

UC Merced

World Cultures Graduate Student Conference 2013

Title

Doing ethnography in Occupy Oakland: An analysis of the use of hegemony by a "Democratic" Dictatorship

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6sp818nb>

Author

Bazua Morales, Carlos Miguel

Publication Date

2013-10-15

Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, available at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/>

Peer reviewed

Doing ethnography in Occupy Oakland: An analysis of the use of hegemony by a “Democratic” Dictatorship

Carlos Miguel Bazua Morales
University of California, Merced

Based on my experience as an ethnographer in Oakland during the Occupy movement, I analyze the State's use of hegemony to downplay the resistance movement. Through an ethnographic narrative, I explain how the mass media and the police forces respond to corporate America's economic interest and work against the best interest of the US working class. I analyze how the movement was misrepresented by mass media through the use of lies and deception. Through continuous deception and misinformation over the main outlets of communication, the hegemonic powers were able to obtain public consent to violently repress peaceful protestors with police brutality. By making popular gatherings illegal, the mayor of Oakland violated the international human right of freedom of assembly. The state repression is evidence of the hypocritical moral discourse of American international policy- as they use the pretext to invade or embargo other countries on the basis of human rights violations. Through this paper, I intend to show this double-faced moral discourse by pointing out how the United States and its politicians actually violently repress its own dissidents. As an ethnographer working in the Maya Diaspora in Oakland, I was able to witness and analyze the ways in which US demonstrators were brutally attacked by the Oakland police on several occasions and how the mass media barefacedly lied about the events. Hence, this paper is an analysis of hegemony through the exploration of how the United States utilizes police brutality and mass media discourse to represses political dissent.

For this paper I draw on the theoretical frameworks put forward by critical thinkers, artists and writers who have continuously challenged the presumed authority of the state. Authors like George Orwell, Gramsci, Thoreau, Bourdieu, Zinn are elemental. Orwell's fictional 1984, with its through-provoking ideas, elucidates the contemporary reality in which we live. Today, at the dawn of the 21st century, we are not living the

Orwellian nightmare of 1984, but, rather we are, in fact, in a far crazier world. We live in a world where a leader like Obama can kill unarmed civilians, children and women with drone missiles and still be given the Noble Peace Prize. And that, to me, is the most notable evidence of the power of the hegemonic powers to impose a way of thought that can be better understood with the *double-think* mentality that permeates the world of politics and of our social realm. Orwell's notion of *double-think* entails accepting two contradictory ideologies simultaneously. Similar to the Orwellian nightmare, we live in a world where we are told that the empire wants to spread freedom and democracy, but in reality the aim is to have geographical control through the spread of terror and murder. Orwell had a visionary idea, but I do not think he ever thought it would be the way we live today- all our electronic devices are surveillance systems, yet, we perceive them as an elemental way to be connected with one another. And, scariest of all, is the fact that most people do not even realize that they are slaves to a barbaric system of exploitation with little rights to effectively dissent or try to change things. We live in a system where people in the United States believe that killing people in Iraq¹, Afghanistan², Mexico³ and Guatemala⁴, to mention just a few, will bring peace and major security to its population. The American mass media is able to construct a distinct "reality" that covers up the real issues that might address the demise of a fair and balanced democratic culture in the US. Illustrating what Pierre Bourdieu calls the *power of suggestion*, the saturating discourse of freedom exerted through institutions allows citizens to believe they are free and living in a democratic state. However, the evidence gathered through my fieldwork proves otherwise. In my understanding, in a free and democratic society peaceful protesters are not brutally attacked by the police and there is an unbiased and free press.

Since the early 1990's, my perspective has been influenced by American artist and Green Party member Jello Biafra. In his Dead Kennedys concerts, Biafra explained

¹ Illegal war waged against Iraq based on lies and miss information

² After inventing and financing Al-Queda to fight the Soviet Union the US decided to invade Afghanistan on the basis of housing Al-Queda cells. Meanwhile Pakistan was a main ally of the United States and the country where they later said that they found Bin Laden. Instead of capturing him they just murdered him- showing what American justice is about- killing opposition, and not with a fair trial.

³ Since 2006 Plan Merida financed the bloodiest war in Mexico's history. Felipe's Calderon presidency left 60, 000 dead people as a result of wanting to control the drug trade with the US. His reward for following US led politics, was a teaching position in Harvard.

