

ILLEGAL ALIENS OUT! : MAKING SOCIOLOGICAL SENSE OF THE NEW  
RESTRICTIONIST FRAME

by

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B.A., San Francisco State University, 1994  
M.A., San Jose State University, 1996

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work  
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KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY  
Manhattan, Kansas

## Abstract

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Fifty members from a diverse set of voluntary organizations were interviewed, including the Minuteman Project, the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), and the American GI Forum (AGIF). Grounded theory methodology was used to create initial codes, which were then connected with themes derived from the literature. This study finds that grassroots, right-wing RSMs brought attention to contentious noncitizen issues that spurred debate and action within both Democratic and Republican parties, public discourse, and social policy from after 9/11 to 2012. The success of the 2005 Minuteman Project border patrol demonstrated that the federal government lacked the political will to control the U.S.–Mexico border. This dissertation adds to the social movement literature demonstrating that both classical and solidarity theories of social movements help explain how restrictionists framed unauthorized noncitizen issues. Ultimately, this study finds RSMs represent a right-wing mobilization (rather than conservative) because of their singling out of Mexican unauthorized noncitizens, extra-institutional action on the border, the use of inflammatory rhetoric, and anti-Catholic sentiment, which contributed in pushing the Republican Party further to the right.

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## Table of Contents

List of Figures .....	x
List of Tables .....	xi
Acknowledgements .....	xii
Dedication .....	xiv
Chapter 1 - Overview .....	1
Purpose of Study and Research Questions .....	5
Methodology .....	7
Contributions to Sociological Theory .....	9
Organization of Dissertation .....	10
Chapter 2 - The Historical Context of Anti-Illegal Sentiment.....	14
The Social Construction of Illegality .....	15
Post-World War II Immigration Developments: The Gate Opens a Little .....	18
The Latent Effects of the 1965 Immigration Act.....	19
The Long 1990s .....	21
Chapter 3 - Theories of Collective Action in the Context of Right-Wing Movements: An	
Overview and Critique.....	26
Classical Models of Social Movements.....	26
Criticisms of the Classical Model of Social Movement .....	32
The Cultural Context of Framing.....	35
The Diversity of the Right .....	37
Defining Rightists .....	38
Culture Wars .....	46
“Losing Our Unique American Identity” .....	49
“An American Host with Foreign Parasites” .....	53
Restrictionists Get an Invitation to the Tea Party .....	56
Similarities and Differences Between Restrictionists and Tea Partiers .....	57
Chapter 4 - The DAR: Membership Has Its Privileges (and its Burdens).....	62
DAR as an Organization .....	63
Organizational Structure of DAR .....	65

Resolutions Process: Inner Machinations of an Exclusive Organization .....	67
“Transforming the Foreign” .....	69
The DAR in the 1950s: Continued Support of Immigration Restriction .....	72
Making Americans of Poor Whites.....	75
Marianne Anderson: And Justice for Some .....	77
The DAR Respond to 9/11 .....	79
Chapter 5 - Method of Inquiry .....	83
Overview of Research Design .....	83
Selection of Research Participants.....	84
Overview of Information Needed .....	85
Methods For Data Analysis and Synthesis .....	86
Data Analysis and Synthesis.....	87
Steps to Data Analysis and Synthesis .....	88
Back to the Literature.....	96
Theoretical Concepts: Agents of Threat and Identities of Privilege.....	96
Agents of Threat .....	96
Identities of Privilege.....	97
Credibility of Research, Limitations, and Ethical Considerations.....	98
Getting Restrictionists on the Record .....	99
Limitations .....	102
Summary.....	104
Chapter 6 - Findings.....	106
Lou Dobbs: Right-Wing Media Cheerleader.....	106
Identities of Privilege and Agents of Threat: Guest Worker Programs .....	108
The Case of Sanctuary Cities .....	113
Social Policy and Denying Federal Funding to Sanctuary Cities .....	116
Constructing Villains in the Sanctuary City Debate .....	117
The Dream Act: Rewarding Illegal Behavior .....	119
Agents of Threat: 9/11 and its Aftermath .....	122
Agents of Threat: The Conspiracy of Open Border and Ethnocentric Activists .....	126
Ethnocentric Groups: Putting Ethnicity before Citizenship.....	130

Summary.....	131
Meeting the Monster: Coming Face-to-Face With Restrictionists .....	132
Agent of Threat: Changing American Way of Life .....	137
Agent of Threat: Practicing Rule of Law.....	143
Agent of Threat: Holding Feds’ Feet to the Fire.....	148
Agent of Threat: ReConquista: Wanting to Take Over .....	149
Annie Get Your Gun: “Minutewomen” and Border Watches .....	151
Restrictionist Social Movements: Identities of Privilege.....	152
Dropping the Hyphen.....	152
Summary.....	155
DAR Interview Data .....	156
Preserving Traditional Values.....	158
Agent of Threat: Holding Feds’ Feet to the Fire.....	161
Identities of Privilege.....	164
Dropping the Hyphen.....	164
DAR Members React to Reconquista.....	167
Summary.....	168
Chapter 7 - Making Sociological Sense of Border Patriots .....	169
Restrictionist Social Movements as Political Theater .....	171
Border Patriots: Americans as Collective Victims .....	175
Making Sociological Sense of DAR.....	180
DARs “Little Green Book” and the White Washing of History .....	181
DAR: Hard Core Feminists Need Not Apply .....	184
Chapter 8 - Conclusion .....	186
DAR and White Racial Frames .....	186
Removing Race from the Anti-immigrant Agenda.....	188
Immigrants as Freeloaders .....	190
Immigrants Refusal to Assimilate.....	191
9/11 and Security Threats .....	192
Problems With Restrictionist Frames .....	194
Politics, the Hispanic Vote, and Immigration Reform.....	196

References.....	200
Appendix A - Interview Schedule and Consent Form.....	206
Appendix B - Conceptual Framework .....	212
Appendix C - DAR Membership by States.....	214

## List of Figures

Figure 5.1 Code Document Example Using Word .....	90
Figure 5.2 Alphabetized Table of Codes Using Words Table of Authorities feature.....	91
Figure 5.3 Qualitative Research Control Panel (QRCP) Using MS Access.....	92
Figure 5.4 Level 2 and Level 1 Codes Using MS Access Reports .....	94
Figure 5.5 Total Number of Level 3, 2, and 1 Codes Discovered in Study.....	95
Figure 5.6 Illustrates one-to-many relationship using MS Access's query function.....	96
Figure 6.1 Lou Dobbs Context Variables (2005-2008) .....	107
Figure 6.2 Restrictionist: Significant Level 3 and Level 2 Codes .....	137
Figure 6.3 Minuteman Project volunteers Raymond Herrera (third from left) and Robin Hvidston (waving U.S. flag) protesting in front of member of Congress Jerry Lewis's office .....	140
Figure 6.4 DAR: Significant Level 3 and Level 2 Codes .....	159
Figure 7.1 Minuteman Project Media Exposure .....	173
Figure 8.1 Robin Hvidston and other restrictionists protesting outside of a church.....	196

## List of Tables

Table 4.1 DAR Yearly Membership (1999-2010).....	64
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fifteen minutes, and come back and give us a world-class lecture, showing Dr. Schaeffer's wide breadth of knowledge and complete mastery over historical and sociological content. Schaeffer's class was more than a class; it was an experience. Finally, Dr. Schaeffer sets an instructive example for other professors, "Let your thoroughbred's run!" Finally, to graduate students struggling with the dissertation process: don't quit, ever! Send me an email. I will help you.

## Dedication

To the memory of Dr. Antonio Riquelme, a fighter for social justice, who, before arriving in the United States via Mexico, was tortured in his native Paraguay and outlived two dictators. He desired that the United States live up to its ideals of individual freedom and democracy. To the memory of Ernie Moran, who passed away during the writing of this dissertation, an American GI Forum (AGIF) member of Victorville, California; if other Americans had half of Ernie's enjoyment for civic participation, the United States and the world would be a better place to live, love, and work. To Anthony Hanson *aka* "The Refuter" for his logical mind and friendship, and to David Tully for encouragement and many fun late night chats. To the late Dr. Ted Fisher, my uncle, the first pediatric cardiologist in the S.F. Bay Area, who always lectured me on continuing my education and served as an early mentor for me. To my father, a German-Jewish refugee via Shanghai, China—Werner M. Cohn—who received his bachelor's degree from SFSU in Sociology and master's degree from UC Berkeley in Social Work, and who passed away while I was an adolescent. I will always keep you in my memories. I hear you, father, Am Echad (we are one). To all the teachers who served as my mentors, and who believe strongly in providing students with a good public school education. Finally, to my mother Mona Cohn, the strongest woman I know. I love you Mom!

## Chapter 1 - Overview

For most of the past 200 years, American whites, very often but not exclusively Protestant, restricted immigration of people viewed as belonging to inferior racial groups. In various attempts to deny immigrants citizenship, they viewed Catholic and Jewish immigrants as different and regarded Latinos, Africans, Asians, and Native Americans with animosity. Sometimes nativists protecting the American frontier physically attacked Mexican immigrants. Legal scholar John Yoxal was perhaps the first author to discuss the legality of the U.S.–Mexico border assembly in 2005. He described past nativist violence directed toward Mexican immigrants. “Between 1848 and 1879 Mexicans were lynched at a rate of 473 per 100,000 of population, in comparison, African Americans lynched at a rate of 52.8 victims per 100,00 of population in Mississippi between 1880 and 1930” (522). But the ongoing immigration of Catholics and Jewish immigrants before World War I, the entry of Asians and Hispanics after World War II, the decline in racialized views associated with the rise of the civil rights movement, and human rights concerns on the U.S.-Mexico border made it difficult to sustain restrictionist, anti-immigrant positions based on racial identity. Of course, some anti-immigrant organizations (e.g., the KKK) continued to argue these groups should not be admitted because they were different in racial or religious terms, but they lost political support and credibility.

In the late 1970s, immigrant restrictionists exemplified by Gov. Pete Wilson's (R-CA) Proposition 187 that sought to deny unauthorized immigrants benefits, advanced a new way to conceptualize immigration. Rather than using race or cultural differences as chief criterion, the new restrictionists sought to deny entry new immigrants because they posed cultural, economic, and security threats to the United States. After 9/11, unauthorized citizens that were regarded as security risks became even more prominent. Having dispensed with racial difference as a

condition for membership in the polity, despite rhetorical and sometimes even physical attacks on middle easterners after 9/11, restrictionists advanced a series of moral differences as criteria for exclusion.

First, they argued that contemporary immigrants were different from previous immigrants (who became American citizens) because they came here illegally, whereas previous generations of immigrants came here legally. Because the new immigrants willfully broke the law, restrictionists' reasoning went, they have immoral values compromising their ability to act as citizens (who are expected to uphold the rule of law), if they were allowed to naturalize. Furthermore, because new immigrants arrived here "illegally," restrictionists argue that they should not be rewarded with amnesty or allowed to naturalize, which historically has been the path to citizenship for immigrants after they arrived.

Second, the new restrictionists view new immigrants as different from previous immigrants because in their view the new ones, rather than coming for economic opportunity, exploit social welfare benefits, which are provided at the expense of taxpaying citizens. By portraying recent immigrant noncitizens as freeloaders, rather than hard workers, restrictionists argue they are fundamentally different from previous generations of immigrants. New immigrants, rather than adjusting to the host society, demand that U.S. society adjust to them.

Third, the new restrictionists propose that earlier immigrants' voluntarily abandoned old-world values, languages and cultures, and willingly adopted American language, culture, and values. The new immigrants, however, seek to preserve their own languages and cultures in separate ethnic enclaves and refuse to assimilate. Mexican "illegals" with the aid of the Mexican government, restrictionists hold, even seek to reclaim American lands and establish their own political/cultural territory, which they describe as Atzlan. Fourth, restrictionists insist that

unauthorized noncitizens evade law enforcement and live in the shadows, seemingly increasing the risk of terrorist attacks occurring on U.S. soil.

In a 2005 op-ed piece, columnist Peggy Noonan asked, “What does it mean that your first act on entering a country is breaking its laws?” She argued that “illegal immigrants” should be denied entry and citizenship because they were different from previous groups of “legal immigrants.” But it is perhaps more accurate to describe them as “unauthorized non-citizens,” “immigrants outside of the law,” or “unauthorized populations,” rather than “undocumented.” On the question of proper documentation, many unauthorized noncitizens do have documents, yet in most cases they are either expired or fraudulent, this researcher argues, making “illegal alien” at least as accurate as “undocumented.” Nonetheless as described in Chapter Two, citizenship status was malleable when the state used its discretionary power. Although “illegal alien” is a proper governmental term, some interviewees viewed it as essentializing, reducing individuals to their citizenship status. “I don't like that term,” argued American GI Forum (AGIF) Commander Jose Olivas of Ulysses, Kansas, an organization made of primarily of Mexican-American veterans, “I tell my Congressman, Representatives, Senators, and anybody that will listen to me and say that it's not an appropriate term. Undocumented would be better.” Furthermore, despite false documents, most stay within the rule of law to avoid police confrontations and possible deportation. The unauthorized population has seen dramatic increases, which grew from 3.5 million in 1990, to 8.4 million in 2000, and to 11.1 million in 2005. Demographers estimate the unauthorized population peaked in 2007 at 12 million, and then declined to 11.1 million, or 28 percent of the total foreign-born population in 2009. This population contains a large number of children. Approximately five million lived in households with at least one unauthorized immigrant parent in 2009 (Donato et al. 531). These demographic changes in unauthorized

noncitizen populations resulted in restrictionists directing their attention away from legal immigrants to "illegal" immigrant populations. In 2005, restrictionist rhetoric fused with action when voluntary citizen patrols assembled on the U.S.–Mexico border.

In April 2005, the Minuteman Project, a restrictionist anti-immigrant group, organized voluntary “border patrols” on the Arizona side of the U.S.–Mexico border, drawing attention to the federal governments supposed failure to seal the border, a powerful theme in post–September 11th political debates. Immediately they were able to reduce clandestine entry into the United States. At the same time, CNN's conservative television commentator Lou Dobbs made immigration outside of the law a central topic of debate on his nightly broadcasts, which raised the profile of anti-immigrant groups and made the issue a part of a wider public debate. The post–911 RSMs successfully framed the crucial distinction between legal and illegal migration for a national audience. Restrictionists brought attention to unauthorized populations and their effects: low-wage employment that create new “bottom floors” for wages, employers disregarding labor laws through unauthorized noncitizen hiring, unfunded federal mandates to states that must provide unauthorized noncitizen children a K–12 education, federally mandated hospital emergency room stabilization care, and funding criminal justice systems to charge and to incarcerate criminal unauthorized noncitizens who have broken laws. The border watch campaign was designed to shame the federal government into action. Provocative political theater, it garnered significant media attention and influenced both political parties and public opinion concerning immigration-outside-of-the-law issues. Minuteman calls to stop the “invaders” coincided with calls from prominent U.S. politicians to militarize the border (Chavez 9). The success of the 2005 Minuteman Project border patrol stoked by intense media coverage demonstrated the federal government lacked the political will to control the U.S.–Mexico border.

Beyond surveillance practices, the Minuteman Project influenced public opinion and furthered perceptions of lax immigration policies (Chavez 2). According to Chavez, “Through the dramatics of the ‘hunt’ for noncitizen ‘prey,’ the Minuteman Project enacted a right of policing non-citizens, an act of symbolic power and violence that defined their own citizen-subject status” (26). Restrictionist took matters into their own hands, defining “legitimate” citizens versus “illegitimate,” predominantly Mexican, “residents.”

### **Purpose of Study and Research Questions**

The purpose of this multi-theoretical study is to explore the cultural, economic, and security factors that resulted in the success of Minuteman Project border patrol in April 2005. Despite weak organizational ties, RSMs brought awareness to contentious immigration-outside-of-the-law issues, which spurred debate and action in both Democratic and Republican parties, public discourse, and social policy from after 9/11 to 2012. After the election on 27 June 2013, for example, the Democratic-led U.S. Senate passed a comprehensive immigration bill, while the Republican-dominated House of Representatives refused even to consider it. The Senate bill included a pathway for citizenship and \$46 billion in border enforcement spending. In the House, GOP politicians, who were afraid of alienating restrictionist voters in their own base, refused to provide a pathway to citizenship for unauthorized noncitizens, which they viewed as amnesty. “Americans expect, as a nation of laws, that we’ll enforce them—starting at the border, proposed speaker of the House (R-OH) John Boehner, “they expect that no one who broke our laws will get special treatment.”<sup>1</sup> House Deputy GOP whip Peter Roskam (R-IL) described the Senate bill as “a pipe dream” and stated it would not be voted on by the House.<sup>2</sup> Immigration reform,

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<sup>1</sup> Ferraro, T., “McCain: ‘We Are Not Winning’ Push for Immigration Reform.” *Washington Post* 19 July 2013

<sup>2</sup> Okeefe, Ed., “Senate Approves Comprehensive Immigration Bill.” *Washington Post* 27 June 2013

particularly with regards to unauthorized immigration, has become a mainstream issue. Political parties, then, must have a stance on immigration reform as they do on other economic and social issues such as taxation and abortion. Moreover, it appears the Democratic Party is winning current battles, particularly after Republican defeat in the 2012 presidential election. But how did immigration outside of the law become mainstream economic, political, and social issues? A significant part of the answer lies in the grassroots, anti-“illegal” immigrant movements.

The success of the 2005 Minuteman Project border patrol demonstrated the federal government lacked the political will to control the U.S.–Mexico border. Social movements must compete with other claims makers in the “social movement marketplace,” and getting an issue to resonate within public discourse is usually not a “one-shot” effort (Best 44). When they campaigned against immigration in the post-9/11 world, restrictionists took pains to demonstrate they were not xenophobes, single-issue folks, “crazies,” “vigilantes,” or “racists,” but represented something “new.” Sociologist Joe R. Feagin argues nativist, anti-immigrant movements are not new. “Many native-born Americans are rising to assert their desire to shape the U.S. population, once again in narrow cultural or racial terms” (*Old Poison* 15). But if they wanted to change public opinion and shape public policy, they needed to reframe their arguments. To understand these developments, this dissertation explored a central question: How have contemporary restrictionists framed their anti-immigrant principles, practices, and policies in the post-9/11 period? It argues the “new” restrictionist successfully framed issues related to unauthorized noncitizens concerning the cultural, economic, and security risks they posed to the United States.

The 2005 RSMs were compared with an older organization, the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), established in 1891. Each “Daughter,” as they are affectionately

known, traces her lineage back to an individual who fought or provided material aid in the Revolutionary War against Britain. The DAR comprise U.S. citizen women who seek to preserve the rule of law, support English as the official language of the United States, and value assimilation into American culture. The Daughters still publish a citizenship manual, an updated version given to newcomers since Ellis Island. In the 1960s representatives from the DAR spoke before Congress on the question of immigration issues, seeking to limit the influx of immigrants. The DAR lobbied in support of national origins quota. The DAR sought an orderly queue of immigrants appropriately assimilated into American culture and traditions, while rejecting unauthorized immigration as early as the 1920s. The DAR differs in important ways from RSMs, which have more political ends than the DAR. For example Dixie Roberts, a DAR interviewee, emphasized the Tea Party was too far to the right for her. The interviews with restrictionists, for example, were more politically charged than interviewing members of the DAR. The second research question is: How do established conservative, patriotic organizations (e.g., DAR) understand immigration outside of the law?

### *Methodology*

This researcher conducted fifty semi-structured interviews with members of patriotic voluntary organizations. Because this study was concerned primarily with RSMs that do not promote violence to achieve their objectives (e.g., militia organizations), interviews included members of Jim Gilchrist's Minuteman Project, American Patriots' Coalition, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), and a member of the John Birch Society (JBS). Because many of these groups are gender-identified, and rely heavily on males, this researcher interviewed women in the Daughters of the American Revolution, a women's organization with a long history of participation concerning immigration and anti-immigration issues. This

researcher also examined the transcripts of Lou Dobbs, a conservative TV commentator who supported anti-immigrant social movements on the air. Also interviewed were members of pro-immigrant organizations, civil rights organization made up primarily of Mexican-Americans veterans, the AGIF, and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the oldest Latin American organization in the United States.

With permission from the Institutional Review Board at Kansas State University, this researcher invited interview subjects to identify themselves by name and make their comments part of a public record. Although they were given the opportunity to express their views without attribution or affiliation, most of them agreed to “go on the record.” Because restrictionists went “on the record,” their comments are available both to the larger academic community and the public. The data was collected through five different means: historical context, interviews, document analysis, participant observation, and video. A review of the literature was used to provide historical contexts for the organizations studied, explain findings from interview and document data, and to provide theoretical tools for analyzing the data. Once the data from interviews, TV transcripts, and organizational histories was collected, I used grounded theory to create codes, categories, and themes used by restrictionists to frame their views about immigration outside of the law.

This study compares the new restrictionist organizations with a more established one, the DAR. Although historians have studied the DAR, sociologists have largely neglected them. This dissertation examined the DAR’s record on immigration and conducted interviews with current DAR members. The organization was chosen because it has a long history of public opposition to immigration. In the 1960s, the DAR staunchly defended the national origins quota system. In addition, the DAR served as a contrast to the right-wing anti-immigrant organizations. The right

wing, reflecting ethno-cultural fears amidst U.S. demographic changes, embraced a conspiracy theory in which Mexicans attempted to take back land from the United States.

Restrictionist claims are rife with conspiracy theories helping to rile people up against the large numbers of unauthorized noncitizens on U.S. soil. Beginning in the late 1970s in Orange County, California, the right-wing warned of Mexican nationalism (i.e., Aztlan, ReConquista) that involved claims of an insidious plot to overthrow and re-conquer the border states lost during the U.S.–Mexico War. Drawing its inspiration from Aztec myths and expressions of Chicano cultural pride, Aztlan referred to the presumed ancestral homeland of the Aztecs and its Mexican descendants; reconquista narratives represent a utopian vision to reclaim the ancestral homeland for Mexicans (Gutierrez 184 – 87). At the end of each interview, interviewees were shown a video where thousands of immigrants and their allies marched to demand recognition of rights, Mexican flags and of other foreign flags carried; in contrast, few U.S. flags were visible in the crowd. The video provoked an emotional response from participants, the majority of whom were aware of Aztlan claims. The DAR interviewees, while shocked by the video, were unaware of Aztlan. Restrictionist interviewees insisted Mexican immigrants hold a grudge against the United States and were not loyal to the United States; they feared increasing Mexican nationalism. Regarding pro-immigrant interviewees, some viewed the Aztlan movement as a chimera and a remnant of 1960s Chicano nationalism, while others were proud of immigrants, legal or otherwise, displaying solidarity and marching for their rights.

### ***Contributions to Sociological Theory***

This dissertation explains RSMs through both classical and solidarity/political process social movement theories. Classical theories in the Durkheimian tradition, which maintain that isolated individuals suffering from anomie (i.e., normlessness) and other “irrational” impulses

were more likely to join social movements, dominated social movement literature until the turbulent events of the 1960s. But solidarity/research mobilization and political process models, which, in contrast, hold that social movement participation is “rational” activity, have strongly influenced social movement research since the mid–1960s. McAdam, for example, defines social movements as “organized efforts on the part of excluded groups, to promote or resist changes in the structure of society that involve recourse to non-institutional forms of political participation” (Goodwin and Jasper, 34). This definition, however, omits middle-class movements and privileged groups more likely to perceive the social system as working in their favor. Sociologists have generally defined social movements as “pro-authoritarian,” largely made up of white, middle-class groups. Furthermore, the state is almost always seen as repressive in solidarity models. Yet RSMs, even though they challenged the federal government, were far from being “anti-statist”—they wanted the state to curb immigration outside of the law.

Although scholars have studied the impact of illegal immigration on U.S. wages, and the impact of various congressional acts (e.g., IRCA) and state propositions (e.g., Prop 187) on migration flows, they have not studied RSM frame strategies. An important purpose of this study, then, was to build conceptual development into the unauthorized noncitizen debate. The next section provides a cognitive map of this dissertation.

### ***Organization of Dissertation***

To demonstrate the success of the new restrictionist framings concerning cultural, economic, and security risks posed by the presence of unauthorized noncitizens, this dissertation explains rightists through historical, theoretical, and empirical perspectives while building conceptual development into the noncitizen debate. The Daughters of the American Revolution, an exclusive, lineage-based organization, which has often had a conflicting relationship with

immigration and racial issues, serves as a contrast to the new restrictionists. Finally, this researcher offers a sociological critique of these new restrictionist framings, pointing out the contradictions inherent in restrictionist narratives.

Chapter Two provides the historical context regarding the current immigration debate. It describes the history of citizen groups on the border, the unintended consequences of the 1965 Act Immigration Act, and the criminalization of unauthorized immigration, which resulted in the racialization of Mexicans. After placing legal and unlawful immigration in historical context, Chapter Three identifies the major theories of the classical model of social movements including mass society, status politics, and collective behavior theories, which help to explain the emergence of right-wing social movements. This literature is important for understanding restrictionist framings that use the threat of growing noncitizen resident populations to construct villains and victims (i.e., “agents of threat”) and to push for noncitizen restrictions in accessing both public and private spheres (i.e., “identities of privilege”). The classical model is helpful in explaining the conspiratorial, Reconquista (i.e., Aztlán) movement. Next, this researcher examines post–World War II American conservatism, describing how the modern libertarian movement and traditional conservatives put aside their differences to solidify the Right. By placing the right wing in historical context, this chapter demonstrates the importance of grassroots, intellectual, and political elements in the rise of the Right. Finally, the culture wars related to unauthorized immigration is examined exploring the ideas of popular restrictionists (e.g., former member of Congress Tom Tancredo (R-CO) who became major players within the Republican Party and pushed it further to the right.

Chapter Four presents a history of the DAR as an organization and explains how the DAR “reached up” to influence powerful players and institutions, and also “reached down” to

fund schools in impoverished southern areas. It examines the historical development of the DAR in the context of American conservatism and immigration, and shows how the DAR defended traditional conservatism. The DAR took a pragmatic approach to legal immigration. It worked to socialize immigrants, encouraged them to adopt American principles, learn English and assimilate, making them less likely to join subversive, anti-American organizations. Finally, DAR's response to 9/11 is analyzed.

Chapter Five describes this dissertation's research methodology, which used grounded theory to analyze the data. This approach enabled this researcher to develop codes and categories, which helped identify the two major themes in the interviews and transcripts: agents of threat and identities of privilege. Restrictionists used "agents of threat" to identify people as either villains or victims in the noncitizen debate; they used "identities of privilege" to argue full access to private and public spheres were guaranteed only to U.S. citizens. The reader is taken step-by-step through the coding process where categories were developed.

Chapter Six presents findings from conservative television commentator Lou Dobbs's TV transcripts from 2005 to 2008, identifying important contextual variables, such as the lingering impact of September 11th, guest worker programs, sanctuary cities, and socio-ethnocentric special interest groups. Dobbs helped RSMs to shape their ideas and frame their issues, practices, and politics. The most important level 2 codes based on interviews with restrictionists and the DAR were subsumed and analyzed under the two Level 3 categories: agents of threat and identities of privilege. Chapter Seven provides theoretical explanations of the findings in Chapter Six. This researcher argues both classical and solidarity/resource mobilization theories explain the emergence of RSMs. The success of the 2005 border watch is explained as an "image event," designed to draw media attention and shape the ideological debate concerning immigration

outside of the law. Finally, the Daughters are explained using frame analysis developed by Feagin (*White Racial Frame*), explaining the problems DAR had in balancing white racial frames with liberty-and-justice frames. Chapter Eight concludes the dissertation by providing a sociological critique of restrictionist arguments while examining the consequences of anti-immigrant practices and policies for the Republican Party.

## Chapter 2 - The Historical Context of Anti-Illegal Sentiment

On 14 August 2012, the “DREAMers” began petitioning for de facto residency in the United States without fear of deportation; they are the children of unauthorized noncitizens parents who arrived in the United States prior to the age of 16. With few constitutional norms to guide immigration policy, immigration policy has been implemented either through the executive branch or Congress. Obama’s stay-of-deportation for DREAMers was an example of the executive branch using its power of discretion. The backlash was immediate and intense. Critics complained concerning the costs of the initiative because each petition for temporary amnesty must be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. Republicans viewed the executive order as a tactic to motivate Latino voters to get to the polls and negatively affected working-class Americans. “This undercuts the 23 million unemployed or underemployed Americans,” declared chair of the House Judiciary Committee Lamar Smith (R-TX).<sup>3</sup>

This chapter charts the development of immigration from a focus on legal immigration to a focus on unauthorized immigration. It argues the state has not been a benign actor, using its power of discretion and non-discretion to promote or hinder the ascent of different groups—Europeans on a legal path toward assimilation and citizenship—unauthorized noncitizen Mexicans remaining unassimilated residents. “Aliens” are troubling in comparison to previous European immigrants because rather than just coming for economic opportunities, they “mooch” off of the U.S. taxpayer. In addition to burdening U.S. taxpayers, Latinos/as were accused of holding onto their Spanish language, having dual loyalties and even attacking America from within as a sort of fifth column (e.g., Aztlan). The association of Europeans with legality and Mexicans, whether legal or not, with illegality resulted in the racialization of Mexicans,

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<sup>3</sup> Hendrix, Steve, “Young Immigrants Can Apply for Dream Act- like Protections Starting Wednesday.” *The Washington Post* 14 August 2012

reflecting legislative (in) actions and social policy choices, creating caste-like conditions for unauthorized noncitizens.

### **The Social Construction of Illegality**

Early themes in U.S. immigration law focused on legal rather than unlawful entry while attempting to preserve the native stock of northern and western Europeans. From 1924-1952, the United States denied immigrants from Latin America and Asia. The 1924 Immigration Act broadened the restrictions of the 1917 Immigration Act. The quotas for 1924 were based on the percentages for each immigrant group living in the United States in 1890, and prior to the 1890 U.S. census, there were significantly fewer southern and eastern Europeans living in the United States in comparison to northern and western Europeans. Historian Steven Gillon explains the discriminatory effects of the 1924 Act. "Europe consumed 98% of the [1924] quota, leaving only 2% for the rest of the world. Three countries—Ireland, Great Britain, and Germany—accounted for nearly 70% of the total. In addition to dramatically cutting immigration rates of southern Europe—Italians and Greeks were especially hard hit—the law almost completely excluded Asians" (164). Nevertheless, some Europeans overcame their illegal status. Historian Mae Ngai described a formal agreement between U.S. Immigration Service and Canada whereby a European immigrant became a citizen of the United States:

Europeans could go to Canada and be admitted to the United States legally after they had resided in Canada for five years. The evidence suggests that this was a popular strategy: the proportion of lawful admissions from Canada from persons not born in Canada increased from 20 percent in 1925 to over 50 percent in early 1930s. And, as European immigrants in United States became naturalized citizens, they could bring relatives over legally as non-quota immigrants. In 1927, 60 percent of non-quota immigrants admitted to U.S. were from Italy, with next largest groups coming from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Greece. (84)

Europeans, even those with criminal records, were able to overcome their unlawful status. Notably, this was an example how “the INS suspended state territoriality in order to unmake the illegal status of certain immigrants” (Ngai 101).<sup>4</sup> On the one hand, it became possible for Italians, Polish, and other European “illegal” immigrants through the power of administrative discretion to overcome their unauthorized status. On the other hand, Mexican immigrants were unable to overcome their unauthorized status. Although not overtly racist, these state actions were discriminatory in their consequences.

It is fundamental to American identity that Europeans seemingly chose the path of legal immigration. The Mexican immigrant, however, seemingly preferred illegal routes. Volpp insists the selective forgiving of illegal status associated with European immigrants has been ignored by historians. Illegal entry became a phenomenon not after 1965, as some scholars have assumed, but in the 1920s. “Illegal immigration before that [1920s] was "minimal" and "easily controlled" not because fewer immigrants were seeking entry but because there were fewer laws that made immigrants illegal as well as less surveillance” (1615). Prior to the restrictive 1920s, government officials used discretion in dealing with illegality, for instance, allowing the private sphere and market forces to sort out the relationship between employers and workers outside of the law—acknowledging southwest U.S. territorial lands as a de facto Mexico. Mexicans were coming into the southwestern United States to work in railroad construction, mining, and agriculture. Ngai observes that the Immigration Bureau perceived the Southwest as the "natural habitat" of

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<sup>4</sup>The number of Europeans legalized was not insignificant. Ngai observes that “not all illegal European immigrants were legalized, but a rough estimation suggests that between 1925 and 1965 some 200,000 illegal European immigrants, constructed as deserving, successfully legalized their status under the Registry Act, through pre—examination, or by suspension of deportation” (107).

Mexicans and “regulated by labor market demands” (82). The law, then, was malleable.

Motomura emphasizes state authority impacted the economic, political, and social construction of illegality:

The hallmark of enforcement against Mexican immigrants was *discretionary* [emphasis added] reflecting the needs of employers, who preferred to hire Mexican workers with temporary legal status or no legal status at all [i.e., those outside of the law]. They were a flexible, disposable workforce, ready to work when needed, but when compared to Europeans, more easily sent home when they were not. (2050)

Notably, there were no congressional numerical restrictions on migrants from Mexico during the 1920s. Nevertheless, Mexican immigrants were controlled in other ways. Ngai argues it was surprising Mexicans became associated with illegal immigration in the 1920s. “It was ironic that Mexicans became so associated with illegal immigration because, unlike Europeans, they were not subject to numerical quotas and, unlike Asiatics, they were not excluded as racially ineligible to citizenship” (89). The 1929 law criminalized unlawful entry by making it a misdemeanor. Deportations of unauthorized Mexicans increased dramatically—from 1751 expulsions in 1925 to 15,000 in 1929 (Ngai 84). The new laws disrupted the circular movement of migrants back and forth across the border, as migrants feared returning to Mexico and not being able to return to the United States. As border security was tightened making it harder for back and forth movement across the border, the more permanent presence of unauthorized populations within the United States was judged a “success” by U.S. policymakers. Volpp contends that “today the conflation of the racial identity ‘Mexican’ with ‘illegal alien’ is indisputable” (1597). Interviewee Angel Luevano, National Vice President of the Far West League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), explained the perceived lack of social distance between himself and a noncitizen:

There I am 17 years old working for Julius Goldman's Egg City in Moorpark, CA; undoubtedly they hired a lot of undocumented, but there were other people like me who were documented working there for the summer. Everybody got stopped by Border Patrol, and I got thrown up against the car and asked for papers. . . . I was working on a roof taking out nails from chicken coops and seeing the Border Patrol vans rush in and see everybody run, and I would run too. They said, "Why are you running?" I saw everybody run, so I ran as well, crazy.

The threat of deportation was necessary to control a flexible labor force—turned on when U.S. firms needed cheap labor—turned off when unemployment was high or when there were public outcries for tighter border enforcement.

### ***Post-World War II Immigration Developments: The Gate Opens a Little***

The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 reinstated the national origins quota with an exception—immigrants from Asian and Latin American countries were allowed to immigrate to the United States. The numerical inclusion of immigrants from Asia rewarded the immigrants of Asian countries, notably China, for supporting the Allied cause during the Second World War. Nonetheless, the quotas allotted to Asian immigrants were few—Chinese immigrants were allotted 105 visas (Gillon 165). Even with movement toward tolerance after the Second World War, restrictionist sentiment remained strong in the United States. The same arguments resulting in the passage of the 1924 Immigration Act were used to justify the enactment of the 1952 Immigration Act. Liberalization of McCarran-Walter, a clubwoman from the voluntary association General Federation insisted, would "flood the American labor market with cheap workers and introduce a large number of unassimilable people, while the bill as it was originally conceived served to protect the American way of life." According to a General Federation member, "By guarding our liberties we will promote the peace of the world. . . . This is our country, not to be entered by the rest the world and turned into something else" (Olsen

191). Critics of liberalizing McCarran-Walter insisted that "subversive organizations" were the primary critics of the original restrictive legislation. Members of DAR held similar restrictionist sentiments and doubts about assimilating many million newcomers, which is further examined in Chapter Four.

### *The Latent Effects of the 1965 Immigration Act*

The 1965 Immigration Act ended the discriminatory national origins quota system while creating significant unintended consequences. Immigrants from all over the world were eligible for entry into the United States, and for the first time, numerical limits were imposed on immigrants from Mexico and Canada. The consequences of the act included reduced immigration from northern and western Europe, with increased immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe (particularly Italy), with the greatest increases coming from Latin America and Asia. Earlier the Johnson administration had passed the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Right Act. Koed insists the 1965 Immigration Act was a rush job. The United States was experiencing riots and assassinations, escalation in Vietnam, and the window was closing in on the Johnson administration to act. "It is in this rush to get the policy enacted," Koed emphasized, "that we find the roots of future unintended consequences" (289). Journalist Theodore White described the Immigration Act of 1965 as "the most thoughtless of the many acts of the Great Society" (Gillon 177). According to Koed, policymakers who supported the 1965 Immigration Act failed to foresee significant population increases regarding U.S. refugee policy and chain migration. "Although the congressional debate led policymakers to believe that this would result in about 50,000 immigrants annually, in practice they were soon reaching members many times that figure. By 1975, most of these non-quota immigrants came from Mexico, Asia or central and South America" (282-3).

Another unexpected outcome was growth in unauthorized populations. By 1990, it was estimated approximately three to five million unauthorized immigrants resided in the United States, primarily from Mexico and the Caribbean. Pushed north by poverty and unemployment, most entered the United States looking for seasonal or low-skilled jobs. Koed stressed the causal role the ending of the Bracero Program played in increasing unlawful immigration. “The end of the Bracero Program in 1964, coinciding with the new restrictions on the Western hemisphere, meant many had to seek alternative, or extra-legal, routes to jobs and families in the US” (284). Policymakers failed to predict increases in unauthorized immigration after the Bracero Program had terminated in 1964 in the context of new Western Hemisphere limits on legal immigration.

