the books.

The literature on immigrant experiences and assimilation have long pointed to contextual factors in immigrant outcomes, Portes and Zhou (1993) introduced a national level contextual framework for understanding the relationship between groups and the destination society – governmental policy, societal reception, and co-ethnic community. Bloemraad (2006) used this framework to compare the United States and Canada’s naturalization rates, and Stepick and Dutton-Stepick (2009) pushed the level of analysis from national factors to local factors in a comparison of Miami’s context of reception for Haitians and Cubans. This dissertation project supports the role of local contextual factors in shaping opportunities and outcomes. The significantly smaller co-ethnic community in Albuquerque compared to Los Angeles provides a smaller support system, smaller buffer from the shocks of uprooting, and limited social capital. The government policy environment was also significantly different in both settings, with Los Angeles and California leading causes for the promotion of immigrant rights and protection and a much more muddled story in Albuquerque. New Mexico is struggling to develop a solid a stance on immigrant rights as Governors push back and forth on policy and local leaders take less of a public stance in support of undocumented Americans. Social prejudices are also stronger in Albuquerque than in Los Angeles. In part, due to the size of the co-ethnic community with buffers and provides physical distance as the immediate neighborhood of St. Catherine’s, Los Angeles is 60 percent foreign born while Sacred Heart, Albuquerque is just over 16 percent foreign born. The tension between newly arrived Latino immigrant communities from Latin

America and Hispano residents of Albuquerque serve to further strain relationships and increase prejudice in Albuquerque.

A contextual factor not considered in the shaping of immigrant experiences by the literature is the role of emotional geographies – specifically the geographies of deportation fear. The topographies of inequality and fear in Albuquerque were more manifest than in Los Angeles. With sanctuary-city policies in effect, large co-ethnic communities to provide cover, undocumented Americans in Los Angeles seemed to experience geographies of deportation fear at a reduced level than their counterparts in Albuquerque. Several factors could contribute to this difference, including the contextual factors reviewed above. Also of significance is the sheer scale of urban Los Angeles relative to Albuquerque. The scale of urban buildup and population in Los Angeles provide cover, but also create their fear inducing sentiments. While pockets of Los Angeles provided protection and security, in Albuquerque no such setting existed, at least not in and around the church setting. These contextual factors limited both individuals and institutions. Individuals participated at reduced rates, and institutions were unable to minister to and serve undocumented communities as fear suppressed a willingness to engage.

This study confirms the implication of locally shaped contexts of reception. The research and practice implications of this finding are significant. Planners and policymakers should take heed of these contextual factors and consider their ability to mold them locally to foster supportive environments for undocumented Americans. Planners should consider the geographies of inequality, of power, and – for undocumented Americans – the geographies of deportation fear. Undocumented American's political participation and engagement with planning processes is more likely in settings where deportation fears are reduced. Furthermore, immigrant destination communities and institutions can foster the feelings of belonging seen

amongst undocumented Americans at St. Catherine's. Planners and policy makers have the power to shape contexts of receptions, reduce deportation fears, and foster a sense of belonging to local communities. Actions like the passage of sanctuary city policies and direct engagement with immigrant institutions may foster belonging and facilitate political participation among undocumented Americans.

The local nature of contexts of reception shaping immigrant experiences reaffirms earlier findings from Stepick and Dutton-Stepick (2009). It also opens the door to further inquiry to local forces and immigrant experiences. For planners and urban theorists, this may seem like an obvious conclusion, but it remains an understudied line of inquiry. With high variability on immigrant outcomes, more nuanced study of policy environments, opportunities for incorporation or participation, and empowerment should be considered. This includes cases like the Stepick and Dutton-Stepick (2009) model of two immigrant groups within one city and the same immigrant group in different cities. A deeper understanding and investigation into the geographies of deportation fear are also needed. Studies of deportation fear could include cognitive mapping projects and other innovative methodologies to understand the seemingly invisible borders, boundaries, and topographies of inequality.

CHURCHES, FEAR, & PARTICIPATION

This dissertation, taken along with Gonzales' (2015) identification of institutional place attachment, implies that feelings of belonging and membership within American intuitions may foster full inclusion into American politics and communities. In Catholic Churches, like in the case of public schools in Gonzales' ethnography, repeated contact with the institution fosters a sense of belonging and dampens concerns over deportability and deportation fears. A feeling of

belonging entails not only feeling at home but feeling safe (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Without security, belonging will not follow and without belonging political participation is unlikely. This, in part, explains the participation witnessed in Los Angeles where undocumented parishioners felt safe within the institution and a sense of belonging to the church while I did not witness such sentiments in Albuquerque. While feelings of belonging may be fueled by faith-based understandings of being united in a love for a single God – being brothers and sisters in Christ – it may also be fueled by programs of inclusion and incorporation at the church and engaged membership.

Importantly, in both sites, this sentiment of belonging was Janus-faced as it is both felt individually and acknowledged by others. Here again, the specific faith-based nature of belonging means that undocumented Americans identify as a sister in Christ and are recognized as such by other church members and people of faith. Undocumented parishioner belonging was officially recognized by parish authorities through church efforts to incorporate religious traditions, provide social services, and minister to immigrant communities.

It is possible that similar institutional feelings of belonging and community membership may be possible in non-church or school venues. Key to both of these sites is the fact that “legality is not a prerequisite” for participation (Gonzales, 2015, p. 67). We should explore other intuitions where people have both in-depth and repeated interaction where legality is not a prerequisite for participation. One consideration is a worker center, where predominantly immigrant workers engage in organizing, know-your-rights campaigns, and community development programs.

These sentiments of membership and belonging are significant not only in the push for political participation among undocumented Americans but as a push against the erasure of

personhood that legal violence brings. The denial of presence, access to services, and sanctioning of suffering is part and parcel of legal violence. Feeling a part of something and having that feeling externally recognized works to reclaim human dignity and value individuals beyond an evaluation of legal status.

Similar to the Janus nature of belonging is the duality of political power and participation. An individual's decision to participate in American political systems does not guarantee that their voice will carry any weight or that democratic institutions are open to new, non-traditional (read: non-white) participants. Just as local political seats of power had to be "clawed open" by people of color and civil rights movements, there is reason to doubt that halls of power are waiting and open for undocumented communities to participate (Browning, Marshall, & Tabb, 1986). Rather, the political participation and overcoming of deportation fear is an early step on the ladder to community empowerment. Following Roca's (1997) reframing of Arnstein's (1969) ladders of participation as a ladder of empowerment, undocumented political participation is like individualized and embedded participation where empowerment remains individualized or atomistic, not community wide political empowerment. While the normative goal of this study is to identify how individuals access these first rungs of empowerment, what I call political participation, the end goal is community empowerment. Only through community empowerment are weight and voice combined in political participation.

The implications for planning practice of institutional belonging facilitating political participation indicate that a traditionally difficult to reach population may be accessible through key institutions. If planners and policy makers seek to engage with undocumented Americans and communities, they should consider the use of key institutions to mediate participation. This requires identification of these institutions, the creating of relationships with key individuals

there, and a willingness to meet people where they are. In Los Angeles, staffers from Council District One's office modeled this approach through meeting attendance, co-sponsorship of events, and invitation of leaders to events. However, there are caveats to this approach; planners should be wary of the influence of institutional vision, oversight, and leadership on individual level participation. For example, individuals engaged through a Catholic Church event may not feel comfortable speaking in support of abortion rights in that setting and instead moderate their true feelings to accommodate to institutional norms and beliefs. Similarly, no single institution represents an entire community and engaging with one will not solve problems nor represent true participation and engagement. Multiple relationships should be sought out through a variety of institutions. City staff can support fledgling or smaller institutions through bringing events to them, building supportive relationships between the major leaders in both the city and the institution.

The conclusion that institutional belonging can assist in overcoming fears of deportation and foster political participation opens the potential for scholars and academics to consider how and if this occurs in other institutions. The findings and conceptual developments of this theory should be replicated and honed through additional study. This research would enable further theoretical development on how institutions can buffer, thwart, and change geographies of fear. Innovative methodological approaches could be used to engage in community mapping projects to visualize these geographies both individually and institutionally.

CAMPAIGN RHETORIC & FEAR

The 2016 election of President Donald J. Trump and the contentious campaign leading up to it pervaded the political and social context of Los Angeles, Albuquerque, and the nation

during the fieldwork and data analysis periods of this study. With immigration as a cornerstone of his campaign, Mr. Trump's policy proposals, his rhetoric, and the strong popular support he received from Republicans across the country weighed heavily on participants of this study. As Juan succinctly stated outside of St. Catherine's one afternoon, "depending on how politics go this year, everything can change for migrants." The stakes felt high for immigrant communities in both Los Angeles and Albuquerque and respondents expressed their fear and concern and uncertainty about their future in the United States, should Mr. Trump become President.

Mr. Trump created not waves but a tsunami of concern in immigrant communities from the early days of his campaign. His speech announcing his candidacy in June 2015 provided the vehicle for his most charged statements regarding immigrants when he claimed that, "when Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists" (Tobar, 2016). At the time, few took Mr. Trump or his candidacy seriously, but a year later at the Republican National Convention when Mr. Trump's nomination was formalized the party statements and speeches echoed his earlier charged language on immigration. *New York Times* commentator Hector Tobar described the opening of the convention proceedings thusly; "the Republican convention that began Monday in Cleveland with an hour of testimony about the innocent blood spilled by 'illegal aliens' only deepened the insult [to U.S. Latinos]. Each speaker served as an echo of the words Mr. Trump uttered a year ago when announcing his candidacy at Trump Tower in New York" (Tobar, 2016).