⁴ In 1954, the US led and financed a military coup in Guatemala. Until the 1980's, the US supported the governments that massacred and disappeared 200,000 people.

how the US had gone under a military coup, and, as the head of the CIA, George Bush became the president of the US. In the academy such expression of strong opinion becomes problematic and controversial. Thus, it is hard to find academics who are openly critical of the US Empire building strategies. Since I have been here (1993), I have witnessed the demise of the social programs and the rise of inequality in the US. To make sure that my academic research doesn't seem anti- American, I use the inspiration of freedom fighters from the core of American culture, which, in its social grassroots base, are distinctly radical, progressive and well-informed.

International political circumstances are elemental to understand the hegemonic powers that maintain an empire-building agenda. An ignorant and disinterested population is easy to direct and make a compliant servant of the system.

Movies like *The Matrix* (1999) also provide a good analogy for our current world state. The main character Neo is given the option to take a blue or a red pill. The blue pill allows the individual to remain in a state of blissful ignorance while the red pill makes you see a reality. It's a good thing that even if it's a small percentage of people worldwide has taken the red reality pill and is each in their own way fighting for a better and more just world. On a similar parallel, this is how the occupy movement begun through the inspiration of youth struggling in Northern Africa and Europe. However, not enough people have taken the red pill.

For some people, popular culture is perceived as not "valid" enough to reference it in the academic realm; however, the issues I am talking about have been explored since people begun to write openly against the status quo. Examples can be traced back to Martin Luther's Thesis or theorists such as Rousseau. Even though both were persecuted in their times, today are regarded as iconic figures of our "rational" western culture. However, closer to our times, Henry Thoreau warned us of the complexities of the totalitarian regimes and explained the dangers of the tyranny of the majority in a Democratic system (Thoreau 1849:2).

The themes of this paper derive from the events and ideas behind the Occupy movements in Oakland, UC Davis, UC Berkeley and UC Merced. Despite little media attention to the youth and collective movements, there are many factors and actions that should not go unnoticed- in particular an academic and public discussion about the police

repression during these demonstrations. As an Anthropology PhD student in the UC system during the Occupy movement, I analyze the State's use of hegemony to downplay the importance of these collective actions and explain how the mass media and the police forces respond with violence and lies to misrepresent these events. The state repression becomes evidence of the hypocritical moral discourse of the US political system. The concept of "freedom" is used as the underlying moral principle of the national political discourse, and, yet, the US represses its student and popular movements in the dawn of the 21st century. I intend to analyze this contradictory moral discourse by illustrating how US politicians violently repress its own dissidents. Witnessing and analyzing the ways in which US demonstrators were brutally attacked by police on several occasions and how the mass media blatantly lied about the events, I take an engaged ethnographic positioning to shed light on and better understand the dangers of living in a "democratic" dictatorship.

I must express my admiration for the UC community who so bravely faced, as a sitting human chain, the tear gas attack in UC Davis⁵ and the viciously clubs of our own UC Police Department on Sproul plaza in UC Berkeley.⁶ Both events in the Fall 2011 produced viral videos that clearly show the unnecessary and disproportionate violence used by the UCPD to deprive citizens, employees, students and professors of their rights to assemble and protest.⁷ Those images will remain inspirational for generations to come, ignited the souls of those who are sensible enough to understand that their rights are worth fighting for. The images of UCD Police tear-gassing peaceful students demonstrate once more the importance of the role of civil disobedience in American history. Notwithstanding, the misrepresentation by the mass media of more confrontational tactics as the ones displayed in the Occupy Oakland movement also show how the hegemonic order uses both disinformation through its networks and it uses police brutality to quell political dissent. In the light of the current events I have witnessed as an ethnographer working in the Bay Area on my research about the Maya people in this region, I have observed and documented diverse events in the UC Berkeley campus and in the streets of Oakland.

⁵ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WmJmmnMkuEM>

⁶ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kNHXuf6qJas>

⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/UC_Davis_pepper-spray_incident

On November 2nd 2011, we witnessed thousands of people in Oakland California take to the streets reacting to the attack on the Occupiers by the Mayor Quan administration and the Oakland Police Department on the night of the 25th of October⁸ in which more than 70 people were violently arrested and a US veteran was sent to the Hospital under critical condition after being shot in the head by a police officer with a rubber bullet. The police brutality during the events was not taken lightly by Oakland residents. Some news reports say there were around 7,000 people marching while independent reports claim up to 20,000. What I witnessed was an amazing river of people who were tired of corporate greed destroying American families. When they called the strike -though I was going to support it- I was not prepared to be disillusioned. I saw Oakland rising up in the thousands with only six days of preparation for the strike!!!