While scholarly interpretations of the 1965 Hart-Celler Immigration Act pointed to its expansive nature, scholars challenged this narrative. Although it demonstrated the United States did not discriminate based on the racial characteristics of those from sending states, it ignored the *unique* relationship between the United States and Mexico. “Lauded as overturning racial discrimination,” Volpp argued, “[It] did not repeal idea of quotas in immigration; immigration reform was narrowed to the question of formal equality, in terms of apportioning the same number of slots for each country” (1606). The 1965 Immigration Act overturned the racial preferences of national origins quota in favor of formal equality but created new problems. Formal equality associated with the immigration act lacked needed *discretion*, namely, the affiliation between Mexican cheap labor and U.S. labor needs, which caused an increase in unauthorized crossings. This resulted in large numbers of unauthorized crossings followed by increases in deportations. The total quota allotted for the Western Hemisphere was 120,000. In 1968, when these limits went into effect, there was a 40 percent increase in deportations. More importantly, in 1976 the 120,000 Western Hemisphere limit was discontinued, and a 20,000 per

country quota limit was enacted; that year the INS expelled 781,000 Mexicans from the United States. These numbers were far below the total number of apprehensions for “all other nationals of the world, combined, remained below 100,000 a year” (Volpp 1607). Volpp holds formal equality also led to increasing racialization “because assigning a Mexico only 20,000 annual slots for lawful immigration has rendered illegal a large proportion of the Mexican population that sought entry . . .” (1615). Mexicans were defined through illegality, or in Ngai’s terminology, “impossible subjects,” constructed by formally equality because of the numerically restrictive 1965 Immigration Act against the background of the unique but unequal relationship between the United and Mexico. The conventional understanding concerning the ending of the national origins quota—praised as a civil rights victory—was premature. The end to national origin quotas was conceptualized as closure to an ugly history of race-based immigration exclusion, particularly Asian exclusion. Ngai challenges scholars to reconsider the relationship between formal equality and numerical restrictions in the context of U.S.–Mexico economic interdependence.

### *The Long 1990s*

Growing economic interdependence between the United States and Mexico during the 1990s, exemplified by the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), shaped enforcement patterns on the southern border and internally within the United States. “Mexico depends on exporting part of its unemployment problem,” Andreas writes, “which in turn generates as much as \$4 billion in remittances; and U.S. employers depend on cheap labor provided by illegal Mexican workers” (610). This arrangement helps Mexico politically by alleviating population pressures. Nonetheless, capitalist accumulation does not exhaust the legitimating aspects of the state—it must also secure political legitimacy from those governed—there was a non-economic

process involving civil society groups and the state that began some twenty years earlier. Purcell and Nevins emphasized three elements of growing state-society interdependence since the late 1970s: ethno-cultural, socio-economic and bio-physical security of the nation (213).

Volunteer organizations along the U.S.–Mexico border attempted to bring awareness to state and national audiences since the 1970s, marking the beginning of a significantly intensified process transforming the U.S.–Mexico border into a hard boundary, which involved state as well as local political actors. In San Diego, several groups protested to pressure U.S. authorities to construct a stronger infrastructure of control on the border. Purcell and Nevins emphasized some groups were overtly racist (e.g., War Aryan Resistance and the white supremacist American Spring) while others framed their arguments in “anti-immigration/national sovereignty terms” (e.g., Light Up the Border). “In practice,” they write, “the line between these two types of pro-boundary control groups was often rather blurry” (Purcell and Nevins 222-3).

State actors fanned the flames of nativism through their anti-immigrant rhetoric in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1994, Gov. Pete Wilson (R–CA) blamed California's budget crisis on unlawful immigration, which resulted in the passage of Proposition 187 in California; it sought to deny immigrants (including those who were legally present) access to basic entitlements. Restrictionist civil society organizations declared in conspiratorial terms the takeover of the Southwest by Mexicans, who were alleged to hold a grudge against the United States. “Someone is going to be leaving the state. It will be either them or us,” averred Glenn Spencer from *Voice of Citizens Together* (Purcell and Nevins 224).

At issue regarding the ethno-cultural element is the turning of the U.S.–Mexico border from a border into a hard boundary. Overall some 230 million people and 82 million cars enter United States from Mexico every year. Of course, tightening controls at ports of entry risks

creating delays for legitimate border crossers. Border enforcement, however, has been more about image than reality. According to Chavez, “For the Minuteman Project, the ‘breakdown’ of [the] border, as they perceived it, was an empirical assertion that the border was, for all practical purposes, a legal fiction” (26). Border management becomes a game of image management. How the “game” shapes the perceptions of the actors such as the mass media, local residents in border areas, and the broader public has enormous political importance—regardless of whether or not the opposing actors (clandestine border crossers) are actually deterred. Increased border enforcement focused on visible, urban areas, so unauthorized traffic moved to riskier, rural routes—the border then appeared more orderly because greater control was imposed at major, visible urban crossing points. “Even while border controls may fail as a serious deterrent, they reinforce territorial identities,” Andreas emphasizes, “the symbolic effect of concerted focus on the border symbolizes and projects an image of state authority, and re-legitimizes the boundaries of the “imagined community” (615). A less visible clandestine activity included visa overstays. Newcomers arrive legally on work or student visas, their documents expire, yet they remain in country outside of the law. Rather than focusing on status differences as previous nativists have done, the socio-economic effects of unauthorized populations were emphasized. Calavita perceived nativism of the 1990s as “focused almost single-mindedly on immigrants as a tax burden, a focus that is unusual, if not unique in the history of American nativism” (Purcell and Nevins 224-5). Finally, bio-physical fears included unauthorized migrants committing property, violent crimes, and spreading such diseases as malaria and tuberculosis. We now turn to contradictions associated with U.S. social policies regarding both legal and unauthorized populations.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) embraced more restrictive policies, which enlarged spaces of criminalization. Although IRCA's employer enforcement initiatives were gutted due to fears of racial profiling, the resources IRCA provided to states and localities directed the future path of criminalization concerning unauthorized populations. The passage of IRCA in 1986 resulted in a 50 percent increase in the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) enforcement budget (Purcell and Nevins 221). The IRCA was passed at the same time Mexico entered into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades (GATT), which, again, describes spending on enforcement during growing economic integration. The logical error assumes that expenditure on border enforcement is a post-September 11<sup>th</sup> phenomenon. Yet during the Clinton administration plans were for the number of agents to reach 10,000 by 2005 and the amount expended on border enforcement increased to \$3 billion. "These resources are not deployed evenly across the border landscape," Nevins emphasizes, "but tend to be concentrated in varying forms and largely urbanized areas where unauthorized crossing are most common, especially California" (Purcell and Nevins 220). Ridgely explains how IRCA helped to spread immigration enforcement to internal spaces. "Whereas enforcement of employer sanctions program over the years has been insubstantial, further marginalizing migrant workers instead of actually penalizing employers, IRCA did represent a new focus on expanding immigration enforcement beyond the country's borderlands to sites and scales not previously associated with border security"(60). IRCA was symbolic of increased enforcement with local actors asked to play a larger role concerning immigration outside the law.

The 1990s, an era of restrictive federal policies, ushered in a law-and-order approach resulting in increased surveillance and punishment of unauthorized populations, which helped to legitimize withholding civil rights from those outside the law, including due process. In 1996,

the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), and the Personal Responsibility and the Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) were passed; they had several implications, including involving police in civil violations and reducing or eliminating basic entitlements (e.g., SSI, Medicare, food stamps) to unauthorized populations and even immigrants who had partial, legal statuses. Ridgely explained how immigrants were conflated with the poor. “In public discourse immigrants were blamed for erosion of the social safety net, and as noncitizens (both undocumented and legally present) were positioned along with poor racialized groups as abusers of the welfare system”(60). Earlier it was described how Gov. Pete Wilson (R–CA) in 1994 led the restrictionist charge, blaming both legal and extra-legal immigration for significantly contributing to California's budget crisis. Although Prop. 187 was later overturned, it was an important turning point in the criminalization of unauthorized immigrant populations—the legislative action in 1996 was essentially Proposition 187 in federal rather than state form—denying social services to both unauthorized populations and to resident aliens.

The passage of the 1996 legislation created role conflicts as workers in social services, law enforcement, health care, and education were asked to share information with immigration authorities, which engaged service workers in surveillance activities. Furthermore, local police normally involved in criminal behavior associated with unauthorized populations, were forced into immigration control, deporting legally present immigrants who committed crimes (Ridgely 56-57). Changes in enforcement patterns since the mid-1990s included federal government security mandates to enforce all aspects—criminal and *civil*—pertaining to immigration law. Having considered historical developments related to both legal and unauthorized immigration, we now turn to the sociological theories explaining the proliferation of right-wing movements.

## **Chapter 3 - Theories of Collective Action in the Context of Right-Wing Movements: An Overview and Critique**

Substantial shifts often occur regarding the explanatory power of sociological theories. Prior to the 1970s, Marxist, political-economic models explaining the state as a mere servant of the bourgeoisie had dominated sociological theory. Along came state theorists who argued the state can act independently vis-à-vis capitalist formations. Sociological theory witnessed a similar shift regarding social movement theories. Mass society theories popular at mid-twentieth century diminished in explanatory power while solidarity/resource mobilization theories proliferated, emphasizing prior organization and social movements' resources and analyzing the political, economic, and ideological context for mobilization. This researcher argues historical, political, and ideological contexts explain the noncitizen debate, but so are issues previously taken up by researchers in the classical tradition that focused on status loss. For example, the conspiracy theory involving Aztlan, which argues Mexicans want to takeover the United States, is better explained by the classical tradition. This chapter first explains the classical model, critiques the classical model, addresses more recent work in right-wing mobilization studies, and examines the rise of social conservatism after the Second World War.

### **Classical Models of Social Movements**

Modern sociology was born in the wake of the industrial revolution. The social theories of Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Karl Marx were concerned with the “great transformation,” the shift from preindustrial to industrial societies, which included growth of the division of labor, demographic changes including increased movement from rural to urban areas, the rise of scientific perspectives, and the alienating influences of modern society. Durkheimian mass society theories of the 1950s argued social changes involving industrialization, urbanization,

mass communication, bureaucratization, and social welfare institutions resulted in social disorganization, cutting social ties to individuals leaving them to float in a sea of anomie (i.e., normlessness). Activities performed by the family and the community—schooling, work, religion—were taken over by larger collectivities, where the individual voice often felt muted. Furthermore, social action became instrumental; action was geared to specific ends rather than social values. As family influence declined, inherently social values among primary groups such as loyalty and trust became variables. Egalitarian conditions such as equality under the law led to *social leveling*, weakening systems of local, political authority. The solution for mass society theorists were intermediary organizations (i.e., voluntary associations) that reduced alienation and forestalled collective action. Without voluntary associations, mass society theorists argued, social leveling processes led to alienation/deprivation which resulted in collective behavior. Voluntary associations were at the heart of pluralistic political systems whereupon, in theory, every group had equal access to petition the political system with their specific grievance. According to mass society theorist Richard Kornhauser, "Intermediate groups help to protect elites by functioning as channels through which popular participation in larger society (especially in the national elites) maybe direct it and restrained" (Gusfield *Mass Society* 24). While the objective component of the mass society model is the voluntary association, the subjective component is alienation. "To the structural disintegration of society there's added the personal disorganization of the individual," Gusfield wrote, "the psychological consequences of mass society are described in terms of the feeling of detachment. The key word here is alien, 'a mode of experience in which the person experiences himself as an alien'" (*Mass Society* 21). Social isolation results in alienation that becomes extreme behavior (i.e., social movement). Another variation on the classical model is status inconsistency.

With demographic changes occurring in the United States, particularly in California, whites increasingly find themselves among people who look different than they do and have different non-material (e.g. beliefs, values) and material cultures (e.g. foods, music, behaviors). Whites increasingly step into a world not their own. For example, in 2005 there were 36 million foreign-born in the United States, with Mexicans accounting for approximately 30 percent of the total foreign-born of the United States (Buchanan 9). This results in status inconsistency. Status inconsistency has both objective and subjective elements. An objective element includes observable rankings on education, income, occupation, while subjective elements include cognitive dissonance and social atomization. Status inconsistency creates cognitive dissonance that results in social movements. According to Lipset and Raab, “The fluidity of the American social structure—the fact that no group has enjoyed a status tenure in the style of European social classes—has meant that problem of status displacement has been an enduring characteristic of American life” (24). Furthermore, they argue the possibility of status displacement leads to right-wing extremism and right-wing movements. They view right-wing extremism as equated with status preservatism. Right-wing extremism, in turn, is “anti-pluralism,” which leads to the “repression of difference and dissent” and the “closing down of the marketplace of ideas” (6). Right-wing extremism, which is caused by social change and status inconsistency, often contains nativist bigotry. Status displacement is the real cause and it socially constructs nativist bigotry. “Preservatist status backlash triggered by social change ‘invents’ nativist bigotry, Lipsett and Raab argued, “politicalized by conspiracy theory, as its primary instrument” (490). Along with nativism, students of right-wing movements find conspiracy theories. Political collusion explains the history of right-wing extremists. They argue the conspiracy theory is comprehensive in nature, stretching to the past and to the future. According to Richard Hofstadter, conspiracy

theories were the “central preoccupation of the paranoid style—the existence of a vast . . . international conspiratorial network designed to perpetrate acts of the most fiendish character” (quoted in Lipsett and Raab 14). As political tools, conspiracy theories remain empty abstractions unless they can link them with a specific population. Conspiracy theories have surrounded, for example, the Vatican, and resonated through blaming bishops, cardinals, and popes.

The collective behavior model is the most general of the classical model theories. System strains lead to normative ambiguity, which leads to collective action. Smelser’s determinants of any instance of collective action include: (1) structural conduciveness (2) structural strain (3) growth and spread of a generalized belief (4) precipitating factors (5) mobilization of participants for action and, (6) the operation of social control (15–18). Further, because strain is almost always present, other determinants must be factored in during any episode of collective action. “Knowing only structural strain, however, we cannot predict whether one or the other, or neither, will occur,” Smelser wrote, “only by exploring the world of precipitating factors, structural conduciveness, and social controls can we chart patterns of behavior and show why one, rather than another form of collective behavior, makes its appearance” (65). A generalized belief “identifies the source of strain, attributes certain characteristics to this source, and specifies certain responses to the strain as possible or appropriate” (Smelser 16). Generalized beliefs restructure ambiguous situations in a short-circuited way. Short-circuiting involves the jump from extremely high levels of generality to specific, concrete situations (Smelser 82). This process of short-circuiting constitutes the central defining characteristics of generalized beliefs as opposed to other kinds of beliefs. According to Smelser, “Collective behavior is a compressed way of attacking problems created by strain. It

compresses several levels of the *components* of action into a single belief, from which specific *operative solutions* are expected to flow” (71). Components of action include values, norms, organizing individuals into social roles, and situational facilities, or available resources at an actor’s disposal. Of course, values are the most general and situational faculties the most specific; changes to values will affect situational facilities, but not the other way around. Next, using an example from RSMs, this researcher illustrates Smelser’s model.

Lou Dobbs asserted if America was going to control “illegal” immigration then “you cannot reform immigration laws in this country if you cannot control immigration; you cannot control immigration if you do not control our borders and our ports. And I have said that, if anyone will defeat the logic of that syllogism, I will sign on to whatever the heck they have got to offer.”<sup>5</sup> So the main system strain was failure to control U.S. borders and ports, which makes America unable to reform immigration laws (i.e., rule of law is unenforceable with open borders, which leads to political stalemates) as America’s borders remain porous. The *generalized belief* provided by Lou Dobbs and other border-enforcement hawks is that crossing the border is “illegal” activity, performed by people who do not wish to become part of the American fabric (e.g., characteristic of “illegal” population). But border-enforcement hawks are often evasive on specifics. This allows for the possibility of compressed, *short-circuited* beliefs—the consequence of failure to control the border leads to exponential growth in illegal population, which brings drug smuggling, crime, disease, and burdening social welfare systems to America’s shores. In short, generalized beliefs create certainty where there was ambiguity. Next, more recent scholarship using the classical model is presented, followed by a critique of classical models.

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<sup>5</sup> LDT 1 June 2007

The analysis earlier regarding mass society theorists argued social changes spurred feelings of marginality; relatively weak social bonds resulted in severe strain—if these individuals did not join voluntary associations—they were more likely to support or participate in social movements. When mechanisms of social control breakdown (i.e., social change), the socialization patterns and normal routines are disrupted, and individuals become more likely to support or participate in collective action such as riots, rebellions, and violence. This is called “breakdown theory” (Useem, *Breakdown Theories* 215). Breakdown theory has two variants: mass society theory and relative deprivation theory. Regarding relative deprivation theory, Useem argues that “individuals strongly integrated into their community are normally insufficiently discontented to participate in social movements” (*Solidarity and Breakdown* 358). Useem differentiates between two types of relative deprivation: opportunity relative deprivation and outcome relative deprivation. Opportunity relative deprivation is when one group is provided the means to reach a goal while another group is not afforded the same opportunity. For example, some whites believe affirmative action programs provided opportunities to blacks while they have not had the same opportunities. Outcome relative deprivation is when rewards are distributed unfairly in society, causing conflict between groups. This measures perceptions from others about the rewards group members are entitled to in proportion to their efforts. In contrast, solidarity models argue individuals more strongly integrated into social life are more likely to engage in social protest. Individuals who share common values, communication structures, and a history of group involvement are already familiar with others whom presumably share their same values, which makes “bloc mobilization” easier. A significance difference between the models is that breakdown theory focuses on non-routine or “extraordinary” episodes of collective action, while solidarity models tend not to differentiate between types of collective action. Gamson, for

example, declared that rebellion is “simply politics by other means,” thus normalizing collective violence (Useem *Breakdown Theories* 216). This researcher argues both breakdown theory and solidarity models are necessary to explain the emergence of RSMs after 9/11. The classical model was not without its critics—the subject of the next section.

### ***Criticisms of the Classical Model of Social Movement***

Mass society theories waned in the mid–1960s when group solidarity and identity movements including civil rights, the anti–Vietnam War movement, feminist movement, and gay rights movement challenged the state and societal norms—“the very antithesis of homogenized and atomized masses appeared to take center stage in American society,” according to Thomson (430). Group identity and group solidarity, rather than mobilization of atomized individuals, seemed critical to the success of these movements. The basic causal path for classical models holds structural strain leads to disruptive psychological states which lead to social movements. Critics argued the classical model tended to “psychologize” inherently social phenomena—replacing social phenomenon with individual-level explanations. It is difficult to measure “psychological distress” and psychological variables were necessary rather than sufficient causes for the establishment and growth of social movements. If people join social movements to help with psychological distress (e.g., alienation, atomization), due to an influx of migrants (e.g., system strain) to their area, then there is no real reason why they should not join the Promise Keepers, an all-male religious group, instead of the John Birch Society or the Minuteman Project. “Social movements are better left to the social psychologist whose intellectual tools prepare him to better understand the irrational,” opined Gamson (*Strategy of Social Protest* 133). According to McAdam, “Even if one discounts hints of personal pathology, the individual remains, in empirical analysis, the objective of research

attention. . . . The social movement is an emergent group of discontented individuals” (9). Further, McAdam argued classical models emphasized psychological elements while downplaying political and ideological contexts. He stated that “movement participation is held to be based not so much on desire to attain political goals as not need to manage psychological tensions of a stressful social situation” (9). The classical model, then, failed to identify the larger political context, the actual degree of movement success, and public perceptions of success. Furthermore, the notion alienated individuals were more likely to join social movements, was disproven. Gusfield declared that “mass society theory was vulnerable to criticism that alienated, unorganized people were unable to mobilize for collective action. Further it became obvious that modern life was by no means so devoid of social organization or so alienated and anarchic as mass society theorists described” (*Reflexivity of Social Movements* 73). McVeigh, while sympathetic to the classical model, rejects individual-level, anomic assumptions for collective action that characterized the Klan as a “middle-class reaction to cultural challenges.” He asserts that “no evidence has been offered to support the notion that the Klan drew its members from isolated masses. In fact, most historical sociological studies of movement demonstrate that the opposite was true” (*Power Devaluation* 9). According to Blee and Creasap, “Factors such as fear, ignorance, psychological disorder, and status anxiety are rarely invoked in modern sociological studies because there is considerable evidence that rightist movements attract fairly ordinary and often middle-class people, not the frustrated, downwardly mobile, and socially marginal” (271). Few sociologists today argue for the classical model of social movements, which tended to view movement mobilization as a collective manifestation of individual pathologies. Status politics approaches were incomplete, primarily because they did not account for structural components of movements (e.g., political and economic context). According to

McVeigh, “Klan members were concerned with cultural issues, but they were also deeply concerned with advancing their economic interests. The Klan resisted any policies that would benefit working class (presumably at the expense of middle-class recruits), and wanted to dismantle increasingly powerful urban patronage-based machines” (*Structural Incentives* 1468). In sum, classical models were impugned for failing to explain the collective nature of social movements. We now turn to criticism of Lipsett and Raab’s status politics theory.

Lipsett and Raab argued the possibility of status displacement was a permanent feature of the social formation of the United States since its inception. If status displacement is a constant reality of American life, then they back themselves into a corner. Lipset and Raab were accused of explaining a variable (extremism) with a constant (status deprivation). Schlesinger argued that “status deprivation has been so ubiquitous in our history it is meant to explain too much, so it explains too little” (10-12). Lehman disagreed pointing out Lipset and Raab recognized status deprivation was not equally distributed in space, time, or intensity (hence a variable). Moreover, the work of Lipset and Raab was understood as tautological—status displacement generates movements to eliminate status displacement! This results in extremism or monism and the closing down of the “marketplace of ideas.” Again, the variation in the *intensity* of status displacement makes it, this researcher argues, a variable and not a mere tautology, explaining crucial processes in the precarious balance between pluralist democracy and extremism. Finally, Ribuffo accused Lipset and Raab of a “tortured attempt to force the square peg of 'monism' into the round hole of American history” (Lehman 273). Next, recent work on the reframing of whiteness from a cultural rather than purely psychological bent is examined.

### *The Cultural Context of Framing*

Framing shapes an interpretation of an event to ensure that the interpretation becomes primary. It is inherently symbolic in nature. The placement of a U.S. flag on a building in a foreign country, for instance, may symbolize freedom to U.S. military men and civilians, while at the same time, symbolizing occupation to outsiders—same symbol, different interpretation. In the late 1970s, New Racist White Movements (NRWs) were led by the charismatic David Duke, former Grand Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK). At issue was the way in which New Racist Whites (NRWs) present their discourses to ensure they attain cultural resonance. Because Klansmen were perceived as “ignorant, dirty, and hateful,” and that those who call themselves Klansmen were “simply weirdos, or nuts looking for publicity or violence,” Duke sought to extricate white supremacists from the deviant space they occupied. Duke started a new organization called the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP). The reason for the new organization, Duke wrote, was to “emphasize a positive approach as a pro-white organization rather than simply anti-black, a subtle, but important distinction” (Berbrier, *Making Minorities* 573-77). He envisioned the NAAWP as a parallel organization to the NAACP. The NAAWP defined itself as a non-profit organization defending white interests and rights in the same fashion that the NAACP worked for the advancement of African Americans. According to Berbrier, “NRWs perceive a social structure and cultural setting in which claims to ethnic or minority status might attract adherents from the ranks of moderate to conservative whites, while softening their image among nonwhite, non-racist and/or liberal opponents” (*Half the Battle* 436). New Racist White movements voluntarily move into cultural spaces deemed as desirable places in a post-civil rights era. Moreover, there is no perceived cost for doing so. Berbrier argues that NRWs might be racist but this does not separate them from others because “being a ‘racist’ is simply recognizing the differences— both cultural

and biological—among racial groups, and realizing the "value" of keeping them separated physically. The status of 'racist' entails normal and natural sentiments. Socially, being a 'racist' is simply placing value in expressing pride in one's heritage and one's culture: being 'racist' is not a negative hatred but a positive love of one's own kind" (*Half the Battle* 444). Surprisingly, Duke even lauds Malcolm X. "This might sound strange, but I respected Malcolm X. He preached that blacks should be proud of their own people. If I were black like Malcolm, I'd also want to stick up for my culture and way of life" (*Making Minorities* 578.)

New Racist Whites distance themselves from deviant cultural space by de-stigmatizing racism or redefining it as normal. Hate and violence associated with an organization such as the Klan was de-legitimated in the post-civil rights, multicultural era, and groups—even white supremacist ones—made the necessary adjustments. Diversity and difference in the 1920s was seen as non-normative, but difference in post-civil rights era, is normative; consequently, the need for NRWs, who preach homogeneity rather than difference, to extricate themselves from deviant spaces. According to Berbrier, "Reframing distances these new and improved white supremacists from those who truly belong in a deviant space – the haters, the bigots, the intolerant ones, the irrational ones, the oppressors, and the violent ones" (*Making Minorities* 575). Having identified the form of NRW movements, we now identify the function of these strategies. New Racist White framing strategies are used so they do not have to change. Consequently, they defend or restore boundaries associated with privileges and threats. These movements seek equivalence with minority statuses—pro-white ideologies are equivalent to pro-black ideologies and seen as pride and positive love for one's own kind. Being attacked for defending pro-White ideologies is seen as reversal. After all, African Americans and other groups were allowed to value positive feelings for one's own kind, why not whites as well?

Whites discouraged from loving and promoting their own race is a form of discrimination against whites. In other words, whites are equivalent to other groups but not so treated (Berbrier *Half the Battle* 439). The strategies of ethnic equivalence and reversal are designed to appeal more broadly to relatively conservative non-supremacist whites. As David Duke viewed a racist as having pride in one's own race, so restrictionists view nativism as having pride in one's country, including proudly representing the American flag and English only in public and private spheres; rather than a negative, nativism is reframed as a positive. In the next section, the importance of political, ideological, and cultural contexts for rightists is analyzed, which resulted in the construction of a conservative ideology.

### **The Diversity of the Right**

This section examines the assumption the conservative movement represented a static ideology. After describing various terms used to describe rightists, this chapter explores how post-World War II rightists overcame contradictions between libertarians and social conservatives. This chapter demonstrates status politics theories relying solely on psychological variables were inadequate to explain the rise of the Right after the Second World War. It analyzes the right wing, which used social and cultural criteria to mobilize rightists that initiated a culture war. Through the writings of conservative firebrands such as former member of Congress Tom Tancredo (R-CO) and former Nixon aide and conservative pundit Patrick Buchanan, popular restrictionists propelled the issue of unlawful immigration into the culture wars. The rise of post-World War II conservatism entailed marginalizing overtly racist tropes in response to increased toleration of difference after World War II and again after the civil rights movement, which effectively broadened the Republican base of support.

### *Defining Rightists*

An important post–World War II development was the broadening alliance of those who self-identify as conservative, including evangelicals, Orthodox Jews, Catholics, and even some gays. According to Critchlow, “Many of those calling themselves conservative probably declare themselves evangelical Christians or traditionalist Jews, Protestants, Catholics. This was an extraordinary reversal from 50 years, or even 30 years, earlier when being called a conservative was in the program often associated with “little old ladies in tennis shoes” searching for communist at their local school board meeting” (*Grassroots Conservatism* 1-2). Selective movements are difficult to label as either right wing or conservative. A single movement is likely to have conservative and right-wing elements. Blee and Creasap use “conservative” for movements supporting patriotism, free enterprise capitalism, a traditional moral order, and for which violence is not a frequent tactic or goal. They use “right wing” for movements focused on race and ethnicity and that promote violence as a primary tactic or goal, while they use “rightist” as a generic category, containing both conservative and right-wing movements. Some scholars “focus on a single or a few criteria—disavowal of democratic processes, strategies of violence and terrorism, conspiratorial belief, intense nationalism, and/or support for criminal action—as what separates an extreme right from other rightists” (270). Blee and Creasap hold conservative movements may have extremist elements within their ranks, blurring distinctions between conservative and right-wing movements. For example, a social conservative supporting traditional morality might attack an abortion clinic. Both right-wing and conservative movements apply rhetoric of vulnerability, fear, and threat. Blee and Creasap contend extremism emerged in response to the perceived threat and competition posed by the changing racial compositions of a population. They emphasize in the 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) was most popular among whites in areas with increasing populations of immigrants, African Americans, and Catholics, all

targets of the Klan (276). Notably, rightist movements are known for what they are against, not for what they support. Rightists tend to see their way of life at risk, whether through failure to enforce rule of law, or U.S. interests being subservient to international interests, particularly with regards to Mexico. In this dissertation, RSMs are labeled as a right-wing mobilization (rather than conservative) because of their singling out of Mexican unauthorized noncitizens, extra-institutional action on the border, use of inflammatory rhetoric (e.g., “illegal alien invasion”), and anti-Catholic sentiment. After the Second World War, the right-wing overcame their internal contradictions to become a major player on the American political scene.

“I’m a conservative,” Senator Roger Jepson (R-IA) declared in 1980, “because I am for change” (Critchlow *Grassroots Conservatism* 1-2). Classical sociological theories of the 1950s examined in the previous section presented the conservative movement as the product of a static ideology. Using variable – centered, psychologically-oriented analyses of the right wing, these theories came to the conclusion status anxiety associated with fears of modernity explained rightists’ defense of privilege. Historians have shed new light on right-wing mobilizations. According to Critchlow, other than psychological variables such as paranoia and hysteria resulting in backlash explain the motives of the grassroots Right led by arch-conservative Phyllis Schlafly. Critchlow locates the Schlafly-led grassroots movement “within a deeply rooted ideological sensibility that combines both libertarian beliefs in small government individual responsibility as well as social conservatism’s faith in traditional values and divine moral authority” (*Grassroots Conservatism* 8).

Intellectuals and anti-communist grassroots activists joined forces after the Second World War to fight the “collectivist” state and more moderate elements within their own party. This was not a clear path, and the right wing continued to attack New Deal social policies and the welfare

state (i.e., modern liberalism), which expanded in the 1960s under Johnson's Great Society administration. Rightists also defeated its more liberal, Rockefeller-led eastern wing with the Republican presidential nomination of Senator Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) in 1964. Within the social and political context of modern liberalism and the success of the welfare state, defining who was a "true" conservative dogged Republican politicians. Before winning the presidential election in 2000, for example, Bush identified as a "compassionate conservative." This was code for promises to reform government programs such as Social Security and Medicare without dismantling the welfare state; the federal government had a role to play in people's lives. This led some conservative pundits to aver Bush was not a "true" conservative. Such complaints show how far right the Right had drifted, displaying the widening the gulf between moderate Republicans and right-wingers. In reality, Bush promoted a "conservative welfare state" that worked through faith-based institutions rather than the liberal welfare state (Critchlow *Conservative Ascendancy* 278). According to Critchlow, "Such criticism reveals the stress between purity of principle and political practice, intellectuals and politicians, and ideology and power" (*Conservative Ascendancy* 2).

The success of the NR merged two elements, the grassroots Right with conservative intellectual currents, which resulted in the renewal of the Right. Conservatives put their differences aside in order to grow their movement. At issue was the contentious debate between libertarians and traditional conservatives. Libertarians believe in preserving individual responsibility, property rights, small government, and civil liberties. In contrast, traditional conservatives' privilege tradition and hierarchy, believe in equality of opportunity rather than preferential treatment, with government used to "check man's anarchic impulses" (Critchlow *Conservative Ascendancy* 19). This coming together known as "fusionism," merged popular anti-

Communist movement on the grassroots level with the writings of conservative intellectuals who challenged New Deal, big-government ideology (Critchlow *Grassroots Conservatism* 39).

Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind*, Diamond writes, "Directed the attention of conservative readers to the threat posed by all things 'socialist' from the French Revolution forward, calling into question the Marxist notion of progress" (29). According to Critchlow, many of the NR intellectual class did not identify with the conservative tag. "These writers, often differing among themselves as to meaning of conservatism (some even denying there were conservatives), enunciated a distrust of centralized government and political elites . . ." (*Grassroots Conservatism* 41). Moreover, anticommunism provided the "glue" uniting both libertarians and traditionalists. They shelved their differences to fight increased spending on social welfare programs at home, which they viewed as extensions of New Deal social policies, and to fight the communist threat of Soviet Union and China abroad (Diamond 35). The NR disavowed Wallace-style southern politics in the wake of the civil rights movement; they were less willing to support racial separation and white privilege. Rightists waged war on an external and an internal front. On the external front, they fought the "collectivist" New Deal welfare state and the containment of Soviet Union aggression. Regarding internal divisions, they were divided by ideology (i.e., libertarian versus social conservatism) by more moderate, liberal elements within their own party, and marginalizing overtly racist voices in the movement to widen their base of support. The contradictions associated with post-World War II conservatism emerge when identifying what conservatives opposed counterpoised with what they favored.

Broadside conservative attacks on the modern liberal regime were exemplified by the growth of the welfare state and containment of the Soviet Union. Diamond holds rightist movements were both partially oppositional and partially system-supportive. The right wing

means to support the state in its capacity as an enforcer but to oppose the state as a distributor of wealth and power. “They [conservatives] were unequivocally opposed to redistributive New Deal economics, but the Cold War would require a strong state to influence foreign affairs” (25–6). Depending on the interests involved, sometimes rightist movements opposed social change and sometimes they supported social change. The tension between having either a strong or weak state is brought into stark contrast when investigating libertarian versus traditional conservatives ideas. On the one hand, anti-statist libertarians resisted increasing government intrusion into the bedrooms of Americans, for example, sodomy laws. On the other hand, traditionalists were less inclined to object to the political enforcement of morality through law. Diamond argues libertarianism, anti-communism militarism, and traditionalism were the three pillars of the U.S. right. “Right-wing movements have granted priority to the principles of economic libertarianism, military strength and traditional moral order. Each of these principles implies a corresponding role for the state” (8). The conservative contradiction regarding the proper role of the state is as follows: The state is needed to prevent anarchy and for a strong national defense, but the state itself can grow too large, becoming an end in itself, undermining individual responsibility. The state, then, is a necessary evil. At issue were significant contradictions among conservative principles. According to Critchlow, “The Right’s ideology was vehemently anti-statist in an age of mass democracy and Cold War hostilities” (*Conservative Ascendancy* 1–2). Concerning national defense, an active interventionist state divided social conservatives and libertarians, with libertarians favoring smaller government. Nevertheless, the Cold War brought the two ideologies closer together. At issue was the contradiction between ideology and practical realities: A small government was impossible given an expansionist Soviet Union set on world conquest, which led to ideological and political compromise of conservative principles. Some libertarians

attacked a “belligerent foreign policy” with social conservatives wanting to “turn America into an armed camp to crush Communism wherever it appears.” Buckley responded sardonically that “national security is a proper concern for the libertarian because without it he stands to lose—in this case—all his freedom” (Critchlow *Conservative Ascendancy* 25–26). Further, Buckley insisted America’s strong national defense was a necessary deterrent as it “keeps the Soviet Union from doing to us what it did to the Hungarians.”

Historical research prior to the first decade of the twentieth-century focused on the conservative intellectual tradition, while ignoring grassroots, popular developments, which reinforced the putative elitism and exclusivity of the right wing. That changed with historian Donald Critchlow’s *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Activism* and McGirr’s *Suburban Warriors*. Critchlow argued for the centrality of Schlafly to the rise of the Right, who linked up abstract philosophical and political ideas with grassroots activism. According to Critchlow, “Grassroots anti-communism was not a hysterical reaction caused by political social anxiety, as some historians have suggested, but was a heady brew they came political substance to an intellectual ferment . . .” (*Grassroots Conservatism* 41). The conservative grassroots activist, lawyer, mother of six children, and DAR member Phyllis Schlafly, was instrumental to the grassroots initiatives that galvanized the public, particularly middle-class women who were concerned with containing the communist threat and the erosion of moral and family values due to increasing secularization. If the conservative intellectual tradition provided the head, than the grassroots movement, primarily led by Phyllis Schlafly and the Christian Right, was the body, which provided motion to conservative principles. She “helped evangelize the ideas of intellectuals and anti-communist authors to grassroots conservatives, Critchlow writes, “It was within the Republican Party that she translated her knowledge into political action“(Grassroots Conservatism 41). Anti-

communism provided the “glue” that held conservative wing of the Republican Party together. Schlafly rejected communism as a godless-political movement with a “dictatorship of the party” as its central feature and “dedicated to use any illegal and immoral means toward achievement of its goals.” Although grassroots anticommunism was a popular movement, this does not mean it was irrational, but reflected tensions between, on the one hand, modern liberals and right-wing social conservatives and, on the other hand, moderate republicans and right-wing social conservatives. McGirr disputes liberal pluralists such as Lipset and Hofstadter for their focus on “psychological distress” rather than on a set of coherent ideas associated with the right wing (7). She traced the change in the rise of the right wing from “extremists” to a major base of the GOP by studying the conservative bastion, Orange County, California, from the early 1960s and the rise of Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) to the presidential election of Ronald Reagan (R-CA) in 1980. Pulled West by favorable FHA loans, Cold War defense contracts, and work in high-tech industries, a domestic migration of social conservatives transpired.<sup>6</sup> Orange County saw impressive growth in its population—a 385 percent from 1940–1960 (McGirr 28). Social conservatives from the Midwest, West, and South moved to Orange County after the Second World War. She described the characteristics of the actors that built Orange County into a GOP stronghold:

First, there were the “old-timers, “the large ranchers and small farmers, merchants, shop owners, and middle-class townspeople who had embraced a strong individualism and strict moralism for many years. Added to this older conservatism were the southlands “cowboy capitalists,” the new boom-time entrepreneurs who made their fortunes on the post-World War II era of affluence . . . spreading the gospel of laissez-faire capitalism and an anti-Washington ethos. (29–30)

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<sup>6</sup> Department of Defense Cold War contracts totaled \$228 billion from 1950 to 1959 (McGirr 25).

The residents of Orange County were the product of a rugged individualism that coalesced against the backdrop of an eastern elite that seemingly dominated Washington. “Orange Countians” viewed themselves as fighting the Cold War through their work in defense industries; they were the developers and guardians of a new frontier.

McGirr and Critchlow each downplay the significance of racial issues to the rise of the Right. McGirr argued right-wing mobilizations were in motion long before the 1960s urban violence associated with “white backlash” and were the product of “a more thoroughgoing, anti-egalitarian, conservative worldview” (12). Suburbanization, for example, began in the early 1900s with technology developments related to transportation and later accelerated due to favorable home loans to returning World War II veterans. Put another way, “white flight” was as much structural than directly racist. Nonetheless, McGirr holds a law-and-order approach was code for race prejudice. She quotes Ronald Reagan in 1966 regarding his “Creative Society”:  
There “will be no welfare benefits . . . for able-bodied persons who are too lazy to work . . . many welfare recipients are members of minority groups” (202). Additionally, “rising criminality” was coded language stoking the fears of suburban whites. Critchlow insisted white prejudices were a reality, particularly in the South, but not central to conservative thought, with anticommunism ideology trumping race. In fact, social conservatives worked hard to purge overtly racist sentiments from their ranks, a divide and conquer scheme developed by “Reds” seeking to spread revolution. Regarding Schlafly and race prejudice, he does not find much support. For example, Schlafly did not protest busing. According to Critchlow, “A survey of Schlafly’s correspondence, speeches, and articles turned up only one short passage about race.” Schlafly described the putative causes of the 1967 race riots:

Organized by outside agitators and armed guerrillas, by various civil rights and New Left groups saturated with Communist and pro-Communists, by publicity hunters who think violence is the quickest way to glory, by professional revolutionaries filled with a hatred of Western civilization, and by federally financed poverty workers and assorted do-gooders who think the only way to solve the problems of the “ghetto” is to burn it down. (187)

Schlafly’s remarks regarding the race riots control the most radical aspects of the civil rights movement by conflating it with communism, resulting in the possible destruction of civil society rather than reconstructing it to promote equality. She tapped into the “emotive resonances of massive resistance and its inaccurate demonization of civil rights activists” (Strub 188). In sum, without grassroots anti-Communist activity, intellectuals, and politicians such as Ronald Reagan, the conservative movement was not likely to have challenged the modern liberal regime. The right wing also aligned together in a very different way, finding a culturally acceptable way to attack progressives and more moderate elements of the GOP, the subject of the next section.