After calling Mexican immigrants in the United States criminals and rapists, Mr. Trump's policy platforms on immigration focused on deporting people and punishing cities that sought to protect them. Rejecting a more centrist approach to migration pushed for by moderates on both sides of the spectrum, like Mike Huckabee and Bill Richardson, Mr. Trump instead focused on

the crime undocumented Americans inflict on U.S. Citizen Americans. Mr. Trump said, "anyone who tells you that the core issue is the needs of those living here illegally has simply spent too much time in Washington" (Barbaro, Burns, Haberman, & Semple, 2016).

Mr. Trump's immigration policy proposals centered on deporting millions of undocumented Americans and then constructing a wall to keep them out permanently. While he once proposed deporting all of the estimated 11 million undocumented Americans, he later adjusted this figure downward to two million. Mr. Trump argued the two million accounts for those who commit a crime other than illegal presence, "Mr. Trump promised to achieve the whole package, including the deportation of more than two million immigrants, in 'a matter of months'" (Preston, 2016a). Mr. Trump pushed up the timeline for deportations of immigrants with criminal records saying, "Day 1, my first hour in office, those people are gone...you can call it whatever the hell you want...they're gone" (Preston, 2016a). To support these mass deportations, Mr. Trump proposed the creation of a special "deportation force" akin to President Eisenhower's 1954 Operation Wetback that used military like units to deport a million, mostly Mexican, immigrants (Preston, 2016b).

The second wing of Mr. Trump's immigration platform was to punish so-called sanctuary cities. As discussed in Chapter 2, sanctuary city is a loose term used to describe municipalities that refuse to participate in programs like the Department of Homeland Security's 287(g) and Secure Communities programs. Sanctuary cities also frequently refuse to comply with ICE detainer requests to hold undocumented Americans in jail beyond their original stay, giving ICE time to get to the facility and transfer them to a detention center. Mr. Trump promised to "cancel federal funding for cities that have curtailed their cooperation with federal immigration authorities" (Preston, 2016a). The specific flows of federal funding were never specified, but

speculation included public safety funds, infrastructure investments, and community development block grants.

Catching many political commentators off guard was the popularity of Mr. Trump's rhetoric on immigration (Preston, 2016b). With voters in the Republic primary, Mr. Trump's promises to "crackdown on illegal immigration and to restrict the flow of people from Muslim countries were enormously popular" (Preston, 2016c). Even more surprising was Mr. Trump's general election win, electing him to President of the United States, beating Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton. The campaign between these two was heated and often ugly. At one point, Mr. Trump mused on utilizing his proposed deportation force on his opponent saying, "Maybe they'll be able to deport her" (Barbaro et al., 2016).

Adding to the hyper anti-immigrant rhetoric was the wave of local action and unleashing of hostilities in communities across the nation. Energized and inspired by the rhetoric from Mr. Trump and his surrogates, hate crimes against immigrants, Muslims, and people of color rose dramatically (SPLC, 2017). In their annual census of hate groups, the Southern Poverty Law Center reported an increase in the number of hate groups to 917 in 2016, up from 892 in 2015. An editor of the report described 2016 as an "unprecedented year for hate" where we witnessed "a resurgence of white nationalism...along with the rise of a president whose policies reflect the values of white nationalists" (SPLC, 2017). Immediately following the election of Mr. Trump, SPLC identified 876 bias-related incidents, over 300 of which targeted immigrants or Muslims (SPLC, 2017). These acts reverberated across the country. In a survey of educators, 80 percent reported that the presidential campaign increased anxiety and fear among students, particularly immigrants, Muslim, and African Americans (SPLC, 2017).

Mr. Trump's repeated campaign promises to deport millions of undocumented Americans, punish pro-immigrant cities and counties, and construct a "great wall along the southern border" (Preston, 2016a), made 2016 a year of heightened political awareness and fear for participants in this study. This political context also formed part of the broader context within which individuals sought protection and belonging at churches and ways politics became part of the church-going experience.

At St. Catherine's, during a long Sunday afternoon on the benches outside the church, Mr. Trump was a common topic of discussion – as were the common refrains of "we must vote for Clinton" and "she has to win." As Juan said, everything was on the line for American immigrants in the 2016 presidential election. One sunny summer day I spoke with Mark and some of his friends about the political climate and their concern about changes to or bans on sanctuary cities like Los Angeles.¹⁸ Mark's friend chimed in with, "we have to vote for Clinton" the subtext being that if she did not win, Latino and immigrant lives would change dramatically. Members of St. Catherine's Social Justice Group expressed exasperation with Mr. Trump, his campaign, and his supporters. With a laugh or an eye roll, these Catholics dismissed the man and his positions. At the time, few believed it possible for him to win the election and become President. Latinos and immigrants, regardless of status, viewed a Trump presidency as a threat and result that would be fear inducing.

In Albuquerque, anti-trump sentiments were apparent from the pulpit and in gatherings. One Albuquerque priest dismissed Mr. Trump's presidential campaign and debates specifically, saying, "campaign debates are pornography." From the Sunday pulpit, a priest at Sacred Heart dismissed the candidate and the spectacle of the campaign season.

¹⁸ While never formally declared a Sanctuary City, the city of Los Angeles has repeatedly limited cooperation with federal immigration authorities.

During a fall visit to Sacred Heart in Albuquerque, the weekly Bible readings focused on the parable of the tax collector and the Pharisee – from the book of Luke, Chapter 8. The Pharisee goes to church and prays,

"God, I thank you that I am not like other men – robbers, evildoers, adulterers – or even like this tax collector. The tax collector stood off at a distance with downcast eyes and said, 'God have mercy on me, a sinner.'"

In the parable, Jesus tells his followers the humble tax collector will go to heaven because “all those who exalt themselves will be humbled and those who humble themselves will be exalted.” Priests and parishioners at Sacred Heart interpreted this parable as a metaphor for Mr. Trump, placing Mr. Trump as the boastful Pharisee and themselves as the humble tax collector. At a Friday night prayer meeting, Jaime a Mexican-born resident of Albuquerque's South Valley said this parable is like Trump who calls out the sins of others, who says bad things about Mexicans, but Jaime took comfort that Mr. Trump would be humbled as the Pharisee was in the bible story. Two days later at Sunday mass, a priest explained that when the Bible story said "God, I thank you that I am not like others" that is what we see in Mr. Trump's campaign, that he is not a prayerful Christian, but someone engaging in “self-aggrandizement or selfishness.” Without referring to Mr. Trump by name, Father Michael told the hundreds of people in attendance that Mr. Trump was a man not in compliance with Catholic interpretations of the Bible and that boastfulness and selfishness are not a Christian trait. Immigrant communities at Sacred Heart used Bible stories to buttress critiques of Mr. Trump and support, or even exalt, their position of limited power and humble lives.

Following the November 2016 election of President Trump moods at St. Catherine's in Los Angeles were low, and fear was high. I continued to collect data in both churches through January 15, 2017 – roughly two months following the election. The Sunday after Election Day,

on my way into the church I spoke with a parking attendant, a recently naturalized citizen after decades holding a temporary status. I asked him what would happen now. He looked at me and said, “hopefully everything turns out ok, because if it doesn’t...” he shrugged his shoulders and trailed off with a shake of his head. Uncertainty and fear for the worst were the emotional underpinnings of the exchange.

Inside the church the pastor, Father Frank used his sermon to comfort and allay fears that were almost tangible. Below is an excerpt of his sermon as recorded in my field notes:

This is a painful time, but the Church will never abandon you. We will always defend you. In 2000 years of the church there have been a lot of injustices...Raise your hand if you are afraid. [Most of the church raised their hand] Raise your hand if you don’t have papers. [about 75 people raised their hands] Why would you raise your hand? La Migra! [Laughter at this joke about life in the shadows]

In this country, there are unjust laws. But we are not of the Democratic or Republican party. We are the party of Christ... The church will not abandon you. Jesus will never abandon you...Christ will always protect you. If you believe in him, you have nothing to fear. Do not be afraid.

Following the sermon, the crowd gave a rousing round of applause. The strength of the church as an institution and the strength of individuals’ faith in a protective God were a comfort for parishioners in the days and weeks following the election. A Deacon at St. Catherine's said he is not worried about the implications of a Trump Presidency saying, "Everything will be ok. It will be like when Ronald Reagan was in power, and he passed that law [IRCA]. We will get all the Catholics and all the Christians together and push for this change. It’s in God’s hands.” Faith and institutional strength calmed the fears of many following the election.

The Trump Administration and Attorney General Jeff Sessions place border enforcement and security at the forefront of domestic policy concerns, vowing to deport criminal aliens and enforce border crossings. As Sessions said at a visit to the U.S. Border in April 2017, we are in “a new era. This is the Trump era” (Schatz, 2017). Echoing President’s Trump campaign

rhetoric, Sessions proclaimed that on the border is “where we first take our stand against this filth” (Schatz, 2017). The Presidential Administration's labeling of immigrants as "filth" and vowing to deport undocumented people from across the country does not bode well for respondents in this study. However, lessons from St. Catherine's and Sacred Heart point to ways to counteract this ratcheting up of deportation fear.

With much of immigrant experiences shaped locally through emotional geographies, government policy reception, societal reception, and the strength of a co-ethnic community, planners have key points of leverage to improve undocumented American experiences despite a national crackdown and openly racist rhetoric. As seen in Los Angeles, sanctuary style policies from city officials lessened deportation fears among some undocumented Angelenos. Individuals like Mark felt safer in Los Angeles because of the city's openly supportive policies towards undocumented Americans such as non-cooperation with immigration authorities and public statements of support and membership in the local polity. Other examples of city policies creating supportive government context of reception include Santa Ana, CA, where the city council is creating a legal defense fund for undocumented residents (Replogle, 2017), and the continued growth of municipal identification cards eligible to undocumented residents (Center for Popular Democracy, 2016). Both policies are aimed at the protection of undocumented residents while framing this population as part of the local community. Acts such as these boost a positive governmental reception while changing the emotional geography and spatial experience of deportation fear.