The mass media decided to focus their attention on the minimal damage to property that happened on the day of the strike; yet, it is more interesting to observe the witch-hunt against anarchism that ensued from the mass media. I witnessed and prevented vandalism and none came from the anarchists involved in the march. Do we know what an anarchist looks like? How about socialists, communists, liberals, democrats, republicans, capitalists, Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, and atheists? Anarchism is stigmatized as a fashion- making it easy to discredit. The self-identified anarchists, mostly people in their late thirties, forties or older, were demonstrating peacefully throughout the day. Many have been involved in community organizing for decades.

I was doing my ethnographic work in Oakland when the Occupy movement sprouted. For the port shutdown, I went with a Maya research participant and a couple of alumni friends. I was happy and overwhelmed at having witnessed the shutting down of the Oakland Port and having marched with hundreds of people back from port gates to Downtown Oakland into the evening. By this time, it was known that the march was a success and that the cops were cooperating with the people. I joined my friends on the march back to Oscar Grant Plaza, the center of the Occupy Oakland movement.

It is important to understand recent historical events in Oakland regarding the Oakland Police and their relation with African American communities. The Plaza, in

⁸ <http://www.indybay.org/newsitems/2011/10/26/18695410.php>

front of the Civic Center of Downtown Oakland, formally was called Frank H. Owaga Plaza but the Occupiers renamed it Oscar Grant Plaza, in honor of a young man who was murdered in cold blood in the Fruitvale BART Station of Oakland on January 1st 2009. The police officer responsible for the murder is already free. So, in honor to his memory, Occupiers have changed the name of this plaza. Events such as the murder of Oscar Grant become further evidence of the institutional repression to which black youth are subjected. Even when cold murders are filmed, the police perpetrator face minimal repercussions.

When we place these type of events in the context of academic research such as that conducted by Megan Comfort in her book "*Doing Time Together*: (2008) it becomes evident that black youth are the target of a tyrannical market of state repression. Her book explains that not only does the prison system of the US have the world's highest incarcerated rate- but there are millions of women and children tied to this system as consequence of their partners or father being constrained and persecuted by this institution. The prison system consists of two million inmates of which the majority are blacks followed by Hispanics; thus, making race and poverty direct correlations to spending your life in jail.

When we arrived back as an organized march to the corner of 14th Street and Broadway, next to the camp, there were hundreds, perhaps close to a thousand, of people occupying the surrounding celebratory downtown. They cheered our arrival. I do understand that it was a complicated situation for the authorities. There was euphoria in the air, and, by around 10:30 pm many people did not want to go home even though there was nothing to protest: the battle had been won and the strike had been a success. Thousands of people came out in support, the Oakland port halted operations, and people were just out in the streets and around the camp. There was no clear organization, no human microphone, no official sound system and nothing really going on. I thought it was time to go home. Then the word spread about a group of people taking over a building. Minutes later a guy came over to give us a flyer that read:

The Oakland branch of the Traveler's Aid Society was a government-funded non-profit that provided Aid to houseless people in our area. After the

government cut funding to the program the space is vacant. We are reclaiming it for the people. When the political and financial systems of this nation fail to provide needed services, we must do it ourselves. WE ARE THE 99%

No mention of this note had been made in any media report. We knew that the cops would be heading to the building and that there would be trouble. So, we went to get some pizza. I did not want to get tear-gassed. Previous experiences have taught me that the best way to avoid tear gas is not to be in the place where the cops shoot tear gas. So, we went to the first pizza place we found. Mmm! All of the costumers were marchers, eating pizza in a community atmosphere talking from table to table and all cheering and happy. In fact, the atmosphere was so friendly that the guy behind us in the line decided to buy an extra large pizza for all of us!!! It was really a great community experience!