## **Culture Wars**

With overt racism delegitimized in the post-civil rights era, rightists adjusted to this new cultural landscape in America by focusing on social issues. Few individuals have clarified the cultural wars better than the liberal, muckraking journalist Thomas Frank. Although conservatives of all stripes may complain about same-sex marriage, bilingual education programs, and other than English language use, Frank (2004) argued seemingly cultural divisions was cover for free-market ideology:

Cultural anger is marshaled to achieve economic ends. And it is these economic achievements—not the forgettable skirmishes of the never-ending cultural wars—that are the movement’s greatest monuments. The backlash is what has made possible the international free-market consensus of recent years, with all the privatization, deregulation, and de-unionization that are its components. (5-6)

Frank argued conservatives have gotten working people to vote against their own interests. “Over the last three decades they [the Right] have smashed the welfare state, reduced the tax burden on corporations and the wealthy, and generally facilitated the country’s return to a nineteenth-century pattern of wealth distribution. Thus the primary contradiction of the backlash: it is a working-class movement that has done incalculable, historic harm to working-class people” (5-6). In the 2004 election, for example, social issues such as banning gay marriage trumped economic issues in Midwestern states. Bush carried Ohio, which had lost 232,000 jobs since the beginning of his presidency. On the one hand, Democrats were framed as the party of the wealthy, pampered, arrogant elite that live as far as they can from real Americans. On the other hand, Republicanism was represented by “hardworking common people of the heartland, an expression of their unpretentious, all-American ways just like country music and NASCAR” (Frank 20). Frank argues conservatives have portrayed themselves as victims:

Conservatism is the doctrine of the oppressed majority. . . . The Republicans are the party of the disrespected, the downtrodden, the forgotten. They are always the underdog, always in rebellion against a haughty establishment, always rising up from below. (Frank 119)

The electoral gains made by Bush from in 2004 were a direct result of social issues. For example, in 2004 Bush received more votes from Catholics than he did in 2000—a Methodist, garnered more Catholic votes than democratic presidential nominee, John Kerry, a Catholic. Likely voters are one thing, getting these voters to the polls, another. There was evidence social issues motivated Republicans to vote. According to Critchlow, “Eleven states had initiatives banning gay marriage, a powerful incentive for social conservatives to turn up at the polls. In all eleven of these states the initiatives passed by large margins.” There was also evidence for pro-family and church-based activism. “Social conservatives pointed to a poignant fact: in every state

in which a marriage amendment was placed on the ballot in 2004, with the single exception of Utah, the amendment received a larger vote than Bush received” (*Conservative Ascendancy* 276-77). Of course, the use of social and cultural issues to energize Republican political campaigns was not a new development. The emergence of cultural issues such as abortion, feminism, prayer-in-school, and homosexual rights energized the Right leading to the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 (Critchlow *Grassroots Conservatism* 1-2). Christian Right organizations along with pro-family, and pro-life movements emerged to protect and defend traditional American ways of life. Further, pro-family rightist movements and the significance of family issues for rightists in the 1980s were similar to roles played by the Vietnam War for the mobilization of the New Left. Publicly, rightist movements framed their messages as pro-family rather than anti-gay. Something else was added to the culture wars in 2008—immigration, particularly immigration outside of the law.

After the Iowa caucus in 2008, Republican candidates were made aware of the importance of immigration issues to their base. Debate centered on the Immigration Reform Act of 2007, which offered both carrots and sticks. Sticks included increasing the number of border patrol agents, increasing border fences, increasing border fencing, and improving immigration data systems. One relatively unproblematic carrot included citizenship for noncitizens who serve in the Armed forces. But other provisions provoked criticism, including four other key provisions of the legislation: issuing 200,000 visas to nonimmigrants per year for agricultural workers, adjustment to permanent resident status for noncitizens residing within United States for more than five years, as long as they were employed for three of those years, and deferment on deportations for noncitizens who could present evidence of employment United States since 2004 (i.e., the Dream Act). Finally legislation offered undocumented minor graduates of high

schools or recipients of general education degrees to receive conditional permanent resident status, allowing for six years of residency. Conservative attacked the provisions as a giveaway—no amnesty without first securing the border and augmenting workplace enforcement. Receiving such negative feedback, the Senate dropped the measure in June 2007 (Critchlow *Conservative Ascendancy* 292). Ironically, the one candidate perceived as stronger on immigration, John McCain, was the same politician who helped draft the 2007 legislation! Indeed, immigration outside of the law was a domestic Vietnam, fraught with hidden dangers. We turn to more recent literature written by popular restrictionists concerning unlawful entry and its effects.

### ***“Losing Our Unique American Identity”***

Restrictionist writers advanced arguments warning of the destructive influence of multicultural and ethnic lobbies, which in their view, seek to advance racial and ethnic separatism, affirm hyphenated identities, and advance their socio-ethnic interests. The difference between past immigrants and immigrants of today, they argue, is the latter’s reluctance to fully accept American values as their own and to assimilate. Local and state governments use taxpayer dollars to fund bilingual education, diversity studies programs in universities, promoting multiculturalism and diversity at the expense of promoting knowledge and appreciation of Western values.

Tom Tancredo, a former member of Congress (R-CO), served from 1998 to 2009. In 2008 he ran for president of the United States running on the "single issue" of immigration. Tancredo augured, "They're coming here," he warned, "to kill you, and you, and me, and my grandchildren." Tancredo only received performed poorly in Iowa caucus among Republican voters and dropped out of the 2008 presidential race a short time later (Critchlow, *Conservative Ascendancy* 292–93). His was a consistent voice in government warning of the dangers of failing

to secure the US-Mexico border and "fix" the nation's immigration system. Part of Tancredo's appeal was his lack of trepidation in calling out the Bush White House for failing to protect the borders many years after 9/11. Karl Rove, Bush's most trusted political advisor, insisted Tancredo "never darken the door steps of the White House," and he should resign from the party because Tancredo's views were at odds with the Bush White House.

The crucial difference between immigrants of the past and immigrants of today, Tancredo maintains, is their desire to resist assimilation. "I want immigrants seeking citizenship to assimilate and sever their ties to their countries of origin. And I want us to encourage—not discourage—that assimilation" (9). He views complete assimilation as desirable, and thinks that "too many immigrants continue to be loyal to their native countries. They desire to maintain their own language, customs, and culture; yet they seek to exploit the success of America while giving back as little as possible in return" (Tancredo 33). There is a two-pronged attack on America's dominant culture: attacked from within through the "cult of multiculturalism," which is the internal threat that shucks assimilation, and attacked from without because of threats posed from "Islamofascism," brought to America's shores on 9/11. Tancredo insisted an America divided across racial and ethnic lines was divisive.

Popular restrictionists argued a powerful coalition of lawmakers, corporations, and advocacy groups, which see U.S. borders as "impediment[s] to progress," were pushing an "unofficial open-border policy" (195). Conservative pundit and author Patrick Buchanan is critical of multinational businessmen, who have essentially sold the average hard-working American out. According to Buchanan, these multinationalists view the world as one vast system in which everyone is equally a customer, a consumer, a creature of wants and needs. Buchanan explains the externalization of fiscal costs to U.S. taxpayers:

For the corporate elite, immigration means low-wage workers to replace high-wage Americans, while tax payers assume the social costs: welfare, Medicaid, rent supplements, food stamps, clinics, courts, prisons, and legal services for the immigrants. The Business Roundtable believes in socializing costs, while privatizing profits. To Corporate America, mass immigration is the gift that keeps on giving. (79)

There is no more famous “cultural warrior” of the right wing than Lou Dobbs. A former business reporter and self-proclaimed independent populist, Dobbs transitioned into social issues in the 2000s. He was a crucial linkage between the grassroots RSMs, politicians, and right-wing think tanks. Similar to Tancredo, Dobbs became a hero among Republicans and average Americans for his willingness to call out the Bush government for failing to take action against noncitizens many years after 9/11. In *Independence Day*, Dobbs argued the unique nature of America lent itself to nationalism and nation-building, and it should not subordinate the interests of Americans to outside international bodies and trade pacts such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization (WTO), and multinational corporations. Dobbs’ “unholy trinity” consisted of corporatism, globalism, and multiculturalism—and Americans cannot “forget who we are as individuals, citizens, and permit ourselves to be defined by those whose ideologies and interests compel them to deny our uniqueness [emphasis added] as a people and a nation” (7). Dobbs argued special interests replaced national interests and “internationalists” sought open borders and the demise of national sovereignty around the world. Dobbs lamented the breaching of national borders around the world as the “integration of commerce and economies observes no distinction among people in France, Indonesia, Venezuela, and America; and they cheer the “flat earth” corporatist society that recognizes people only as consumers or producers” (7). Profits are placed before the interests of the American people. Topics of concern on his broadcast included corporations placing profits before the security of the nation, socio-ethno centric organizations that put ethnicity before citizenship, and the federal government’s failure to secure the border

after 9/11. Dobbs was significant in spurring the Republican Party into action regarding immigration outside of the law after 9/11.

According to Tancredo, the advocates of the new diversity want the United States to adjust to them rather than the other way around, a kind of “reverse assimilation.” For instance, the political drive to establish bilingualism as a national standard for government operations and commercial life rather than funding English immersion classes. Moreover, the “cult of multiculturalism,” politically correct speech, and moral relativism (i.e., the view all cultural values are equal) all play a part in newcomers failing to internalize Western values. Tancredo argues:

We are going out of our way for our own citizens to undergo “cultural diversity training” so we can better “understand” immigrant cultures. Instead of requiring immigrants to assimilate into our culture, we have required our own citizens to assimilate foreign cultures at the expense of our own. What kind of sense does that make? (204)

Former member of Congress J.D. Hayworth (R-AZ), who served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1995-2007, was another strong critic of the Bush administration on the question of immigration outside of the law. He advocated for building a fence and for placing troops along the U.S.–Mexico border. Hayworth takes issue to charges of “anti-immigrant” bashing and argues the presence of large numbers of Mexican noncitizens thwarts assimilation through isolating immigrants, linguistically and culturally, leading to balkanization. He writes:

Sadly, Americanization has given way to an insidious multiculturalism, the noxious idea that all cultures are equally valid and equally worthy. In the mid-1980s, the late Alistair Cooke, himself an immigrant, lamented the “general movement in United States to unmelt the melting pot, to break down the goulash of the pot into its ethnic ingredients: to return, in short, to the immigrant compounds which Teddy Roosevelt was determined to fuse into one nation.” Immigrants are encouraged to not just preserve their language and

heritage, which they should, but to have their language and heritage compete with and replace our own. (50–51)

***“An American Host with Foreign Parasites”***

Popular restrictionists emphasized newcomers fail to completely assimilate— they have one foot in America and another foot in their country of origin—acquiring paperwork they need to stay in the country but little else. This loss of a *unique* American identity, they argue, undermines assimilation and nation building. Newcomers treat America, these authors contend, as a rental apartment—trashing it and leaving it in a worse condition than how they found it. In contrast to past immigrants, popular restrictionists argue today’s newcomers adopt a parasitic approach to the United States, and are not interested in becoming citizens—they simply want to attach themselves to their American host and feed off of it—maintaining their native identities and cultures, lacking any sense of community or making a positive societal contribution. Conservative pundit Patrick Buchanan referenced Samuel Huntington who separated immigrants into two groups: “converts” who come to convert to our way of life, and “sojourners” who come to work for a few years and then return home. New immigrants are neither converts nor sojourners, but move back and forth between California and Mexico, “maintaining dual identities and encouraging family members to join them” (Buchanan 136). Hayworth argues because more and more “illegal immigrants” continue to enter, Spanish will continue to compete with English, leading to negative outcomes for Hispanic children. Hayworth cites a Pew Hispanic Center report that since the mid-1990s the number of illegal aliens coming to the United States has exceeded the number of new legal immigrants, with somewhere between 12 and 15 million jobs in the United States currently being held by illegal aliens, or about 8 percent of the workforce (4). Because of the establishment of “ethnic colonies,” this large cohort thwarts assimilation and undermines the cultural integrity of America. Former classics professor and military historian,

Victor Davis Hanson, who grew up in Selma, California near Fresno where he and his brother, two Anglos, lived with many Mexicans, lamented the change in Selma from a society of “laws and customs” to a “frontier town,” whereupon “thousands reside illegally, have no lawful documentation, and assume that Selma must adapt to their ways, not the reverse” (2).

Noncitizens have “voted with their feet” to come to America, a sign that the place they are arriving is more desired than the place they have left. Notably, Hanson argues holding onto one’s culture and language and failing to assimilate denies the very reasons why “aliens” arrived here in the first place. Tancredo declared, “Ever heard of a person fleeing the United States for Pakistan? When they open the gates all over the world, people run in one direction: to Western civilization and its epitome, the United States” (Tancredo 39). Furthermore, when it looked as though George W. Bush was heading for reelection in 2004, Hollywood liberal actors such as Alec Baldwin threatened to leave the country for more progressive regimes. Hayworth writes, “Some said they would go to Europe, but the vast majority said they would have head off to Canada. Not a single one said, ‘I’ve had it. I can’t live in red America another day. I’m off to Mexico!’”

Popular restrictionists railed against political correctness and multiculturalism. In particular, they lament funding students in other than English instruction and ethnic studies classes that compete with English literature and U.S. history. Victor Davis Hanson contends Mexican-American students, while taking pride in their particular ethnic classification are “culturally illiterate” concerning the history and institutions of Western civilization. According to Hanson, such “non-judgmental” and “therapeutic” language has not resulted in substantial educational gains for Mexican-American students, because there remains a 40–50 percent Hispanic high school dropout rate. American schools have almost completely failed to note the

critical distinction between a multiracial and multicultural society. He insists that “the former welcomes all races to learn one language and heritage; societies found only in the present-day West. The latter encourages separate but purportedly equal languages and traditions, and is a prescription for disaster—as we have seen in Bosnia, Rwanda, Sudan, Somalia and much of India” (110). Hanson uses martial language to disparage multiculturalism. “Acting under psychosis caused by such *intellectual germ warfare* [emphasis added], we institutionalized an easy bilingual education rather than implemented an intensive program of English instruction for immigrants” (108). Those who have benefitted from pushing multicultural programs were elite interests, such as ethnic studies departments in general and La Raza (translated “the race”) studies professors in particular. Hanson argues these elite interests fear not racial prejudice, but the “end of the primacy of race, and the dissolution of minority blocks in voting, residence, and mindset.” Hanson compares elite interests with Irish ward bosses and political machines during the 1920s, whom he calls “brawling race provocateurs.” These “race hustlers” or “tribalists” seek to keep their constituencies unassimilated while “riding to prominence at their head.” The race hustler who drives in a minivan from the suburbs to their university, Hanson chides, “Is a professed tribalist of the first order who does *not* [emphasis in the original] wish to live within his tribe” (118-9).

Restrictionists viewed political correctness as a threat because it silenced debate and forestalled the United States from taking the necessary steps to protect itself. The taint of “racist,” “nativist,” or “xenophobic” labels squashed debate, which exposed the country to future threats. Hayworth argues in the “post–September 11<sup>th</sup> world,” we must not allow ‘political correctness’ to cloud our thinking about the threats we face, or to encourage terrorists.” Not even heads of state were immune to political correctness, which popular restrictionists regarded as

political chicanery. Hayworth took to task Mexican President Vicente Fox who, Hayworth averred, “Sugarcoats his countrymen’s illegal invasion of the United States by deliberately mislabeling it a ‘migration.’ Further Hayworth chided Fox for using “undocumented” rather than “illegal.” “Anyone using the terms ‘undocumented’ or ‘migrants,’ or ‘border crossers’, Hayworth averred, “to describe illegal aliens is more interested in accommodating illegal immigration than stopping it” (63). The final section explores linkages between restrictionists and a *new* conservative movement.

### ***Restrictionists Get an Invitation to the Tea Party***

With the Republican Party staggered after electoral defeat in 2008, the Tea Party infused it with much needed energy. The main organizing influence for the Tea Party was the election of President Obama and subsequent economic stimulus package and universal health care initiatives. The Tea Party brought together three strands conservatism: free-market economics, small government libertarianism, and social conservatism (Critchlow, *Conservative Ascendancy*). Two billionaire-backed political action committees, Freedom Works and Americans for Prosperity, provided Tea Party Patriots (TPP) with resources used to influence media and the outcomes of electoral contests. It was led by Dick Armey, the former Republican Majority leader (R-TX) who served in the 1990s. Although the Tea Party was portrayed in the news as a new social movement and certainly contained grassroots activism—they were “pouring old wine into new bottles.” Skocpol maintained that “in a twinkling, long-standing, top-down became, supposedly, new and bottom-up” (9-10).

Tea Party supporters are a diverse group, many of who voted for Barack Obama in 2008, and a large percentage did not self-identify as republicans. Demographically, Tea Party members are mostly white, older, better educated than average Americans, and above average in income.

Older Tea Partiers must, at some point, choose between full support of the Tea party and their program to reduce social spending versus their need for old-age benefits—displaying the tension between purity of principles and practical realities. More important than the demographic characteristics of Tea Party supporters was the shift in the American polity to the right.

### ***Similarities and Differences Between Restrictionists and Tea Partiers***

The similarities between RSMs and Tea Partiers include the goal of discontinuing government entitlements to unauthorized noncitizens.<sup>7</sup> Taxpayers ought not to subsidize illegality, which leads to “stealing taxpayer’s money.” Skocpol interviewed Tea Partiers finding the belief unauthorized populations were putting financial burdens on the American taxpayer:

It is widely held that at a local level unauthorized immigrants are perceived to be crowding hospital emergency rooms and public schools, without paying their share of taxes. Others worried that immigrants were being given “rights” that others have had to “earn.” “I feel like my country is being stolen by people who have come here illegally. People come in and have the benefits of taxes, and the money spent on them puts a burden on the state, which makes me have to pay more.” (71–72)

The Tea Party and RSMs have much in common when it comes to immigration outside of the law. A national survey found 82 percent of Tea Party supporters believe illegal immigration is a “very serious” problem (compared to 60 percent of Americans overall). Skocpol viewed a sticker proclaiming “LAW and BORDER” on top of a U.S. flag background. Skocpol found concern about unlawful immigration widespread in Tea Party circles, and, severe remedies were in vogue, which is somewhat surprising because libertarian minded folks tend to trend for open borders.<sup>8</sup> Skocpol quotes a Massachusetts Tea Party member who, after reading the latest

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<sup>7</sup> Interviewee Retired Captain Ed Hayes, former member of Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) and the now defunct American Patriots said, “[I have] been to several local tea party events, and yes, when I go I see a lot of familiar faces.”

<sup>8</sup> This researcher spoke to a Constitutional law scholar at the Nullify Now conference who stated that the Constitution discusses naturalization but not border enforcement.

immigration news on a conservative blog, felt as though she wanted to “stand on the border with a gun” (57). Politically, restrictionists and Tea Partiers were not likely to vote for local Democratic politicians and although many Tea partiers voted for Obama in 2008, few voted for him in 2012 presidential election. President Obama and his message and plans for change were framed by right-wing supporters as “socialistic” and reminiscent of Roosevelt’s New Deal era, which smacked of centralized planning. Skocpol emphasized Tea Partiers were skeptical of Obama’s plan to legalize noncitizens. According to Skocpol, “It is widely believed [among Tea Partiers] that President Obama intends to grant amnesty to all illegal immigrants in order to develop a new block of electoral support. An extra 10 million votes from newly legalized citizens would give Obama administration the electoral cushion needed to continue to ignore the interests of real Americans, several Tea Party members told us” (79). Indeed, it turns out Tea partiers were prescient, as prior to the 2012 general election President Obama declared an Executive order resulting in a stay of deportation for unauthorized noncitizens. Although Latinos are more likely to trend democrat, pundits viewed these actions as calculated to get Latinos to the polls. Minuteman Project volunteer Robin Hvidston compared President Obama with former Republican President Ronald Reagan. “Like Ronald Reagan, he is a master of cloaking what he does in American patriotism. He’s really seeking to change our country. For example, when our legislator didn’t pass the Dream Act last summer he did an Executive Order that really mimics the Dream Act. I, and Minuteman, and Tea Party groups, opposed executive amnesty that he enacted, legalizing people who have broken the law.” Robin Hvidston spoke about what unites rightist groups. “The similarities are that we’re both very law-oriented—upholding and enforcing our laws and respecters of our Constitution. The lawlessness that comes with illegal immigration is, I think, an area where the Minutemen and the Tea Party have a common stance.” When asked

how they were different, Hvidston had no response other than saying, “I’ve never thought of that, I think that they are just very similar. I think what unites all groups is the Constitution; the literal interpretation of the Constitution.” Both RSMs and Tea Partiers believe in “getting back to the Constitution” and “practicing the rule of law.”

In order to appear inclusive, both groups invite representatives from diverse groups to speak at events, which help blunt charges of racism. “Organizational leaders jump at chances to invite black speakers,” Skocpol holds, “and eagerly welcome—indeed feature—any person of color who wants to associate with the Tea Party” (11). They marginalize overt racists within the party. Similarly, the Minuteman Project declared it was a “multi-ethnic organization” with volunteers from many different nationalities, with some volunteers even going through the naturalization process while taking part in activities. Although acknowledging some leadership was incompetent, Minuteman Ed Hayes, in a follow-up interview, reflected that “nearly all of the membership were great Americans/Tea Party Patriots whose only mission was to save America in the way we know it . . . . They were/are not against any race, color, and we were all sympathetic to those who came in. We just want them to do it in the right way, all the while recognizing that our government is allowing it to happen.”

Regarding age, Skocpol argues most are middle-aged and beyond. This squares with this dissertation. All restrictionists interviews were fifty or older. Interviewee Frances Semler, formerly of the Minuteman Project and American Patriots, expressed generational fears. “Usually older people [participate in Minuteman Project] because I think we’re the ones who really understand what’s going on and what it might mean for our children, so we’re there for our children as much as ourselves. I always tell people I’ll survive, but I really worry about my daughter and my grandson and what the country might look like to them.”

Skocpol found Tea partiers overwhelmingly vote for republicans, especially in general elections in which Democrats might win. Nevertheless, she writes that “not all of them will call themselves republican; they might say they are “Independents” and mean either that they are more conservative than the Republican Party is, or, far less commonly, that they are center-right people who lean toward the GOP” (27). This researcher found parallels with Skocpol’s observations; restrictionists vote Independent if they do not like the Republican nominee. This usually means they do not see major difference between the parties’ candidates. Notably, what stood out both for Tea Party supporters and RSMs were their right-wing political views—to the extent that there is a small, nonzero chance that they might vote for a Democrat. Both believe America is changing, and this change is not moving in the proper direction due, in part, to unlawful immigration and Obama as president.

Although similarities clearly outweigh differences between RSMs and Tea partiers, the major difference is that Tea partiers have more resources at their disposal. There are no billion-dollar lobbying groups providing resources to RSMs. Although both movements were able to garner substantial media coverage, RSMs through Lou Dobbs, and Tea partiers through Fox News, the Minuteman Project, and the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) are more properly grassroots endeavors. Tea Party movements, on the other hand, merge grassroots with elite interests, including the well-known billionaire Koch brothers. For example, Tea Partiers mobilize quickly to an event, whether event is to support a candidate or shame a candidate in a “gotcha” moment. Although most Tea partiers supported open borders, few restrictionists shared such sentiments. Furthermore, Tea partiers are more attentive to civil liberties violations, while restrictionists, with all their talk of the rule of law, support draconian efforts to bring the “illegal invasion” under control. Finally, both portray American taxpayers as victims of government

largesse and have as their main goal *holding the feds' feet to the fire* and to “push GOP candidates and officeholders toward the ideological right” (Skocpol 157). Having considered the influence of RSMs, we consider now an established organization that serves as a useful contrast to right-wing mobilizations—the DAR.

## Chapter 4 - The DAR: Membership Has Its Privileges (and its Burdens)

*I don't take no stock in dead people*  
Huckleberry Finn (Kammen 221)

Chapter Three described the widening Republican base to include former outsiders such as Orthodox Jews and Catholics. Formerly the DAR, a traditional base of the conservative party, was perceived as “little old ladies in tennis shoes.” This chapter takes those “little old ladies” as its subject matter. Although historians have studied the DAR, the organization has been mostly ignored by sociological research. This is striking considering the substantial research regarding gender and voluntary associations from sociological perspectives since the 1990s. The DAR leadership rejected liberalizing the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952, instead arguing for an “orderly queue” of immigrants properly assimilated into the dominant WASP culture. After examining the organizational structure of the DAR, this chapter explores the Daughters’ connection to legal as well as unlawful immigration and their relationship to immigrants and poor whites. With demographic changes occurring in the United States due to southern and eastern European immigration after 1890, the DAR reacted by lifting up poor, native-stock Appalachian whites. The DAR “mothered” both immigrants and poor whites. Regarding immigrants, the DAR took a pragmatic approach. Because immigrants were unlikely to stop entering the United States, they must learn English, preserve American values, symbols, and assimilate. Regarding the DAR’s actions toward poor whites, they represented a shameful indicator that equal opportunity did not exist for all in the United States. The Marianne Anderson incident is analyzed, which challenged the DAR to apply its own principles of freedom, justice, and equality. Finally, this chapter explores the reaction of the DAR after 9/11. Comparing DAR to RSMs, both have warned of external threats to America, whether subversive communist

organizations in the 1920s or terrorist threats after 9/11, both seek an orderly queue of legal immigrants properly assimilated, arguing diversity without assimilation is moot. Comparing DAR with RSMs, RSMs have overt political motives, resisting amnesty to reduce possible Hispanic voting pools, the use of inflammatory language demonstrating disdain for unauthorized populations, and taking organized extra-institutional action on the border.

### **DAR as an Organization**

This hereditary-based yet grassroots organization has looked more like a “grass-tops” organization based on the women who have served. Formally organized on October 11, 1890, First Lady Caroline Scott Harrison served as its first, President-General (Medlicott *Constructing Territory*). Other elite women who have served the DAR include Eleanor Roosevelt include, Julia Dent Grant (wife of Ulysses S. Grant), Phyllis Schlafly, Christian Scientist founder Mary Baker Eddy (1892), suffragist Susan B. Anthony (1889), Rosalyn Smith Carter, Nancy Davis Reagan, and the “diminutive” Lavinia Warren (aka Mrs. Tom Thumb) (Hunter 60-66).

Membership is open to anyone 18 or older who has "descended from a man or woman who with unflinching loyalty to the cause of American independence, served as a sailor, a soldier or civil officer in one of several colonies or states, or in United colonies or states, or as a recognized patriot, or rendered material aid thereto; provided the applicant is personally acceptable to the society" (Strayer 45). Prospective DAR members were sponsored by an existing member; this proved difficult for African Americans wanting to join the DAR, which tended later to produce accusations of unfairness. (Medlicott and Heffernan *Autograph of a Nation* 236). Most certainly African Americans, who are underrepresented in the DAR despite recent efforts, provided material aid in some capacity during the Revolutionary War. Peggy Anderson suggests DAR members would probably agree on three generalizations about themselves; they are patriotic,

conservative, and predominantly Protestant. Similar to other organizations, DAR yearly membership patterns reflect national events, such as wars and depressions, and internal events such as increasing dues and election of a popular leader (46). According to the National Society, DAR (NSDAR), present-day average age is around sixty years old. Membership in DAR has remained relatively constant through the years and did not increase significantly after September 11<sup>th</sup>, instead it declined, but DAR involvement did increase.

**Table 4.1 DAR Yearly Membership (1999-2010)**

1999	174,134
2000	171,851
2001	170,068
2002	167,163
2003	166,840
2004	167,327
2005	166,127
2006	163,599
2007	163,026
2008	163,578
2009	165,395
2010	166,362

Source: Bren Landon, NSDAR Washington, D.C.

The DAR national office confirms online genealogical research was the primary reason for the increase in DAR membership in recent years with greater access to and efficient use of technology to streamline genealogical research.<sup>9</sup>

Each spring during the week of April 19<sup>th</sup>— the date of the Battle of Lexington, the opening salvo of the American Revolution—DARs Continental Congress meets in Washington D.C. where state and local DAR chapters report work done during the previous year to the national level. Prior to the 1960s, the Daughters organizational framework left individual DAR women without much voice, consisting of non-autonomous chapters that were “creatures of the national society to which each member individually adheres, and is contrary to organizational plan of most other women's groups, in which local chapters or branches are independently organized under a state charter and can withdraw from the Federation at will" (Strayer 130).

### ***Organizational Structure of DAR***

Any organization that desires stability must outline its conditions of membership and its goal orientation(s). Conditions of membership equate with an exclusive-inclusive dimension. For instance, if membership requires navigating formal procedures that take time, then it is more exclusive. But if there are no firm membership requirements, then it is more inclusive. The exclusive-inclusive dimension identifies intensity of membership compliance mechanisms. The DAR is exclusive because the organization “rigorously controls affiliation process . . . tends to ‘hold new recruit to a long novitiate [establishing ancestral line can take years], to require the recruit to subject himself to organization discipline and orders, and to draw from those having

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<sup>9</sup>According to Bren Landon, “This year [2011] we've already received more applications in 10 months than we did for all of last year!” Bren Landon, Director of Public Relations Daughters of the American Revolution, 1776 D Street NW, Washington, DC 20006; Online Dar genealogical research can be found @ [www.dar.org/grs](http://www.dar.org/grs)

the heaviest initial commitment'" (Curtis and Zurcher 357). Michael Kammen is less sanguine of DAR declarations portraying the Daughters as inclusive:

According to a fund-raising circular issued in 1899 by DAR, the fact that "our ancestors were among those brave men who there suffered and there endured will imbue many of us with deeper interest in a more earnest effort to further the project. But Valley Forge belongs to us all [i.e., inclusive]. Its memories, its associations [sic]. We are *all* [emphasis added] Daughters of the Revolution." Well, sort of. Despite that final flourish, the fact remains that organizations like the D.A.R were quite deliberately designed to be exclusive rather than inclusive. W.E.B. Du Bois described his application for membership in the S.A.R.—his acceptance by the Massachusetts branch, and then his rejection by the national headquarters in Washington D.C. on expressly racist grounds. (220-1)

Goal orientations, on the other hand, equate with expressive-instrumental dimensions. If is based more on social functions such as meeting socially, then it is more expressive. Regarding goal orientations, DAR is more "expressive" than instrumental (i.e., purposive action), satisfying the social and psychological needs of its members through acts of its participants. According to Curtis and Zurcher, "Solidary incentives derive 'in the main from act of associating, and (include) rewards as socializing, congeniality, sense of group membership and identification, status resulting from membership, fun and conviviality, maintenance of social distinctions, . . . Their common characteristic is that they tend to be independent of the precise ends of the association'" (359). The Daughters were accused of being merely a social club, intent more in displays of opulence than patriotism. Yet these accusations do not square with research. Interviewee Barbara Truesdale insisted genealogy work for the Daughters is not just a passing fancy. "For a lot of ladies genealogy is their passion, it's the thing they do on vacation, on weekends, vacation trip plans involve going to courthouses, graveyards, and record places." A DAR member with many pins on her lapel testifies to a Daughter's hard work in locating

collateral ancestors. In other words, Truesdale insists that “it’s hard to quantify a passion.” In contrast to expressive forms, purposive incentives [i.e., instrumental] focus more on ends of the association rather than the simple act of people coming together. In short, expressive organizational forms are more *diffuse*, and instrumental forms are more *specific*. The congruent organizational forms of conditions of membership, exclusive/inclusive and goal orientations of expressive/instrumental are ideal types (i.e., logical constructs). Although the DAR conditions of membership have not changed much since its inception in 1890, it is argued here that the goal orientations of the DAR are robust. Regarding goal orientations, the DAR display both *expressive* and *instrumental* qualities (i.e., incongruence). Having provided relevant background information on the organization, we now look at DAR and its relationship to democracy.

### ***Resolutions Process: Inner Machinations of an Exclusive Organization***

Nothing shines a spotlight on the DAR as a supporter of hierarchy and hegemony as does the agenda of the National Defense committee, which centers on conservative politics and militarism. The National Defense evening, for instance, is held at DAR’s annual Continental Congress, and for a few years was organized by Phyllis Schlafly and Oliver North was the invited speaker at the 1990 Continental Congress. The goals of the National Defense committee are most expressed by the related work of the resolutions committees. Resolutions originate from individuals or committees at the chapter level. Although DAR members are not allowed to embroil the DAR in political disputes, many DAR members work privately behind the scenes. In 1973 Maine state legislators refused to ratify the equal rights amendment. Maine residents who belonged to the DAR felt they had had a large part to play in that action (Anderson 106). “As far as institutional power structures are concerned,” Truesdale holds, “All members are answerable

to national society first, then to their local chapter . . . They may not, however, speak out publicly as DAR members, since only the president-general can publicly represent the Daughters” (23).

Their organizational form resembles an iron law oligarchy with local and state chapters strongly controlled by the National Society of DAR (NSDAR). In private, many DAR members admit that even if they disagree with a resolution, they do not like to "stand up" in a public vote because they do not want to "stand out" (Gibbs 6). Anderson describes how political machinations are left to the few:

Practically speaking most Daughters have no say in formulating policies for the organization. They have shown themselves willing to let policy be set by women appointed, not elected, to their posts, who exercise virtual control over policymaking procedure. Resolutions are drawn up for the few, by the few. The few have convinced the many that resolutions are not for the masses. The masses, agreeing, have abdicated. (88-90)

National agency functions, such as working with organizational by-laws and elected officials, are only open to DAR leaders rather than the rank-and-file.

### ***“Transforming the Foreign”***

*The stranger will thus not be considered here in the usual sense of the term, as the wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow, but rather as the man who comes today and stays tomorrow. . . . He is fixed within a certain spatial circle—or within a group whose boundaries are analogous to spatial boundaries—but his position within it is fundamentally affected by the fact that he does not belong in it initially and that he brings qualities into it that are not, and cannot be, indigenous to it.*

Georg Simmel (quoted in Levine 143)

The DAR was founded in 1890, a time when the influx of immigrants and the transformation to an urban, industrial society induced challenges to citizenship status and national identity. The DAR transposed old world values attributed to supposedly pure Anglo-Saxon stock and applied them both to immigrants and to poor whites. Historian Wallace Davies maintained many turned to patriotism as a "secular religion to unite the American Republic" (216). The descendants of the older stock took for granted that they were best qualified to indoctrinate newcomers. Further, Davies cites the proliferation of hereditary societies in 1890s to the greater numbers of immigrants, the emergence of nationalism, and the growth of women's movements. Truesdale summarized the DAR mission precisely: "Using lineage as a shibboleth for membership confirmed for native born, white, middle and upper-class women of that era their distinctiveness from growing members of immigrants to America, assuaging fears of lost status and waning power" (20). Prior to the 1920s, the DAR appeared as a progressive gatekeeper rather than a nationalistic one, favoring typical progressive reforms such as improving work conditions and sanitation, disease control, child labor laws, compulsory education, and prohibiting the sale of tobacco and alcohol to minors. But it soon became nationalistic. Strayer wrote, "Between 1924 and 1926 a transformation from society's easy-going past to its future of nationalism and militancy took place. The primary causes appear to be the growing strength of pacifist movements and the rise of the communist menace" (121). Both pacifist and communist

menaces exposed the country to danger and were seen as threats. Books outlining the supposed Communist threat were published and distributed to DAR chapter members. This literature implicated various women's groups, including famed social worker/sociologist Jane Addams of Chicago. This researcher's archival research supports such conclusions. The DAR 1916 Continental Congress resolutions were concerned with preserving the Jamestown Island historical site, preventing desecration of the U.S. flag, supporting the Red Cross, and the purchase of Thomas Jefferson's Monticello home. Notably, there was no discussion related to communist threats.<sup>10</sup>

Archival research regarding the DAR 1926 Continental Congress resolutions presented a very different picture, depicting America as under attack from Communist forces. Some resolution topics were benign, reinvesting in an endowment fund, memorials for Caroline Scott Harrison, endorsing a mid-Western college to educate the foreign-born southern Europeans on "American customs and ideals," and promoting oratorical contests containing Constitutional content—others were reactionary. One resolution reaffirmed anti-communist vigilance:

The plan for destructive revolution in the United States by 'Red' Internationalists is not a myth, but a proven fact. . . . This plan to overthrow the government of the Republic and set up a Communist Soviet rule in its place is well organized and far-reaching, including Russian recognition "peace" propaganda, total disarmament, destruction of courts, indiscriminate attacks on Government and officials, organizing Communist units *within* our Army and Navy personnel, and by organizing Young Workers Leagues, to create and develop class consciousness and hatred . . . . The Moscow International Communist organizations are increasing at a tremendous rate and sweeping thousands of unsuspecting pacifists into cooperation with the communist program, camouflaged as

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<sup>10</sup> Proceedings of the 25<sup>th</sup> Continental Congress: NSDAR (1916), Archive, Daughters of the American Revolution National Headquarters, Washington D.C. (hereafter cited DAR Archive). 263-91.

"measures for peace" for the purpose of appeal, but in reality paving the way for Red revolution. . . .”<sup>11</sup>

Another resolution in 1926 supported the National Defense Act promoting military training in “any” school, college, or camp rather than only military institutions. Finally, a resolution concerned the illegal entry of Mexicans across the border, called for increasing border patrol agents between Mexico and the United States, and sought “the passage of laws . . . that will deport from this country all aliens illegally in the country, and likewise all aliens who have committed crimes against the laws of the country. . . .”<sup>12</sup> Indeed, this supports discoveries found in chapter two of this dissertation as the U.S.–Mexico border became a rigid boundary in the 1920s. Crilly further supports more nationalistic—even racist impulses—among the DAR in the 1920s. Some nonwhite groups were less likely to or even unable to become good American citizens. She cites a speaker at the 1924 Continental Congress who charged, “There have been dumped upon our shores one million five hundred thousand aliens, who have come from some of the worst governed countries in the world . . . many of them unfit for citizenship” (26–30). Further, a speaker at the 1925 Continental Congress maintained that “racial ideals have been the foundation of most nations” while others referred to the U.S. founders as “men of homogenous race.”