*

This dissertation aimed to understand under what conditions undocumented Americans set aside fear of deportation and engaged in American political processes. The findings

demonstrate that members of this community are engaging the political system, working to shape the future of their neighborhoods and communities for the better. This rejects the acceptance of life in the shadows for those without legal status and instead reframes undocumented people as Americans. Not Americans in waiting, but Americans at this moment. It rejects a continued othering of undocumented people in the academy and our national community.

Undocumented Americans are neither citizens in waiting nor temporary residents of U.S. cities. Instead, they are community members deserving of a say in the shaping the future of cities. The political engagement of undocumented Americans at St. Catherine's serves as a reminder that under the right circumstances this difficult to reach population can be engaged, can be moved up the ladder of citizen empowerment (Rocha, 1997). As cities continue to globalize, or "mongrelize" (Sandercock, 2003), reframing public engagement, public outreach, and defining who belongs to the public, will be challenges in cities across the country. Stories of land-use and zoning regulation to either open doors to new arrivals and new urban imaginings or to criminalize such adaptations are growing from case studies of communities across the country – Rios and Vazquez's (2012) collection *Dialogos* brings such stories from Anaheim, suburban Florida, and rural Texas to the academy. While not engaging directly with issues of immigration status, they nonetheless bring examples of planning with diversity in a globalizing America.

Planning with an eye to diversity is not just about remaining relevant in a global world but also about working toward a just city – a city that values participation and decision making by relatively powerless groups to increase equity (Fainstein, 2000; Sandercock, 2003). Part of this movement toward a just city must include the movement of people out of the shadows cast by deportation fear. But until these fears, the shadows cast by them, and the role of key

institutional actors in facilitating this process are understood; we risk leaving long shadows cast across our cities.

Appendix

A. Observation Guide

The following table was used to help guide observations during fieldwork in Albuquerque and Los Angeles. It is adapted from Whitehead (2006).

Fostering Undocumented Political Participation
Observational Guide

Area of Observation	Notes
The Actors , who is present	
The Space , where is this happening	
The Objects , how they are arranged	
The Time , hour, day, season	
The Goals , associated with gathering or individual actors	
The Emotions , of individuals and the group	
The Language , literal and figurative	
The Expressive Culture , music, song, dance, body language	
The Interactive Patterns, between actors	
The Actor Group differentiation, difference between male/female etc	
The Ideational Elements, values, beliefs, etc	
The Broader Social System , ie family workplace etc that influence actors	
The Human Need being met through meeting, social	
The Fear expressed, related to migration	
The Community Support expressed	
Other	

B. Interview Protocols

The following are interview protocols utilized during the collection of data for this project. The two protocols are for (1) staff members, and (2) church members of both St. Catherine's, Los Angeles and Sacred Heart, Albuquerque.

(1) Church staff member interview protocol

Questionnaire – Staff Members

1. Can you please describe your community here? Who are your members, where are they from, what makes this parish unique from others in the diocese, etc.?
2. What is the local community like here?
 - a. Income; Race; Ethnicity; Class; Occupations; Migration;
 - b. And how does it relate to the broader Los Angeles region?
3. Does your parish have a mission unique from the broad mission of the Catholic Church and LA Diocese?
 - a. Do you see yourself as a church for the members or as part of a larger community?
4. What is this parishes relationship like with other groups in the area, be they other parishes, denominations, local politics, business, etc. Do you see much engagement?
5. Do you feel your parish, as an organization, has voice and influence in politics here in Los Angeles (or beyond)?
6. Do you have more strength in politics if it goes through the diocese or does that sometime water down your own needs as they may become submerged in larger campaigns?

7. I know that in other diocese, (like where my Mom's church is), there is tension between the individual parish and the diocese. Do you see that happening here in Los Angeles when it comes to either church teaching, politics, or other issues?
 - a. Why or why not? What makes this Diocese unique?
8. Have you seen a difference in how the local church is responding to the immigrant rights movement over the last few years? Has the motivation or drive changed since Pope Francis was elected, or since Cardinal Mahoney retired?
9. Has the parish been involved in any immigrant rights activities?
 - a. Marches
 - b. Preaching from Pulpit
 - c. Letter Writing Campaigns
 - d. Etc.
 - e. OR....What role, if any, did you and the parish play in the large mobilizations back in 2006? Do you have a group that attends the May Day marches?
10. As you know, I'm studying undocumented Mexican immigrants, do you see this population in your church? And if so, do you notice any trends – when they attend, what their needs are, how this group may differ from other members of the parish, etc.?
11. Are undocumented immigrants more engaged in some aspects of the Parish than others? (Groups, Clubs, Mass Times, etc).
12. Do you see any undocumented members of your parish engaging in political activities?
 - a. What is it about the Church or This Parish that helps these individuals overcome fear
13. Do you see any specific needs for the undocumented community in your parish and surrounding neighborhood?

14. Is there anything else you would like to share with me? Or any questions you have for me?

(2) Church member interview protocol

Interview Protocol

CHURCH

1. Describe your participation at this parish, do you attend mass regularly, participate in groups, etc.?
2. When did you first get involved in this Parish?
3. Why?
4. Did you know anyone here before you came?
5. Were you scared or hesitant to do so?
6. Do your family or friends understand why you are a member?
7. Do they support you?
8. Do you invite other people to join you at mass or events?
9. Why do you continue to participate? Why do you like it? Why do you get from it?

MIGRATION

1. Can you tell me about your migration to the United States?
 - a. Where are you from?
 - b. When did you decide to move?
 - c. Why did you choose Los Angeles?
 - d. How long have you been here?
 - e. Do you have plans to go back to Mexico?

2. How long have you lived outside of your hometown?
3. How old were you when you migrated to the USA?
4. Did you live anywhere besides Los Angeles?
5. Why did you move to Los Angeles?
6. How did you cross the border?
7. How have your opinions of immigration changed since living here?
 - a. If you had a friend back in Mexico who was debating moving without papers, would you encourage or discourage them from coming?
8. What language do you speak
 - a. At home
 - b. At work
9. How would you describe your English ability?
10. Have you gone back to Mexico since migrating to the US?
11. Do you have plans to return to Mexico?
12. Do you send money home to family or friends back in Mexico?
 - a. How frequently?
 - b. Do they depend on it to live, or is it just extra money?
13. Do you know very many people from Mexico and from your State/Region here in Los Angeles?
14. Do you think there is a strong community of Mexicanos in Los Angeles?
15. Describe your interaction with non-Mexicans/white Americans/
 - a. Is it non-existent; frequent; only at work, etc.
16. Do you think there is racism here in the United States?

17. Have you experienced discrimination or racism here?
18. Do you think the police treat Mexicans and Latinos fairly?
19. Would you call the police for help if you needed it?
20. What is it like to live without papers here in Los Angeles?
 - a. Do you think it is better or worse than in other parts of the country?
21. Do you know anyone who has been deported?
 - a. Was it from the border, workplace, local police, etc.?
22. Are you afraid of being deported?
23. Are there places you feel more afraid of deportation?
24. Do you and your family have a plan of what to do incase someone is deported?
25. Are you worried about your children/family members being deported?
26. Do you think fear of deportation causes some people to develop problems with mental health like anxiety or depression?

POLITICIZATION

About the PARENTS

1. What level of education did your parents attain?
2. Did they participate in a union?
3. Did they vote?
4. Did they talk about politics at home?
5. Did they go to political rally's and marches in town?
6. Did they watch/listen to/read the news?

About YOU

1. While you were in school, did you belong to any clubs or play sports?
2. Do you attend church, with what frequency?
3. Are you involved in any church related groups?
4. Do you read the newspaper, watch news on television, or read it on the internet?
5. Are you interested in politics here in the US and or back in Mexico?
 - a. Have you paid attention to the protest in Mexico about the missing students?
 - b. Have you paid attention to the protest in the USA about police relations with the black community?
 - c. Have you participated in anything related to these issues?
 - d. Do you ever talk about these or other issues with friends, coworkers, or family?
 - e. Have you ever gone to a protest, march, or demonstration while living here in Los Angeles?
 - i. For example, a May Day parade; a protest for immigration reform; a right-to-life walk
 - ii. Describe the experience.
 1. Were you afraid about your status or getting involved with the police?
 2. Did you go alone, with family, friends, church groups, etc.?
 - f. Have you ever been asked to do any of these activities?
 - i. Who asked?
 - ii. What was your answer & why?
 - g. Do you wish you could be more involved in political and community issues?

- i. If Yes, what limits you?
 - 1. Child care
 - 2. Time
 - 3. Transportation
 - 4. Other
- ii. If No, why not?
 - 1. Don't care
 - 2. Don't think I will make a difference
 - 3. Other
- h. Have you ever been to [mass or a union meeting] and been asked to participate in a political campaign?
 - i. Who asked?
 - ii. What was the reason?
 - iii. What did you say?
 - iv. What was your experience of this?

C. Code List

The following code list was developed and updated during the data analysis phase of the project.