We came out of the pizza joint at around 11:20 PM as a group of people was trying to steal my alumni friend Poncho's bike! "Hey dudes what are you doing?" he said. It was a big group of around seven young people, men and women, they just looked at us totally calm and moved on, probably to find a next target. We laughed it off and then we realized that we were very close to the occupied building. And things had begun to get pretty crazy! Very close means across the street of Broadway and 16th. We were seeing the beginning of what was becoming a full war-like barricade blocking 16th street from where Telegraph ends and joins Broadway. By the time we got our things together to leave the scene, the police were forming a line covering and surrounding the area (so we heard because we could not see the other side from San Pablo where it meets 16th). Hundreds of officers were making a sweep line formation on both Broadway and Telegraph close to 16th Street in order to secure the occupied building. But it was not going to be easy! It looked like easily a thousand people were gathering on Broadway, Telegraph, the camp, in the plaza and at 16th street. The standoff began. Suddenly, a dumpster in the barricade went on fire. It was pretty chaotic and it took us a while to realize what was going on. Then a line of around seventy to 100 people started to walk forward on Broadway to face the police line. By this time, it was clear that while many of us were there for a peaceful demonstration at least one third of the people were agitated

and a couple of dozen were starting the fires. These were members of the organized group who call their tactics Black Bloc.

A full confrontation was taking place. I felt it was my duty to become involved in helping the peaceful demonstrators prove their point. I joined a line walking peacefully against the police line on Broadway and 17th. As we got closer and closer, with no violent intentions, I heard a loud scream from behind: "You fucking pigs!" Appearing in slow motion to me at the time, a young lady dressed in black ninja-style wardrobe with her face covered threw a water bottle at the line of the cops three feet from me. The first sound of the water bottle hitting a cop's head was pretty loud then suddenly more water bottles were dropping right in front of me on the cops' helmets and shields. Some people tried to chase off the aggressors, as most of us there were acting peacefully and wanted to avert provocation. But it was too late. The cops began marching forward, moving all at the same time, saying: "Get back, get back!" and hitting in front of them with their batons. Their tactic worked and most of us just begun walking back except a few that I saw get shoved and hit. Then the first tear gas went off, and, then another, and another... By the time I ran out of the street my face was beginning to burn and I felt the spice choking me, I was able to use some of my water to rinse. Most people stayed back in the barricade at the intersection of Broadway and Telegraph. Many protesters realized that they needed to control the violent provocations and not to give the cops the excuse to come further in the camp.

The fire in the barricade at 16th was growing rapidly. Many of us who tried to put it out were confronted by the protesters dressed in black, who explained that the barricade was needed to protect the building. I said: "Dude! You're going to burn down a couple of buildings!" After growing frustration, I saw that a woman was preventing a guy from breaking another window of a clothing store after already having broken one. She shoved him off his feet. He was clearly not a guy from the black-dressed crew organizing resistance against the cops. She took out a black marker, tape, and a piece of cloth. She covered the hole made by the thug and she used the black marker to write a note on the window she protected: "Sorry, this act of vandalism was not from one of the occupiers." It was clear the marchers and the occupiers were there trying to prevent thugs from vandalizing, while the black bloc, also a part of the occupy movement, intended to

protect the building at any cost, or so I thought. I later learned that the fires had been a distraction to allow people time to get out of the building.

The cops began shooting teargas to get close to putting the fire out and to take the building. This, in my opinion, was totally unnecessary, as was the physical confrontations against the cops. The problem, it seemed, was that “their” immediate intentions were not clear. Whose intentions? Well, the protesters, the anarchists, the cops. The main “we” that existed was the desire of most people to try to keep things “civilized.” But, neither the cops, nor the Black bloc, and much less the thugs were in good communication, even though we were all part of the 99%.

The cops did not hold out on the tear gas. Bang after bang, I have no idea how many shots were fired but it was like the war movies! Suddenly all the streets were filled with tear gas. I skated out as fast as I could. I could barely open my eyes as I skated out among the running crowds, but I did notice that at least a dozen people had gas masks and were throwing back the gas cans at the cops. Alas, I could not turn around anymore to see what happened. I was out of there, ! I was being tear-gassed! This time it was bad! As I went a couple of blocs following the hundreds of people running out of the path of the gas, I stopped to choke in a corner where there were others suffering just like me. The pain was intense! I could not believe that I had not learned my previous lessons of being tear-gassed for standing up for what is right! I had done it again! I was suffering. I could not really open my eyes, and I was just trying to spit the acid that had gotten all the way down my throat! The pain and suffering was getting worse and worse...I could hear around me other people talking, complaining, crying...but I could not see anything. I was kneeling down on top of my longboard, probably looking pitiful... when a so-called “evil” anarchist (I recognized him as we had scuffled before in the fire!) came over with a spray with anti acid and relieved me of my misery by spraying repeatedly on my face and eyes! Haaa! What a relief! This person saved not only me from the excruciating pain, but at least another couple of dozen people, who like me were not prepared for this, as he was! No wonder he was creating havoc, he had a mask and anti-acid spray among his arsenal!! It’s almost comical to think that we got tear-gassed because of these individuals who use black block tactics of resistance, when in reality we got tear gassed because the police are trained to act with violence in the face of uncertainty.