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<sup>11</sup> Proceedings of the 35<sup>th</sup> Continental Congress: “Reaffirm Resolution Adopted at Thirty-Fourth Congress: Combating Red Revolution.” NSDAR: (1926), Washington, D.C., DAR Archive, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Proceedings of the 35<sup>th</sup> Continental Congress: “Aliens,” NSDAR (1926), Washington, D.C., DAR Archive, 6.

### *The DAR in the 1950s: Continued Support of Immigration Restriction*

The McCarran-Walter 1952 Act, analyzed in chapter two, continued “keeping America white” by drastically reducing immigration from southern and eastern Europe while providing only a few visas for Asian immigrants—organizations similar to the DAR defended it from the contestation of progressive groups. Some context is important. Conservatives were not pleased with Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower’s liberalizing tendencies. According to Critchlow, “In 1956, they [conservatives] were troubled by the administration's weak reaction to the Soviet invasion of Hungary to suppress a popular uprising against the Russian-backed regime. More troubling, however, was Eisenhower's voluntary ban on atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons, his support for trade with Eastern bloc countries, and his call for nuclear arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union” (*Conservative Ascendancy* 43). Furthermore, Eisenhower disapproved of McCarran-Walter primarily because it excluded refugees from Eastern Europe. The scaling back of weapons to defend against possible attacks against the Soviet Union made little sense to hard-line conservatives who feared the Soviet Union could not be trusted to reciprocate. In 1956 when Attorney General Herbert Brownell Junior and President Eisenhower were urging a bill to liberalize McCarran-Walter, the DAR passed a resolution insisting restricted immigration was imperative to national security (Gibbs 4). The DAR marched in lockstep with the continuance of such restrictive legislation. A former National Defense committee chairman at the 1956 Continental Congress accused immigrants of “trying to tear down quotas and trying to change ideals and ideas brought here by our ancestors. We are simply agreeing with those authorities who feel that it is only possible to assimilate a certain number of alien elements. If we take too many of a varying philosophy, we will be entirely lost. America as we know it will be gone” (Strayer 57). The vexed position of the immigrant, with a foot in each country, runs counter to the imagined political community constructed from “natural, unbroken,

unchanging connections, with their implications of mutual responsibility, love, and devotion” (Truesdale 80).

Mrs. Robert V.H. Duncan, President-General of the DAR (1962-1965), spoke to Congress in support of maintaining the existing provisions of McCarran-Walter and against liberalization. While prefacing her remarks that the DAR maternal benevolence was quick to “extend a helping hand to immigrant minority groups based upon first-hand knowledge, both personal and direct,” she emphasized immigrants be admitted on a rational and orderly basis, denying no nation a quota, and providing a reasonable, orderly, mathematical formula (732 – 33). Duncan argued for extending the national origins quota:

It [McCarran-Walter] embodies the following features—all in the best interests of our constitutional republic: Recognizing the culture identity and historic population basis of this nation, it officially preserved the national origin quota system as the basis for immigration, wisely giving preference to those nations whose composite culture—Anglo-Saxon from northern and western European countries—has been responsible for actually producing the American Heritage as we know it today. It abolished certain discriminatory provisions in our immigration laws—those against the sexes and persons of Asiatic origin . . . . No nation or race is listed ineligible for immigration and naturalization . . .<sup>13</sup>

From Duncan’s perspective the imagined political community of America was based on a northern and Western European heritage, and changes in immigration policy would lead to increased immigration from other countries, diluting American culture. Clearly Duncan, who as president-general carries the organization within her to a strong degree, was opposing the state in changing McCarran-Walter. Duncan averred that limiting foreign elements was necessary to protect the interests of U.S. citizens against possible of subversive threats. “The Communist

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<sup>13</sup> Duncan, Sandy V. H., Statement of President General, NSDAR: U.S. Congressional House Subcommittee on the Judiciary. HR 7700 88th Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess. Part III. Washington: GPO, 10 August, 1964, 732-740.

Party has in 15 key states 180 ‘front’ organizations dedicated exclusively to the purpose of creating grassroots pressure in Congress to destroy the act [McCarran-Walter]—which is what most of the proposed amendments would do.” Finally, she fused the nativist fear of foreigners with the communist threat: “I’m reminded of the expressive words of the late beloved poet, Robert Frost, who, in ‘A Poet’s Reflections on America and the World,’ put it this way: ‘Sizing up America: You ask me if America is still a great country. Well, it’s easy to see that, if we do not know how great America is, Russia does.’”<sup>14</sup>

The DAR resolutions both in 1964 and 1965 mirrored the statements of the president-general. They were against liberalization of McCarran-Walter pointing to large increases in immigration, particularly with regards to "aggravating the unemployment problem which has already precipitated a massive Federal ‘War on Poverty.’”<sup>15</sup> Resolutions mention the unintended consequences of the 1952 Act including “only one-third of those admitted [300,000 immigrants] coming in under established quotas and the remaining two-thirds entering either as non-quota immigrants or through emergency legislation which by-passed the Immigration and Nationality Act.”<sup>16</sup> Other concerns included increasing immigration from Communist bloc countries including China and the Soviet Union. Remarkably, years after McCarthyism was discredited, the DAR was still preoccupied with the community threat.

Although the DAR lobbied for laws restricting immigration, at the same time, it reached out to immigrants. What seems a contradiction it is not necessarily so: foreign elements introduced into United States needed socialization into supposed Anglo-Saxon traditions. The presence of large number of immigrants was a reality, and not likely to go away; consequently,

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Proceedings of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Continental Congress: “Support of Immigration and Nationality Act.” NSDAR (1964) DAR Archive. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Proceedings of the 74<sup>th</sup> Continental Congress: “Support Strengthening of the Immigration and Nationality Act.” NSDAR: (1965) DAR Archive. 5.

DAR members took a pragmatic approach to them. Rather than Christian goodwill, the DAR feared the precarious social position of immigrants left them vulnerable to radical influences; its logical solution was to reach the immigrants before the radicals could turn them to their cause. The National Defense Committee wrote, “When he arrives in this country, the bewildered foreigner immediately seeks leadership. . . . Therefore it all depends upon who gets hold of him first whether he is transformed into a good, law abiding home building citizen or becomes a pawn in the hands of radical groups who openly defy the law and order and deride our government” (Crilly 38). Leaders of DAR recognized the implications of an influx of unassimilated immigrants meant to the United States and the urgency of acting on such an eventuality. The Daughter’s actions fostered patriotism and love of country and flag, and sought to assimilate foreigners and to make Americans of them. “DAR leaders urged chapters to exercise friendly compassion to new immigrants. The chapters heeded their leaders’ encouragement, seeking out new immigrants, making home visits, running citizenship and Americanization classes, throwing parties for newly naturalized citizens, and providing other services. . .” (37-40). These activities demonstrated the DAR took immigrant adjustment and assimilation seriously rather than merely symbolic.

### ***Making Americans of Poor Whites***

Demographically, there are two ways a population can grow itself: through natural increase and immigration, and the DAR was notably involved in both pursuits. To counter the growing number of immigrants, the DAR was not only concerned with increasing birth rates among Americans of Anglo-Saxon origin, but also sought to ameliorate living conditions for southern, poor whites. Beginning in 1903, the DAR had supported and run schools for children living in Appalachia. Throughout both the 1920s and 1950s, the DAR emphasized their activities

in Appalachia, pointing to the supposed Anglo-Saxon heritage of the children and families they assisted. In 1950, DAR member Grace Calhoun urged members to continue to fund the Appalachian schools, referring to the students as “descendants of Revolutionary soldiers.” The students at the Tamassee School in South Carolina “are of purest Anglo-Saxon stock,” wrote Calhoun. “They are potentially such good citizenship material.” While fundraising for Tamassee, local chapters repeated Calhoun’s ideas, remarking that Appalachian children were “descendants of Anglo-Saxon settlers,” declaring they spoke “pure Anglo-Saxon English.” Such students represented “the strong virile type of unspoiled American youth” (Crilly 34).

While DAR promoted immigrant education and services to reduce immigrant exposure to radical ideas, outreach to poor southern whites directly encompassed white, racial fears. If we combine its exclusivity with their focus on education for *all* Americans, then DAR outreach to poor southern whites makes perfect sense. The DAR in the 1920s maintained it was “enabling children of the *Simon-pure Americans* [emphasis added] to come into possession of their too-long-deferred birthright of properly equipped citizenship” (Medlicott, *Constructing Territory* 105-6). According to Crilly, the DAR openly advocated for higher birth rates among native-born Americans, even bringing up the negative effects of limiting Anglo-Saxon birth control. President-General Minor in 1923 was suspicious regarding birth control as it “will not be practiced by the foreigner and the poor, whom it professes to benefit. With fewer babies born to white Americans and more immigrants coming to America, the Daughters’ work supported the development of population “quality.”<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, Minor viewed “reproduction as a patriotic duty” (32). In other words, fertility decline was a real concern for DAR leadership. Poor whites

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<sup>17</sup> Hoff maintains that “during the nineteenth century, each generation would have fewer children than the one before it, and the birthrate decreased from about eight babies per woman in 1800 to four in 1900” (32).

because of their social disadvantage were akin to the immigrant—both “in” the world but not “of” the world—less than human in comparison to the supposed WASP standard.

### *Marianne Anderson: And Justice for Some*

As a graduate student attending Kansas State University, bored on a Sunday morning in Manhattan, Kansas and in a spiritual malaise, this researcher decided to attend a Unitarian Fellowship service. There was a pleasant, participatory service, where young children sang from the pulpit receiving prideful smiles from friends and family, and then a discussion on a relevant topic of concern to the community. After the service there was a reception, and this researcher spoke with an older gentleman well known to Manhattanites, Charley Kempthorne, a longtime Manhattan resident who is also a published author. Charley was interested in his dissertation research. This research was just beginning research and was starting to interview DAR members from the Manhattan, Kansas Polly Ogden chapter. When this researcher mentioned he was researching the Daughters to Charley he replied, "Oh, those people who wouldn't let Marianne Anderson sing?" By his comments and tone, Charley implied the DAR was both elitist and racist. Indeed, DAR's discriminatory actions in 1939 remain part of the collective memory of the organization.

In 1939, Marianne Anderson, an internationally known, African-American opera contralto had requested to sing at Constitution Hall, which is owned and operated by the DAR. The Daughters refused to let Anderson sing in their chambers in Washington, D.C. Here is how DAR Regent of Manhattan, KS Polly Ogden chapter Susan Metzger described the incident:

The public perception of what happened is that she requested to sing there [Constitution Hall] and was denied. For long time, even when I joined my mom said, “Do you know what their philosophy is, do you know about Marian Anderson?”. . . I think [the] DAR since then has spent a lot of time repairing that philosophy.

When asked about opponents of the DAR, Metzger believed the Anderson incident was what opponents associated with the DAR. Nevertheless, Metzger challenges notions the DAR, which is still predominately white, is an elitist organization:

I thought the same thing prior to joining it [DAR as elitist]. I thought of the fact that our representatives was a member [e.g., Sidney Carlson, Manhattan, (D-KS)] and Laura Bush is a member and people who live in big houses, so I thought it was very conservative people who are *wealthy* and *white* [enunciated]. What I've learned especially in our chapter is that there is a tremendous diversity in the social scale of the women in our group, people who have held all kinds of jobs, different economic backgrounds, and even different family backgrounds.

In their defense, the DAR emphasized that until the early 1950s the city of Washington maintained strict segregation in schools, hospitals, restaurants, churches, playgrounds, theaters, and auditoriums. The *New York Times* maintained the DAR should not have regarded itself as an exclusive social club but rather as a public institution with a moral responsibility to use its property in the best interests of the American people. In banning Anderson and other Negro artists the society was belying the ideals specified in its charter (Gibbs 167-68). Anderson (1974) described how the DAR unpopularity in liberal circles assured loud publicity to injustices associated with the Anderson incident:

No matter how one regarded the "white artists only" clause, as defensible or indefensible, it was DAR's established policy at the time. The policy had become a public target. Many Daughters today insist the DAR was made a scapegoat in what was essentially a test case for civil rights. (145)

Notably, the Daughters did not change their policy despite public pressure and reaffirmed the ruling in 1945—failing in living up to the principles of liberty-and-justice it espoused. The Anderson incident is analyzed more fully through liberty-and-justice frames and white racial frames in Chapter Eight.

### *The DAR Respond to 9/11*

The DAR magazine, *American Spirit*, creates a sense of national kinship and solidarity among far-flung readers, most but not all of whom are Daughters. The magazine, a kind of *Reader's Digest* for middle class patriots, genealogists, and lovers of American history, has 40,000 paid subscribers including educational institutions and congressional representatives. The magazine permitted Daughters “collectively to function as their own nation, with their own invented traditions, their own myths, their own legendary figures and formative events” (Medlicott, *Constructing Territory* 102). President-General Linda Tinker Watkins of DAR led the organization during the 9/11 era. Tinker-Watkins averred that Americans have become complacent:

As Americans we have enjoyed an abundance of freedom for so many years that we have *forgotten* [emphasis added] how fragile it is. How is it that we have forgotten the reasons behind the American Revolution and the lessons we should have learned from the valor and sacrifice of the founding fathers? Why is it that there are at least two generations of Americans who know very little about American history because our educational institutions decided that it was no longer important? [And rhetorically], does it take a national tragedy to bring us back to reality? The heritage of freedom we enjoy should never be taken for granted.<sup>18</sup>

Additionally, she argued for placing the nation's concerns over both private concerns and those of special interest groups, just as the men who founded the nation. Later in the same article the president-general reaffirmed Americans as a “diverse people.” Even the DAR, an exclusive, hereditary-based organization must work through cultural spaces changed by progressive reforms and increased immigration from Latin America and Asia after 1965.

An article includes images such as firefighters rescuing the flag from a downed flagpole, a young girl on her father's shoulders waving an American flag and signs with civil religious

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<sup>18</sup> Linda Tinker Watkins, “From the President General,” *American Spirit* Nov.–Dec. 2001: 2.

themes such as “God Bless America,” “Freedom Will Be Defended,” and “Pray for Families and Victims.” The article states that the terrorists attacked during Constitution week that occurs each year between September 17<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup>. The author notes that the best way to deal with the present is to look back to the past. “When we look back to the seminal years, we find that the pursuit of justice in its highest moral sense is nothing new. It is part of American history. And in these troubled times, we can make another call to the wisdom of great Americans of the past.”<sup>19</sup> The article, then, links the Founders of the Constitution with the Constitution itself, with civil religious themes such as justice, and with a moral sense of guiding America into the future. Notably, all these strategies help to create generational memories where none existed before, linking up disparate images through rhetoric, implying terrorists purposely attacked during Constitution week. Moreover, the terrorists attacked during a time when Americans celebrate our freedoms granted by the Constitution, attacks on the very heart of what makes up American culture, if you will, America’s social body. Through the magazine, the Daughters help Americans imagine a post-9/11 world in which freedom is not free, in which the past serves as a guide for present and future actions.<sup>20</sup>

In a 2002 edition Tinker-Watkins insisted America was attacked because of its openness. “DAR has been preaching a strong national defense since its existence, but people were not concerned. The problem is we’re fighting the enemy within. We’re so free we failed to see the dangers.” Further, she argued in Durkheimian terms that “if out of every bad event some good comes, then maybe the good is that it brought people to the awareness that we’re in this together. We are only as strong as our commitment to remain free. We have to take our citizenship

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<sup>19</sup> Daniel, Lucille. “America Unites,” *American Spirit* Nov.–Dec. 2001: 4.

<sup>20</sup> *American Spirit* included a couple of articles on Pearl Harbor. Of course, the Pearl Harbor attacks occurred in December so there is a remembrance in the Nov/Dec. 2001 magazine about these events, which was also the first issue after September 11<sup>th</sup>. Comparisons made between Pearl Harbor with 9/11 suggest America was “asleep at the wheel” justifying need for America to always be vigilant and have a strong national defense.

privileges and responsibilities seriously. We all have to do our part to protect our society.”<sup>21</sup>

Finally, her comments square with the traditional wing of the conservative party, which is system-supporting concerning increased security and militarization. Next, the DAR resolutions after 9/11 are analyzed.

There was nothing unusual concerning the DAR response to 9/11; they echoed mostly what Americans were thinking and feeling. A resolution passed in 2002, the DAR first Continental Congress after 9/11, resolved that the DAR “go forward to defend all that is good and just in our world and in the face of it all, we remain strong and united, thereby rededicating ourselves to the preservation of ‘the land of the free and the home of the brave.’”<sup>22</sup> Further, securitization was linked to possible terrorist threats. Another resolution called for “denying visas for nationals from countries that sponsor terrorism, advocate[d] tightening border security, and exhort[ed] the passage of the Visa Entry Reform Act and the funds to implement it.”<sup>23</sup> In 2005, a resolution linked the lack of security with increased terrorist threats. “[B]y 2001, as many as 500,000 illegal aliens were entering our country annually, prompting law enforcement authorities to believe that this *mass movement* [emphasis added] offers a cover for terrorists seeking to enter the United States. . . .”<sup>24</sup> Of course, “mass movement” implies noncitizens come in large numbers together and are in solidarity with one another. Further, rigorous enforcement of current laws was urged and valid identity documents were suggested to prevent fraud, not just of “illegal aliens” but of noncitizens as well. Before presenting the findings for this study, this

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<sup>21</sup> Andrews, Jeanmarie. “DAR and the Military: A Legacy of Service,” *American Spirit* Sept.–Oct. 2002: 11.

<sup>22</sup> Proceedings of the 111<sup>th</sup> Continental Congress: “Remembering the 11th of September.” NSDAR (2002), DAR Archive. 220.

<sup>23</sup> Proceedings of the 111<sup>th</sup> Continental Congress: “Visa Entry Reforms.” NSDAR (2002), DAR Archive. 221.

<sup>24</sup> Proceedings of the 114<sup>th</sup> Continental Congress: “Homeland Insecurity—Open Borders.” NSDAR (2005), DAR Archive. 3.

researcher first restates the research questions for the dissertation and then explains the research methodology.

## **Chapter 5 - Method of Inquiry**

### **Overview of Research Design**

This study addressed two primary research questions: (a) What framing strategies do RSMs use to bring awareness to their cause? (b) How does an established patriotic organization, DAR, understand immigration outside of the law? This chapter provides an “audit trail,” the necessary steps taken that produced the codes, categories, and major themes found in this dissertation.

Qualitative data collection methods were used, including semi-structured interviews, document analysis, and participant observation. In total, there were fifty interviews performed, ranging from a half hour to over two hours, with the majority lasting around an hour and a half (see Appendix A for interview schedule). After gaining Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, interviews began on 23 July 2009 and this researcher conducted his last interview on 23 June 2012. In Kansas, interviews took place in the cities of Manhattan, Garden City, and Ulysses. In California, interviews took place in northern, central, and southern regions of the state. After recording the interviews, they were fully transcribed and then analyzed. Although using an interview schedule, this researcher learned to give respondents time to reflect and answer and not rush their responses. As the interview process is task-oriented and purposeful, this researcher learned to ask for relevant information when needed.

Document analysis was performed on CNNs Lou Dobbs Tonight (LDT hereafter) television news program from 2005 through 2008. Dobbs’s broadcast promoted restrictionist views. Frequent guests included Minuteman Founder Jim Gilchrist, the president of the Minuteman Civilian Defense Corps (MCDC), Chris Simcox, many representatives from the restrictionist think tank FAIR, the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS), and political figures such as former member of Congress Tom Tancredo (R-CO). Using these transcripts, relevant

contextual variables in the immigration debate were discovered. Regarding participant observation, this researcher attended the 2012 *AGIF State Conference* in Sacramento, California and the *Nullify Now* conference in Kansas City, Missouri and interviews were continued at each site. At the *Nullify Now* conference, only those interviewed knew of the researcher's status as a graduate student doing research on the right wing.

### ***Selection of Research Participants***

This dissertation was purposeful and sought to interview members of patriotic, voluntary organizations, those that "rally round the flag," in one context or another. The criterion used for restrictionists was (a) involvement in the 2005 border musters or (b) self-identification as a Minuteman member, either leader or rank-and-file or (c) an "anti-illegal" activist. The interviews were procured in a variety of different ways. In accessing restrictionists, personal contacts, websites, and snowball sampling were used in conjunction with each other.<sup>25</sup> For instance, after interviewing Jim Gilchrist in California who came to this researcher via a personal contact, he gave me contact information for Minuteman Project volunteer Raymond Herrera (i.e., snowball sampling). While phoning and setting up an interview with Herrera, he offered contact information for Minuteman Project volunteer Robin Hvidston. While setting up an interview with Midwest FAIR representative Joyce Mucci, who was contacted through FAIR's national website, she offered contact information for Minuteman Project volunteer Frances Semler, plus, a rank-and-file FAIR activist, who preferred to remain anonymous.<sup>26</sup> Dr. Frank Morris was also contacted through the FAIR national website.

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<sup>25</sup> Fellow graduate student Paul Ibbetson, who hosted a radio show called "Conscience of Kansas," a conservative talk show, sent an email to Jim Gilchrist, whom he had interviewed on his show. This researcher then followed up with an email to Mr. Gilchrist and we arranged to meet.

<sup>26</sup> Participants who wished to be kept anonymous are italicized in this study.

Regarding the DAR, archival research was performed from the 1916–2001 using annual DAR resolutions produced at the DAR’s annual Continental Congress. Regarding face-to-face interviews, a brochure containing background information on the Manhattan, Kansas Polly Ogden chapter and contact information for former Regent Dixie Roberts was found in the Manhattan, Kansas library. After an interview with former Regent Dixie Roberts, she passed along a list of other DAR members. Interviews were arranged with some of these other members.

### *Overview of Information Needed*

The purpose of this research was to interview members of patriotic, voluntary organizations, those "true Americans" who feel they have earned the right to speak up about the direction they think the nation is headed. The information needed to answer the research questions included: restrictionist framing strategies concerning immigration outside of the law in order to reach a wide audience, and how established organizations view immigration outside of the law. The information needed to answer these questions was determined by the conceptual framework and fell into four categories: (a) contextual, (b) perceptual (c) demographic, and (d) theoretical. The concrete information needed included:

- *Contextual*: For the DAR, knowledge about the organization’s history, and knowledge of whether that history continues to shape public perceptions and organizational goals. This includes past and current projects, current membership numbers, levels of involvement for current members, and the distinction between conditions of membership and goal orientations and how they have changed, if at all. The effects of the Marianne Anderson incident on the collective memory of DAR.
- *Perceptual*: Interviewees perceptions of the importance of American values, and in turn, if any of these values are threatened: differences between the United States and other nations,

the proper terminology related to noncitizens, their views on restrictionist-type movements, and perceptions of strong versions of multiculturalism (e.g., Aztlan).

- *Demographic*: Relevant demographic information included work history, family background, education, military experience, religious affiliation, and degree of religious participation. Party affiliations included whether respondents vote in state and federal elections, their general political viewpoint (e.g., liberal, conservative, moderate), average age of organizational members, and other organizational affiliations were considered.
- *Theoretical*: Literature reviews were used in three different ways: data sources to compare with interviewee responses as data sources to connect with this researcher's coded data, and to provide explanations for empirical findings. The scope of this study included at least seven literature reviews: popular restrictionist authors, scholarly immigration restrictionist research, early research on collective behavior, recent right-wing social movement theory, social construction of illegality, the DAR in historical context, and citizenship and legal studies.

### **Methods For Data Analysis and Synthesis**

In qualitative research, efficient tools are required to move the researcher toward independence. Everything in this dissertation was performed using Microsoft Office products found on most computers, including Word, Excel, and Access. The decision not to use qualitative data analysis software such as Nvivo or ATLAS.ti was deliberate based on the principle the human qualitative researcher is the best research instrument (Hahn *Joint Physical Custody*). Although not directly analytic in its operation, the technology employed in this research project provided a boost in speed and efficiency because of organization. The quality of the analysis was enhanced because all the coded data was available on a virtually instantaneous

basis, and the query process in Access allowed for extremely fast, what-if views of the data.<sup>27</sup>

Further, as long as this researcher's dissertation committee members had access to Microsoft Office, all committee members had direct access to data at any point to assess his progress.

Conceptual development was achieved through the use of modified grounded theory methods, to which we now turn.

### *Data Analysis and Synthesis*

At the start of the dissertation process, this researcher understood isolating immigration outside of the law to a few relevant variables (i.e., quantitative analyses) would not suffice due to the range of variables involved. The research methodology was based upon tools developed through grounded theory (GT), a qualitative research method premised upon inductively building up theoretical categories through engagement with data of varying kinds (Charmaz; A. Strauss & Corbin 12). Grounded theory is a method used to construct theory. Data analysis occurs through two processes: coding and memos. Coding is a pivotal link between collecting data and developing the emerging theory to explain these data. Through coding, you define what is happening in the data and begin to grapple with what it means (Charmaz 46). In this study, coding takes three different but interrelated forms, including open coding (Level 1 coding), focused coding (Level 2 coding), and thematic coding (Level 3 coding). Earlier in the research process open coding predominated, while later focused coding and then thematic coding were the focus, delineating relationships and specifying the dimensions of categories. There were at least three "pass-throughs" of the data. Notably, GT is an *iterative* process, not a *linear* process. Throughout the study, the researcher was constantly moving between the various levels (e.g.,

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<sup>27</sup> For example, my Level 2 code for issues respondents had with the federal government was *Making Govt. Accountable*; but this researcher felt the code was ineffectual. Using the query function in *Access*, within seconds this researcher was able to change the Level 2 code to *Holding the Feds' Feet to the Fire*.

open, focused, and thematic coding). Grounded theory is both an inductive and a deductive process; the theory is induced or it emerges after data collection starts.<sup>28</sup>

After open codes were subsumed under focused codes, and focused codes subsumed under thematic codes (if possible), relevant literature was then incorporated into the developing concepts and the theory emerged. In a traditional Glaserian approach, the existing literature is treated as another data source and brought in only after concepts are developed. “This incorporation of the existing literature,” Haring emphasizes, “should not be viewed as a mere nod to the academy but as a critical data source in grounded theory development” (24).

### *Steps to Data Analysis and Synthesis*

The following list summarizes the steps used to carry out data analysis and synthesis. Following this list is a more in-depth examination with visuals for each of the steps.

1. Interview data from restrictionists, DAR, and pro-immigrant respondents were transcribed and copied into an ordinary Word document called a code document.
2. Initial codes were created using highlighting features of Word (e.g., Level 1 codes).
3. Using Word’s Table of Authorities feature, an alphabetized list of Level 1 codes was created and placed at the top of the code document.
4. Level 1 codes were copied into MS Access with unique identifier information from the code document, including organizational affiliation, initials of respondent, page and row number in the code document, and the text that inspired the Level 1 code.
5. New Level 2 codes were generated for every Level 1 code. For every new Level 2 code created, clicking in the “Check if New” field held it in the drop-down menu.

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<sup>28</sup> Regarding the creation of memos, both Microsoft Notepad and a digital recorder to record “Ah Ha!” moments were used.

6. A MS Access Report was generated with each specific Level 1 code subsumed under the more general, Level 2 code.
7. The computer was then shut off and each Level 2 code was given a Level 3 code. The Level 3 code was then entered into Access.

Below you see a snapshot from the more than two hour long interview with Founder and President of the Minuteman Project, Jim Gilchrist. Notice the three columns in the code document. On the far left is the actual text from the interview, and the middle column was where codes were generated. In this instance, the code “bringing national awareness to the issue” is shown. Different colors were used for different interviewees. For restrictionists red was used, while for pro-immigrant respondents, green was used. On the far right is the row number in the code document. Also, notice the text marked in blue using MS Word’s Styles feature to highlight important contextual information.

Jim Gilchrist		1.
Work history?		2.
I'm a retired California CPA I have an MBA and taxation BS in business administration also have a bachelors in newspaper journalism and I'm a former newspaper reporter from a couple of newspapers in Rhode Island in the early 1970s. I retired my CPA practice in the mid-90s had been retired ever since. I created the Minuteman Project to bring....53 seconds		3.
I graduated from the University of Rhode Island with a degree in newspaper journalism so I have a well-rounded education. Since my retirement I've been trying to find something to do, something to contribute to our society here and <b>after the attack of 2001 World Trade Center realized we had a serious problem with our immigration policy. The problem is the <u>unenforcement</u> of those policies and set out to bring national awareness to the issue.</b> Been overwhelmingly successful to bring national attention to the problem, prior to that there were a dozen groups that were on this issue for a couple decades that no one ever heard of and no one ever heard of the issue. So I was determined to put on the map, at least on that immediate map and was successful at that. <sup>1</sup>	<b>after the attack of 2001 World Trade Center realized we had a serious problem with our immigration policy. The problem is the <u>unenforcement</u><sup>2</sup> of those policies and set out to bringing national awareness to the issue</b>	4.
What groups were there prior to you getting involved?		5.
<b>There was fair, numbers USA, and Center for immigration studies they're all out of Washington DC. There is no one really national that seem to be bringing national awareness, narrowed markets that they were addressing themselves to.</b> <sup>3</sup> Fair, numbers, and Center for Immigration Studies are very good outfits and enterprises, but I got the idea to create the largest assembly of Minuteman since the Revolutionary war to bring, deliberately bring media attention to this problem. <b>And it worked, it took six months to create the initial Minuteman assembly in Arizona and in the month of April 2005, Launched in October 1, 2004 spent six months recruiting people get everyone connected together, we had a ham radio division, 80 ham radio operators, about a half-dozen physicians, a dozen pilots, three airplanes, we had an air wing, a law enforcement wing to liaison with law enforcement. we had a medical</b>		6.

**Figure 5.1 Code Document Example Using Word**

After initial codes were created in the code document, they were ordered into a Table of Codes using Word's Table of Authorities feature (see below). Each of these entries became initial, or Level 1, codes. Notice also the page numbers of the codes in the code document. Instead of searching for data and wasting time, codes were readily available to me. Notably, during data analysis but before writing, the alphabetized Table of Codes served as a reference guide.

**Cases Jim Gilchrist**

after attack of 2001 World Trade Center realized we had serious problem with our immigration policy ..3

applying rule of law universally? ... That's what America's all about. It's a state of mind like Minuteman Project.....27

Atzlan thinks we are the enemy and we should be slaughtered.....20

being that Marine Corps Vietnam War had a lot to do with why I wanted to do this.....5

blacks are starting to cure themselves of that, there's always the victim, they're always going to be the victim, someone owes me big time.....24

boils down to in one phrase is mob rule and next step is anarchy and that's all I have to say .....30

bring awareness to issue w/out trampling other people's civil rights .....13

bringing awareness to issue debated, not only in street corners and restaurants and bars, taverns but also in colleges, and city Council meetings, political races .....7

bringing their culture into our country, and their country has a bad reputation for law-enforcement we are going to be a near reflection in Mexico in short order.....14

changing our country, our culture, language, methods of law enforcement, and respect for law-enforcement .....14

come here do what they're supposed to do, play their game, enjoy our social life restaurants and go back to their homeland.....25

disappointment and anger, and a threat that they perceive by people whose only salute to flag is a middle finger.....19

don't want laws that we're not going to enforce, law is whatever some mob decides it's going to be for the day .....18

don't want people want to take the law into their own hand .....13

emphasizing foreign language, and a foreign culture, then foreign flag in allegiance to your new homeland is moot and it means nothing.....23

exercised those rights they will put themselves at risk for deportation and detainment .....17

extremes we don't want in debate. We're not going to prevent them from speaking, don't want their voices to dominate debate.....8

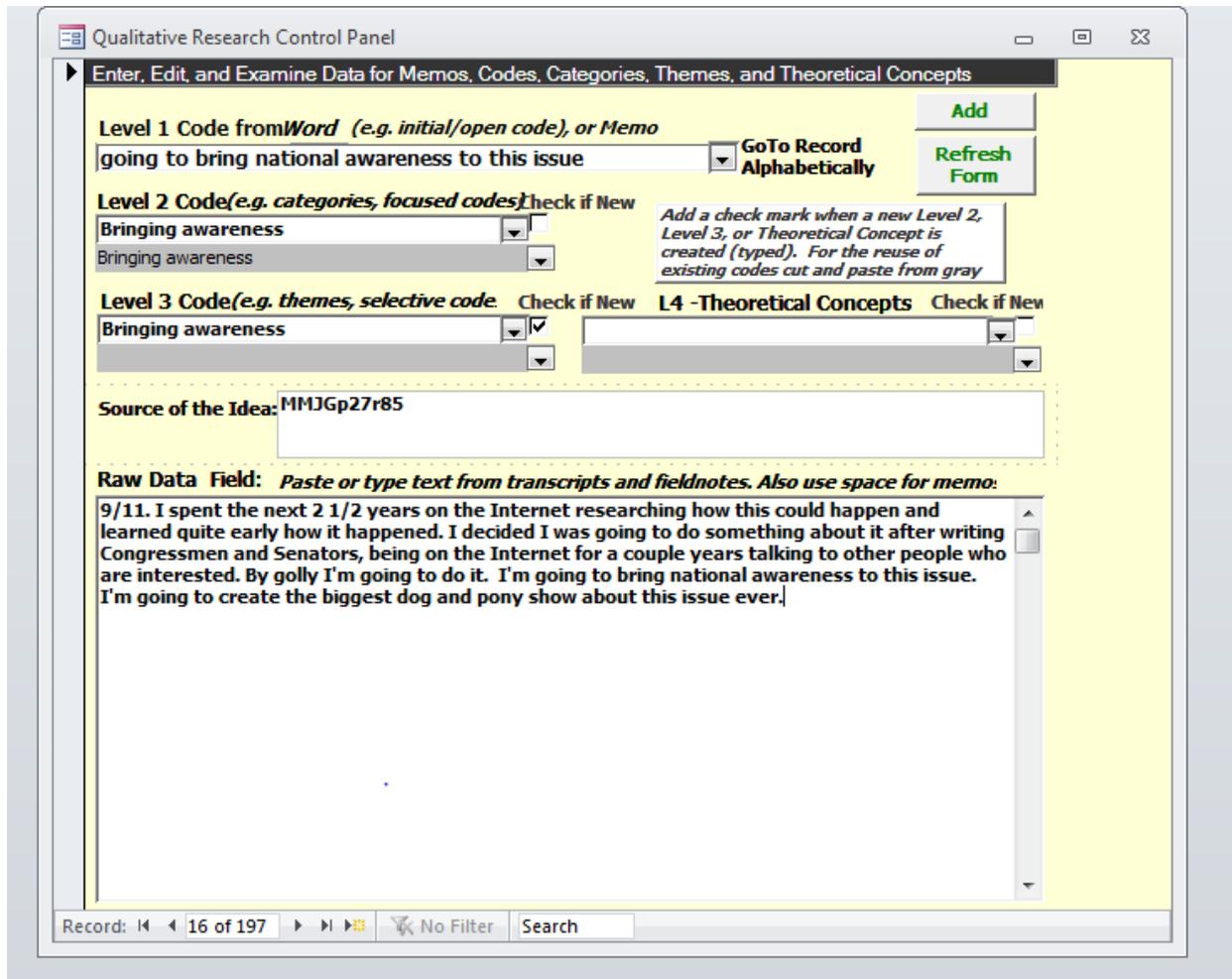
felt safer in battlefield with a multi-cultural, multiethnic, group of 210 Marines that I ever felt in a near riotous area comprised of multi-cultural groups.....21

**Figure 5.2 Alphabetized Table of Codes Using Words Table of Authorities feature**

Below is a MS Access form, called the Qualitative Research Control Panel (QRCP).

Initial codes were copied from the code document into the QRCP. Notice how this form has all three coding levels presented: Level 1 codes, Level 2 codes, and Level 3 codes. Below the codes are the origins of the codes: respondents' initials and organization affiliations and page numbers, row numbers of the document, and the text that accompanies the codes. Notice the gray areas on the form. These were drop-down menus that stored Level 2 and Level 3 codes, so Level 2 and Level 3 codes repeated were not re-entered, but were copied and pasted into the white area above the gray box. Having the information organized in such a way avoided losing information

and spending time trying to find sources instead of analyzing material. Again, having these tools moved the primary research instrument, this researcher, toward independence and discovery.



**Figure 5.3 Qualitative Research Control Panel (QRCP) Using MS Access**

Below is an example of a MS Access report using restrictionist interview data. In bold type are newly-created Level 2 codes, and subsumed under these are Level 1 codes. On the right side is the idea source column containing respondents’ organizational affiliations and initials and the page number and row from the code document. This enabled easy access to codes within the code document. For instance, the Level 2 code “Balkanizing Themselves” represents a higher

level of generalization. Within it are contained four Level 1 codes, emphasizing foreignness in relation to language, and nonhuman symbols such as the U.S. flag.

After Level 2 codes were established, the computer was shut off and this researcher went “old school.” Three things were needed to create Level 3 codes: paper, scissors, and the floor. The process was similar to work performed by Hahn (*Joint Physical Custody*). "The sheets of paper were shuffled, ordered, and reordered to find logical groupings. This was an exciting part of the process, to get it was the culmination of an enormous amount of effort and the results of this study were becoming apparent" (168-9). All of the previous hard work was beginning to pay off because of these efficient, organizational tools.