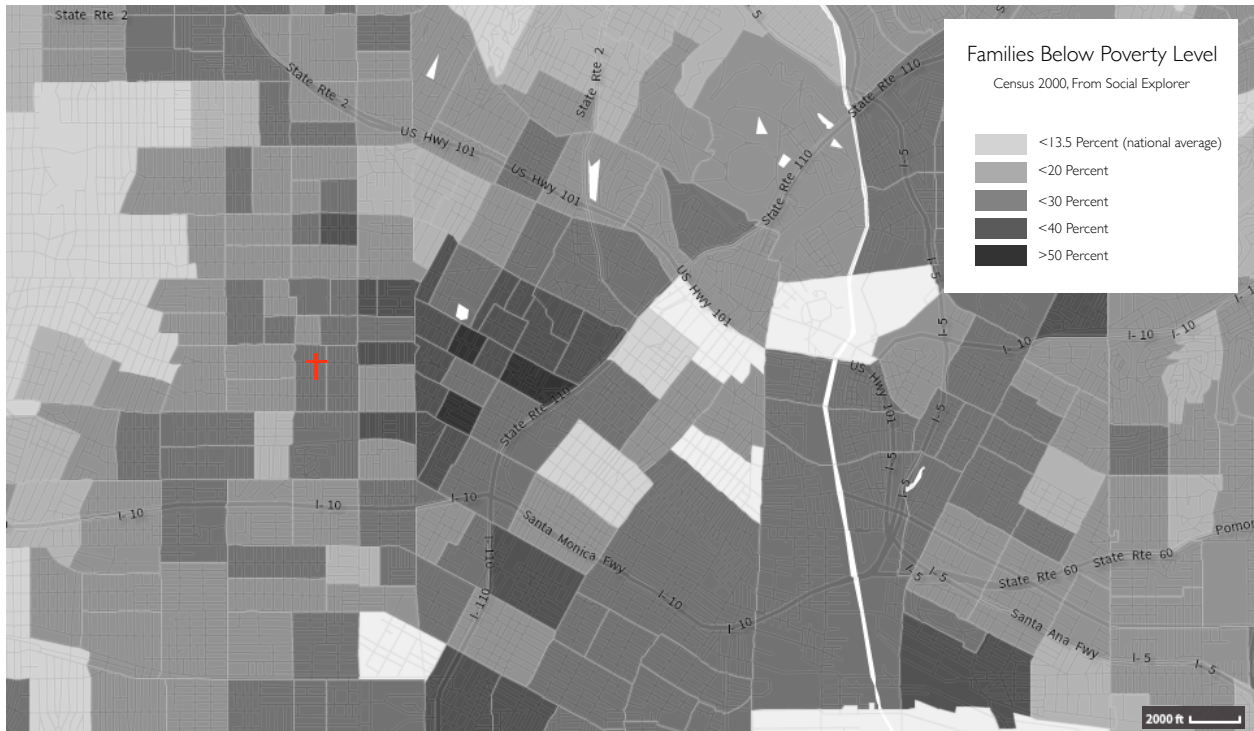
Advocating	Identity
Belonging	Isolation
Church critique	Means
Church discord	Migration history
Church legitimacy	Ministries
Church pastor	Motive
Church structure and hierarchy	Opportunity
Community engagement	Political knowledge
Contacting public officials	Political organization meetings attendance
Deportation	Politics
Emotion (non fear)	Prayer
Evangelizing	Presidential campaign 2016
Faith	Protesting
Fear	Service provision
Gender	Socializing public space
Geography of fear	Space
Government meeting attendance	Travel
Health	Voting

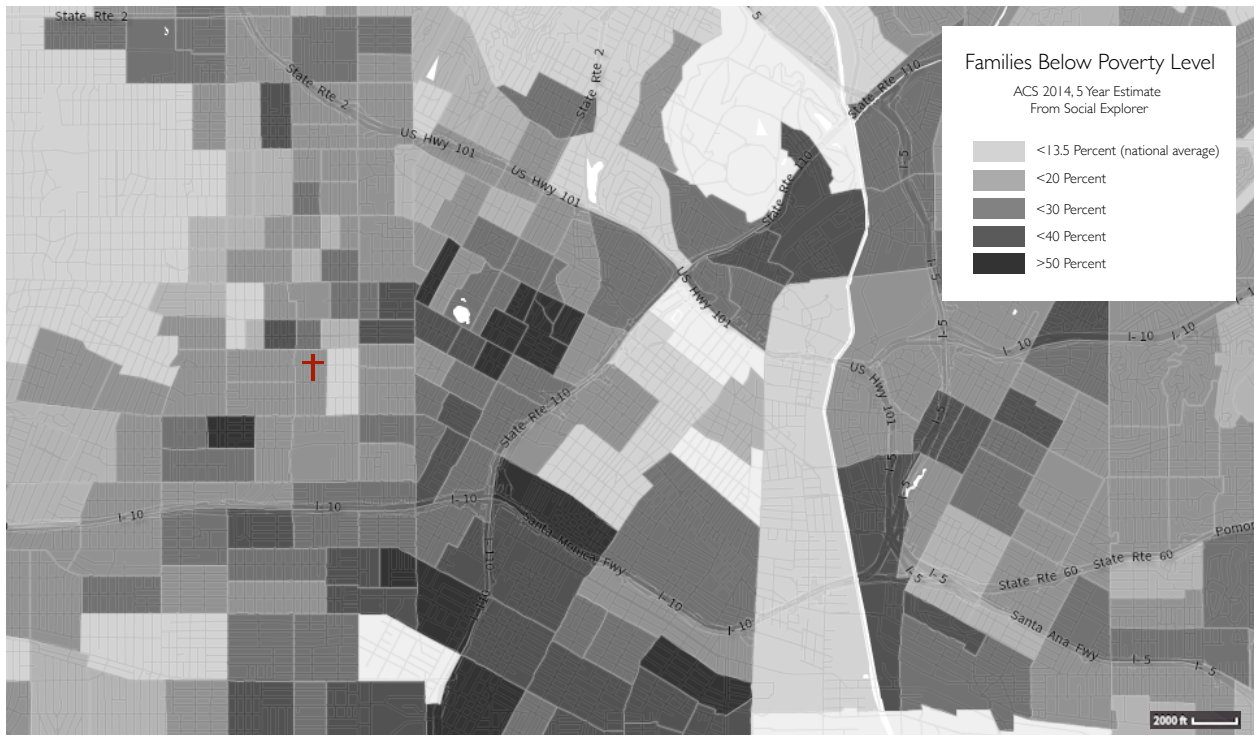
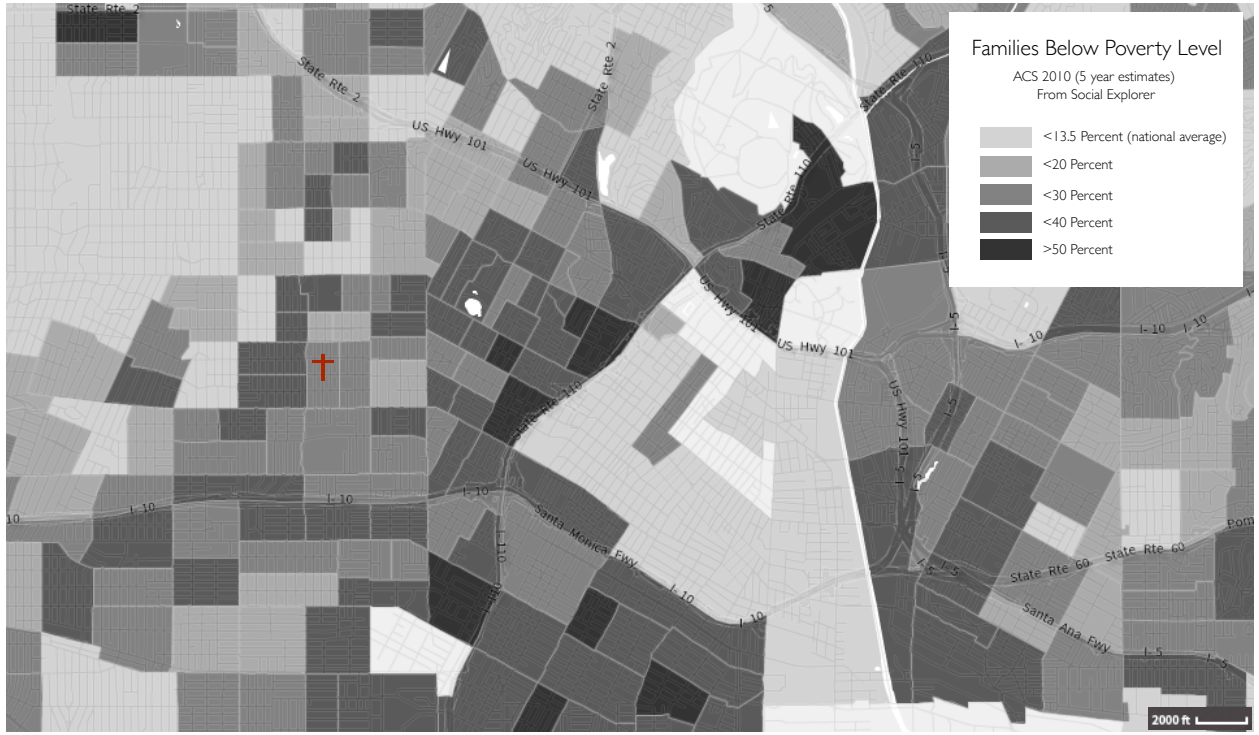
D. Maps

The following maps were created with the use of Social Explorer to select neighborhood parishes of study and understand the neighborhood contexts within which each church operates. The following maps are found in the subsequent pages:

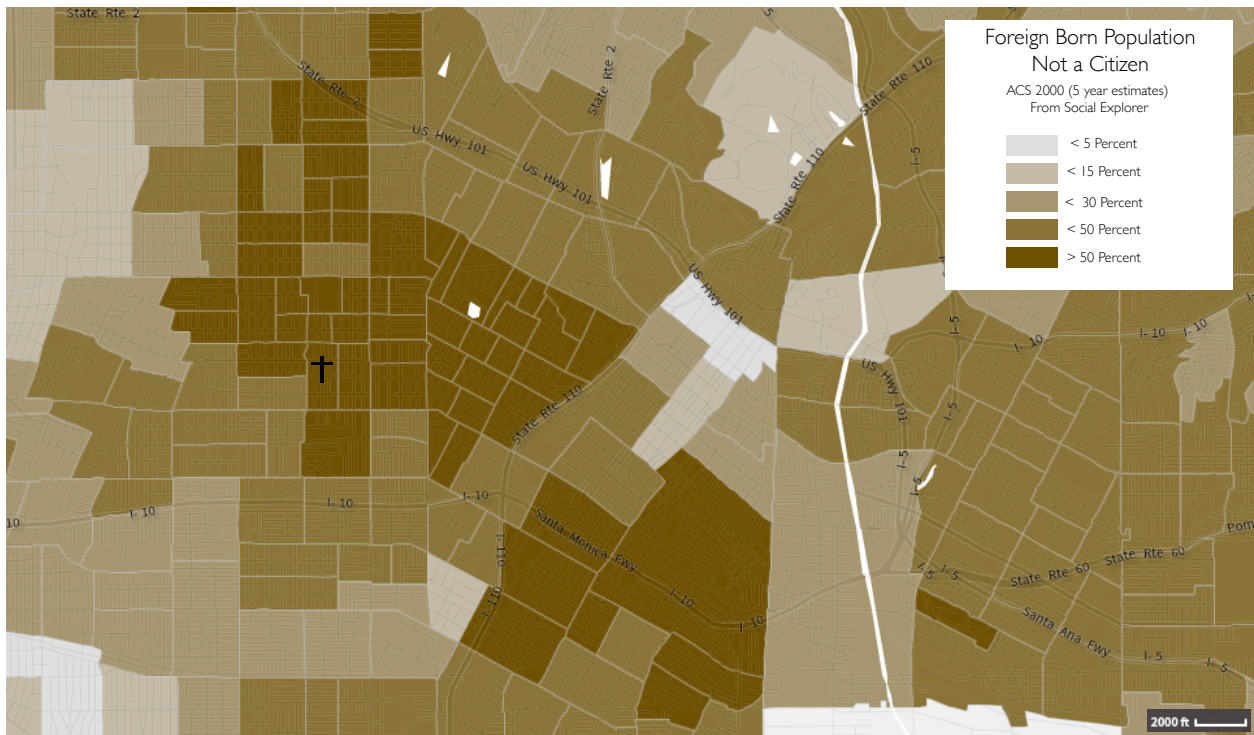
1. Families under the poverty level, Los Angeles 1990, 2000, 2010, 2014
2. Foreign born, not a citizen, Los Angeles 1990, 2000, 2010, 2014
3. Foreign born total population, Los Angeles 1990, 2000, 2010, 2014
4. Foreign born population from Central America & Mexico Los Angeles, 2000, 2010, 2014
5. Families under the poverty level, Albuquerque 1990, 2000, 2010, 2014
6. Foreign born, not a citizen, Albuquerque 1990, 2000, 2010, 2014
7. Foreign born total population, Albuquerque 1990, 2000, 2010, 2014
8. Foreign born population from Central America & Mexico, Albuquerque, 2000, 2010, 2014

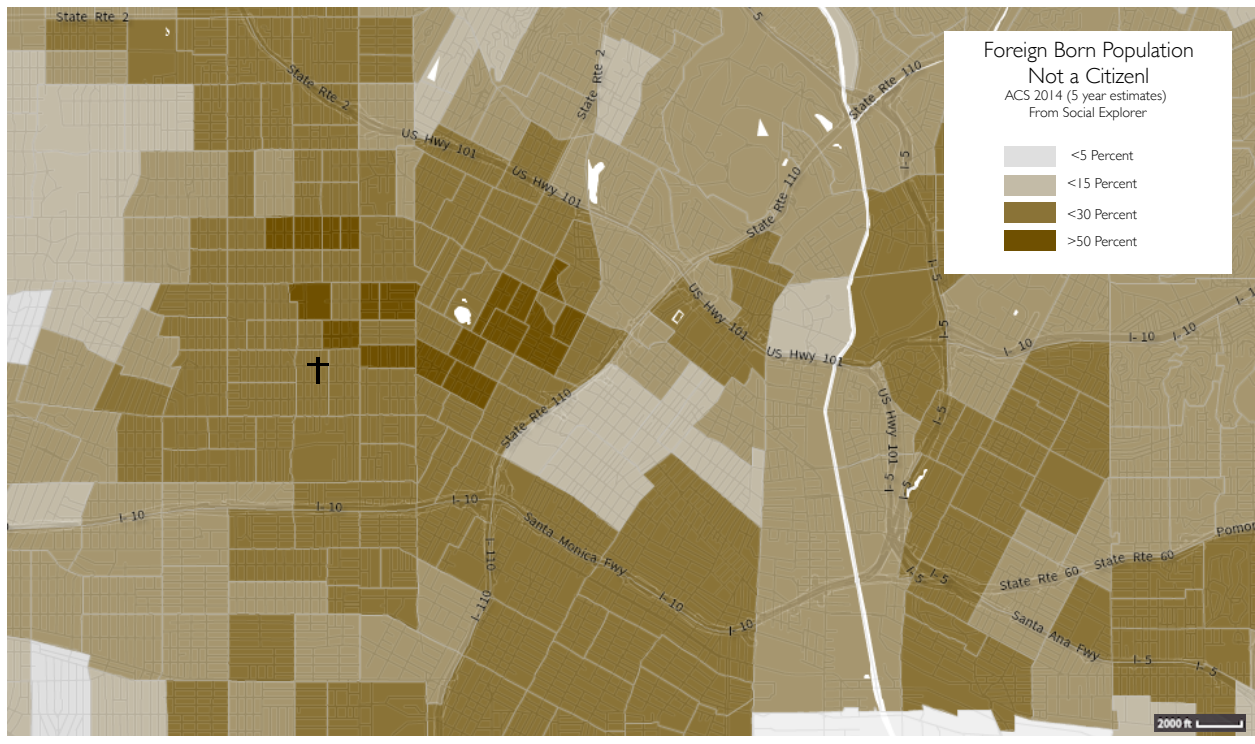
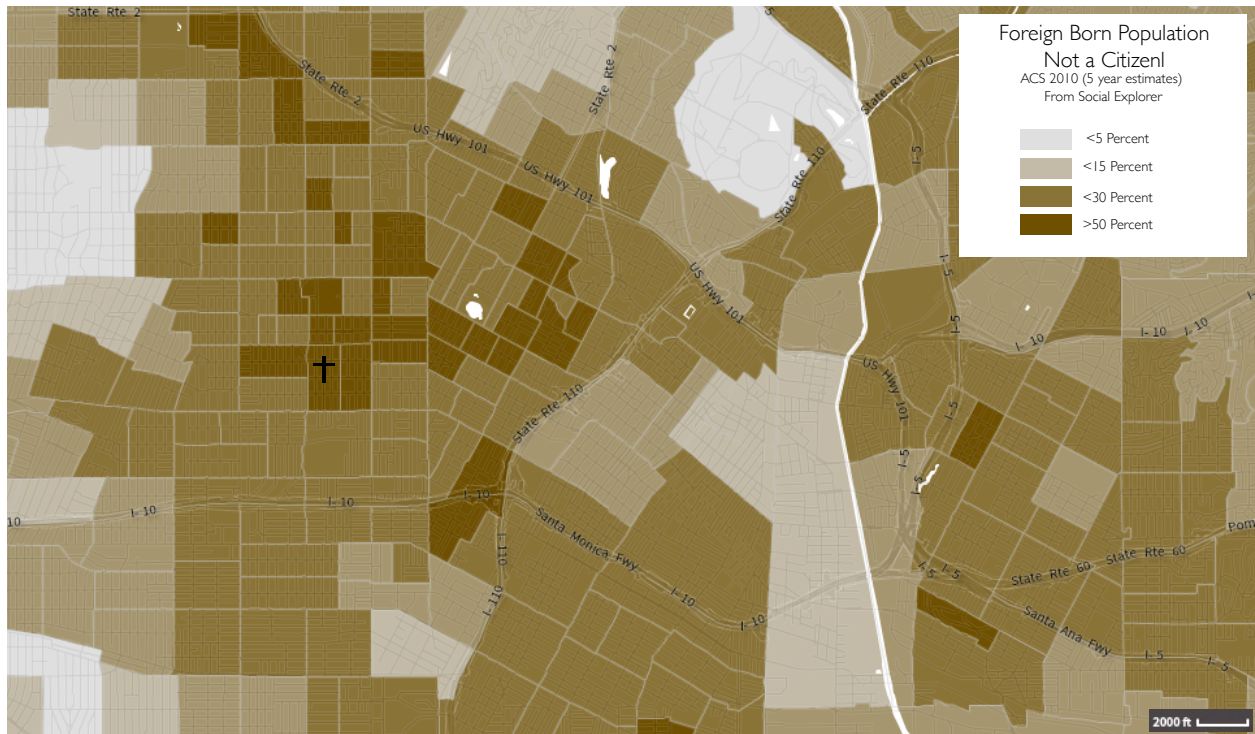
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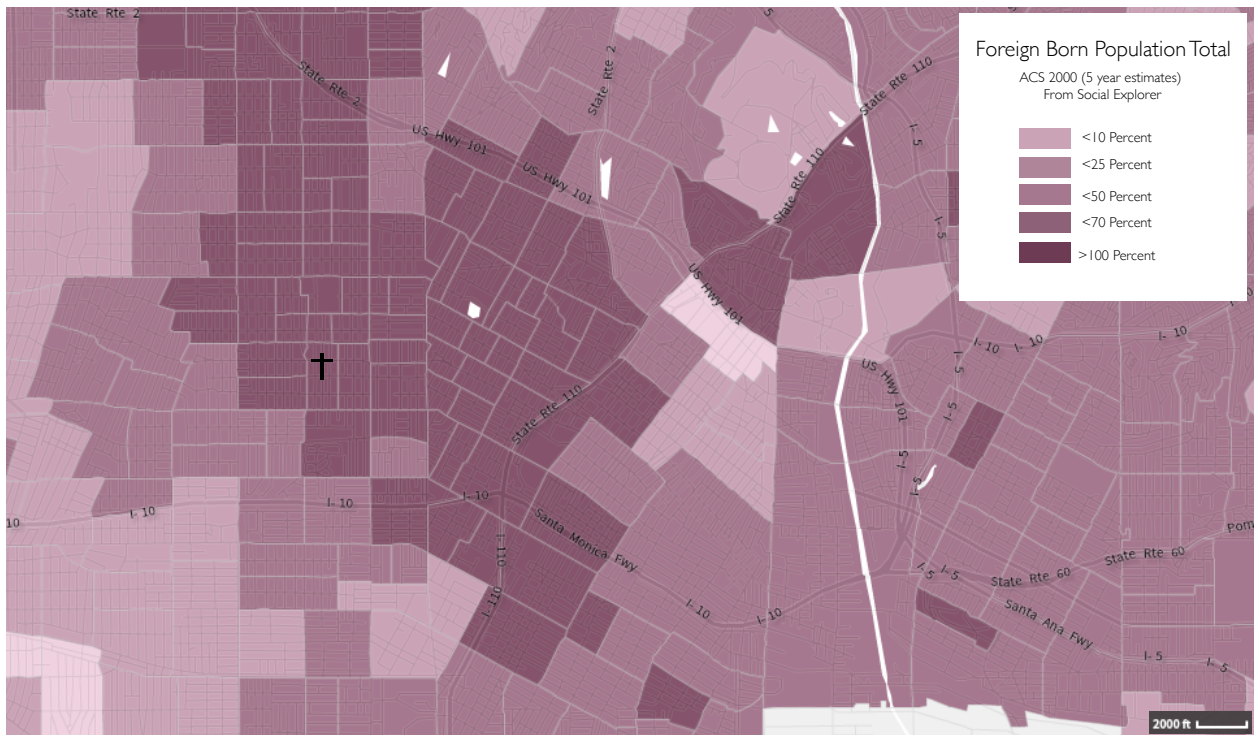