But, is it the only way? We needed to establish a better way of communicating. I hold no grudge against the cops for tear-gassing me or on the Black Bloc for inciting the scuffle with the cops. I was actually really happy to be there to see common people standing up for what they thought was right, even in the face of police violence. Even though there were miscommunications and it seemed to be chaotic there was an incredible sense of community.

The fire was out and the cops had taken back the building. Much of the tear gas had evaporated, but hundreds were still there with the intention of peacefully protecting the camp. There, I found my research participant Armando, who had found Javier, Poncho and Daniel, my alumni friends. The situation became more tense, we stood up and begun moving back, then we noticed that a woman was getting into a violent confrontation with a man that looked like he was wearing a ski mask. Both of them were getting very aggressive. She had told him not to do something and he was reacting by verbally assaulting and pushing her, then Poncho went right up to him and told him: "If you are so tough why don't you go fight the cops- they are right there." The guy with the black ski mask began walking aggressively towards Poncho. Poncho remained calm. As he stood like a pit bull in front of Poncho he said: "I'm not talking to you M%^F\$&!" It resembled the classic event in the school cafeteria as the nerd stands up to the bully. There was a moment of silence but Poncho responded in a firm and clear voice: "Well I am talking to YOU! And you got to stop molesting the woman now." As soon as Poncho stood up many others begun backing him and the bully just moved along.

We decided to go back to the camp and then head home. As we were entering the camp from the intersection of 14th and Broadway we saw more tear gas being fired, some scuffling and then a shot. As we moved along we saw how a group of Occupiers were carrying a wounded man in to the camp to get treatment. There was unrest. Most people by now had cleared the area and Occupiers were forming a line inside the camp. Ready to protect it. But, by now it was clear that the cops were not going into the camp. A police line prevented anybody from the camp from going towards 16th Street where they were booking around 100 protesters. On our way home we saw the police loading the protesters into buses. I recognized the young lady who threw the first water bottle. She looked so happy- as she was loaded in the bus her eyes were shining with strength and

she had a huge smile. I was able to make eye contact. I knew she was happy and proud because I was also proud of her. Some of the people in line being arrested looked psyched! Their faces seemed like they were in line for a concert! The only guys around that were not happy were the cops- and they were the ones getting paid. That proves the point that happiness cannot be achieved through a worldview of dollars; happiness is the feeling we have when we are proud to be alive!

The news report regarding the events bluntly stated that the occupiers had turned into violent mob, vandalizing private property and attacking the police. Hence the police had to move in and make some arrests. It is strange that the media were there all day and when the cops were going to move in they were nowhere to be seen. I never witnessed a mass media reporter getting footage of peaceful protesters being badly beaten down before being arrested. This is certainly no coincidence. Instead of analyzing the situation as it happened and reporting on it, as I try to do here, they in its place reported lies about an event that they didn't even witness. Resembling a narrative we have seen throughout history, hegemonic power maintain a controlled repressive system against which it is impossible to rebel against without facing violent repression.

On January 28th the peaceful members of the Oakland commune (as the occupy Oakland activists later called themselves, alluding to the history of the French Revolution) were viciously attacked by the Oakland Police, while trying to take over a space to create a physical center for the movement. It was a planned and announced takeover and the police put up a barricade ready to prevent the Occupiers from entering the premises of the long-closed civic auditorium by Lake Merritt. For Mayor Quan, the police force and the politicians of the city it was more "progressive" and reasonable to have an empty building. Consequently, they choose to violently repel the activist. Thus, riot police derailed the attempt by gassing a peaceful march with families and elders, and then by bullying and arresting, without cause, dozens of peaceful protesters. My friend, Pancho Pescador, a local high school teacher, photographer, painter and muralist, was beaten by six police officers for documenting how they violently beat up another protestor. What is interesting to discern is that the mass media jumped to misrepresent the movement in such machiavellic manner, while the real events, as they happen that day, remain constrained to a few independent media blogs. It is both upsetting and dangerous

to American society that demonstrators in the streets of the US are leveled "domestic terrorists" as councilman Ignacio de la Fuente stated⁹. We must realize the dangerous moment that the concept of freedom of expression and freedom of assembly are threaten through current political system whose democratic foundation has become dependent on the mass media monopolies who transform and reshape reality to their convenience. Just like Orwell predicted (Orwell 1949).