<b>Changing immigration policy</b>	<b>Level 2 Cod</b>
<i>Level 1 Codes related to this Level 2 code</i>	<i>Idea Source</i>
believe we should have moratorium on all immigration	MMFSp11r1
labor needs should govern our immigration needs with exception of asylum	MMFMp6r2
<b>Balkanizing themselves</b>	<b>Level 2 Cod</b>
<i>Level 1 Codes related to this Level 2 code</i>	<i>Idea Source</i>
balkanization of country	MMNHp9r1
bringing what you have but not being Balkanized	MMIMp6r35
emphasizing foreign language, culture, flag allegiance to new homeland is moot	MMJGp23r7
unassimilated masses coming in here, illegal aliens that did not come through vetting process	MMJGp7r12
<b>Becoming burden</b>	<b>Level 2 Cod</b>
<i>Level 1 Codes related to this Level 2 code</i>	<i>Idea Source</i>
becoming aware our healthcare is paying for illegal aliens in country	MMEHp7r70
going on our welfare system, and their anchor babies are on our welfare system	MMRHp16r5
providing funds for programs, they will get bigger and there will be more of an expected entitlement to those who come illegally	MMJGp15r3
putting burden on taxpaye	MMAGp4r32
putting demands on American citizens	MMAGp6r40
<b>Becoming the minority</b>	<b>Level 2 Cod</b>
<i>Level 1 Codes related to this Level 2 code</i>	<i>Idea Source</i>
feeling like minority shopping and when driving usually a minority, but have no minority rights	MMRVp10r1
knowing what it feels like to be a minority	MMRVp10r1

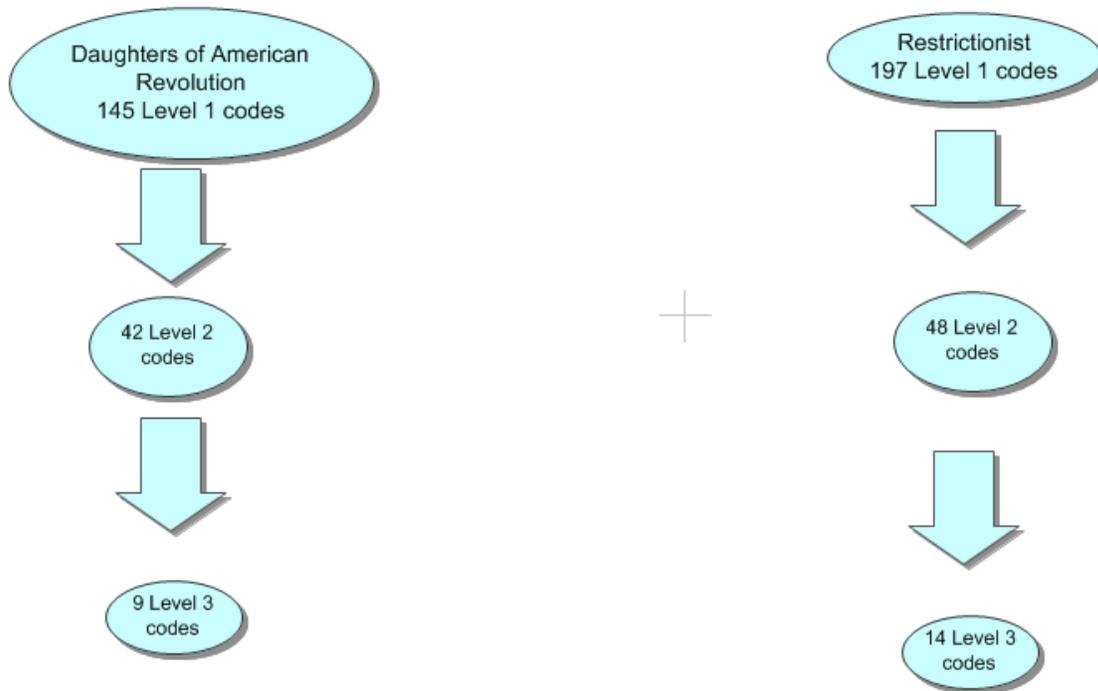
Page: 14 of 1 | Unfiltered

**Figure 5.4 Level 2 and Level 1 Codes Using MS Access Reports**

Figure 5.5, below, shows the code counts for DAR and restrictionists.<sup>29</sup> The figure also shows the data reduction from a large number of Level 1 codes for each organization/movement to a smaller number of Level 2 and Level 3 codes. The coding process resulted in the compressing of a large number of Level 1 codes into only a few Level 3 codes (i.e., major themes): By end of the coding process restrictionists were compressed from 197 Level 1 codes to fourteen Level 3 codes; the Daughters went from 145 Level 1 codes to nine Level 3 codes.

<sup>29</sup> Notably, codes were analyzed at the level of the paragraph, and if guest worker programs, for example, were mentioned more than once in a paragraph, they were only counted once.

## Coding Counts



**Figure 5.5 Total Number of Level 3, 2, and 1 Codes Discovered in Study**

Below is a snapshot from MS Access using a design query illustrating the one-to-many relationship; one Level 2 category for many Level 1 code associations; one category for many initial codes aided conceptual development. Once Level 3 codes were established, the data analysis was finished . . . well, maybe not.

Level2	Level1
Disrespecting American symbols	boils down in one phrase mob rule and next step is anarchy
Disrespecting American symbols	burning American flags
Disrespecting American symbols	insulting to stature of our country governed by the rule of law
dropping the hyphen	putting down my Mexican heritage
Emigrating right way	come here do what they're supposed to do, play game, enjoy our social life restaurants and go back to homeland
Emigrating right way	no problem with people coming here as long as they come here legally
Exploiting most vulnerable	preferred employer because they're more vulnerable
Failings of political governors	blaming our own government for lack of concern for our own workers
Failings of political governors	coming over in droves and they're not stopping
Failings of political governors	getting hourly pay by US government for doing job they won't do
Failings of political governors	laws are being trampled upon Congress members
Failings of political governors	lax attitude of our political governors at federal level
Failings of political governors	limited role from our Constitution to protect and defend
Failings of political governors	listening to our politicians, ...their all breaking the law
Failings of political governors	not reimburse states for cost to conduct programs, putting an enormous tax burden on states
Failings of political governors	politicians helping back businesses that want to cheap labor
Failings of political governors	taking an oath to serve and protect the American citizens
Failings of political governors	trying to stop illegal aliens from coming into country without permission
Failings of political governors	violating will of people our representative form of government
Figuring out who's here	having thumbprint ID or picture ID as national thing and figure out who's here
Figuring out who's here	making sure we know who's here
Having global awareness	going to create competitors to outsource jobs from United States
Having unlimited opportunity	ability of people to come here and succeed or fail
Helping disadvantaged in America	concern low-wage workers especially low-wage African-American workers
Helping disadvantaged in America	deeply involved in immigration and low-wage workers for many years
Helping disadvantaged in America	don't understand it when there are so many unemployed African-American people here in town
Helping disadvantaged in America	trying to organize some African-Americans to protest what was happening and Katrina 2004
Helping disadvantaged in America	wanting blacks on their side, and yet they're hurting them too
holding Mexico accountable	Mexico have taken steps that facilitate their own citizens illegally entering into United States
holding Mexico accountable	perception we attacked illegal aliens since racist agenda, but attacking Mexican government and Mexican people who lack courage
holding Mexico accountable	predominant violation of immigration laws is from people from Mexico because of geographic convenience

**Figure 5.6 Illustrates one-to-many relationship using MS Access's query function**

### *Back to the Literature*

#### *Theoretical Concepts: Agents of Threat and Identities of Privilege*

This researcher refined codes into categories and major themes (e.g., Level 3 codes), but was still not satisfied because the categories did not seem to have any coherence. That all changed after reading Dietrich's dissertation—the only strictly sociological, in-depth analysis found relating to RSMs.

#### *Agents of Threat*

Solidarity and political process models base their research more on structural than cultural orientations. They prioritize *actions* more than *actors*. Dietrich argues that the few scholars who have studied conservative movements have generally approached movements from

a purely structural standpoint, theories such as political process models. “There is a significant gap in the literature examining the ideology of conservative movements, including aspects such as identity formation and framing of motivations and goals.” (17). Using Blumer’s terminology, Dietrich identified undesirables as “agents of threat.” Sociologically, we might think of them as *villains* and the people they harm as *victims*. Blumer argued the subordinate group is framed as intrinsically different and alien, resulting in a “feeling of proprietary claim to certain areas of privilege and advantage” and “fear and suspicion that a subordinate race harbors designs on prerogatives of dominant race” (Dietrich 34).

### ***Identities of Privilege***

The second major theme discovered from the literature was *identities of privilege*, restricting societal access and rewards to U.S. citizens. Dietrich’s research showed while anti-“illegal” immigration activists identify as “American,” they restrict who qualifies as an American based upon factors such as language spoken, cultural behaviors, and citizenship of the parents (Dietrich v). Dietrich recorded the following statement: “What would our grandfather say about the fact that English is now an optional language in Georgia?” This implies a language other than English being spoken in Georgia is betraying or ruining our national heritage. All legal immigrants to America should know how to speak American!” (Dietrich 63). Within multicultural contexts, English use becomes a disadvantage over speaking Spanish. “Employers of illegal aliens and H2B visa immigrants do not want Americans to mix,” a restrictionist voice averred, “there is rampant discrimination against American workers because they do not speak Spanish.” American workers who do not speak Spanish are discriminated against by businesses that do not hire monolingual English speakers. Dietrich holds that “by alleging such discrimination, activists portray themselves as suffering under unjust oppression, despite

advantages enjoyed by virtue of the near-ubiquity of the English language in the United States” (64). After discovering the theoretical concepts of agents of threat and identities of privilege in the literature, the research was done . . . well, maybe not.

### ***Creditability of Research, Limitations, and Ethical Considerations***

This study used multiple methods to attain an in-depth understanding of the phenomena under study. Historical data, interview data, document analysis, archival research, participant observation, and visual materials were used. These methods increased the validity of respondent’s multiple perceptions and aided in clarifying meaning (Bloomberg and Volpe 72–73). Creswell suggests qualitative researchers “triangulate different data sources of information by examining evidence from sources and use it to build a coherent justification for themes” (196).

Regarding historical data, DAR histories constituted data sources for this researcher and also for participants. For example, the Marianne Anderson incident in 1939 served as a data source to discover if the incident continued to affect public perceptions of the DAR. Judging by the statements of both Regent Susan Metzger and *Stacy Thorne*, the Marianne Anderson incident still weighed on the collective conscience of DAR members.

This researcher used “member-checking” to determine the accuracy of the qualitative findings and to discover new themes. Member checks entail sending the transcribed interviews summaries of the researcher's conclusions to participants for review (Bloomberg and Volpe, 77). Because restrictionists were the primary research interest, two member checks were performed with Ed Hayes and Robin Hvidston. Two more member checks were performed with DAR member Dixie Roberts and Barbara Truesdale, who wrote a dissertation on the DAR. These participants were asked to clarify the accuracy of their responses. Member checks can be thought

of as fact checking. Finally, this researcher was self-reflective throughout the data collecting process.

Creswell argues self-reflection helps to “clarify the bias the researcher brings to the study . . . [and] creates an open and honest narrative that will resonate well with readers” (196).

Sociology Departments, whether in California, Kansas, or the Deep South, are socially liberal. This researcher was constantly reflecting on how colleagues and professors on this researcher’s committee would view this research. Professors whom he had learned from and admired had views different than this author, which caused some consternation, such as restrictionists being “one- issue folks” or “vigilantes.”<sup>30</sup> At other times, this researcher was asked by friends about conclusions he was drawing concerning immigration outside the law. For the most part, these people were sympathetic toward the “undocumented” immigrant, needed for cheap labor and then scapegoated for societal ills. Here, this researcher felt the need to represent restrictionist viewpoints—they were not racists or fascists no matter how ill-informed they were, but cared deeply about the direction of the United States. This researcher became so well versed in the arguments he was able to argue both sides. Finally, in a follow-up interview with Ed Hayes this researcher “went native” and used terms familiar to restrictionists such as “illegal invasion.”

### ***Getting Restrictionists on the Record***

Because this researcher planned on interviewing individuals in voluntary associations who assumed leadership positions, this researcher felt it was necessary to identify leaders with their organizations and their names identified with their statements. There were several important reasons for such disclosure. They are mature persons taking public stances that influence, both

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<sup>30</sup> After getting feedback from my dissertation chair to truly represent restrictionists’ views because their arguments were effective, I felt a dam had broken. After this revelation, I felt like as though the work became more holistic.

positively and negatively, the immigration debate. Because they represent organizations, a certain amount of risk comes with the territory, including possible public embarrassment and shaming. Without people in leadership roles willing to go “on the record,” it becomes impossible for researchers to know how opinions and attitudes of any one leader (and leadership within movements generally) have changed over time, which is vitally important for advancing our understanding of individual and organizational responses in the “illegal” immigration debate. Spokespeople are assumed to represent their constituencies’ positions, and the public deserves to know where they stand. Finally, people who assume leadership positions deserve to have their thoughts and experiences available for themselves and the public to scrutinize. Interview data from those willing to go on the record becomes source of public information.

There were both positive and negatives about having restrictionists going “on the record.” Restrictionists are politically savvy and aware that the public at large have labeled them xenophobes, nativists, or racists. The major negative this researcher faced involved having to provide an “out” for interviewees willing to go on the record. At the beginning of the interviews, restrictionist participants were made aware anything they wished off the record, they were to inform this researcher. Out of 50 total interviews conducted, two restrictionist interviewees requested that some information not be linked with their names. Due to ethical obligations to keep such comments off the record, restrictionists willing to go on the record may appear more tolerant and less conspiratorial.

This researcher encountered, and dealt with, some problems during the interviews. One restrictionist organizer became uncomfortable and visibly upset as a result of background questions asked earlier in the interview and threatened to withdraw from the interview. We compromised—this researcher promised not to include the respondent’s background information,

including family background and religious beliefs. In exchange, the respondent let this researcher retain answers to the substantive questions. The respondent had mentioned speaking to someone at a higher level, which suggested a disciplined, hierarchical, and bureaucratic pattern.

Attempting to interview Ed Hayes, who this researcher thought at the time was affiliated with Kansas MCDC, the volunteer over the phone said, “Ed Hayes usually speaks with the media.” It was a challenge to gain access to rank-and-file restrictionists. Because this researcher had arrived a little “late for the party,” many of the RSMs associated with the border had disbanded, started fringe organizations, or had no members (e.g., Gilchrist’s Minuteman Project). Additionally, it might prove difficult to persuade them to answer this researcher’s queries. At the *Nullify Now* conference in Kansas City, Missouri John Birch Society (JBS) organizer Paul Fenner was asked for background information on the number of JBS chapters in the United States, he replied:

I do not know. I do not know that that information is publicly available even. John Birch Society maintains itself as a not-for-profit private organization, and that way they can keep some of their information private. There are certainly attempts to infiltrate our organization.

Fenner, a very amiable individual who self-identified as a Fundamentalist Christian, stated that “Satan is a real person, he doesn’t just go around poking people with a pitchfork, and he’s an organizer.” Further, he argued people at the highest level do not have to know they are being led by Satan, all Satan has to do is get people away from God. This researcher was taken aback, astonished is a better word, and pleased the interview was in a public setting. Fenner did not deny, but took pride it seemed, in acknowledging conspiracies, for him and for JBS, were in fact real and documented in their magazine. Kindly, Fenner educated me, the uninitiated, on the characteristics of a conspiracy: it needs to have at least two people involved; be secretive; and be evil.

This researcher found the dialectic of covert (e.g., not volunteering that this researcher was raised Jewish) and overt actions (e.g., volunteering that this researcher was raised Jewish after being asked) a constant in the interview process. Generally, there were three things that gave this researcher confidence to seek interviews. First, the realization early on that people naturally want to help students with their research, denying a student is similar to denying a family member who is now attending or has attended college. Second, attending a university in the conservative Midwest eased respondents' concerns that this researcher would do right by them. Third, this researcher is an ex-Marine, which helped him build rapport with some of the patriotic restrictionists interviewed.

### *Limitations*

During the interview process, this researcher did not read any literature related to RSMs or related subject matter to avoid interview bias, which might force the interview in a certain direction. There were positives and negatives to this approach. The positive was that it potentially limited interview bias. Because this researcher's graduate course work was completed before starting interviews, he did not have to read for course work. After conducting interviews, this researcher, at the urging of my committee, needed to read the social movement literature to connect it with this dissertation. This researcher read resource mobilization theory (RM), of which he had some knowledge prior to the interviews, but this new reading suggested prior organizational knowledge and skills were of interest to RM theorists. Looking back, this researcher wished he had known this so he could have asked Jim Gilchrist about his prior organizational experience. Notably, practicing mental hygiene might make sense in an area adequately developed, but in the broad context of immigration outside of the law, more is clearly better in order to glean accurate information.

Another difficulty was access to rank-and-file restrictionists. This researcher only started interviewing in 2009, far after the 2005 border musters and before the Tea Party exploded on the national scene. By this time, there was little actual organization of grassroots RSMS and right-wing activists were more likely to attend Tea Party events. Because Gilchrist stated the Minuteman Project was a “state of mind,” therefore, anyone was potentially a Minuteman. This meant anyone who perceived the border as “broken” or feeling as though something was needed to curb unlawful immigration was a potential interview participant. Because the present study sought to explain how restrictionists frame their message to attain cultural resonance, the lack of access to rank-and-file members was not a major obstacle in determining the outcome of this study.

Finally, another limitation is the accuracy of the codes created. Qualitative research is notorious for being on shaky ground in term of consistency, as research sites, participants, and questions differ quite dramatically from study to study. Because of resource constraints, inter-rater reliability checks were not used to check the consistency of codes generated. Therefore, the potential for bias exists. Bloomberg and Volpe argue reliability ensures that “the researcher has provided evidence that her or his descriptions and analysis represent the reality of the situation and persons studied” (78).

After the first few interviews with DAR members, consistency was noted by the researcher. This researcher found the Corbin and Strauss argument related to consistency very accurate. “Consistency is not usually a problem because as persons tell their stories there is often much consistency between them” (148). For instance, pro-immigrant interviewees generally preferred the word “undocumented” to “illegal.” This researcher had learned from prior interviews with restrictionists “illegal alien” was not a pejorative but a proper governmental

term. When this information was relayed to members of AGIF, they balked at such characterizations. For instance, AGIF Commander Jose Olivas of Ulysses, Kansas argued:

Well I'd say aren't you part of the government, aren't you an American citizen, don't you vote. If you do then you are part of that government as I'm part of it. But I don't like that term. I tell my Congressman and Representatives and Senators and anybody that will listen to me and say that's not an appropriate term. Undocumented would be better.

Another strategy to enhance consistency is to have respondents clarify abstract terms. For instance, when respondents were asked what American values were important to them and their organization, some answered with the generic word “freedom.” Respondents were then prompted by this researcher: What does freedom mean to you? At other times, respondents were asked to critique opposing views. Consistency in qualitative research, then, involves getting as complete a story as possible. This was accomplished by exploring the properties (i.e., characteristics of objects, events, or actions) and dimensions (i.e., variations of properties) of codes and categories, both within and across research participants and the groups that represent them.

## **Summary**

This chapter provided a detailed description of this study’s research methodology. Qualitative research using tools developed through grounded theory was employed to illustrate the phenomenon of the framing of RSMs, how established organizations perceive immigration outside of the law, Mexican-Americans joining RSMs, and the social construction of insiders and outsiders (e.g., nativism). The purposive interview sample was made up of fifty individuals. Data were collected through five different means: historical context, interviews, document analysis, participant observation, and video. Creditability and consistency were accounted for through various stages, including member checks, researcher self-reflection, and prompting respondents when necessary to more fully develop ideas. A review of the literature was used to provide historical contexts for organizations under study, to explain findings from interview and

document data, and to provide theoretical constructs for newly discovered codes. Grounded theory methodology was used to create initial codes, codes became categories, which became themes related to the immigration debate outside of the law. After major themes were developed, this study turned back to the literature to discover the two primary theoretical constructs for this study: agents of threat and identities of privilege. It cannot be emphasized enough qualitative work is messy. Having ordinary Microsoft Office tools at his disposal gave this researcher the confidence to really get into the analysis and discover new themes. It is hoped the conceptual tools discovered in this study will further both qualitative and quantitative research regarding immigration outside of the law. Next, we turn to crucial media exposure that propelled RSMs into the national spotlight.

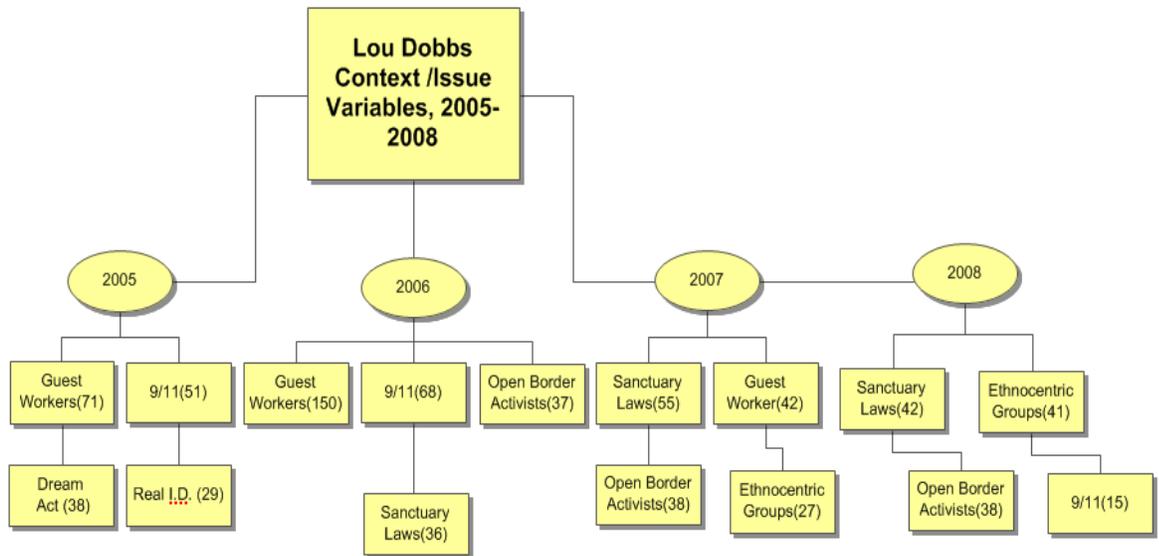
## **Chapter 6 - Findings**

This dissertation's main argument is that rather than focusing on racial differences, RSMs framed unauthorized immigration issues using cultural, economic, and security frames—their continued presence undermines the assimilation process, violates the rule of law, creates fiscal costs for U.S. taxpayers, and poses security threats. As described in Chapter Five, the two primary codes discovered were agents of threat and identities of privilege. Agents of threat construct villain and victims in the unauthorized noncitizen debate, while identities of privilege restrict access to important rights to U.S. citizens. This chapter describes significant risks created by the presence of unauthorized noncitizens, from guest-worker programs that ostensibly result in amnesty for noncitizens and depriving the native stock of jobs, to the linking of porous borders to future terrorist attacks. The offensive initiated by the right-wing was wide, swift and fierce; their opponents included presidents (e.g., G.W. Bush and Barack Obama,) cities (S.F., New Haven) mayors (e.g. Gavin Newsome) and the private sphere (e.g., Wells Fargo, Chamber of Commerce), which were advancing America toward a path of civil destruction.

### **Lou Dobbs: Right-Wing Media Cheerleader**

Figure 6.1 below identifies the context variable counts related to Lou Dobbs TV transcripts (LDT) from 2005 to 2008. The transcripts centered on security concerns four years after September 11<sup>th</sup>, and President G.W. Bush's administration proposal for a temporary guest worker program, which was disparaged by Dobbs and other right-wingers as “amnesty light,” allegedly rewarding millions for breaking the law and leading to further immigration outside of the law. Also included in guest worker programs in 2005 and 2006 was the debate around an Agricultural Jobs bill, with many of the same themes echoed in the Guest Worker Program (GWP) debate. From 2005-2008, the threat 9/11 continued to pose because the border was not

controlled became less newsworthy as the “cultural wars” heated up. Dobbs criticized the open-borders lobby and socio-ethnic interest groups, which placed profits and ethnic interests over national concerns such as border security. We turn now to the discourse concerning guest-worker programs.



**Figure 6.1 Lou Dobbs Context Variables (2005-2008)**

### *Identities of Privilege and Agents of Threat: Guest Worker Programs*

ROSEMARY JENKS, NUMBERSUSA: It's not a guest worker program. It's a foreign worker importation program that will be permanent, 400,000 a year. It will devastate low income, low scale workers in this country, particularly minorities and recent immigrants.<sup>31</sup>

Jim in California: "I want to be a guest worker and avoid my federal taxes, partake in free education and medical benefits. What a sweet deal."<sup>32</sup>

Guest-worker programs were not easily classified as either restricting access or maintaining privilege, nor were they solely about constructing villains and victims.<sup>33</sup> Discourse around GWP was sometimes used to restrict access only to Americans (i.e., maintaining privilege), and sometimes used by Dobbs to frame the issue of guest worker programs to construct villains and victims. Those who follow the rule of law and come legally were potential victims of GWP proposals; therefore, a threat discourse was used, while a maintaining privileges discourse was used to ensure jobs were offered only to U.S. citizens. Dobbs frequently framed guest worker programs in relation to amnesty and open border policies. Guest worker programs were framed as selling out the American people in general and the American worker in particular. Michael Cutler, a former INS special agent who appeared frequently on the broadcast, argued GWPs were not fair to those waiting outside the country. "If we're going to have to have a guest worker program, and I do not know that we need it, then it ought to be open only to those people who apply from overseas from their home countries who aren't already in the United

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<sup>31</sup> Restrictionists ironically state there is "nothing more permanent than temporary work programs." LDT\_22 March 2007

<sup>32</sup> LDT 28 March 2006

<sup>33</sup>The figure above lists the most important context variables repeated while analyzing the TV transcripts. Actual counts were derived on the basis of paragraphs, and to avoid over counting, a context variable was only counted once per paragraph.

States in violation of our laws.”<sup>34</sup> The idea of *rewarding illegality*, what Dobbs called the “Great American Giveaway,” was a constant theme of critics, who charged President Bush’s guest worker proposal would reward millions who had already broken the law by working illegally in the United States and then attaining temporary legal status.<sup>35</sup> The information on guest workers was unremarkable: no new guest worker programs until the borders were under operational control. Any new guest worker proposals were framed by Dobbs as a backdoor amnesty. Yet what “operational control” meant was never defined. Dobbs explained the Bush administration’s logic in proposing a temporary guest worker program. “He [Bush] says, number one, it would confront an economic reality in this country that employers need the workers. Mr. Bush also said by having the guest worker program that Border Patrol agents could focus on drug running and gun trafficking, a terrorist threat perhaps, and not have to worry about millions of illegal workers trying to get across the border.”<sup>36</sup> At issue was releasing the border patrol to focus on criminal rather than civil violations.

A proposal called for illegal aliens being allowed to stay in the United States. After six years, they could pay a \$1,000 fine and apply for a green card. With a new guest worker program established, companies would not have to check worker eligibility.<sup>37</sup> Michael Cutler held that the American worker was a victim of the agricultural guest worker programs:

It's happening across the board, and Americans are being laid off. We're depressing wages, we're depressing the value of labor in a country, and, you know, it's not the way that America should be treating its own citizens. And they agree with you off the record

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<sup>34</sup> LDT 7 Feb 2005

<sup>35</sup> LDT 14 April 2005

<sup>36</sup> LDT 14 April 2005

<sup>37</sup> LDT 22 Feb 2007

[agriculture industry] but, you know, where is the backing for meaningful immigration law enforcement? <sup>38</sup>

As a result, Dobbs posited that restricting access to guest workers stabilized wages for Americans. He sympathized with U.S. workers with less than a high school education, who have experienced job loss and wage erosion because of the presence of noncitizens, referencing the oft-cited Harvard researcher George Borjas:

Those falling wages are a clear economic declaration of too many workers, not too few. And legalizing illegal laborers will drive down wages in those careers even more. So found Harvard economist George Borjas. As immigration swelled the labor force from 1980 to 2000, Americans' wages fell 4 percent, twice that for Americans without a high school diploma. Borjas research finds that a guest worker program for illegals will hurt legal immigrants and less educated American workers the most. <sup>39</sup>

Low-income immigrant workers created new “bottom floors” that led to declining wages that failed to attract Americans workers.

If it is true that politics makes for strange bedfellows, then the immigration debate has a hodge-podge of mixed affiliations. For instance, Dobbs frequently railed against the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, who complained of a shortage of workers and supported guest worker programs. Mark Krikorian, a frequent contributor to LDT from the *Center For Immigration Studies*, which is a restrictionist think tank, offered a rationale for why businesses sought low-wage workers. “They get a larger pool of workers fighting for their jobs. Why would you not want guest workers if you were an employer? But the fact is that it represents a kind of subsidy

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<sup>38</sup> LDT 5 May 2005

<sup>39</sup> LDT 4 Apr 2006

by the government to employers. It's subsidizing their labor cost.”<sup>40</sup> Recall that the “unholy trinity” involves corporatism, globalism, and multiculturalism. Dobbs constructed corporations as the villains and, somewhat surprisingly, unauthorized populations as victims, auguring, “Big business has perhaps the most to gain certainly from guest worker amnesty. Corporate America is relying on the millions of illegal aliens who are willing to work for exploitive wages in those jobs that Americans, as the President puts it, simply won't do.”<sup>41</sup> It was not only corporate America that was constructed as the villain. Labor unions, the Catholic Church, and special interest lobbies were attacked for driving comprehensive immigration reform legislation.

On the question of threat, restrictionists averred that a stronger commitment to enforcement must come before any new guest worker legislation. Below, Ira Mehlman from the Federation for Immigration Reform (FAIR) argued that point:

He's [Tom Delay (R-TX)] laying down a marker here that until we can see some demonstrable enforcement of immigration laws in this country, the House isn't going to move ahead with any sort of guest worker program that the President is talking about, that the Senate is talking about—that first we owe it to the American people to make good on the promises that have been made for 20 years and never kept.”<sup>42</sup>

Dobb’s correspondent Lisa Sylvester reported, “Now, there's more consensus among Republicans in the House, who say enforcement has to come first before discussing a guest worker bill. They look back to the amnesty in 1986, when tougher enforcement was promised but never delivered. And this time around many lawmakers say, show us the border security first,

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<sup>40</sup> LDT 28 Mar 2006

<sup>41</sup> LDT 1 Apr 2006

<sup>42</sup> LDT 8 Aug 2005

then we'll talk guest worker program.”<sup>43</sup> Further, Dobbs regarded a guest worker program as unfair to legal immigrants, such as those naturalized here today, who have “played by the rules.”<sup>44</sup> He argues for prioritizing border security. “Can you explain it anyway— because no one has to this point—how this [Bush] administration can talk about a guest worker program— forget the merits of it—without first having the ability to control our borders?”<sup>45</sup> An unanticipated consequence of GWP proposals was unauthorized crossings in anticipation of noncitizens granted citizenship through amnesty. According to correspondent Casey Wian, “Shortly after Bush proposed his guest worker program in January of 2004, the Border Patrol reported illegal alien crossings doubled in Arizona.”<sup>46</sup>

In order to appear unbiased, Dobbs attempted to represent the many sides of issues. One of his frequent guests was President of La Raza Unida, Janet Murguia. Murguia, who represented pro-immigrant interests, offered a counter frame to the enforcement-first mentality of Dobbs and other restrictionists. Pro-immigrant politicians argued for comprehensive immigration reform to reward unrecognized, unauthorized noncitizens who make important contributions to the economy of the United States. In discussing a 2006 immigration proposal, Murguia lauded the proposal as comprehensive:

The fact of the matter is we want to find solutions. We can all have opinions about what we think of the issue, and we know it's broken [borders], but let's focus on solutions. This

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<sup>43</sup> LDT 14 Nov 2005

<sup>44</sup> LDT 16 Feb 2006

<sup>45</sup> LDT 8 Feb 2006

<sup>46</sup> LDT 28 Nov 2005

is a comprehensive solution that offers security. It offers a guest worker program and it offers a way to deal with the 11 to 12 million undocumented folks who are here.<sup>47</sup>

Generally, pro-immigrant standpoints reject enforcement-first initiatives, instead seeking guest worker programs that provide a pathway to citizenship based on one's earning of citizenship. Of course, from a restrictionist standpoint, "comprehensive immigration reform" or providing a "pathway to citizenship" is code for amnesty.

### ***The Case of Sanctuary Cities***

*So, there is some sad ironic justice . . . the federal government is refusing to enforce our immigration laws and a number of cities are refusing to acknowledge there's such a thing as a federal law. (LDT 5 Oct 2006)*

Although 2005 witnessed the success of the Minuteman Project and MCDC regarding bringing increased awareness to border issues, 2006 brought challenges from pro-immigrant groups; they protested and marched against immigrant raids and deportations, increased internal enforcement of immigration laws, and the federal government in conflict with states and localities. Pro-immigrant groups and their allies, on the defensive from the success of the Minuteman Project and the media exposure provided by Lou Dobbs, challenged a law-and-order approach to immigration, within the local context of sanctuary cities.

Sanctuary cities were defined as cities that refused to enforce federal immigration laws they view as discriminatory and not their responsibility to enforce. In failing to assist the federal government, critics argued they were in jeopardy of losing funding from the federal government. Similar to the analysis of GWPs, the issue of sanctuary cities was not easily classified as either restricting rights to U.S. citizens, nor solely about constructing villains and victims; sanctuary city discourse was sometimes used to enforce status citizenship (i.e., protecting rights of U.S.

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<sup>47</sup> LDT 27 March 2006

citizens), and sometimes used to construct villains and victims. Villains were largely mayors of sanctuary cities while victims were status citizens victimized by criminal unauthorized noncitizens because the city “harbored” the alleged criminal through sanctuary policies.

Nowhere was the church/state divide more starkly demonstrated than in the debate over sanctuary cities. From June 2007, churches in 20 U.S. cities adopted a sanctuary role rooted in the Book of Leviticus. Churches were deemed places where at-risk immigrants went for comfort and safety and were shielded from law enforcement. “The [sanctuary] principle states that if justice cannot be achieved,” Eastman writes, “one could run to the Temple for shelter until fair hearing is granted” (246). Churches participating in the sanctuary movement refer to scores of biblical passages that instruct believers not to mistreat strangers in the land. Eastman argues that although faith-based publics have no formal exemption from federal law, and immigration and customs enforcement can enter houses of worship at any time to make arrests, they were unlikely to do so because of the responses evoked from the faith-based community and the subsequent media attention (245-6). Counter framing pointed out the negative consequences of criminalization on noncitizens, who were preyed upon knowing they were less likely to report crimes for fear of deportation—their safety and security was compromised through a law-and-order approach to immigration.

The issue of unauthorized populations was not solely a border issue nor was it located solely in the border states. From 1984-1987, more than 20 cities and two states (New York and New Mexico) adopted resolutions that declared themselves as sanctuary cities, which included noncooperation with INS (Ridgely 67). By the first decade of the twenty-first century, more than 70 U.S. cities across the nation declared themselves sanctuary cities, including Los Angeles,

Denver, Chicago, New York City, and San Diego.<sup>48</sup> Here, the idea was that cities restrict access to unauthorized populations rather than encouraging and rewarding “illegal” behavior. Dobbs described cities that introduced resolutions designating themselves sanctuaries for unauthorized populations. A correspondent noted that “officials in both Burlington, Vermont, and San Antonio, Texas, have to make their towns *safe havens* [emphasis added] for illegal alien workers.<sup>49</sup> Heather MacDonald from the *Manhattan Institute* conflated “illegal” immigrants and crime, she averred, “Sanctuary laws are sending a message to police that they do not—may not—use every tool in their tool chest against illegal alien criminals, and that is allowing people to stay on the streets.”<sup>50</sup> It appeared that criminal noncitizens were given a free pass. “Under so-called sanctuary policies, local police are forbidden to ask the immigration status of people they come in contact with. They are forced to ignore the immigration status of criminals, even violent criminals. And by the way, those sanctuary laws are against federal law.”<sup>51</sup> Dobbs lauded cities such as Hazleton, Pennsylvania for their tough stance on unauthorized populations, denying noncitizens social services and private sphere activity such as the ability to rent apartments. “This is a strong move you're taking, unlike some cities, about 40 in the country that have sanctuary laws. You're doing the inverse. You're saying if you're illegal, you're not welcome in Hazleton.”<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> LDT 2 Oct 2006

<sup>49</sup> LDT 8 May 2006

<sup>50</sup> LDT 26 Sep 2006

<sup>51</sup> LDT 5 Oct 2006

<sup>52</sup> LDT 21 June 2006

### *Social Policy and Denying Federal Funding to Sanctuary Cities*

There was some discussion about the federal government denying funds to sanctuary cities in violation of federal immigration policies, including an amendment passed in the House of Representatives with strong bipartisan support that would cut homeland security funding for those sanctuary cities. Former member of Congress Tom Tancredo (R-CO), for example, proposed an amendment preventing sanctuary cities from receiving federal funds for first responders and other programs.<sup>53</sup> Law professor Kris Kobach argued that denying federal funds to cities was an important corrective. “The effect of depriving federal funds to cities that are sanctuary cities would be incredibly powerful. No city wants to be denied access to the federal trough of money.”<sup>54</sup> California State member of the assembly Chuck Devore (R-CA) argued that his state was already a *de facto* sanctuary state. “I guess one could argue we are in effect already a sanctuary state. If you look at our \$103 billion annual general fund budget, most estimates are that we spend in upwards of \$11 billion of that money caring for, providing welfare, educating, housing people who are here illegally.”<sup>55</sup> Around the same time, a sanctuary city in New Haven, Connecticut had started an I.D. card program and the city had issued more than 3,000 cards. Buoyed by the actions in New Haven, other major sanctuary cities were moving ahead with plans to give noncitizens I.D. cards.<sup>56</sup> California Republican House Member Brian Bilbray, whose mother was a legal immigrant, argued against the hiding of “illegals” while he linked 9/11 with sanctuary laws:

What's important is send a message to those who may come here illegally and also to the cities that you want to come and ask for money from the federal government to fight

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<sup>53</sup> LDT 15 June 2007

<sup>54</sup> LDT 17 July 2007

<sup>55</sup> LDT 14 Feb 2008

<sup>56</sup> LDT 11 Sept 2007

terrorism, to protect your neighborhoods, you start by stopping the hiding of people who are illegally in this country, and that cities like New York and San Francisco should not be asking the federal government to subsidize their homeland security program when, in fact, they are undercutting it by hiding illegals in the country.<sup>57</sup>

A counter frame that recognized unauthorized noncitizens as victims of a law-and-order approach was provided by Los Angeles Mayor Villaraigosa. “We need to ensure that the victims of crime, and witnesses to crime, come forward. And so, we do not want them to believe that we're going to report them to Immigration and Customs Enforcement” (ICE).<sup>58</sup> Using similar arguments, House member Luis Gutierrez (D-IL), from the *Democratic Caucus Immigration Task Force*, rejected a law-and order-approach to immigration, and argued that sanctuary laws protected noncitizens. “I think, certainly, not, that we shouldn't criminalize them. They are part of a broader problem that we have. Sanctuary cities—because cities look at issues such as crime locally [sic]. They want everyone to participate. And in the absence of the federal government fixing our broken immigration system, they have taken actions in order to secure the safety of the people who live in that city.”<sup>59</sup> Next we turn to the major enemies constructed in the sanctuary city debate.