2. Foreign born, not a citizen, Los Angeles 1990, 2000, 2010, 2014



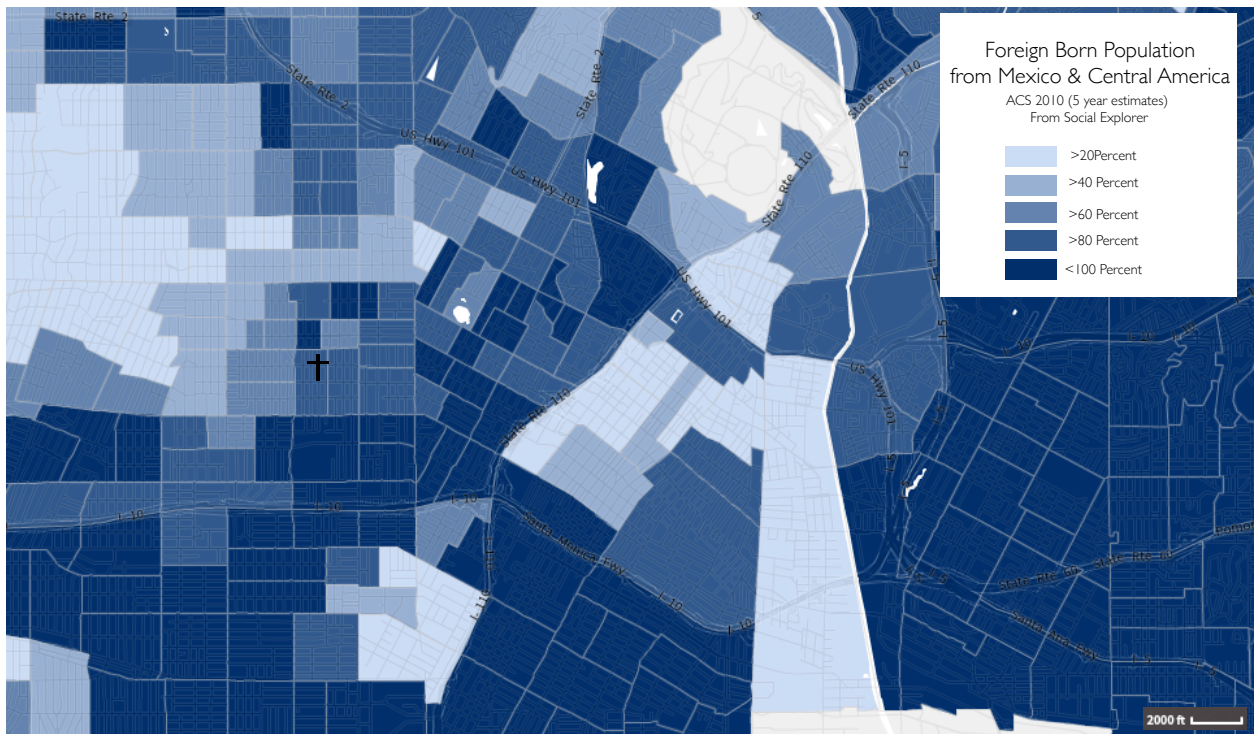
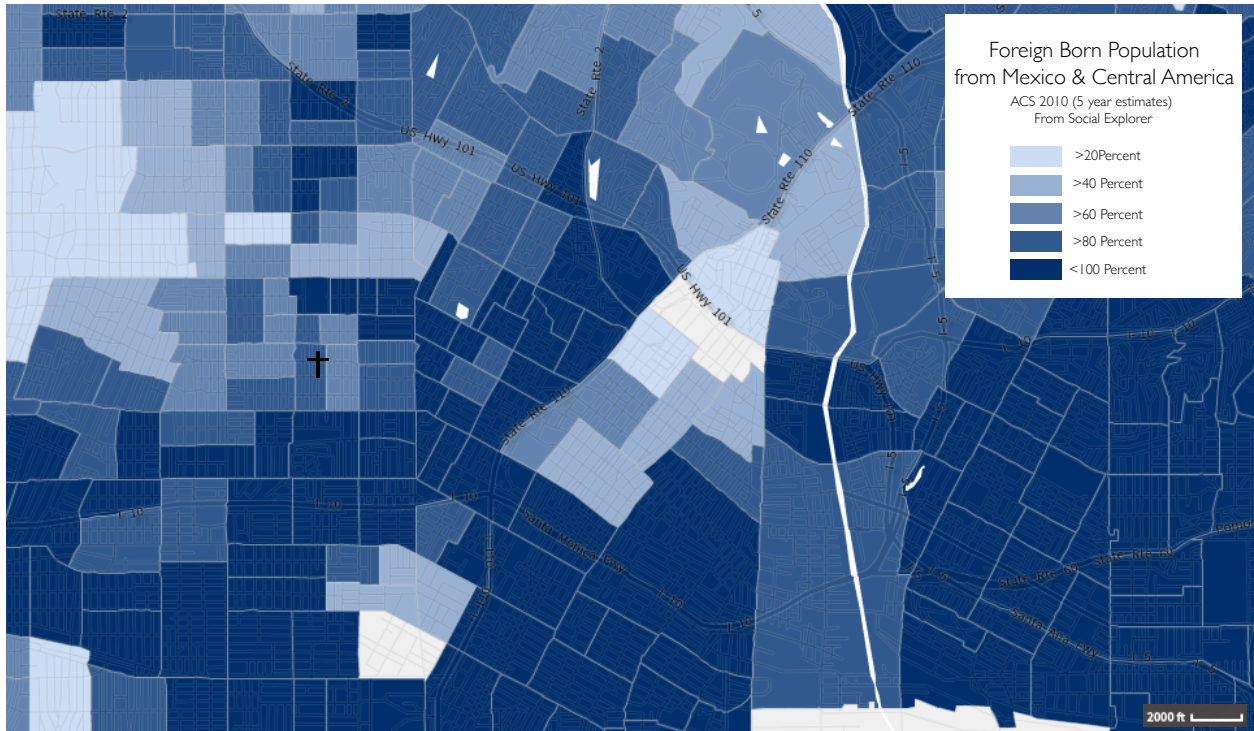


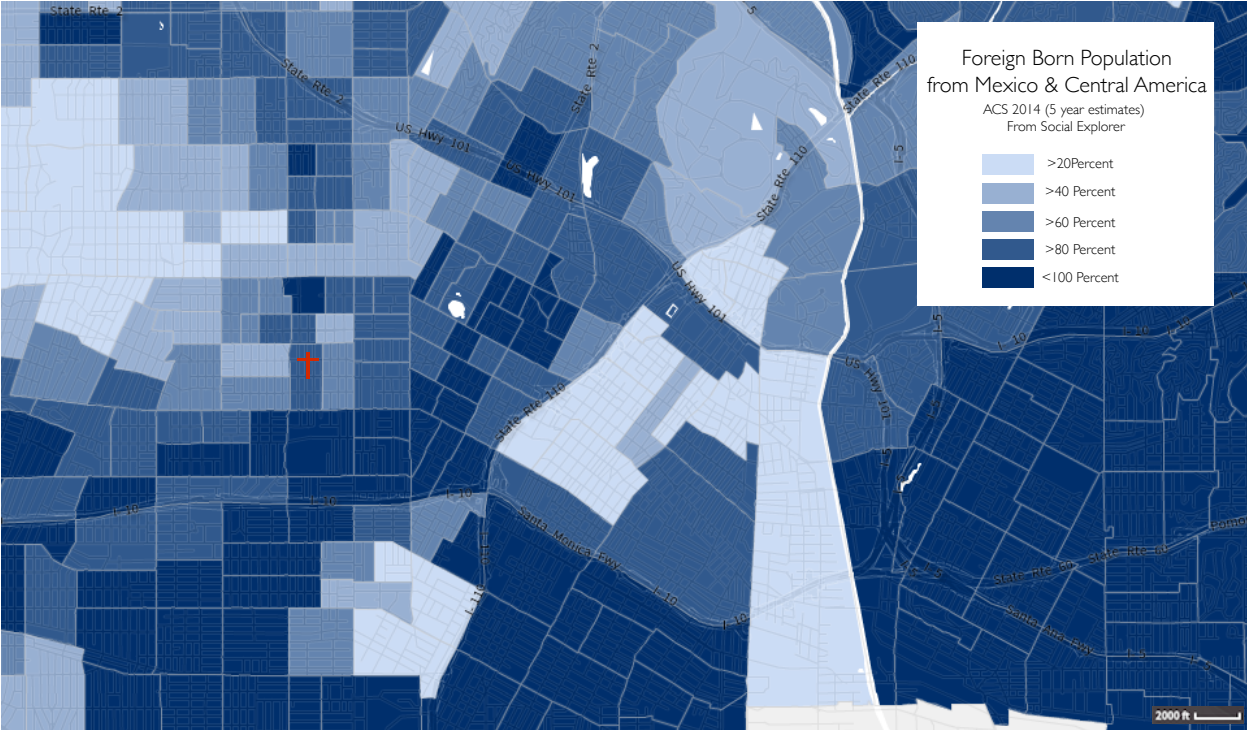
3. Foreign born total population, Los Angeles 1990, 2000, 2010, 2014