Little recognized repression was faced by UC students across other campuses. UC Merced students, with 10 to 20 individuals, were able to maintain an occupation for more than a semester. After the violent reaction from the chancellors in UC Berkeley and UC Davis, the UC Merced chancellor sent a message to our community encouraging the students to be informed and participate in any way they choose. At UC Merced the spring semester 2012 begun with an occupation and it ended with the students still occupying. No major headlines were written about these inspirational, heroic young people who, through non-violent demonstrations, showed that they too want to do something to fight the growing inequality and corruption in the US. Unfortunately, we do not know their names as there was no reporting about their incredible motivation and passion.

Considering the levels of state repression through mass media lies and police violence which the residents of Oakland and the UC community faced, the concept of hegemonic power comes to mind. After all, Gramsci the Italian philosopher also faced similar state repression as he was imprisoned by Mussolini's Fascist regime. Yes, under different circumstances and different times, but a repressive state is a repressive state no matter if is in the beginning of the 20th century in Europe or at the dawn of the 21st in the US. As critical thinkers we are posed with these disjunctives to concede to the hegemonic powers and ignore the ethical and moral obligations or to stand up for what is right. As Howard Zinn said: "You can't be neutral in a moving train"(Zinn 1994). That is why the actions of the students and academics of the UC community, as well as Oakland residents are so valuable to our current society. The police violence towards the UC Occupy Movement and the Occupy Oakland movement illustrates for our historical records how important and relevant are the brave people who make a stand for their rights and refuse to sit on the side. As a Mexican ethnographer working in these lands, it is really

⁹ <http://www.cbn.com/cbnnews/us/2012/january/oakland-police-arrest-300-occupiers/>

interesting to witness this growing international social movement. We are now in the creation of a developing social struggle and it's an exiting moment to be alive after have taken the red pill.

Bibliography

- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London:Verso.
- Aronowitz , Stanley. 2003. *Implicating Empire: Globalization and Resistance in the 21st Century world Order*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bainton, Roland. 1995. *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*. New York: Penguin.
- Berger, Peter L., and Luckmann, Thomas. 1966. *The social construction of reality; a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1999. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- Burns, Allan. 1993. *Maya in Exile. Guatemalans in Florida*. Temple University Press.
- Carmack, Robert M., ed.1988. *Harvest of Violence: The Maya Indians and the Guatemalan Crisis*. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1999. *Latin America From Colonization to Globalization*. New York: Ocean Press.
- Comfort, Megan. 2007. *Doing time together: Love and family in the shadow of the prison*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cornelius, Wayne A. 2001. *Death at the Border: Efficacy and Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Control Policy*. *Population and Development Review* 27: 661–85.
- Falla, Ricardo. 1992. *Masacres de la selva Ixcán, Guatemala (1975-1982)*. (*Massacres in the Ixcán jungle, Guatemala (1975-1982)*) Guatemala : Editorial Universitaria.
- Fanon, Franz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Fox, Jonathan and Rivera-Salgado, Gaspar eds. 2004. *Indigenous Mexican Migrants in the United States*. San Diego, California: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies and the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, UCSD.
- Loucky, James and Moors, Marilyn M. 2000. *The Maya Diaspora; Guatemalan Roots, New American Lives*. USA: Temple University Press, Philadelphia.

- Nevins, Joseph. 2002. *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the 'Illegal Alien' and the Remaking of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*. New York: Routledge.
- Orwell, George. 1949. *Nineteen Eighty-Four. A Novel*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.
- Simpson, Matthew. 2006. *Rousseau's Theory of Freedom*. London: Continuum Books.
- Thompson, Charles Dillard. 2001. *Maya identities and the violence of place. Borders bleed*. USA: Ashgate.
- Thoreau, Henry David. *Civil Disobedience and Other Writings*. W.W. Norton & Company, 1849.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2004. *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. USA: Duke University Press.
- Zinn, Howard. 1980. *A People's History of the United States*. New York: Perennial Classics.
- Zinn, Howard. 1994. *You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train: A Personal History of Our Times*. Boston: Beacon Press.