### *Constructing Villains in the Sanctuary City Debate*

The problem of roaming gangs, allegedly in control of several Los Angeles communities and in operation across international borders was exacerbated, restrictionists held, by the lack of federal enforcement of immigration laws and cities that rejected law-and-order approaches to immigration. Dobbs constructed politicians as *villains* for not making the necessary linkages

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<sup>57</sup> LDT 19 Sep 2007

<sup>58</sup> LDT 5 Mar 2007

<sup>59</sup> LDT 19 Sep 2007

between failed border policies, gang violence, and crime. The major villain in this story was, of course, Mayor of San Francisco, California, Gavin Newsom, who flaunted his city's defiance of federal immigration law. Dobbs reported that Gavin Newsom forbade his department heads, or anyone associated with the city, from cooperating with federal immigration officials, including conducting work site raids or roundups of fugitive illegal aliens. According to Newsome, "We're a sanctuary city. We do not cooperate with the federal government as relates to these raids. We work to raise awareness that we are a sanctuary city."<sup>60</sup> Not only did Newsome not assist the federal government regarding enforcement measures, but he was depicted as welcoming noncitizens to San Francisco. "It's almost as if he's inviting more to come to the city. What's really behind his message, he says the immigrant community is in fear of these work-site enforcement raids."<sup>61</sup> But a tragic event in San Francisco placed Newsom on the hot seat for his alleged unwillingness to enforce federal immigration laws.

Edwin Ramos, an unauthorized 21-year-old Salvadorian national with ties to the violent MS-13 gang, killed a father and his two sons in their car on a San Francisco street after a traffic dispute. Dobbs argued Ramos was shielded from deportation by the city of San Francisco's juvenile "illegal alien" sanctuary policy.<sup>62</sup> Of course, this challenged the idea that police can go after noncitizen offenders if a city has sanctuary policies. Rick Oltman from *Californians for Population Stabilization* offered this assessment. "They've used taxpayer dollars to shield drug traffickers from federal prosecution. This is, in fact, the logical extension of the sanctuary city gone wild. It had to happen some place. San Francisco was as good a place as it happened [sic]. I

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<sup>60</sup> LDT 23 Apr 2007

<sup>61</sup> LDT 23 Apr 2007

<sup>62</sup> LDT 21 July 2008

hope that other cities around the country are watching this mess.”<sup>63</sup> San Francisco’s sanctuary polices had led to victimization of citizens. Dobbs chided Newsom on his failed sanctuary polices. “The biggest juvenile of all in my opinion is Gavin Newsom, the mayor of the city. He looks like a complete and utter political twit sitting there saying that he won’t cooperate with federal authorities because of his sanctuary status, as he put it. This is absolutely an absurdity.”<sup>64</sup> Newsom had attacked Dobbs for opposing San Francisco’s sanctuary city status. More than once, Dobbs used homophobic language in referring to Newsome. “The little darling who calls himself mayor of San Francisco, Gavin Newsom, is suffering a major political setback over his sanctuary policy for drug-dealing illegal aliens. But he still wants to be governor of California.”<sup>65</sup> We now turn to the contested issue of granting in-state tuition to noncitizens.

### ***The Dream Act: Rewarding Illegal Behavior***

More solidly in the category of restricting access was the debate surrounding the Development, Relief, and Education Act for Alien Minors (e.g., Dream Act). The Dream Act allowed for children of noncitizen parents who have attended three years of high school to pay in-state college tuition rates, which is much less than non-state students have to pay, and giving noncitizens the opportunity to attend U.S. colleges and universities. Many noncitizen migrants arrive in United States with their parents as infants and small children, and while technically “illegal,” grow up attending public schools and knowing only the United States as their home. These children were brought to the United States by unauthorized noncitizen parents, in contrast to so-called “anchor babies,” who are born in United States and automatically granted U.S. citizenship. Through legislative action, unauthorized noncitizens not born in the United States

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<sup>63</sup> LDT 7 July 2008

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> LDT 12 July 2008

are entitled *only* to a K-12 education. Although as academically qualified as their native counterparts, they do not qualify for in-state tuition nor for federal or state financial aid.

Varsanyi contends that “while many of these students are de facto in-state residents (as they have attended and graduated from public schools), technically speaking, they are international students from the perspective of tuition. As more of these students reach college age, state university systems have been faced with the dilemma of how to handle the educational needs of these students” (243).<sup>66</sup>

Member of Congress Virgil Goode (R-VA) argued that passing the Dream Act increased the unauthorized noncitizen population and rewarded illegal behavior:

The Dream Act, like a number of other bills in the House and in the U.S. Senate, if passed, will only encourage more illegal immigration. Illegal immigration is swamping the United States. We have millions cross the border annually. They're estimated over 12 million people in the country illegally. It's a huge strain on the resources of this country, and this is a benefit that should not be extended to illegals.<sup>67</sup>

Further, Goode argued it was unfair that an “illegal alien” received in-state tuition while in Virginia, yet a North Carolinian had to “pay the full freight.” Recently, Arizona was in the news for taking a tough stance on unauthorized noncitizen populations with enforcement of federal immigration laws. In 2005, Russell Pearce of Arizona sponsored 11 bills to either restrict state benefits for illegal aliens or toughen sanctions against those who violated immigration laws, which included denying illegal aliens free tuition at state colleges.<sup>68</sup>

The Dream Act debate was framed as victimizing U.S. citizen students forced to pay out-of-state tuition while “illegals” were allowed to pay in-state tuition, which subsidized illegality at

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<sup>66</sup> 1982 Supreme Court case, *Plyler vs. Doe*, upheld the right of unauthorized students to primary and secondary public education, although unauthorized students are not entitled to a public college or university education.

<sup>67</sup> LDT 9 March 2005

<sup>68</sup> LDT 24 Jan 2005

the expense of taxpayers. “Why should lawbreakers be receiving preferential treatment in our colleges and universities?”<sup>69</sup> Kristen Day, a KSU student argued that granting in-state tuition to noncitizens was unfair. “I do not see how it's fair at all. You know, I've lived in this country for almost 22 years. And people who have been here for, you know, I do not know how long, maybe just a few years and they're getting the better end of the stick than I am. I just do not see any way of how this is fair at all.”<sup>70</sup> Ira Mehlman from the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) noted the perceived irony of the Dream Act. “We’re depriving people who have broken no laws benefits and then extending those very same benefits to the children of people who broke the law.”<sup>71</sup> Lou Dobbs Tonight discussed possible legal challenges to the Dream Act, declaring it was in violation of federal law.<sup>72</sup> The Reform Act of 1996 stated that if you offered an in-state tuition discount to noncitizens, you must offer that discount to any citizen of any other state. In other words, if a student was in Kansas and wanted to attend a school in California where they offered in-state tuition to unauthorized noncitizens, the student was entitled to it.<sup>73</sup> It was based on the principle, Kris Kobach argued, that a “U.S. citizen ought not to be treated worse than an illegal alien when it comes to subsidized tuition.”<sup>74</sup> The Dream Act, then, violated principles based on fairness—students pay out-of-state tuition fees and states subsidize in-state tuition for noncitizens—burdening U.S. taxpayers.

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<sup>69</sup> LDT 9 March 2005

<sup>70</sup> LDT, 6 May 2005

<sup>71</sup> LDT 14 Dec 2005

<sup>72</sup>Section 505 of the Immigration Reform Act of 1996 states that "an alien who is not lawfully present in the United States shall not be eligible on the basis of residence within a state for any post-secondary education benefit unless a citizen or a national of the United States is eligible."

<sup>73</sup> LDT 27 April 2005

<sup>74</sup> LDT 6 July 2005

There also sprung up a counter frame that emphasized the contributions that noncitizen parents and students have made to the United States. Fred Esplin, a University of Utah administrator, emphasized the burden of noncitizens students and their families. “I think people do not understand that these students are here by virtue of being with their family. They do not understand that the families involved have been paying taxes in the state for many years. They do not understand that the same criteria that these students have to meet, they could meet and be eligible for in-state tuition, too.”<sup>75</sup> Maria Garcia from the American GI Forum (AGIF), a veterans’ organization made up primarily of Mexican Americans, offered a trenchant analysis regarding granting noncitizens in-state tuition:

Parents of these kids that are the dreamers, have given us 10, 15, 20, 30, 40 years of their labor, and they've invested so much it's only fair that we invest back in their children. If they have worked without getting social benefits, contrary to what a lot of people say, most who I know are not claiming Social Security. They're not going to apply for Medi-Cal, they wait until they're dying until they see the doctor; all they take is a salary, and yet they're asking for their children who have earned an opportunity to go to college to be allowed to go to college at a cost that everyone around them is paying, and I feel that that it is a fair thing to do for them.

Put differently, it was rewarding the contributions of unauthorized noncitizen families rather than rewarding illegal behavior.

### ***Agents of Threat: 9/11 and its Aftermath***

Jim Gilchrist, who is Founder and President of the Minuteman Project, linked failure to control the border with terrorist threats. “Lou, there's no 100 percent ironclad insurance that you can stop anyone from doing whatever they want. I give you September 11<sup>th</sup>. There's nothing we

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<sup>75</sup> LDT 9 March 2005

probably could have done to stop that except not have porous borders.”<sup>76</sup> House Rules Committee Chairman David Dreier (R-CA) cited rampant document fraud as making it easier for terrorists to carry out their deadly assaults. “In this post-September 11<sup>th</sup> world in which we live, it is important for us to deal with the issue of document fraud. That's been one of the greatest faults. Mohamed Atta, who flew one of the planes into the World Trade Center—had a valid driver's license, and he was pulled over, and he was told to appear in court after September 11<sup>th</sup>.”<sup>77</sup> The broadcast reported that an “estimated 40 percent of “illegal aliens” in country were the result of visa overstays, including most of the September 11<sup>th</sup> hijackers. They entered legally. They stayed illegally.”<sup>78</sup> After more than five years later, the federal government did not know the number of visa overstays. Of course, this led to conflating “illegal aliens” with potential terrorists. To this end, the Department of Homeland Security enacted the \$900 million U.S. Visit program to track foreign visitors. At the time, the exit system was limited to only twelve airports and two seaports, and did not include any land ports.<sup>79</sup> Senator John Cornyn (R-TX), chairman of the *Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration, Border Security and Citizenship*, contended that in a post-September 11<sup>th</sup> world, better monitoring of potential undesirables was essential:

We've got some programs that are being implemented now, the U.S. visit program, to monitor people when they come in and when they leave, and we simply have to find a way to bring people out of the shadows, and off the cash economy, bring them, I believe, on the tax rolls, and to be able to screen them to make sure that they're not a threat to the American people, and hopefully concentrate our law enforcement resources on the true threat, which is the terrorists.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> LDT 21 March 2005

<sup>77</sup> LDT 5 Jan 2005

<sup>78</sup> LDT 15 Dec 2006

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> LDT 8 Feb 2005

In other words, better monitoring processes helped to eliminate potential threats. Democratic Senator Larry Craig of Idaho, who sponsored an agricultural jobs bill in 2005, framed the bill as a proposal to legalize as many as a million unauthorized noncitizen farm workers. He cited the folly of “controlling” the border:

Well Lou, we've got about 7500 miles of land border and about 86,000 miles of water border, we've invested about \$2.5 to \$3 billion in border control since September 11<sup>th</sup>, and they are still pouring across the borders. I do not know how much more we can do. But I do know the reason they are pouring across is because the laws are not effective, they are not enforceable, and somebody has to step forward and create not only the border shield but the legal shield of the kind that I think I'm proposing.”<sup>81</sup> The issue of document integrity was important in that it linked up September 11<sup>th</sup> with border security and accounting for who was currently residing in the United States. The issue of documents was a way to better account for those who were in the United States and monitor them more closely.<sup>82</sup>

Dan Stein from FAIR contended that national security was at stake. “Illegal aliens” have been caught working in sensitive areas, from airports to military bases, which is unacceptable in a post-September 11<sup>th</sup> world.”<sup>83</sup> This is in line with system-supporting elements of rightists regarding legitimating securitization, and there was bipartisan support for increased surveillance of undesirables to guard against future threats. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX) agreed with Dobbs about the failure of enforcement measures in a post-September 11<sup>th</sup> world. “Lou, I think we are united on our frustration and our sense of disbelief that in this time, some 4 years after September 11<sup>th</sup>, that we have not strengthened our internal enforcement and of course our border patrol agents and their professional needs. And that means funding, it means training, and it

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<sup>81</sup> LDT 14 April 2005

<sup>82</sup> As reported by Dobbs, “Seven weeks after September 11, 2001, Oscar Antonio Ortiz applied to become a U.S. Border Patrol agent. He got the job, prosecutors alleged, by using someone else's birth certificate to disguise the fact that he's a Mexican citizen and, incredibly, an illegal alien” (LDT 5 Aug 2005).

<sup>83</sup> LDT 18 Aug 2008

means equipment.”<sup>84</sup> Further, Dobbs mockingly asserted how it was possible that “three-and-a-half years after September 11<sup>th</sup> any public official or elected official in the United States could be sanguine about the vulnerability of this country right now.”<sup>85</sup> Elapsed time since September 11<sup>th</sup>, with no comprehensive way to deal with porous borders and the presence of millions of “illegal aliens” within the country, was a constant theme in the transcripts. Chris Simcox, founder of MCDC, contended, “The reports of the 9/11 Commission, the reports from the FBI, the CIA, all of our national security organizations admit that even now, *three years after September 11* [emphasis added], the greatest threat to our national security is the border with Mexico.”<sup>86</sup> The implication was that the United States was as vulnerable as ever, and its political governors did not learn the lessons of September 11<sup>th</sup>. “Americans must think that our political and academic elites have gone utterly mad,” Dobbs opined, “at a time when three-and-a-half years, approaching four years after September 11, we still do not have border security. And this group of elites is talking about not defending our borders, finally, but rather creating new ones. It's astonishing.”<sup>87</sup>

Recall that Dobbs blames the "unholy trinity" of corporatism, globalism, and multiculturalism for exposing the country to danger. Dobbs criticized a lack of corporate responsibility in the face of future security threats:

This is about 200 U.S. banks—saying that it's not their job to enforce immigration laws or to follow other laws, the 9/11 Commission recommendation on identification, the FBI saying clearly, unequivocally that the matricula consular should not be accepted, nor should tax I.D. numbers be accepted as identification. And the banker has the temerity to

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<sup>84</sup> LDT 10 March 2005

<sup>85</sup> LDT 15 March 2005

<sup>86</sup> LDT 26 April 2005

<sup>87</sup> LDT 9 June 2005

say it's not their job to be good corporate citizens, not to exercise corporate responsibility, it's just their job to grow the business?<sup>88</sup>

The issue was certain U.S. banks were allowing noncitizens to open bank accounts, and the Internal Revenue Service was providing personal identification numbers for noncitizens. Dobbs viewed such activity as a corporate sellout of the nation, placing profits before national security. Similarly, Dobbs reported on how the travel industry and big business continued to fight the full implementation of U.S. Visit, which “Is one reason more than five years after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, the U.S. border system remains as broken as ever.”<sup>89</sup> The private sector, then, failed in its responsibility to monitor unauthorized noncitizens.

### ***Agents of Threat: The Conspiracy of Open Border and Ethnocentric Activists***

*The study [E Pluribus Unum] warns that identity politics and the influence of social ethnocentric special interest groups are overwhelming our common identity as Americans. (Lou Dobbs, July 2008)*

If nativism is defined as separating insiders from outsiders, then few topics strictly met the qualification of vilification for Lou Dobbs as the issue of the open-borders lobby. What Dobbs pejoratively referred to as the “pro-illegal alien lobby.” Through its actions, the open-borders lobby was placing self-interest above the national interest. In the immigration debate, politics made for strange, temporary bedfellows, and the contradictions were in sharp relief when looking at the open-borders lobby: the Catholic Church, various Jewish organizations, big business, particularly agricultural lobbies, Mexican- American political organizations including LULAC, LULAC’s legal arm, the Mexican- American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), La Raza; and finally—an outlier—the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The “open-

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<sup>88</sup> LDT 21 March 2005

<sup>89</sup> LDT 9 Oct 2006

borders lobby” and “socio-ethnocentric interests” were the primary targets of restrictionists, linking such disparate events (September 11<sup>th</sup>), political figures (e.g., Presidents G. W. Bush and Mexican President Vicente Fox), and organizations (e.g., La Raza, MALDEF, MECHA, Chamber of Commerce). Dobbs argued that U.S. policy was in the hands of special interest groups rather than the people. “What I think most Americans have a hard time understanding is why it appears that we've turned over immigration policy in this country to corporate interests, to open-borders activists, to ethnocentric organizations, to the government of Mexico rather than taking responsibility for it ourselves.”<sup>90</sup> Let us turn to the targets of nativist attacks and the putative victims.

Rather than viewing noncitizens *as* a risk such as restrictionists do, the Catholic Church views noncitizens *at* risk. To this end, the Catholic Church promoted social justice outcomes rather than a law-and-order approach to unauthorized noncitizens. The Catholic Church, for instance, did not support ICE raids. Besides, they viewed noncitizens as contributing members of society, and supported providing unauthorized noncitizens with opportunities to earn the right to remain in the United States. Dobbs reported on the Catholic Charities position paper called "Justice for Newcomers" where it declared, "The church does not support open borders. It recognizes a state's right and duty to control its borders and to enforce immigration laws. “Yet, the same organization operates several day labor hiring sites nationwide, where between 80 and 90 percent of workers are illegal aliens.”<sup>91</sup> Dobbs charged the powerful Council of Bishops as the “strongest advocate for open borders and amnesty for illegal aliens.”<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> LDT 11 April 2006

<sup>91</sup> LDT 17 Jan 2006

<sup>92</sup> LDT 21 Aug 2008

Open-border advocates, including U.S. political figures, were framed as thwarting the rule of law, placing special interests above national interests; consequently, they were targets for Dobbs. Take, for example, Hazleton, Pennsylvania, which took a strong stance against immigration outside the law and was “forced by federal inaction to enforce our borders and to enforce immigration law.” The town, Dobbs argued, was “being sued by well-funded national pro-illegal alien and open border groups.”<sup>93</sup> Even U.S. House members challenged President G.W. Bush and the executive branch for failing, in their opinion, to stand up to the open-borders lobby and undermining the rule of law. According to Ed Royce (R-CA), “The open borders lobby is sending out the message, frankly, not only in the United States, but all over the world, that if you come to the United States illegally, you can expect, you can anticipate that a Democratic Congress, and this particular president is going to grant you amnesty.”<sup>94</sup> Presidential candidate Senator Barack Obama was attacked by Dobbs, who accused him of making “amnesty for illegal aliens one of his top priorities in blatant effort to win Hispanic-American votes.” Dobbs averred, “Speaking to one of this country's most aggressive pro-amnesty socio-ethnocentric groups, Obama declared he will make so-called comprehensive immigration reform a top priority in his first year as president.” Earlier, Obama had apparently “pandered” to La Raza and LULAC, which Dobbs referred to as “ethnocentric groups.”<sup>95</sup> Further, Obama’s “pandering” took the form of an amnesty for 12 million to 20 million unauthorized noncitizens in the United States.

Another familiar target of Dobbs’ harsh rhetoric was New York's Governor Eliot Spitzer, who was alleged to have a plan to give away driver's licenses to “illegal aliens.” “I'm sure the

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<sup>93</sup> LDT 15 March 2007

<sup>94</sup> LDT 1 Feb 2007

<sup>95</sup> LDT 8 July 2008

governor is busy. He has got, if not citizens to take care of, socio-ethnocentric interests and other special interests to which he is beholden. Remember when this governor used to be interested in the law? It was a long time ago.”<sup>96</sup> In other words, special interests were privileged over the national body. Finally, Hillary Clinton was attacked by Dobbs for “pandering to socio-ethnic interests. “Senator Hillary Clinton is making a blatant attempt to win the support of the Latino vote in this election, hindering to socio- ethnocentric interests. . . .”<sup>97</sup>

Next, there was the issue of the open-borders lobby and economic costs of “illegals” subsidized through taxpayer dollars. Dobbs consistently brought out the figure of \$200 billion a year in “suppressed” wages as costs of immigration, both legal and illegal. James Sensenbrenner, Chairman of the House Judiciary in 2006, and the author of legislation widely viewed by pro-immigration politicians including the Catholic Church as draconian, argued that “if we do not do anything about “illegal alien,” they'll flood our schools. Our health care system will collapse. And our social services system will end up being overtaxed. And we've got to get control of our borders because if we do not, we're going to see our economy collapse.” Further, Dobbs argued, “Mr. Chairman, I cannot tell you how many people have said to me, typically open border activists, activists in support of illegal aliens, saying, but ‘we provide \$7 billion in Social Security taxes every year,’ as if that is some sort of reasonable offset.”<sup>98</sup> Dobbs referred to the fact that noncitizens have social security taxes taken out of their salaries but cannot claim these funds when they reach retirement age. Tom Tancredo from Colorado pointed out how normally competing interests were now political bedfellows.

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<sup>96</sup> LDT 25 Oct 2007

<sup>97</sup> LDT 11 Jan 2008

<sup>98</sup> LDT 27 March 2006

Is America asking anybody? Are they asking any of us up here or any of their elected representatives? Yeah, some are. Some business representatives are asking for open borders and greater flow of cheap labor. Some labor unions are asking for it. Some of the more radical pro-immigration groups are asking for it. But John Q. Citizen doesn't want it.<sup>99</sup>

In other words, the open-borders lobby, normally at odds with each other, had come together and the victims were U.S. citizens, specifically, the “middle class.” Finally, Dobbs attacked ethnic groups for placing group loyalties prior to the interests of America.

### ***Ethnocentric Groups: Putting Ethnicity before Citizenship***

Any introductory student of either sociology or anthropology learns the concepts *ethnocentrism* and *cultural relativism*. Ethnocentrism is where the native defines an outsider based on one's own cultural experiences and expectations. Cultural relativism, on the other hand, is where one attempts to understand cultures free of bias as possible, keeping an open mind. Curiously, Dobbs seems to believe the term ethnocentric to mean putting one's own ethnicity as their primary loyalty and identification rather than the nation-state.<sup>100</sup> Below, Dobbs argues that the open-borders lobby and ethnic interests use racism to silence debate:

It must confuse and confound the poor souls at Media Matters, because if they're a liberal left-wing organization, they're actually aligned with the U.S. Chamber of Congress, which also wants amnesty, which also wants open borders, and basically buys in with the Hispanic Caucus and ethnocentric interest groups that . . . if you are against illegal immigration, if you want borders secure, you are a racist, for crying out loud. The mindset and the level of thinking and openness here on the part of these advocates is just pitiful.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> LDT\_30 March 2006

<sup>100</sup> It seems from studying the transcripts Dobbs fails to understand the textbook meaning of ethnocentrism.

<sup>101</sup> LDT 21 May 2008

Dobbs argued that race was placed before national interests. “These ethnocentric interest groups have really exposed themselves to be what they are—they are race-based organizations trying to drive race-based goals with race-based motives. They're not interested in the common good. They're not interested in the national interests.”<sup>102</sup> Chris Simcox, president of the MCDC, was framed by Dobbs as being victimized and silenced by advocates of illegal immigration and open-borders advocates. “Look at this. I mean goodness, those protesters outside the lecture hall called Simcox a racist because of his leadership of the Minutemen at one time and for advocating border security.”<sup>103</sup> In other words, U.S. citizens were being silenced by the open- borders lobby and socio-ethnic interests, placing special interests and ethnicity before citizenship.

### **Summary**

This section explained the targets of Lou Dobbs from 2005-2008. No entity, whether heads of state (e.g. President G.W. Bush, Mexican President Vicente Fox) nor politician (e.g., Eliot Spritzer, Gavin Newsome, Barack Obama) nor private sphere (e.g., Wells Fargo, Chamber of Commerce) escaped his wrath. From 2005-2006, LDT focused largely on issues that had been discussed at the national level (e.g., guest workers programs, Real I.D.) and on cities that were failing to aid the federal government in policing immigrants across the United States (e.g., sanctuary cities). Dobbs’s message regarding guest workers was not terribly difficult to understand: no new guest worker programs until the borders were under operational control. But just what “operational control” meant was never defined. Any new guest-worker proposals were framed by Dobbs as backdoor amnesties. From 2005–2008, the threat that September 11<sup>th</sup> continued to pose because the border was not controlled, became less important as the “cultural

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<sup>102</sup> LDT 5 Dec 2007

<sup>103</sup> LDT 21 May 2008

wars” heated up. Dobbs criticized the open-borders lobby and socio-ethnic interest groups, which supposedly placed profits and ethnic interests over national concerns such as border security.

Socio-ethnic interests (e.g., La Raza) labeled restrictionists as racists and silenced debate, leading to the failure of the United States to take appropriate enforcement measures to prevent another 9/11. Dobbs continued to remind his viewers that the United States was still at risk. With each passing year of federal inaction, whether through not checking boxes at ports or sealing the border, the federal government was portrayed as ineffectual. We now turn, after a brief introduction, to interview data with participants supporting and/or taking part in Minuteman-like volunteer activities.

### **Meeting the Monster: Coming Face-to-Face With Restrictionists**

On 30 May 2009 in Arizona, three assailants entered the home of Raul "Junior" Flores under the guise of being police officers looking for fugitives. Flores was not convinced and demanded identification from the group. Suddenly one of the intruders opened fire, killing Flores and his nine-year-old daughter, Brisenia. Shawna Forde, Albert Robert Gaxiola and Jason Eugene Bush were later charged with the murders. All three were members of the *Minuteman American Defense*, an anti-immigration, border-patrolling splinter group formed by Forde after she was kicked out of the MCDC. According to Chris Simcox, founder of the MCDC, "We knew that Shawna Ford was not just any unsavory character but pretty unbalanced as well." Forde, the ringleader and a former prostitute with a long criminal history, planned to rob alleged drug-traffickers near the border to finance her organization. After the story broke, the media and pro-immigrant activists were quick to link Minuteman Founder and President Jim Gilchrist with Forde. Gilchrist was in contact with Forde and impressed that she was getting her life back together.

On 24 August 2009, this researcher met Gilchrist for an interview. Because of the media portraying him as a “frothed-mouth racist” and hearing about the possible link between Gilchrist and Forde, he was antsy. After some phone tag, we agreed to meet at a Starbucks in Mission Viejo, California. This researcher’s first impression upon meeting Gilchrist was that of a lawyer rather than someone who had started, arguably, the most famous anti-“illegal” movement in the history of the United States. This researcher’s initial fear was exaggerated. Truthfully, this researcher was expecting someone to show up in military fatigues rather than a blazer and tie. Many misperceptions were put to rest that day after the more than two-hour interview with the Founder and President of the Minuteman Project. Upon meeting Gilchrist, it was easy to see the appeal of the man and his leadership. A handsome, charismatic man with clear, bright blue eyes, he reminded this researcher of qualities that were characteristic of his most respected Marine Corps drill instructors: discipline, intelligence, and a straight shooter.

Gilchrist described the purpose of the Minuteman Project as creating the “largest assembly of Minutemen since the Revolutionary war to deliberately bring media attention to this problem.” The initial Minuteman assembly began in April 2005 but actually, recruitment and organizing had begun six months in October 2004. Gilchrist spent six months recruiting people and getting them connected. On 1 October, 2004, Gilchrist, who did not have a website yet, sent out 24 e-mails with the message: "Please forward on the top and the bottom of a recruiting poster proclaiming, ‘I'm going to Arizona. . . . I'm going down there to bring national awareness to the illegal alien invasion crisis.’” Gilchrist was aware of framing the issue properly, and so instead of using the term “blocking force,” he changed it because it “sounded too militaristic.” Within a week, his initial e-mail was sent to over 400,000 inboxes. “Every media outlet,” Gilchrist declared, “Everybody just forwarded it. I struck the mother lode of patriotism or something. It

was a common nerve that everyone was feeling the pinch on. Since then I've had probably 10 million hits on my website the last four years. . . .” Gilchrist and the Minutemen were clearly prepared to do battle with the enemy, in this case "illegal aliens." Their arsenal included 80 ham radio operators, a half-dozen physicians, a dozen pilots, three airplanes, an air wing, a law enforcement wing to liaison with law enforcement, a medical wing, two reconnaissance units from Army airborne, and former Marine personnel to do long-range reconnaissance. Gilchrist described the success of the mission. “That’s what we did for 35 days down in Arizona, from the end of March until the last day of April. We set up outposts about 20–24 of them along the border of the 23 mile stretch of border and completely sealed it off in 10 days.” Next, the organizational form of the Minuteman Project is examined.<sup>104</sup>

Notably, a social movement does not have to have members. When Gilchrist was asked the average age of a Minuteman Project organizational member, he responded:

We do not have members. The Minuteman Project is a state of mind. There's me, founder and president, there is my executive director and vice president Steve Eichler who is also a JD, there's Tim Buehler our Secretary and Board Director. There are only three board members. Our goal we have a lot of staffers or associates who are very close to us and our goal is to not have card-carrying memberships, and charge fees like the National Rifle Association or what competitive Minuteman groups have done and failed. No one should have to pay to be a patriot. It should be under their own will. You can join us if you want. We do not issue you a membership card; we do not charge you an annual fee or lifetime fee. You are Minuteman Project member if you agree with our philosophy and that includes about 250-270 million Americans.

If someone wants to volunteer or go to the border, Gilchrist puts them in touch with independent organizations such as the Patriots Border Alliance out of New Mexico, Texas Minutemen, or

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<sup>104</sup> As Gilchrist observes, there were many splinter Minutemen groups modeled after the initial success of the Minuteman Project. This researcher’s comments on organizational forms are limited to Jim Gilchrist’s Minuteman Project.

Campo California Minutemen. Gilchrist goes to the border once every two months and sometimes more often for observation, while helping other groups recruit:

They will solicit you for participation and it's up to them to do their own fundraising, purchase of equipment and vetting of people, it keeps us out of the liability side of being responsible for somebody going wacko on the border and shooting a bunch of people, who knows. It's never happened but you do not know what could happen. It's up to the independent group that sponsors the event to keep his or her volunteers within the rule of law. If they step outside of the rule of law, they aren't considered a participant in the Minuteman Project. They may consider themselves to be Minutemen, we do not; we disassociate with them because they're dangerous (laughter). We do not want people want to take the law into their own hands. We want people to bring awareness to the issue without trampling other people's civil rights.

Regarding conditions of membership, the Minuteman Project operated based on a mixed organizational form of *exclusiveness* and *inclusiveness*. On the one hand, anyone who was educated on the Minuteman Project activities was a "member" because they were helping to further the debate. On the other hand, if someone wanted to take a more active involvement, such as volunteering for a border watch, then they were vetted by law enforcement to root out possible extremists. The Minuteman Project, then, was somewhat exclusive, but different from the strict boundary requirements set by DAR.

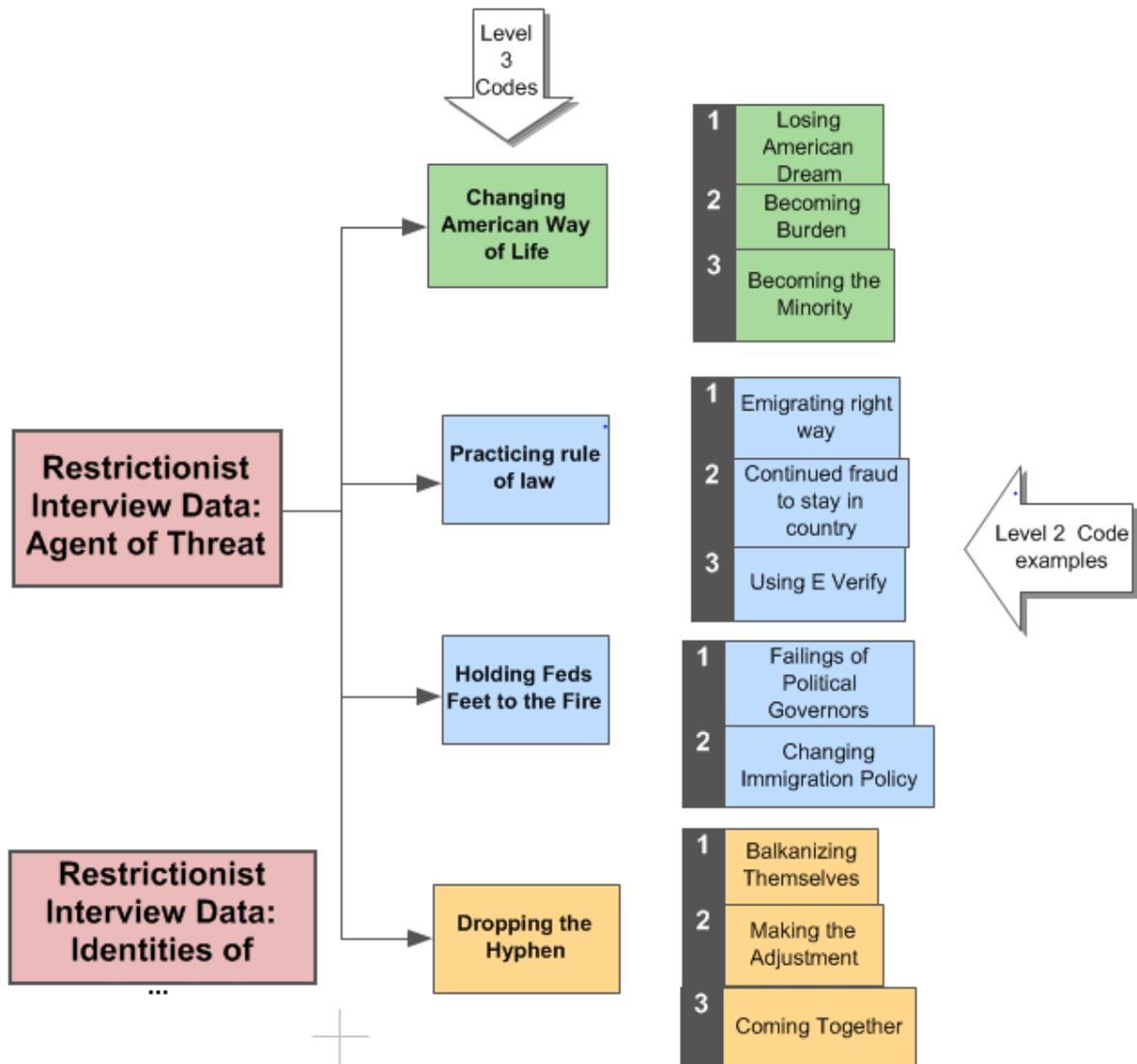
On the question of goal orientations, the Minuteman Project was more instrumental (i.e., purposive action), than expressive. Purposive action [i.e., instrumental] focuses more on ends of the association rather than from the simple act of associating and are more specific (Curtis and Zurcher 359). The Minuteman Project helped to move the immigrating outside of the law debate from City Council meetings and part of election rhetoric to mainstream educational facilities

such as Harvard, University of Kansas, and the California State University system.<sup>105</sup> We turn to important demographic information gleaned from interviews with restrictionists.

In contrast to interviews with DAR members, these interviews were politically charged. Regarding demographic information of those interviewed, the majority identified as Christian (n=7) with four having at least weekly attendance. Jim Gilchrist identified as Catholic, and attended Catholic schools as an adolescent, which provided him with a “moral fabric.” The majority of interviewees attended church at least weekly. Regarding political orientation, not surprisingly, most identified as republican, and Ed Hayes and Al Garza, both leaders in MCDC at one point, identified as Independent. Hayes stated, “I was Republican. I have voted Democrat, but I do not think there's much difference in either party right now.” Al Garza, a prior republican, expressed similar sentiments in failing to see a major difference between political parties. The two American-Mexican patriots interviewed, Raymond Herrera and Al Garza, were both military veterans, as well as Jim Gilchrist—all three were Vietnam veterans. We turn now to the specific codes generated through interview data. Below were the most important Level 3 and Level 2 codes generated for RSMs.

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<sup>105</sup> At Columbia University Gilchrist tried to speak, but, in his words was “deprived of the stage by a bunch of scoundrels, student scoundrels who were against free speech (laughter).”



**Figure 6.2 Restrictionist: Significant Level 3 and Level 2 Codes**

***Agent of Threat: Changing American Way of Life***

Gilchrist, who is a retired CPA with a Bachelor’s degree in Journalism and a Masters in taxation, criticized the many entitlements for noncitizens that were burdening the economic system. “You go to U.S. hospitals as an indigent noncitizen here illegally and you cannot be turned away, go to school, you cannot be turned away. . . . As we continue providing funds for programs, they will get bigger and there will be more of an expected entitlement to them among those who come illegally plus those were born here, natural American citizens like us. Our

grandchildren will say, “Why should I bother, everything is free. Poncho from Guatemala and Karchina from Russia are getting everything free why cannot I. Why cannot my children get it? I do not want to work anymore. I do not want to pay any taxes.” Further, Gilchrist mentioned that a vibrant middle- class was important for stabilizing the economic system.

Minuteman Raymond Herrera, a Vietnam-era veteran, *reframed* affirmative action. “We went from individual rights under the Constitution, to group rights. Now we have black, brown, and yellow, and red group rights. This is the beginning of what I call “deconstruction of the American culture,” of democracy in America, our whole way of life. We went from individual rights to group rights. To what I call in the end “affirmative discrimination” that means that it’s the opposite of affirmative action.” Feagin contends colorblindness is often a “cover-up of substantial levels of blatantly racist framing and action in which many whites still engage” (*White Racial Frame* 97). But interviews with restrictionists revealed no apparent desire to “cover up” their thinking. Below, Herrera connects American, white, and Protestant themes:

Diversity and multiculturalism have divided people and you now have people instead of individuals, one American culture. We’ve been under bombardment from affirmative discrimination of minorities directed at the American culture. And I’m going to say it right here. It is *white* [emphasis added]. More so than it is white, it is an Anglo Protestant core culture beginning in 1620 when the Pilgrims arrived. It was that culture, that the Dutch, Germans, [and] Irish that came to America. In the early days of America, they threw away their ethnicity and adhered to the Anglo Protestant. Why? It’s because it’s closely related to God. I believe we are the chosen people. That the Pilgrims were brought here. . . . This is the Promised Land with the city on the hill, a beacon of hope for all mankind.