4. Foreign born population from Central America & Mexico Los Angeles, 2000, 2010, 2014



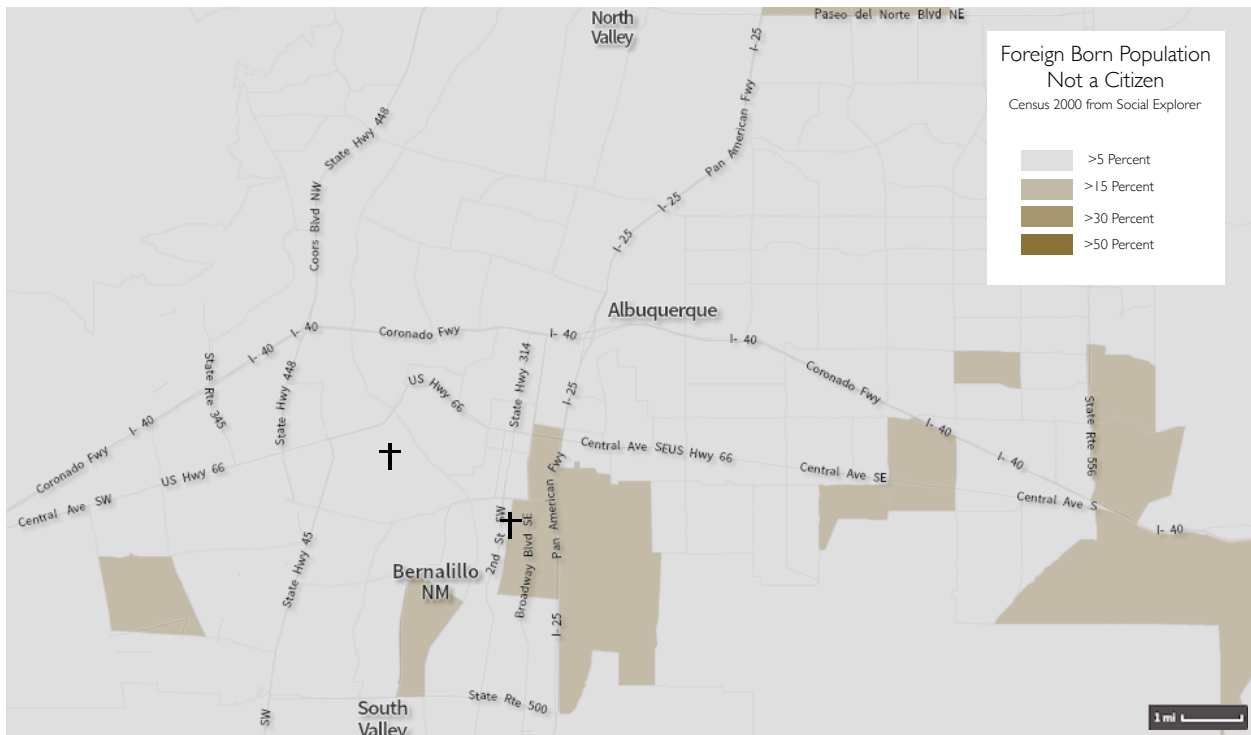
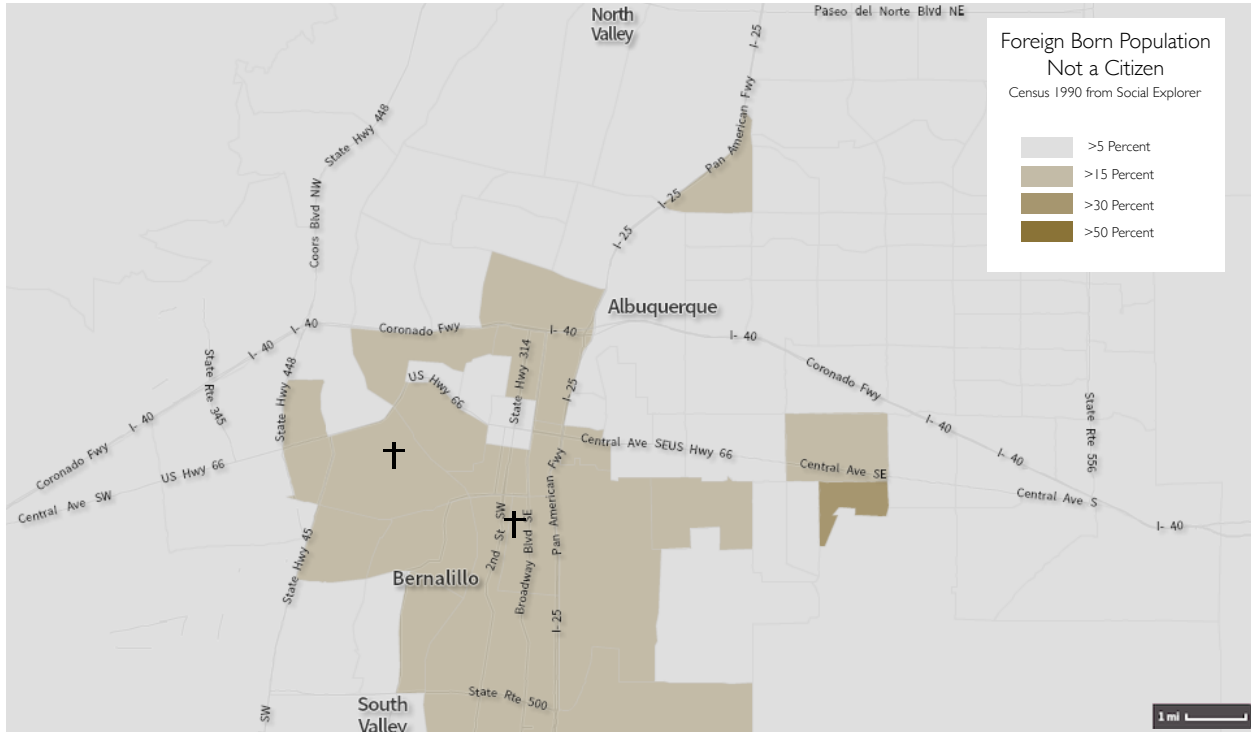


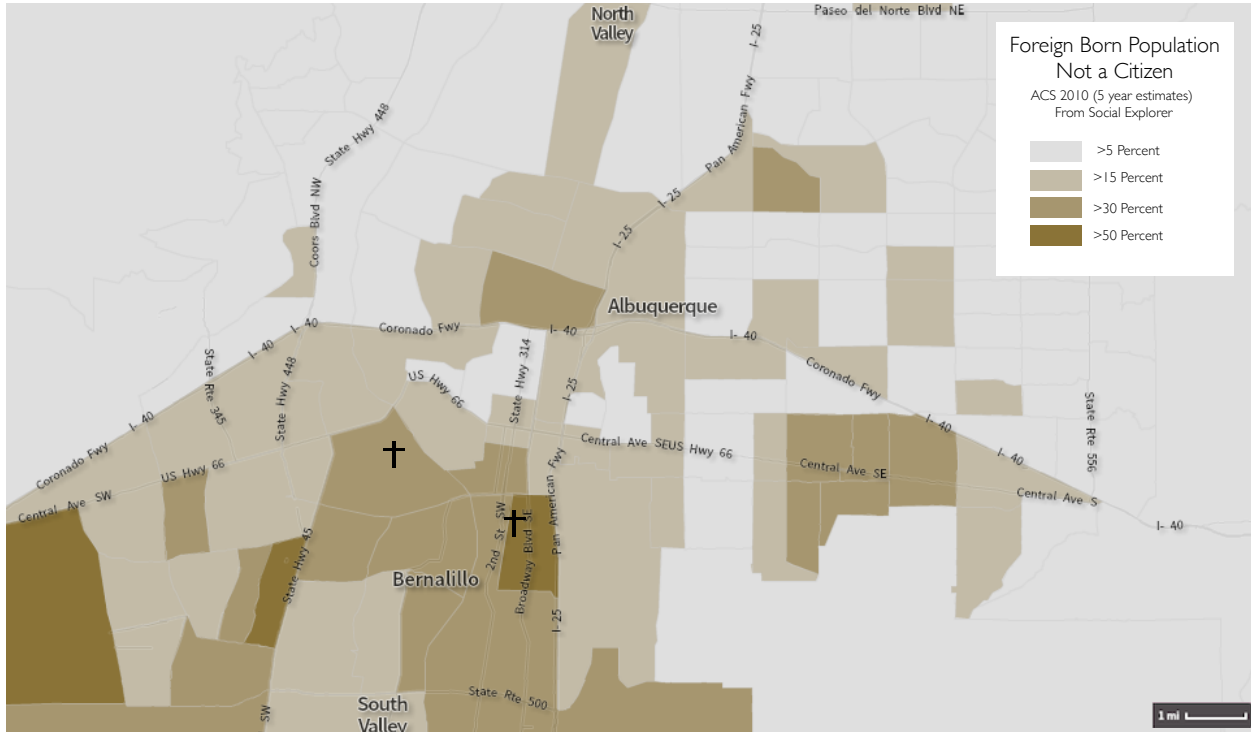
5. Families under the poverty level, Albuquerque 1990, 2000, 2010, 2014