Identifying the year 1965 as the start of the expansion of group rights Herrera, using martial language, contended that America had “reversed our heritage and culture,” which led to an emphasis on group rights and recognized minority rights over individual rights. “Ethnicity is

part of the weapons to destroy the American culture,” Herrera charges, “as multiculturalism and diversity is promoted in schools and our government. . . . We are one people united, not peoples, not diverse, not multicultural. We are one people, one skin color, one democracy, in one culture.” Herrera stressed the *uniqueness* of America in its oneness, its indivisibility. Herrera described the change in American life wrought by the large numbers of immigrants from outside Europe:

The invasion of America by brown skinned people of Mexico and Hispanics from Hispania South America. 85% of the 30 million illegal aliens on American soil are from Mexico, which means the other 15% are from Guatemala, Peru, Argentina, and China, England and Ireland. 85% of 30 million are from Mexico and they have the Hispanic, or Mexican, or Spaniard, and their Spanish language coming onto American soil imposing their will on the American culture and the American people by using the venue of what happened in 1965, civil rights, diversity, multiculturalism as their weapon against the American culture and the American people and calling us racists and Nazis. They're the minorities, and they are the special minorities, 'affirmative discrimination.' If you're white in America and believe in the American culture, which is the Anglo-Protestant core culture, you're a 'racist'.



**Figure 6.3 Minuteman Project volunteers Raymond Herrera (third from left) and Robin Hvidston (waving U.S. flag) protesting in front of member of Congress Jerry Lewis’s office**

**Redlands, California July 13, 2012 source : [www.californiacrusader.com](http://www.californiacrusader.com)**

Capt. Ed Hayes, retired Kansas Sheriff and former MCDC Heart of America chapter leader in Kansas and the now defunct American Patriots Coalition, contended that political correctness was a strategy by multiculturalists.<sup>106</sup> “They change wording in the school books. You’re aware of that? Change the verbiage. I was listening to the radio the other day they were talking about . . . it’s not sportsmanship now; they have another name for [it] . . . . They change all the words they can to meet their agendas. Now it’s not even Adam and Eve anymore, they’re

<sup>106</sup> During our interview, Hayes recorded our conversation; apparently, he was afraid of being misquoted.

changing the Bible, you see. It's Eve and Adam.” Hayes was asked why he joined the Minuteman Project:

You know when I was in Colorado, watching the news in Denver and Colorado Springs, there were so many murders with Hispanics that's what got my attention first. When I moved back here it was when the Minutemen started on the border watches, and I saw this and I paid attention to it. I volunteered to help any way I could. I ended up being a chapter director in Kansas, then state director, the same thing in Missouri. We had a couple of guys there who quit, and I was glad they quit, I'll do whatever I can do best for the organization. After four years I'm getting tired. It's just a crime scene; it will bring you to tears the victims of illegal aliens. You got soldiers coming home from Iraq that went through all that, and they get hit by a drunk driver or shot or murdered in some way. Kids killed in cars by drunk illegals. You see that's a macho thing for them to drive drunk, and they bring all their customs here. In Mexico 10 years old is the age of consent; well they come to America and they bring their customs here.

*Sylvia Demar*, a self-described household executive for 40 years, who since college has never worked outside of the home, described her core principles: the Constitution, respect for life from beginning to end, less government, and individual responsibility. She attended a few FAIR events and echoed the same thing as DAR member Dixie Roberts—how we adjust to unauthorized noncitizens rather than them adjusting to us:

My mother's side they came from England, my dad's side from Germany, my husband's side from Ireland, but they came the right way. They came legally with permission. They were put upon, so many times they were not treated well, but they learned the language [enunciated]. That's the only way to assimilate. Learn the language. I am so sick to death of pushing one for English and two for Español [sarcastically]. We're catering to them . . . back to the rule of law.

Robin Hvdiston is a Minuteman Project volunteer, and she cited the apparent belligerence of noncitizens:

I realized where I was getting into situations where illegal aliens were ordering me around. There was a protest they held near my home town, south of my town, where they were protesting for driver's licenses. This is the first event I ever went to, five years ago. I was standing on the public sidewalk; there were about 100 illegal aliens getting ready to march. I was with five other Americans and their leader came up to me and he said, 'Get off the sidewalk, we have a permit to march you're breaking the law.' And I thought to myself, he's ordering me off the sidewalk in the name of law when he's bringing a group of people that openly have broken our laws?

When asked why others felt the need to identify as Americans of Mexican descent rather than just American, Hvidston responded:

In some ways because they say they're a minority, all the while I tell you I am the minority, most places where I go in Southern California I'm the minority. As a minority group, Mexican Americans want more notoriety: "Here I am this, I am the minority, and I want acknowledgment." I want my day in court type of thing. But I certainly feel like I'm a minority. When I go shopping and when I'm driving I'm usually a minority, but I have no minority rights as a person of Anglo descent. Even though I really know what it feels like to be a minority (laughter).

Al Garza was one of the leaders of MCDC and then went on to become the leader of the now defunct American Patriots Coalition. Garza believed the American principles transcended race:

People are coming from the South, they colonize different areas, they fly the flag, and I'm totally against that. They fly their flag, and they play their music full blast, you do that in Mexico and see what happens. . . . If Mexico really had any dignity, Mexico wouldn't put its people what it's going through, and then putting the burden on the taxpayer. To me that's senseless, that's ludicrous. It's a relief valve for Mexico. I believe whether you are brown, red, or white, black or otherwise. If you have the American concept, then you're an American.

For Garza, then, the “American concept” is colorblind. Further, Mexico relieves its population and economic pressures and places them on the United States, burdening the U.S. taxpayer in the process.

### ***Agent of Threat: Practicing Rule of Law***

Gilchrist linked the absence of the rule of law in Mexico to its exportation of problems to the United States. “By sheer numbers, they will essentially change our country, our culture, language, methods of law enforcement, and respect for law-enforcement. If they're bringing their culture into our country, and their country has a bad reputation for law-enforcement, which it does in Mexico, bad reputation for political honesty which applies to Mexico, bad economy, lawlessness, criminal drug cartels larger than their largest bona fide corporate enterprise; well, if they bring that culture here we are going to be a mere reflection of Mexico in short order.”

Further, Gilchrist lauded President of Mexico Felipe Calderon for challenging the drug cartels, trying to make them a non-dominant element of Mexican culture. Gilchrist mentioned that America will always need anti-discrimination laws, as there are always people wanting to deny another's rights. Below, Gilchrist described America's universalist impulses:

Although they were all white [e.g., Founding Fathers], because we happen to have white settlers, the concept was not a *white concept* [emphasis added] it was a concept common among Jews, blacks, Indians, Asians, Europeans, depending on what philosophy you followed. England was pretty good in developing the Judeo-Christian foundation that all men are equal. We should all receive the same rights; of course, that didn't apply to slaves at the time. It took another 90 years for that. Race, color or creed doesn't matter; it's your mindset. Can I as someone as a Caucasian male, 60 years old, be fair to someone who's not a Caucasian male 60 years old, someone who's different than me? Can I apply the rule of law universally? Not just as a justice, but can I do it as a councilman, schoolteacher? Can I do it as a cab driver, an ironworker, a nail driver? That's what America's all about. It's a state of mind like the Minuteman Project.

There were many allegations of the Minuteman Project taking matters into their own hands and hurting people, but Gilchrist made it clear that he takes rule of law violations seriously. When asked what U.S. values were important to the Minuteman Project, Gilchrist responded, “It’s not just values. . . . When the rule of law becomes arbitrary to the law-abider, the rule of law applies essentially only to those naïve and gullible enough to obey the laws. All others move about as you please because there’s no consequence. You break a law coming here; you do not file tax returns, steal ID numbers social security numbers, and file under false IDs.” This was a common theme among restrictionists—America is a nation of laws that need enforcement.

Gilchrist related a story out of Sacramento, California, where approximately 200 noncitizen laborers were being exploited by an employer who was paying wages far below the minimum wage. This went on for several years. Here was Gilchrist’s solution to the issue, involving the noncitizen workers keeping their money, facing deportation proceedings, and employer sanctions:

They each got about \$10,000 each, and I guess it was a \$2 million settlement. I agreed with it, but I also agreed that Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) should also follow up and prosecute employers of those illegal aliens. The illegal aliens should be deported; they keep their money which was rightfully earned; they were cheated, so we do not let employers continue cheating anybody regardless of where they’re from. They have rights to free speech and every right we have as Americans, however, when they exercise some of those rights, they will put themselves at risk for deportation and detainment. Because if they say, ‘I’m an illegal alien; I’m here, and I’m proud, and I’m here illegally,’ they’re broadcasting their criminal behavior and customs enforcement comes in and arrests them and they get deported; that’s a consequence.

In every step, then, the rule of law is used positively rather than arbitrarily. Ed Hayes expressed a similar sentiment about getting back to the rule of law:

Besides educating the public we [American Patriots Coalition] believe in the rule of law, we want the rule of law followed. You hear politicians say, and ‘we’re a nation of laws.’ Well we’re not because even then they have their own set of laws that they go by, and we have ours, and illegals get a pass because they’re illegal. And that’s just not right. We feel there are laws against illegals coming into this country. There are laws against employers hiring them; there are laws against landlords renting or selling to them and everybody’s doing business with them. I ought to be getting hourly pay by the United States government for doing a job that they won’t do and should be doing, and you can quote me on that!

Further, Hayes waxed on how “illegals” continued to commit offenses after entering the United States:

They have forged social security numbers, all kinds of forgeries that they use to be able to vote, to get utilities. I got people who work for utility companies, and they say they come in with a dead person's social security numbers, and we know it, but we have to give them service. Now they get a utility bill, [and] they take it down when the election’s going on, show them the utility bill, and they can vote with the utility bill in Kansas. It's just bizarre. To get a credit card—you know—I have to give my life's history to get a credit card. They can just get a credit card from Bank of America and some of these places.

Similar to the experience of interviewing Jim Gilchrist, this researcher’s Frances Semler interview stood in contrast to her public perception. Semler made the news when she refused to give up her Minuteman Project activities while serving as a volunteer for the Parks Department of Kansas City. La Raza had protested Semler’s presence in the organization and canceled a scheduled event in Kansas City. Semler described the incident:

There was quite a ruckus, you probably heard about that. The Minutemen had come to town to hold a conference, and the mayor had said, ‘I do not want you to go to that.’ I thought you know I’m just going [laughter], so I resigned. Anybody can be a Parks member, but there's more that wanted to be a Parks member than were at the time wanted to be a Minuteman. I was committed to immigration reform.

Semler was raised with black friends, yet she was called a racist for volunteering with the Minuteman Project. “Emanuel Cleaver, he and all the black religious leaders were right up in front calling me a racist because I belonged to the Minutemen even though they didn't know me. You know . . . I just do not understand it when there are so many unemployed African-American people here in town.” Freedom is used a lot but often not defined by politicians, so Semler was asked what freedom meant to her.

Well as long as I'm here and living within the rule of law, I have the freedom to do whatever I want to do. If we do not like it, then we have to lobby to change it. I think that the rule of law enhances freedom. When it's there, we just cannot do what want to do. I'm not a . . . Ron Paul, a libertarian, but I believe in some of his ideas. Some of it is just no laws at all. If we're a little country with not much population, then that works.

In other words, the idea that we cannot apply laws arbitrarily. Joyce Mucci, a FAIR representative, argued that failure to enforce the rule of law led to employers hiring noncitizens and gaining an unfair advantage:

If you have two employers, let say they're both cleaning companies, one company is hiring people that are here unlawfully, the other employer's not. He uses E-verify; he has to compete when they bid on a job, and if the guy who is paying lower wages is hiring people that are here unlawfully, his bid is going to be lower than the guy who's hiring Americans to work. Therefore if everyone's required to use it, then the playing field stays the same. I mean you can still underbid someone, but the fact is that they are hiring American workers or people that are lawfully present.

Dr. Frank Morris, a FAIR Board member, distinguished educator and former Executive Director of the *Congressional Black Caucus Foundation*, argued that giving in-state tuition to noncitizens was a violation of the rule of law:

There are educational concerns, concerns about state taxes and tuition . . . 11 other states where you have in-state tuition given to children of noncitizens. In a neighboring state you can have a child of a medal of honor recipient coming from Louisiana or Oklahoma and not getting in-state tuition, so we are granting in-state tuition to a child of a person who has violated our laws—noncitizens who have violated our laws to citizens who haven't.

Morris had particular concerns about many legal low-wage workers, especially low-wage African-American workers, being passed over in the labor market in favor of noncitizen labor. During Hurricane Katrina in 2004, Morris tried to organize African-American workers who were being underutilized in the cleanup, whereupon noncitizens were being used for construction. Morris emphasized that “the most vulnerable workers are the preferred workers; many of our migrant workers or immigrant workers, and the official term is illegal alien under the law . . . sometimes they're brought in from nefarious sources such as coyotes, signed up in industries in collusion with these contractors, undercut American labor and become the more preferred employee because they're more vulnerable.”<sup>107</sup> Next, Morris argued how laws applied arbitrarily hurt African Americans:

Lynching, racial profiling, you have things that aren't even laws being used against us, but things that could benefit low-wage workers in general, and specifically less educated African-American workers, when it comes to labor law and immigration law not being enforced; so you have folks who are noncitizens benefiting from non-enforcement of law, whether the law is around entry, or enforcement in the workplace.

Put differently, both the *presence* (e.g., racial profiling) and *absence* (e.g., non-enforcement of immigration laws) of social control has harmed African Americans.

Robin Hvidston argued it was fine to want to make changes within the United States, if changes were made by legal citizens. “Our country is so great illegal aliens are able to come into

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<sup>107</sup> A coyote is the term used to describe nefarious individuals who help noncitizens cross the U.S.-Mexican border illegally, often charging exorbitant fees, especially when border security is tightened.

our country and say ‘we are the people,’ represent us. My issue with them is that they are here illegally. Come legally, become a citizen, then if you're going to turn our country in a different direction, then it's all legal. My issue now is that they're here illegally.” This researcher queried how should we treat different immigrants such as movie stars and ball players. Al Garza rejected the arbitrary application of the rule of law:

If they come here illegally, I do not care if they're all players or movie stars or baseball players. I do not care who they are. I happen to know a few who are here illegally and became stars—if you're here illegally, they've broken the law. You cannot *pick and choose* [emphasis added]. If you broke the law, you broke the law, and should suffer the consequences. Amnesty is not an option because of who you are. . . . It may sound kind of harsh. They themselves know that they're breaking the law or they wouldn't have 15 ID cards.

Again, the idea is that noncitizens have broken the law and, in staying in the country, are continuing to break the law.

### ***Agent of Threat: Holding Feds' Feet to the Fire***

Participants were asked if they thought the U.S. government had acted responsibly regarding immigration. Gilchrist described noncitizens burdening states:

No. That was an easy answer (laughs). The primary reason we have this chaos with our immigration, illegal immigration chaos, is because of the lax attitude of our political governors at the federal level. They will not reimburse states for the cost to conduct these programs, putting an enormous tax burden on states like California and Texas, New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Washington, and Oregon, lot of illegal aliens going there. Certainly Arizona and New Mexico, all of the border states and Florida, Louisiana, Georgia, [and] both Carolinas are the target of massive illegal immigration, predominantly from Mexico.

When asked if he thought the U.S. government had performed well regarding immigration issues, Ed Hayes connected the failure of government to control the borders with September 11<sup>th</sup>:

No absolutely not. You know 9/11 killed 3000 people. They should have immediately sealed our borders. Our borders are still wide open. The government and the news will tell you that the rate of illegals coming into this country has dropped automatically, well, talk to some of the people in Arizona and ask them if it's dropped off; [they're still] coming over in droves, and they're not stopping.

Francis Semler echoed similar sentiments. She contended, "I think it's [immigration] unmanageable now. I truly believe that we should have a moratorium on all immigration until we get settled down and know who's here. I mean we don't know who's here. They might have 10 social security numbers, 10 different names. . . ." *Sylvia Demar* argued that self-interest was linked to lax immigration enforcement measures. "Well, there are politicians that are helping to back the businesses that want cheap labor. And they're feathering their own nests by doing so because these businesses will contribute to their reelection."

Taking a different view, Frank Morris described U.S. economic policies and the large numbers of "illegal aliens":

60 to 70 percent are coming from Latin America [illegal aliens] The poverty of Latin America, which our own policies have forced them off the farm, our NAFTA policies, where we dumped American subsidized corn, especially in Mexico and Mexico is forced to buy, has driven many people off the land and back up to the United States for jobs. A Pew Hispanic report, which I quote often, shows that many who come from Latin America, and 60% are from Mexico, come to the United States, not because they didn't have jobs in Mexico, but because our jobs pay much more, which you can't blame them for. But you can blame our own government for their lack of concern for our own workers.

### ***Agent of Threat: ReConquista: Wanting to Take Over***

Recall that restrictionists argue that Mexicans, with the aid of the Mexican government, the open-borders lobby and socio-ethnic interests, want to reclaim the border states that were lost during the U.S.–Mexican War. Restrictionists' responses were varied, some thinking it possible,

others dismissing it as a chimera. Board member of FAIR, Dr. Frank Morris, thought it was a very strong video that “shows the most extreme elements of those who are pushing for open borders, but not to assume that this extremism would prevail.” Others took the video more seriously. *Sylvia Demar* believed Mexican schoolchildren were taught that American lands really belong to Mexico:

That's right, La Raza the race. Did you know that in Mexico in the public schools they teach the concept called Reconquista and that means to take back that which has been lost? So they clearly want an invasion and to go back and recapture Texas, Arizona . . . . Well in some ways I understand that. But Saul, they lost the war. It doesn't pay to lose a war. If you're going to go to war, you fight to win instead of fighting wars like we do now.

Ed Hayes stated, “It just reinforces what I've told you. Art Torres and the Gutierrez and some of the others in there that spoke, and if you find the old La Raza website [Atzlan references], there's much more of that. . . . It's sad that this has been allowed to happen where people like that march in our streets with the American flag upside down it, burning American flags (pause) it's pretty sad and we can turn it around by the rule of law. Stop the magnets, the jobs, social services.” When Frances Semler was asked what stood out for her, she responded, “The big crowds . . . they'll never assimilate with this going on. They'll always be Mexico-Mexican. I just thought it was pretty drastic rhetoric really. If we went down to some place and said that we'd be warmongers (laughter).” After watching the video, Gilchrist protested:

Notice we only saw one American flag but there were several hundred Mexican flags displayed—that is the ultimate insult to every American who had anyone in their family ever take up a uniform to defend this country, ever have a relative or friend die fighting for this country, a member of law enforcement dying for serving this country to protect its civility, and it's an insult to the stature of our country governed by the rule of law.

What it boils down to in one phrase is mob rule and the next step is anarchy, and that's all I have to say.

***Annie Get Your Gun: “Minutewomen” and Border Watches***

When viewed from gender identity, the 2005 border watches appeared “gendered,” with Gilchrist, Chris Simcox and the Minutemen rank-and-file prepared to do battle with the enemy (i.e., illegal aliens). This gendered activity that appeared very masculine and martial was actually more equalitarian than might seem at first glance. For instance, Minuteman Ed Hayes said that the women did the same things that the men did at the musters, including taking part in search and rescue teams, and even leading the teams. Hayes emphasized, “They [women] were every bit as qualified as the men and even more so.”

Robin Hvidston was at the first border muster in April 2005 and was asked if women were doing the same things at the muster that the men were doing. The team she went in with had about three women and three men, but women did not go into drug smuggling areas at night:

When you got out on the line, on the border, where people were crossing illegally, you all became equal in, just standing together. You could choose your shift. I chose to go during the day. But you could go at night shifts to very dangerous areas, drug dealers by the canyons. And I would say it was the guys who tended to go on those Minuteman shifts.

Notably, while many Minutemen carried handguns, Hvidston did not carry a gun to the border. “I looked into getting one but it was so complicated I was just like, whoa (laughter).”

Approximately six months after the April 2005 muster, Hvidston described a harrowing border watch she attended east of San Diego in Campo, California:

It was something I've never experienced my life. The border patrol took us down. There were two carloads of Minutemen, and we went to do a night watch in this area. The border patrol said that if you do not call us, we will not come to this area. I saw a man with an AK-47 on his back on the US side, who approached us and told us to move.

When I asked Hvidston who he was with, she replied, "He was a drug smuggler." On the U.S. side, free as a bird, ordering us around." When I asked Hvidston if she if she thought he was part of the Mexican military, she replied:

I would say he was a Mexican citizen who was part of the drug cartel. He was not a military man because he was wearing street clothes, but he had an AK-47 on his back. There was no fence whatsoever, you could just walk across. We could see drug runners assembling on the Mexican side. . . . Finally it got so dangerous that the people we were with they said, 'We gotta get out of here,' so we left. The area was totally compromised, there was no law, these drug smugglers were completely in control of the area. Here's this Mexican man, with an AK-47 on his back, on U.S. soil, telling us to move.

### ***Restrictionist Social Movements: Identities of Privilege***

#### ***Dropping the Hyphen***

*One of the first things I said was that from this day forth, the hyphen falls to the ground. I put down my Mexican heritage hyphen heritage, culture, language in the Battle for America. The color of my skin is American, as is yours, it's about the American culture, American way of life and hyphens do not count. In this battle for America, there is no hyphen.*

Excerpt from speech given by Raymond Herrera, Virginia

Gilchrist emphasized the importance of immigrants speaking English and the process of becoming an American:

Most of them dedicate themselves to the United States of America. It's through that citizenship process that takes 5 to 10 years including learning our culture, government, history, our language. It's okay to speak the language of your homeland, but to keep a seamless process of communication and commerce in our country that keeps us civilized and keeps our economy thriving, we need a common bond. And a common bond is the English language. You can speak Somalian to your family members, but when you're conducting business and communicating with the general public, you really should use English because that's what everybody uses. . . . When you start emphasizing the foreign language, and a foreign culture gets emphasized, then a foreign flag in a foreign country

becomes your country in the United States then all the assimilation, allegiance to your new homeland, is moot, and it means nothing.

Gilchrist held that people of color must not try to right the wrongs of the past through violent struggle:

We must be careful not to misconstrue vengeance as fairness. Many of us have baggage from one part of our life or another that's passed down through our ancestors and passed over to our posterity. I see it a lot with Black America, I see a lot with Mexican-Americans, not American Spaniards from Spain, but the people in the United States from Mexico, people in the United States who are black, more so for Mexicans than Blacks. I think the Blacks are starting to cure themselves of that. They're always the victim; they're always going to be the victim, someone owes me big time, and it's the nonblack people that owe me.

When asked why people of color needed to identify as hyphenated Americans, Gilchrist responded:

There's certainly an answer for this, and I may not have the right one. It has something to do with identity. We been made so conscious of who we are, who we are individually, that we have to have the precise identity. Not so much with white people but with nonwhites. . . . I find that they [Blacks and Hispanics] tend to emphasize it more than American whites. . . . We've been forced to use those details to define who we are by race, color, creed, and that I see somewhat as a downfall.

This researcher asked, "You mentioned force, who forces us to do that?" Gilchrist responded, "It has been a combination of the political system, the media, the educational system, the workforce. But the workforce is the latter part that came because of the educational, media, and political systems, including the courts. They make you (long pause). . . . I cannot remember how we referred to black people when I was 10 years old. I do not think I hardly ever saw one." Frances Semler was concerned about the decline of educational instruction due to the poor or nonexistent English skills of ethnic children. When Semler was asked, Would you want a separate class on

their own where they learn English on their own? She responded, “I would want that they would have to go to classes where they learned English, and then they could put them in with the other kids. In Olatha, Kansas there were 57 languages spoken in school and the parents cannot help them, so they're definitely not going to progress at the speed that I want my child to progress.”

Both Joyce Mucci and *Sylvia Demar* railed against the balkanization of America. “I think that it's risky coming over here as an immigrant,” Mucci opined. “My grandparents they took a risk coming over here, but I think the overriding desire is to become part of America, to become an American, bringing what you have here but not being Balkanized into your own little group.”

*Sylvia Demar* emphasized for the importance of severing ties from the past:

My grandparents’ generation came here, in most cases, from European countries, but they came here and assimilated. We're not having assimilation. We've got the Balkanization of this country. I do not care if you're Black, from the Middle East or whatever, come here the proper way, learn our language, assimilate, and become a citizen.

The message is clear. Immigrants of today, in contrast to European immigrants of the past, do not want to assimilate, and U.S. economic and educational institutions adjust to them and enable them not to. Dr. Frank Morris pointed out the apparent hypocrisy of job descriptions that include facility in the Spanish language:

Where we live in Dallas there was hardly a mention made of fact that most could not be promoted to Assistant Principal in Dallas unless they also have the facility of the Spanish language. I'm saying wait a minute, hold on, this is the United States of America, [and] we're supposed to be speaking English here.

Once again American citizens’ rights are subordinated to concerns of noncitizens. This researcher asked Robin Hvidston, “You mentioned a couple times the focus on language, getting it in English rather than Spanish. But you can be an American citizen taking Spanish right? Why the focus on having English rather than Spanish?”

Exactly—we feel like English unifies our country, our community, we advocate for that because we want to be united with our neighbor, able to communicate. For example, I was at a 7-Eleven the other day, and I couldn't figure out how to work the machine, and I turn to the lady next to me and said, "How do you work this," she didn't know how to speak English. I mean there's nothing illegal about that, [but] we would like to be able to communicate, be unified, and the majority of individuals in this country do speak English. They have traditionally spoken English, and that's why for Wells Fargo we're calling upon them to change their signs to English.

Further, Hvidston argued that previous European immigrants enthusiastically embraced America and dropped their collective hyphens in the process. According to Hvidston, “We looked for assimilation, you come to this country and you become an American. My paternal grandfather came from Sweden when he was 12; he learned English by the time I knew him as my grandfather. He was completely fluent in English, and I never heard him say a word of Swedish my whole life, and he was just all for America. He loved this country. When he left Sweden, he left Sweden and he embraced America. I never saw a Swedish flag in his house; he loved this country.”

### **Summary**

By staging an “image event” on the Arizona side of the U.S.–Mexico border, the Minuteman Project was able to do what its government was not able to do—seal off a portion of the border and shame their government in the process. Regarding constructing villains and victims, the federal government was seen as a threat for not taking seriously rule of law violations—unauthorized noncitizens in the country have broken the law, and in continuing to remain in the country, continue to break laws. These modern day Redcoats (e.g., political governors) who wear business suits and ties, have failed to follow the rule of law, and get their

marching orders from high-powered lobbyists rather than the American people. Most restrictionists took seriously the charge that Mexico seeks to recover lands lost during the U.S.-Mexican war. This is a profitable strategy for RSMs because it links up the internal threat within the United States posed by citizens outside the law and Mexican consulars operating in many U.S. cities with active agents operating outside of the United States (e.g., Mexican government, United Nations). Further, Mexico relieves its population and economic pressure while burdening U.S. taxpayers in the process.

On the question of restricting access to U.S. status citizens, the message was clear: Immigrants of today, in contrast to European immigrants of the past, do not want to assimilate, and U.S. economic and educational institutions adjust to them and enable them not to do so, leading to a reduction in the value of citizenship. When Americans are expected as part of a job to have facility in Spanish, as Dr. Frank Morris argued, American citizenship rights are subordinated to the concerns of unauthorized noncitizens. Participants were divided over the connection between race and the principles of the United States, with Raymond Herrera remarking that the American Protestant core culture was white, and Gilchrist and Garza declaring American principles were colorblind. Yet all agreed on a fundamental tenet—diversity without assimilation—leads to balkanization, chaos, and anarchy. Next, we turn to empirical data collected from DAR interviews.

### **DAR Interview Data**

Regarding interviews with DAR members in Kansas, this researcher found great diversity regarding statuses and occupations; this conforms to earlier periods, with class status tending to place in the middle to lower upper classes. Their work history varied, from stay-at-home housewives to full time workers. Carley Hazleton, the Garden City, Kansas chapter Regent, was

a truant officer and served as a pastor but has never worked full time. Dixie Roberts used to have an active life with her husband, but after her husband had a stroke, Dixie's life has changed. Dixie worked mainly home-based businesses throughout her life. In contrast, one rank-and-file member worked for 30 years as a teacher, while another rank-and-file member had a full time administrative support position. Susan Metzger works in the Kansas water office, a state government agency, and manages the watershed coordination unit for most of eastern Kansas. In other words, DAR members have different work experiences, more time on their hands than others, but they tend to lead jam-packed lives.

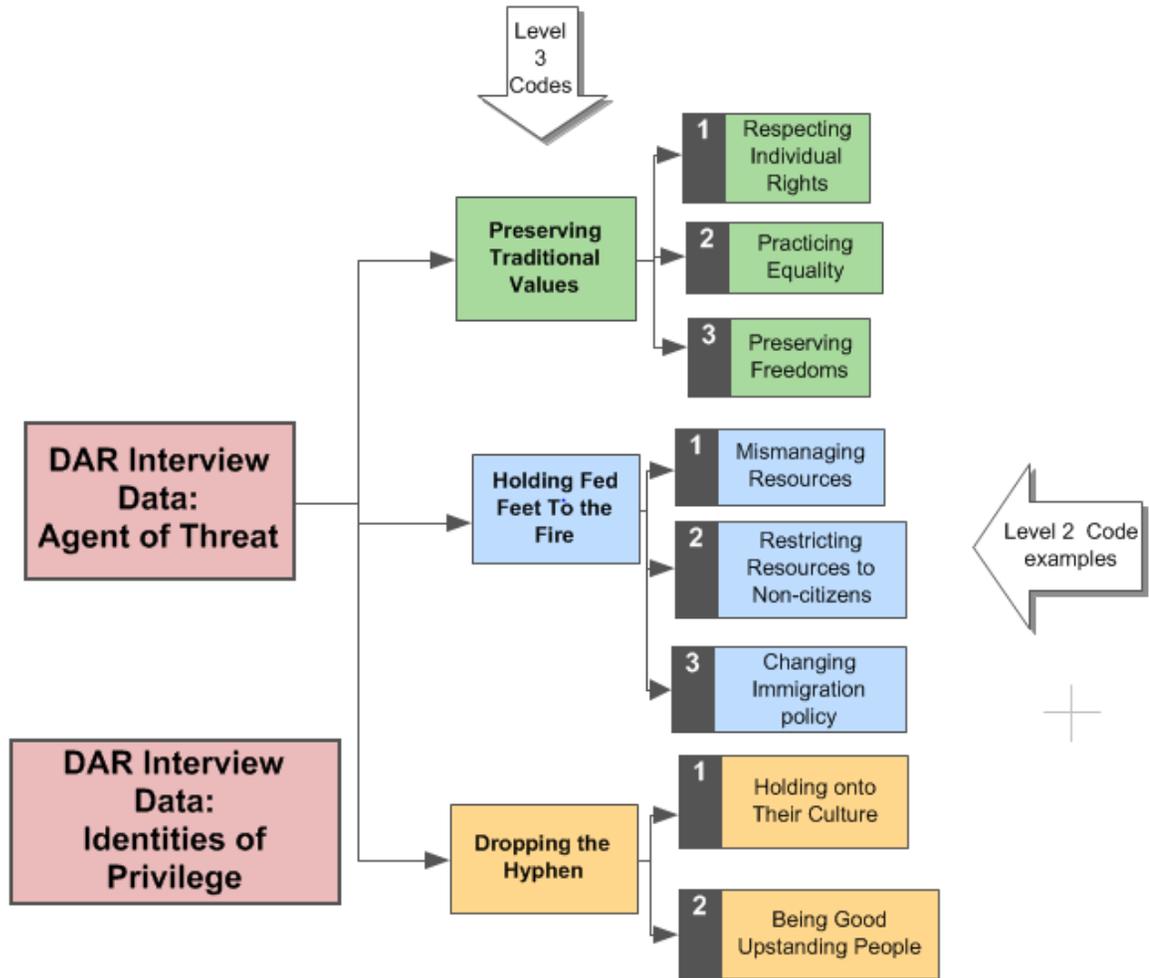
Generally the current study squared with the findings of other researchers, including Barbara Truesdale, who wrote a dissertation on the organization while also *going native* and becoming a DAR member and taking part in DAR meetings. "A great majority of its members are over 50, and membership as a whole is almost exclusively middle to upper middle class. Most of them are well-educated women, some but not all are passionate genealogists or history buffs" (20). A 1967 survey of the Daughters showed 29,551 were professional women or held full-time jobs: 11,142 teachers, 2355 business executives, 1935 nurses, 1482 artists, 1192 librarians, 835 authors 263 dental hygienists, 236 doctors, and 125 scientists (Anderson 20-21). Regarding the present study, four DAR members interviewed had masters' degrees; one had a doctorate, one with a bachelor's degree, and two DAR members with only some college. No DAR members had *only* a high school diploma. Because it is based on information about members' ancestors, DAR naturally connects with an educational focus. When a DAR member was asked if DAR is an elitist organization, which is the public perception of DAR, she validated the educational focus. "There is [a perception of DAR as elitist]. I suppose it probably was, they've tried to shake that image. . . . If I were to characterize the group, I would say the fact that

we have in common is not so much income as it is education.” It is clear DAR members have a higher educational level than the women in the public at large.

### ***Preserving Traditional Values***

For DAR members interviewed, *preserving traditional values* and *respecting individual rights* were the most important Level 2 codes. Carol Holcomb, a Kansas State University professor, emphasized how her individual rights are respected in the United States:

I feel like I've been able to exercise my own talents and unique abilities without having someone else overseeing or telling me what to do. I like the openness of debate, freedom of the press and media here in this country that is not seen in some other countries. My own individual rights to make decisions and feel like my decisions will be honored. The absence of someone making decisions for me that would be against things that I think I ought to be doing . . . and the right to express my opinion. I have been in some situations on campus where I expressed my opinions and gotten attacked personally, the two individuals were reprimanded. They had infringed on my right to freedom of speech.



**Figure 6.4 DAR: Significant Level 3 and Level 2 Codes**

Dixie Roberts who was very active in Kansas politics for a long time, contrasted freedoms in the United States with less democratic places.<sup>108</sup> “I think we have very many social and political freedoms. We’re allowed to vote like we want, we’re allowed to, for the most part, support the candidate that we want, and we are allowed to work for that candidate openly without threat. That doesn’t happen in the Communist countries and in other countries that have the freedoms we share here.” When asked what distinguished the United States from other nations, Dixie contended it was preserving our freedoms. “Although we are a giving country, I

<sup>108</sup> Dixie Roberts came off as the most conservative of the ladies interviewed; nonetheless, she believes in a woman’s right to choose.

think it really boils down to the fact that we have always been a country of freedom. That's a big word. I mean that's what we fought for. . . . We're *free enterprise* [emphasis added], and in a Communist country or a totalitarian country you definitely do not have the freedoms that you have in America.” Further, Dixie emphasized the DAR activities help to remind people of what DAR ancestors had to sacrifice for the freedoms of today. “We enter parades, here, like the Veterans Parade, and then we have displays in the library that express our American values to remind people that we are free because of what this generation of people, what they fought for. . . . They were being very oppressed by the King of England. And they came to America to get away from the oppression.” *Nina Mitchell* connected the U.S. flag with patriotism. “You put your hand on your heart . . . you say the Pledge of Allegiance, respect for the flag. The kids learn in school we fought for the flag in this country. We were at the zoo the other day where they have two bald eagles up there. The first thing I thought about was the United States and the freedom of this country, the eagles, not as animals, but as the freedom symbol first.” Sociologically, then, the eagle is more than just a social object, representing and communicating our collective freedom, hence a symbol.

*Stephanie McNally* suggested respecting individual rights were sometimes honored in the breach. Her comments display individual agency of DAR members. “People get so polarized from the anti-abortion and pro-life people and it just tends to polarize people, and I think we just need to stay in the center, there are pros and cons to everything you decide, you do not legislate morality—I think that comes from within. We need to quit trying to legislate morality and force people to make decisions that they do not want to make.” Further, *Stephanie McNally* spoke about respecting individual rights even in the context of disrespecting American symbols:

I think if anything, we have to be constantly vigilant. Some people will say things that you do not like, but you have to defend their right to say it, rather than condemn them for what they said. I think the U.S flag needs to be respected and those are my views, but I think that's a hard place to put yourself; that they have the right to do that; it is not against the federal law. If they want to fly the U.S. flag upside down, it doesn't set very well, but it is their right to say that.

### ***Agent of Threat: Holding Feds' Feet to the Fire***

The DAR members interviewed expressed concern with the federal government but were not as extreme in their comments as restrictionists. Never did a DAR member refer to the “illegal alien invasion,” for example. Because this researcher described *agents of threat* as the construction of villains and victims, these are too forceful for an organization such as the DAR, with strong heritage claims rather than strictly political motives.<sup>109</sup> Carly Hazelton, DAR Garden City, Kansas Chapter Regent, insisted both government and individuals were under water. “We’ve gotten overwhelmingly in financial trouble as the government and as individuals. Maybe it is not a value. Surely many people have to juggle and perhaps even manipulate how they do things just to keep their head above water, which affects them and other people as well.” But in a more politically-charged statement, Dixie Roberts was concerned government wanted to take over health care. At the time of this researcher’s DAR interviews, President Obama was constructing his health care plan, which became derisively known as “ObamaCare.” Many DAR members expressed disapproval over what they perceived as a government takeover of health care. Dixie related her concerns:

That really worries me. And the reasons are many; in fact, I had a Chamber of Commerce meeting this morning, and that was one of the issues, how it's [health care] going to affect the business people, and what it's going to do to everything. Doctors, hospitals, it's going

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<sup>109</sup> Of course, this is at the individual level of analysis. As shown in the historical review of DAR, DAR leadership can and do make expressly political statements supporting U.S. hegemony.

to be horrendous if it happens. I do not like what's going on in this country. I do not like that nothing is being done about immigrants.

Nina Mitchell, who stated she tries to avoid politics, expressed similar sentiments. "I think we may be losing our choice. Do we have such a freedom to choose where we want to work, who we want to work for, where you go every day you have to ask, but I think we're losing the government, and I realize they're trying to make it so everyone in the country that a citizen or a nationalized systems have rights, but I think they're trying to, this health care issue is kind of getting me a little bit, I think they're trying to control that a little more." When asked what values were being threatened today, *Leticia Tripp* argued, "I think we are losing so much of the financial status of the United States, and I think that's very dangerous. I do not agree with all of Obama's ideas, some of them have some merit to them, but the majority of them I think he is going overboard." *Stephanie McNally* argued the United States is a nation of immigrants, and told me the story of her husband's grandmother, who arrived to the states as an "illegal" immigrant:

She traveled with an uncle and he said she was his daughter, so I do not know how many times that occurred. If you look at that very strictly, she was an illegal immigrant. She came illegally to this country, her uncle was a naturalized citizen who had come back to visit and she came back with him. She was 20, and he said she was his daughter. She lived here in the States, had a great life, and she was naturalized. She came to get away from a life that was not good for her.