6. Foreign born, not a citizen, Albuquerque 1990, 2000, 2010, 2014



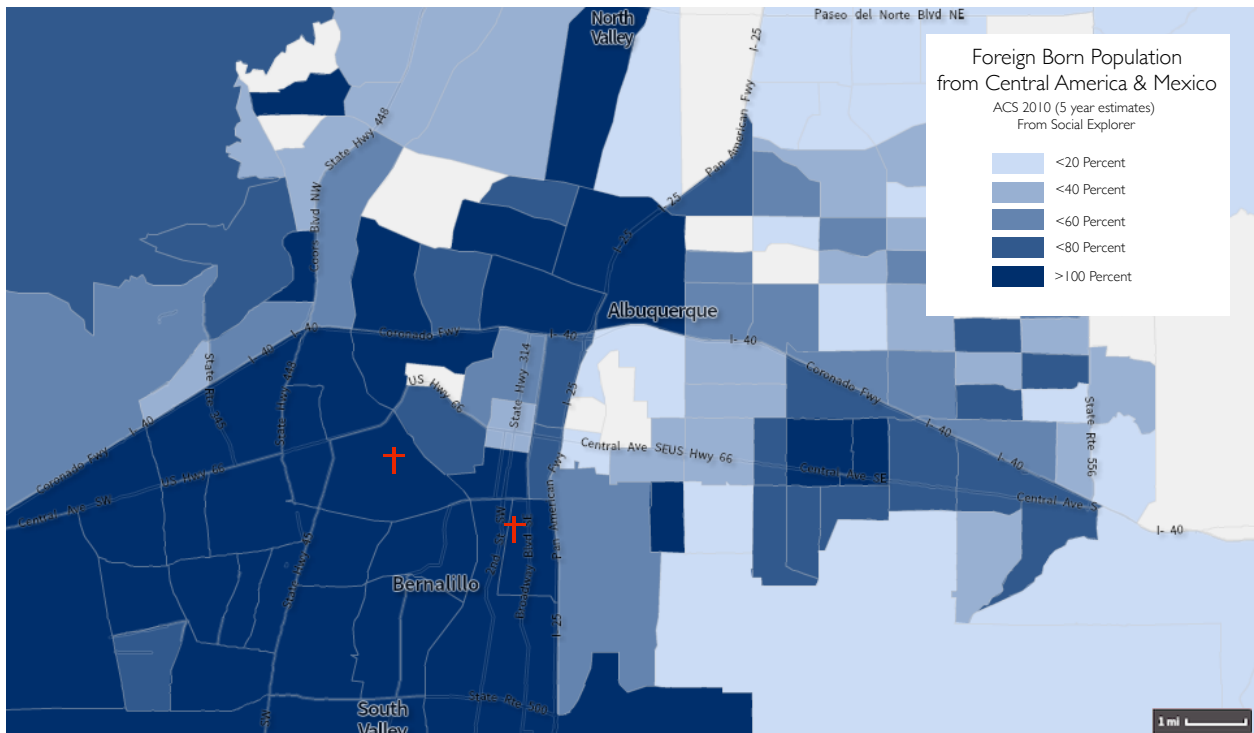
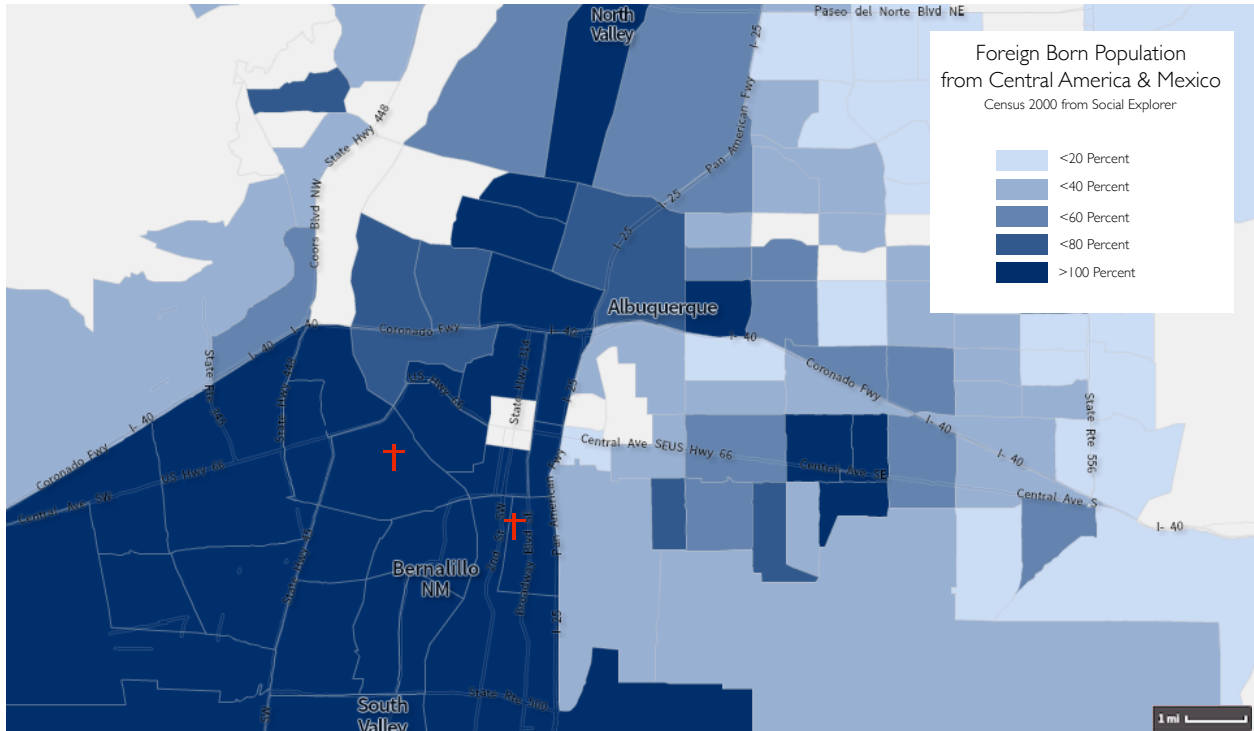


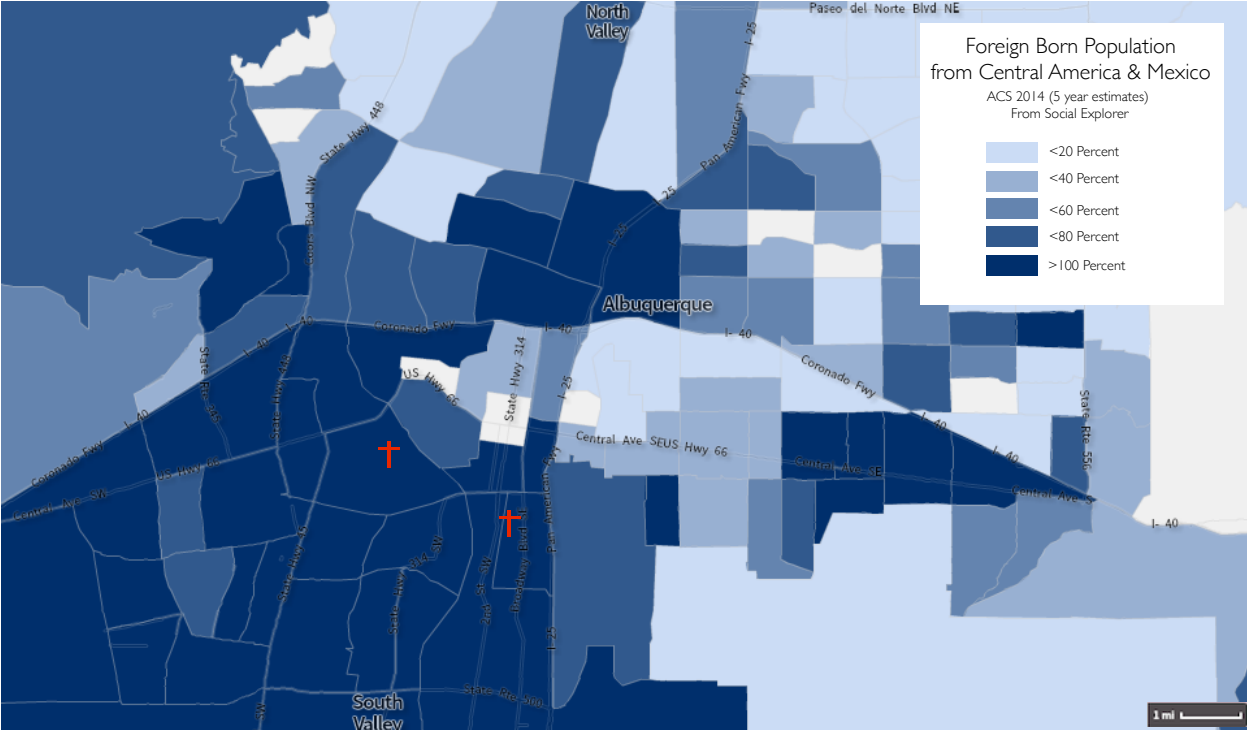
7. Foreign born total population, Albuquerque 1990, 2000, 2010, 2014





8. Foreign born population from Central America & Mexico, Albuquerque, 2000, 2010, 2014





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