She had a difficult time in answering what rights or privileges illegal immigrants are entitled to in the United States.

I do not know. (sigh) It's a hard one. They're here illegally. I do not know that they're entitled to anything. I think they need to figure out a way to make them legal, you know, when they first come. Make it so they do not have to feel that they have to sneak across the border or come in big trucks or something. . . . I'm not sure that if you are illegal

you're entitled to anything other than being sent back. It becomes a real problem if they have children in this country, I know. . . . I think you need to do things legally.

Sympathy for innocent children of unauthorized noncitizen parents was a common sentiment.

*Stacy Thorne* expressed similar sentiments about more control over the spending of societal resources, but qualified her comments when children were involved:

Personally I do not think we can absorb the woes of the world and take everybody on or we all suffer like California when have a small tax-base and huge welfare population, we cannot do that or we'll all go down. . . . I'm not just for opening the borders, no. Those people that are already here and have children, probably there should be some time period with some movement toward being a taxpaying citizen and contributing to the system. If in a certain number of years that has not been done, (sigh). . . . I do not know what to do when you have children involved.

When Thorne was asked what rights or privileges, if any, “illegal” immigrants are entitled to, she replied, “Well, if you say fair treatment on a one-to-one basis but then that would mean total equalization I guess. I do not think they should have the same benefits of someone who's paid into the system for years and years and in two years have the same benefits. I think it's a matter of not being able to take on the world's poverty, even though that's the reason our families first came for opportunity and a better life, there does become a saturation point. It does sound very cruel and heartless, but you have to be practical.”

In DAR interviews September 11<sup>th</sup> did not come up very often, but *Stephanie McNally* emphasized the United States needs to be careful in unfairly labeling immigrants as terrorists and victimizing them in the process.

You take the good with the bad. I just think you need a way to control it and maybe you regulate it [i.e., immigration]. You cannot say yes to some and no to others I do not think. You cannot say well he can come because you're from this country we do not like this kind. . . . Terrorism been another mix into this, but I think you need to be real careful; you cannot label everybody a terrorist just because they're from Iraq or Iran

Further, *Stephanie McNally* lamented her tax dollars going to support noncitizens, wanting noncitizens to earn money legally and pay their fair share of taxes.<sup>110</sup> *Nina Mitchell* stated how her immigrant relatives sought a better life in the United States, and how it did not happen overnight. “The Irish and the Chinese and it took a long time for people to get halfway organized to make the laws that would benefit everybody. . . . They’re just going to have to control this a lot better, that's paying those taxes.” Further, Mitchell described the presence of low wage, noncitizen labor as a surrogate for American kids who lack a strong work ethic:

My brother-in-law had a cafeteria in Houston and on his kitchen help in his line. I think most of the Spanish help were illegal. I do not think it ever got him into trouble, but I'm sure it was taking away from other kids that need the job, but then you're back to ‘they do not want to do that’ . . . I do not know what happened to the work ethic. Like I said, I would never let my children do something that I have not done.

## **Identities of Privilege**

### ***Dropping the Hyphen***

Carley Hazelton DAR Regent of Garden City, Kansas, is a self-identified white American middle class woman who felt she has always had everything she needed—not having to struggle with coming in and learning a new language and customs. Hazelton stated it was natural for recently arrived immigrants to want to stay within their own groups. “I think that immigrants come in and the logical thing for them is for them to want to be with others who think like them, speak like them, and have the culture that they have. But I feel that if they're going to come here then they need to assimilate, to learn the language, and become a part of American life. I know

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<sup>110</sup> It is not clear DAR members realize noncitizens do in fact pay taxes but cannot claim social security benefits when they reach retirement age. Further, taxes are identified as the primary way to contribute, rather than noncitizens subsidizing low food costs through their laboring in agricultural jobs.

that's difficult. It's got to be really hard.” Regarding citizenship, Hazelton believed it must be earned:

I do not feel that it [citizenship] should just be handed out. I feel that if you come in as an immigrant you have to go through the steps. You have to learn what this country is about, learn the historical things that are part of the citizenship test, speak the language, and those things, take the test, and raise your hand and swear your allegiance is to this country. If you want to fly the flag of your country, fly it in your house. This is America. This is where you live this is where you earn your money. Fly the American flag *outside*. In other words, if you want to speak another language or fly another nation's flag, do it within the privacy of your own home.

A couple of times Hazelton, when asked about those outside of the law, said they were entitled to some rights such as a place to live, and work, and to have a fair trial as they are “human beings.”

When asked traditionally what qualities has the United States looked for in its immigrants, Hazelton responded it has restricted access to those who, “play by the rules, do not cause trouble, are good upstanding people, and can take care of themselves.” In other words, immigrants should not become public charges. Dixie Roberts also argued for assimilation, including learning to speak our language.

I've been to France several times, and the French certainly do not try to understand your English; if you've ever been over there you know that (laughs). I should not expect them to have to be able to interpret my English because they do not. So if I'm going to go to France, and I want to be understood, I need to know French. What I'm saying then is if you're going to come, if you live in Mexico and you speak Spanish, you should learn English because that is our native language.

Dixie emphasized speaking one's native language in a private setting is okay. “You have a family reunion and everybody there is Spanish, have fun and speak Spanish. If you go to school, you should expect to learn English if you want to be an American citizen. . . .” Additionally, DAR members lamented too often America was forced to adjust to newcomers rather than the

other way around. *Stacy Thorne* averred, “I am very opposed to the language thing, we've got to have a common language we seen how it's destroyed Africa.” *Tripp* was aware of the burden non-English speaking children were placing on Texas schools. “We have so many coming from Mexico into Texas, and they go attend school and go across the border. . . . In western Kansas there are so many Mexicans most of the schools now have to teach Spanish for the kids to be successful. But I would like them to learn English too.” Dixie did not believe the U.S. government acted responsibly regarding citizenship and immigration issues. In particular, Dixie was worried about the disrespecting of American symbols:

In fact I just talked to my niece who lives in Whittier California, and she voted for Obama, she was telling me that this morning, and now she is very unhappy with him and disappointed. So many Hispanics, of course, are practically taking over California, and they have their parades, and they dragged the American flag in the street, not just one flag, many of them have flags instead of holding them up on poles and being proud to be an American, they're dragging their flag, and this is just driving her crazy. She's 49 years old. She says, ‘Aunt Dixie, I just do not think I can take any more of this.’

*Stephanie McNally* worried about the balkanization of the United States. “I do not think you can come here and establish your own little Chinese colony, your Vietnamese colony here. I think that defeats the purpose. I think we all need to come together. I can learn a lot of things from listening to people talk about where they came from and what their values are. It’s interesting to meet people from other places.” When she was asked how she feels when people identify themselves as hyphenated American, she stated honored traditions are fine, but they need to assimilate:

I think we’re all Americans. Part of that is part of our problem. . . . They need to be able to keep their identities, but they still are Americans. My family has some traditions that they do, and it is okay to keep those, but I shouldn't be *identified* [emphasis added]) by those traditions. I'm an American, and I think they're that way since maybe the first

generation that come they are Asian American, but I think the next generation and the generation after that tend to become more just Americans. I think they need to assimilate.

When asked why the need for ethnic groups to hyphenate themselves, *Tripp* explained why immigrants may hold onto their culture. “They're still searching for acceptance, and I think a lot of time people come from other countries, and they do like America but they feel like they cannot give up what they had before they came, because of their heritage. And I can understand that.”

### ***DAR Members React to Reconquista***

At the end of interviews, interviewees were shown a short video of various pro-immigrant marches. Based on the video “Scariest Pro-illegal Immigrant Video You'll See All Day,” *Leticia Tripp* thought the video was “wild, [and] a little frightening because we're getting so many immigrants. They're saying we're going to become the minority, but I hate to see that. I would like some of them to come over. I do know that I would like all of them; if they're coming over to our country they need to abide. . . .” When *Stephanie McNally* was asked the motivations behind the video, she responded:

I'm sure frustration and the fact that they were upset because we had built the fences along the borders and we're trying to enforce very strict immigration policies and not let people come freely. . . . They're saying they have the right to be here because this used to be part of their country. I do not know that I agree with that. To me that's part of their radical [agenda], I do not agree with either, and I think there has to be some room in the middle. I think we need to figure out what that is, and that's what we need to work for here. There's always radicalism on either side, I do not listen to either side basically. According to *Stacy Thorne*, “Anytime I hear a militant, and some were less militant than others, it's kind of scary. It bothers me that they encourage people to have children if they cannot support them.” When asked the motivations behind the video, she responded, “Probably national

pride, ethnic pride. It's like I want what you've got kind of thing, and I'm going to take it. It sounds kind of brutal.” When suggested the video was likely produced by organizations which want to hinder unlawful immigration, she responded, "Fear— I'm not sure that that's not natural—the present citizenship is . . . going to be overwhelmed financially.”

## Summary

The most accurate description of DAR participants is libertarian, guaranteeing individual rights and freedoms with a small government that does not overstep its bounds, which was the primary concern regarding Obama’s health care initiatives. Participants believed immigrants who come to the United States must fly its flag, learn the language, and assimilate. Immigrants should contribute to the system rather than burdening it by becoming public charges. Although private expressions of ethnicity are fine, such as speaking Spanish in the home, in public, immigrants must *think* and *act* as Americans.

In contrast to restrictionist data, DAR interviews revealed concerns with the federal government but the interviewees were not as extreme in their comments. Although generally conservative in their thinking, DAR members did not support Tea Party politics that push the Republican Party farther to the right. Members were quick to separate their personal comments from those as DAR as an organization, conscious of not bringing DAR into political disputes. On the question of Mexicans wanting to retake the United States, DAR interviewees were shocked by the video and obviously never considered such radical ideas. They believed if people want to change the system, they need to become citizens and work through the electoral process or, the “slow way,” as Carley Hazelton stated, rather than opting for violent, revolutionary struggle. Divisive politics are anathema to DAR members. Next, RSMs and DAR are explained using sociological theories.

## Chapter 7 - Making Sociological Sense of Border Patriots

During the 2005 Republican administration of George W. Bush, the Minuteman Project launched an assembly on the U.S.–Mexico border. This was surprising as the literature suggests conservative movements were more likely to respond to *threats* rather than *opportunities*. Dietrich argues, for example, if conservative movements respond to opportunities rather than threats, then students of social movements should have observed increased conservative activism during the Reagan years among organizations, not less. What changed between the Reagan Administration and the G.W. Bush administrations? Since the 1920s there were system strains associated with the presence of unauthorized populations, which eventually led to the passage of IRCA in 1986, and the increased criminalization of unauthorized noncitizens during the 1990s. The answer was in the form of a threat, September 11<sup>th</sup>— the spark that resulted in voluntary associations taking action to bring attention to America’s porous southern border. The events of 9/11 posed both *opportunities* and *threats*: a threat because terrorists might breach the border or remain illegally in the United States once their visas expire, an opportunity to increase awareness of border security issues, while increasing the budgets for the Office of Homeland Security (OHS), border patrol agents, and ICE agents.

On the question of what theories best explain RSMs, solidarity/political process and the classical model of social movements both help to explain restrictionist movements. Solidarity and political process models challenge researchers to understand the political, ideological, and cultural contexts of collective action. Restrictionist grassroots, intellectual, and political elements were responsible for making immigration outside of the law a legitimate concern for the right wing. Similar to social conservatism, RSMs included grassroots (e.g., Minuteman Project), intellectual (Victor Davis Hanson, Harvard professor George Borjas, Center for Immigration

Studies, FAIR), and political components (Republican senators and congressmen). Many politicians were re-elected based on the “single-issue” of unauthorized immigration and its effects.

Classical models including “breakdown” theory and mass society theory go far in explaining RSMs after 9/11. Breakdown theory argues when mechanisms of social control “lose their restraining power” the social glue that usually binds people to society disappears and collective outbursts become more likely. The crux of breakdown theory is that these sorts of events occur when the mechanisms of social control (Useem *Breakdown Theories*). This researcher argues that 9/11 was a precipitating factor for the collective 2005 border watches. It was a protest of their government’s inability to control the borders after 9/11, and was performed within the rule of law. Restrictionists stressed the causal role of the federal government failing to enforce immigration laws, which lent a moral justification for their actions on the border.

Restrictionists argued failing to enforce civil violations resulted in criminal violations—routine disorders lead to non-routine ones, including violent outbursts. For example, clandestine entry, arguably a civil offense, results in criminal offenses like fraud and more extreme actions such as the physical harming of U.S. citizens. Bio-physical fears were not exaggerated. Former MCDC leader and retired Sheriff Ed Hayes maintains a website of U.S. citizens who were molested, raped, or even killed by noncitizens—over 637 victims. Critics might argue these are small numbers in proportion to the unauthorized noncitizen population. Nonetheless, from an anti-“illegal” perspective, victims reflected the federal government’s failure to enforce current immigration laws. Further, Samuel Huntington’s argument that immigrants of today differ drastically from immigrants of the past regarding rates of assimilation, particularly English language acquisition, fit squarely within the breakdown tradition: non-routine collective action

erupts when a mechanism of integration, a cultural core, is weakened (Useem, *Breakdown Theories* 234).

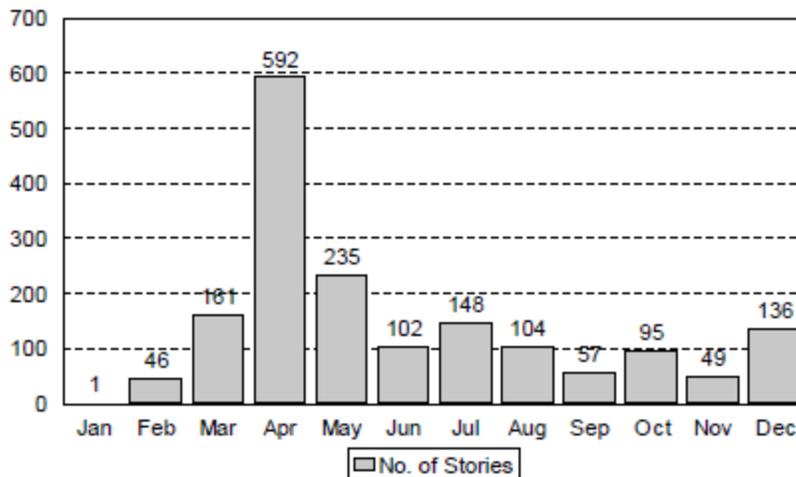
Mass society theories explain the success of RSMs, but for different reasons normally applied to the theory. Recall mass society theories, in the tradition of Emile Durkheim, focus on alienated individuals—the system has grown too impersonal for them, making them feel disconnected and atomized. But if mass society theory changes its focus from alienated individuals to mass audiences, its explanatory power increases. According to Gusfield, “The conception of the mass audience as the observers of the monitoring of movements underlines the view taken here of social movements as theater” (*Reflexivity of Social Movements*: 73). The 2005 border watch was successful as a media event, as political theater. It was able to reach a mass audience, beyond face-to-face interaction. Through media exposure, RSMs were successful in their framing of the noncitizen debate, engaging ordinary Americans on rule of law violations beyond narrow class, race, and gender identifications. Finally, the concept of the mass audience is more appropriate for fluid social movements such as “hippie” movements seeking changes in meaning, rather than movements seeking institutional change (e.g., labor).

### **Restrictionist Social Movements as Political Theater**

The Minuteman Project, in conjunction with intense media coverage, displayed both autonomy and agency through the border assembly. They promptly shut down a portion of the U.S.–Mexico border and shamed the federal government in the process. According to Eastman, RSMs challenged federal authority and shaped public sentiment as they grew tired of “government inaction,” realizing they needed to “take matters into their own hands” for anything to change. Movements do not have to involve large numbers of people if it can get media exposure, which is particularly important in the early stages of mobilization as movements

compete with others in the social problems marketplace. Although turnout was low and reports indicated volunteers were outnumbered by local, regional, and national media, the goal of the campaign was a tremendous success in getting their message out to local and national media markets. The Minuteman Project was described in one instance, according to Eastman, as a "National coming out party, less an effort to capture Mexicans crossing the border than to capture air time on cable news channels" (163). Eastman found support for mass media helping to build an "imagined community" of individuals concerned with protecting U.S. borders and enforcing the rule of law. Media played an important role in stimulating a sense of community and stoked homogeneity among RSMs, helping to create solidarities. An MCDC volunteer averred, "I'm in contact with brothers and sisters all over the country, and we will return to the border to serve together again this year" (Eastman 235). When individuals consume media messages from many identical sources it builds solidarity, reinforcing the idea that the specific civic organization functions as an imagined community. Bolstering the idea media augments the strength of imagined communities, she found volunteers from each organization shared at least one media source in common with fellow members (e.g., Fox News, CNN, Lou Dobbs, Glenn Beck). Eastman contrasted two organizing principles that shape rightists versus pro-immigrant/social justice organizations; the former view noncitizens *as* a risk, while the latter view them *at* risk; those viewing them as a risk focus more on enforcement, while those viewing noncitizens at risk view the issue through a social justice and religious perspective. "No human being is illegal" is a declaration of social justice for noncitizens.

**Newspaper Stories on the Minuteman Project  
January to December 2005**



Source: America's Newspapers Online Database

**Figure 7.1 Minuteman Project Media Exposure**

Although there was certainly an organizational infrastructure associated with the 2005 border assembly, it was largely a “spectacle,” designed more to grab immediate media attention rather than built for the long term. Certainly, RSMs did not think a permanent presence of patriotic citizens on the border was feasible. Successful movements, according to DeLuca, take advantage of the power of mass media in staging “image events” which are designed to attract media attention and hope that wider audience will be reached. He argues these rhetorical events *are* the movement rather than being representative of the movement (Justus 38). This brings up an interesting question related to social movement literature. Can a social movement be reduced to an “image events” or even a “moment”? Of course, research mobilization and political process theorists who would balk at this characterization, but there is evidence from MCDC and Minuteman Project activities this was the case—an “image event” designed to garner media attention for their cause. Gilchrist provided evidence of the spectacle:

By golly I'm going to do it. I'm going to bring national awareness to this issue. I'm going to create the *biggest dog and pony show* [emphasis added] about this issue ever. And I'm going to suck the media in, and by golly we did it (laughter). We had 1200 volunteers show up for the month, not on the same day but over a 30-day period and it did exactly what I wanted to do, maybe 1000-fold, and I was shocked.

Despite their reactionary agenda, Justus argues, the Minutemen seem to fit well within DeLuca's image-based movement category. Several people in leadership positions Justus interviewed seemed very aware of creating a "positive" media presence through strategic events. According to Justus, "In many ways border watches I participated in were simply image events. Actual photography is critically important to what Minutemen are trying to accomplish." Studying nonverbal symbolic events, what DeLuca calls "mind bombs," which do not necessarily require organization, extensive planning, or framing, are worthy of future analysis. Nevertheless, this researcher argues it was not only an image event.

The mass media do not only structure the successful framing of issues; they also influence language use and political consciousness. Revolving around symbolic elements, this area cannot be fully controlled by authorities. To be sure, those in position of power can influence media messaging, and thus influence the direction of social problems and social movements, but they cannot change them on their own or ensure their interpretations will become primary and resonate within the larger cultural. Gamson illustrates the importance of Images as part of the larger social context. "The production of images rather than information or argumentation is worth emphasizing because this more subtle form of meaning construction is at the heart of measuring cultural impact. . . . But the distinction between images and factual information can be overdrawn: *facts* [emphasis added] as much as images take on their meaning by being embedded in some larger system of meaning or frame" (*Social Movements and Cultural Change* 105). Further, if images are to be connected with political consciousness, they must

have an emotional impact; Gamson calls this a “hot cognition” (*Talking Politics* 7-9). Restrictionists frame their arguments with images that aroused moral indignation, portraying noncitizens as “nightmare citizens” who create fiscal costs, fly foreign flags, and do not wish to assimilate into American society. Without the context provided by the terror attacks of 9/11, RSMs would have lacked the emotional punch necessary to connect with images of unrestrained immigration. Additionally, these injustice frames were connected with identity frames in helping to define the collective “we” and “illegals” and their supporters the opposing “they.” In this way, injustices were concretized with villains and victims made less abstract. Successful injustice frames directly challenged authorities to take action to curb unlawful immigration.

### ***Border Patriots: Americans as Collective Victims***

The similarities between New Racist White (NRW) movements and RSMs, particularly in regards to grievances and “victim contests” were apparent. Lou Dobbs aired many new grievances during his broadcasts; the open borders lobby was seen as working against the rule of law and the will of the American people, and the idea U.S. interests were in the hands of a foreign elite, in particular, Mexican president Vicente Fox, inspired outrage. Further, the charge that then Presidential Candidate Senator Barack Obama (D-IL) was “pandering” to socio-ethnic interests for votes, and attacks on current President Obama (2008) apologizing for U.S. actions abroad cemented Americans as victims—portrayals of the federal government out-of-step with the U.S. electorate. In a follow-up interview with former Minuteman Ed Hayes, he reiterated how the actions of U.S. politicians run counter to the will of the American people. “Anybody like me is on Napolitano's list, homeland security; they say we’re against the government, bullshit. . . . What they want is a one-world government. When Bush Senior said ‘New World Order,’ that’s when I started waking up.” Dobbs’s characterizations of the “open borders lobby”

and "socio-ethnic interest groups" were similar to the 1920s Klan that disparaged urban-based patronage and machine politics as "un-American," designed to increase things American while demeaning things foreign. Label Lou Dobbs a nativist or racist, and he simply reverses the charges, labeling you a special interest group, which rejects the rule of law and exposes the country to danger. Dobbs sought to create "new grievances," including attacks on corporations that put profits before the good of the nation and the American people, and socio-ethnic interest groups that place group rights and interests above the interest of the nation.

Dobbs rebutted arguments that argued unauthorized immigration was about race and America was exclusionary:

This is the most racially-diverse society on this planet. We bring in more than two million people legally to this country every year. More than the rest of the world permits in immigration combined and yet these people these open borders, amnesty advocates from the left in particular, these radicals are trying now to turn this debate into something extraordinarily ugly, and they are succeeding because they are putting every ounce into it.<sup>111</sup>

For their part, pro-immigrant politicians accused ICE of being heavy handed and framed their actions as "Nazi Germany's Gestapo" and Dobbs's rhetoric as incendiary; yet Dobbs again reversed the charges. "Now these groups have accused Lou of lowering the level of the debate on illegal immigration, but in point of fact, they are the ones using hate speech to cloud the issue."<sup>112</sup> Pro-immigrant politicians attempted frame extension, linking the problems of noncitizens with those of Black Americans during the civil rights movement, but Dobbs rejected such linkages. Dobbs criticized the framing of noncitizen issues with Civil Rights Movement contending that "the illegal alien lobby is co-opting the legacies of Martin Luther King, Jr. and

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<sup>111</sup> LDT 27 Feb 2008

<sup>112</sup> LDT 13 June 2008

Rosa Parks, incredibly comparing the civil disobedience of those Americans to the millions of illegal aliens who are breaking American law and living in this country illegally.”<sup>113</sup> In other words, civil disobedience is reserved for citizens (even second-class ones) rather than unlawful individuals, controlling the possible outcomes of the merger of social justice for unauthorized noncitizens with civil rights for citizens.

If one wants to change the system, Dobbs emphasized, then one must be a U.S. citizen. If one is a U.S. citizen, then one ought to place national interest and the rule of law above special interests—including ethnic ones—drop one’s hyphen and assimilate. What this researcher considers to be “new” in relation to nativism was challenging the private sphere with regards to putting corporate profits before the interests of the nation, particularly in the context of a post-September 11<sup>th</sup> world. Entities within the private sphere, including the American Hotel and Lodging Association, were seen as villains because they pushed for President Bush's 2006 guest worker program, increasing their potential source for cheap labor and higher profits, while American workers who see wages fall were those RSMs framed as victims.<sup>114</sup>

Whites are victimized in subtle ways as well. They have to adjust in subtle ways when alternatives to English in the private sphere are offered, as more corporations market to emerging ethnic groups. The necessity of adjusting to these many small nuisances, (e.g., pushing numbers for the English language on phones or ATM machines) breaks up common taken-for-granted routines within the United States. This researcher defines these as *weak versions of multiculturalism*, part of the “multicultural agenda,” chipping away at the social order.

According to Michael K. Brown et. al, “Like fish in water, whites swim in a normative sea of white supremacy that becomes apparent only when it is weakened or they are removed. Like fish

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<sup>113</sup> LDT 24 Oct 2006

<sup>114</sup> LDT 18 Jan 2006

out of water, Whites gasp with outrage when asked to make meaningful concessions toward ending profound racial inequality.”

At issue regarding the debate on immigration outside of the law, RSMs espousing love of nation becomes the normative equivalent to love of ethnicity. Regarding Berbrier’s studies applied to RSMs, restrictionists understand the cultural milieu is one of tolerance, so they work within these spaces. Failing to be tolerant of diversity can bring about charges of being nativist, xenophobe, or even racist. According to Gilchrist and Corsi, “On October 1, 2004, Jim Gilchrist launched a six-month, *multiethnic*[emphasis mine] recruiting program inviting Americans from all 50 states to Cochise County in southeastern Arizona to defend that state against an overwhelming siege by drug-and human-trafficking cartels” (4). In other words, even restrictionists adjusted to the context multiculturalism and diversity to become mainstream and draw more adherents to their cause. This newly discovered tolerance was used by RSMs against pro-immigrant individuals and their allies, charging that while America is tolerant of immigrants, even “illegal” ones, pro-immigrant individuals and their allies fail to respect the rule of law and free speech.<sup>115</sup> Lou Dobbs and RSMs contended the open-borders lobby and socio-ethnocentric organizations silenced the debate on immigration outside of the law, privileging the special interests of racial/ethnic groups above those of the nation-state; consequently, restrictionists frame themselves, and the American people, as victims (Berbrier *Half the Battle* 439). Although minority group member are allowed to take pride in their respective ethnicities, Americans are not allowed to take pride in being American. Yet Americans are discouraged from taking pride in their American culture, Herrera argues, without fear of being called “racists.” Minuteman Raymond Herrera was upset that a person of color would be able to go to Harvard “simply

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<sup>115</sup> For example, many restrictionists argue America treat Mexican “illegals” much better than the Mexican government treats Guatemalan “illegals.”

because she's a minority” when their test scores are lower than someone perceived to be white. Herrera maintained Americans needed affirmative-action because in relation to the world population, Americans represent a small minority. By privileging minorities, affirmative action programs victimized whites.

Finally, there was the subplot of Mexicans who wanted to reclaim lands stolen from them, with the cooperation of the open-borders lobby and socio-ethnic interest groups. Recall the work of Lipsett and Raab who argued that a "conspiracy theory's first distinctive element is comprehensive in nature; it extends in space and is international in scope: it extends in time: it stretches back in history and promises to stretch ahead interminably” (14). As political tools, conspiracy theories are effective if they can link abstract elements with a specific population. Further, targeting political leaders and leaders of organizations make conspiracy theories non-abstract and concrete. Conspiracy theories were *borrowed* regarding nativism. In other words, these are your “enemies” and worthy of nativist condemnation for exposing your nation to danger. Further, the conspiracy was total in scope involving both left-wing (e.g., La Raza, ACLU) and traditional conservative and/or right-wing interests (e.g., big business, Chamber of Commerce). This squares with notions of Aztlan, stretching back to pre-Columbian days all the way up to the present, with Mexican schoolchildren socialized into the conspiracy theory, and all of it sanctioned by Mexican government, open borders lobby, and socio-ethnic interest groups. What is the goal of the Aztlan movement? To reclaim the border states of California, Texas, Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico lost to the United States after 1848. This researcher identifies this phenomenon as a *strong version of multiculturalism*. Open borders and expanded rights for “illegal aliens” were linked to this idea. For instance, Dobbs related how billboards

declared Los Angeles to be a part of Mexico, not California.<sup>116</sup> At many demonstrations during 2006, protesters comprised of both “illegal aliens” and “open border advocates” were seen waving Mexican flags during demonstrations on American soil.<sup>117</sup> The real fear among Whites is the “browning of America,” demographic changes occurring across the United States concerning the growth of Latino populations. Next, we explain DAR through sociological perspectives.

### **Making Sociological Sense of DAR**

While it is true few opportunities exist both for poor whites in Appalachia and poor Blacks in Harlem, race is still an important variable to consider. Feagin argues there is a white racial frame that includes racialized stereotypes, narratives, images, emotions, and discriminatory inclinations. The English word "American" is routinely, if unconsciously, used to mean "white Americans." Terms such as the "American dream" and "American culture" are typically used to refer primarily to the values, ideals, and preferences of whites (10-17). According to Feagin “America” is often code for white; DAR members who were interviewed operate within white racial frames. Developed alongside white racial framings, was a “white-crafted liberty-and-justice frame.” This frame was developed by America’s Founding Fathers in response to subjugation by the British Crown, and ironically, developed within the institution of slavery. Notable contradictions of the white racial frame and the liberty-and-justice frame include the collective remembering of Abraham Lincoln as the great emancipator, yet lamentation about the ending of the minstrel shows. Patrick Henry arguably was collectively remembered for proclaiming “give me liberty or give me death,” rather than passing away with slaves at his employ. Finally, John Locke was collectively remembered for his treatise on “life and liberty”

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<sup>116</sup> LDT 30 March 2006

<sup>117</sup> LDT 1 April 2006

rather than for being an investor who personally profited through dealings with the Royal Africa Company, a slave trading company (*White Racial Frame* 156). With nationalism comes collective remembering and collective forgetting. “In the words of Benedict Anderson,” Glassberg writes, “a shared history—elements of the past remembered in common as well as elements forgotten in common—is a crucial element in the construction of an “imagined community” through which disparate individuals or groups envision themselves as members of a collective with a common present and future” (11-12). Chapter Five examined the Marian Anderson incident. At issue is the tightrope DAR has navigated between white racial frames and liberty-and-justice frames, the latter clearly trumpeted by DAR. It was ironic an organization seemingly based on American principles of freedom, equality, and fairness violated these same principles. Next, we turn to how the white racial frame distorts and sanitizes history, controlling possible counter-frames in the process.

### ***DARs “Little Green Book” and the White Washing of History***

The original DAR citizenship manual called the “little green book” offered immigrants practical aid in their own language and was a primer for an American patriotic education. The contents of the 1921 booklet indicated the authors wanted immigrants to drop their hyphens and assimilate:

Combined [little green book] practicality with idealism, helpful hints with a dash of early American history and ‘message to the immigrant’ which can stir the blood of any American. America expects that those who come here shall accept its institutions, obey its laws, and be peaceful, honest, industrious naturalized citizens [i.e., assimilate]. America expects them to respect and defend the flag that protects them; to love, honor and pay loyalty to country that gives us peace, happiness and prosperity; make themselves worthy to receive the great gift of American citizenship; to become true Americans in heart and soul. (Strayer 63)

Since the 1920s DAR chapters throughout the United States and internationally have distributed between 9 and 12 million copies of the DAR citizenship manual, appearing in as many as 18 languages. Medlicott argues the socialization process was reciprocal. “Patriotic education chairman [Connecticut DAR] noted that the little green book was as useful a guide for Americans as it was for the needs of the foreign-born. The Daughters were beginning to manifest the belief that the process of assimilation was not the burden of immigrants alone, but that the ‘old stock’ bore equal or even greater responsibility” (*Constructing Territory* 108). In other words, both native stock and immigrants influenced each other, which is quite a contrast from the “pure Americanism” KKK-style of the same period which rejected the give-and-take of interethnic relations leading to assimilation. The Daughters at least saw a vision of the future with immigrants in it, and beyond narrow, binary *at risk* (i.e., needing assistance) vs. *as risk* (i.e., perceived threat) thinking. One Daughter defended immigrants, suggesting they might learn something from immigrants. “Have sympathy with these people, look at the poetry of their adventure, remember they've not been born to American ways and that very, very often they may shame Native Americans [i.e., whites] with their idealistic view of this nation” (Medlicott *Constructing Territory* 112). To be sure DAR was also paternalistic in its treatment of immigrants. Here is text from the DAR President-General speaking at the 1915 Continental Congress held in Washington, DC to honor the work done by Connecticut DAR in educating immigrants. “This [immigrant] work will prove to be a cornerstone of intelligent understanding to multitudes of foreigners who are flocking to these shores totally ignorant of worthy citizenship—which, hereafter, will be no hyphenated citizenship—it will be American or nothing” (*Constructing Territory* 108-9). In other words, DAR elite’s model was pure assimilation into Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture, and a rejection of pluralism.

Having analyzed the manual, this researcher was impressed by the coverage, if not the depth. It gives only a cursory understanding of history, created for a sixth-grade level of education in the United States. The grand omission is the genocide of Native Americans, who are seen as an obstacle to overcome for European immigrants, rather than an integral part of the nation's history. In "Growth of Democracy in the Post-Revolutionary Period," Native Americans are depicted as inconvenient obstacles to progress:

As early settlers arrived and displaced Native Americans, these native peoples moved westward adapting their cultures to the new geographic features. Later settlers were faced with establishing their land rights with cultures that did not recognize that land could and should be owned [i.e., impediments to growth]. The inevitable conflicts led to a series of Indian wars with various tribes during the 19th century.

The passage lists the various Native American tribes including the Apache, Cherokee, Colorado, and Sioux, "just to name a few." It ends by remarking that "other tribes lived peaceably with the settlers." The "history," then, presents a sanitized version of U.S. history, one more suitable for Disneyland than critical history, a McDonaldized version of U.S. citizenship: efficient, predictable, and inevitable.

The American flag is given more in-depth coverage than Native Americans or African Americans; the flag covers two and a half pages, while Native Americans get only a paragraph; sacred symbols are given more attention than people on the wrong end of nation building. Further, the Civil War dead are enumerated (600,000) by the manual, but the deaths of millions of Native Americans due to warfare and disease are omitted. African Americans are discussed twice, once regarding the slavery issue leading to the Civil War and again (somewhat surprisingly) during the discord of the 1960s. The manual mentions how the Founding Fathers could not reach consensus on the slavery issue, and how some considered the practice immoral. Collectively forgotten is the slave trade and the millions of Africans who perished on slave ships;

there is no mention of the Founding Fathers owning slaves themselves, such as Thomas Jefferson who considered the practice immoral, or Thomas Paine, as stated earlier, who at the time of his death had slaves at his employ. And toward the end of the manual, the oath of American citizenship is shown followed by this DAR addendum:

If you take this oath in true faith, you are a true citizen United States of America. You're not an anti-American. You're not a Spanish-American. You're not a German-American, or any other kind of a hyphenated American. YOU ARE AN AMERICAN. There is no prouder title than "citizen of the United States of America." It is now yours. YOU ARE AN AMERICAN.

There was no room for dual citizenship: think and act like an American, learn English, and assimilate. In the words of Theodore Roosevelt: "If you wanted to keep one foot in your country, then keep both there" (Buchanan 72).

### ***DAR: Hard Core Feminists Need Not Apply***

*Stacy Thorne* of DAR Manhattan, Kansas explained the relationship between DAR and other women's groups, spelling out the differences between DAR and other women's groups, in particular, the League of Women Voters. "This sounds bad but because they are very liberal and immediately take a liberal stance without examining things, and I know some of the people and their (laughter) . . . although examination is most of their forte, I feel that it's predestined how they're going to do something. And that's my bias." The League of Women Voters and DAR, then, appear to be alternatives to one another, and it is unlikely that someone would be in both organizations simultaneously. Metzger explained how DAR was different from other women's groups. "For us there is an element centered on the fact that they are women, we do some sort of presentation of women's issues like breast cancer things like that, it's never felt to me exclusively like I was just hanging out with women. So I do not know." Although general health issues

related to women are legitimate topics examined within DAR, any speaker with hopes of eliciting support from DAR on some political topic of concern related to women, such as related to the abortion debate or legislation reducing gender inequality, are advised to look elsewhere. Although political topics were outside the purview of DAR meetings and events, this does not mean individual DAR members were apolitical. For instance, Dixie Roberts weighed in on the abortion and gun control debate:

I have a broader view on most issues than most conservatives. Take the hot button issue of abortion. I believe in a woman's right to choose, that's not saying I believe in abortion, that's saying I believe every woman has that right. . . . I do not believe that everyone has the right to bear arms. There are people that aren't responsible enough to do that, and that's my belief.

The difference between private and public expressions of what it means to be American, and the context in which either was seen as legitimate. The next chapter concludes the dissertation by critiquing restrictionist arguments.

## **Chapter 8 - Conclusion**

This dissertation examined how contemporary restrictionist groups in the United States framed their opposition to immigration and naturalization. It found representatives and members of restrictionist groups moved away from framing anti-immigration views in racial terms, and instead argued immigrants should not be allowed to enter the country or naturalize because they presented cultural, economic, and national security threats. This new anti-immigrant focus had several components. First, the new restrictionists distanced themselves from the racial views of their nativist predecessors. Second, they argued immigrants should not be allowed to enter the country or naturalize because they entered the country illegally, which made them unfit to live here as residents or citizens. Third, they came here to obtain free public benefits rather than to work, which made them a burden to taxpayers and the community. Fourth, they have not tried to assimilate into American culture but instead kept themselves apart from the mainstream and have sought special privileges for themselves in autonomous cultural enclaves. Fifth, they presented security risks as long as borders were left unprotected. Before critiquing restriction claims further, this researcher explains the significance of the DAR to this study.

### **DAR and White Racial Frames**

This dissertation interviewed members of the DAR, in part to assess moderate restrictionist views. Many restrictionist groups were dominated by men, while the DAR is an organization made up of women. Yet rather than gender as a variables, the central finding in this dissertation suggests that restrictionist political attitudes are more extreme than DAR members. Dixie Roberts, for example, was not interested in joining Tea party movement. The DAR's refusal to let Marianne Anderson sing at Liberty Hall stigmatized the DAR as a racist organization. *Stacy Thorne*, a rank-and file member of the Polly Ogden chapter lamented, “[the]

Marian Anderson incident was a terrible blow to DAR.” In an interview with Barbara Truesdale, she acknowledged the incident compromised the DAR’s liberty-and-justice framing:

DAR stood for American principles, they wanted to be the symbols of American principles, and when they didn’t let her sing at that hall, the fact that D.C. was a segregated city, the country was segregated, Jim Crow was all throughout the south, suddenly brought into focus that here is this organization that represents who we are, or claims to, and suddenly they made raw and apparent the hypocrisy and the racism of America (laughs). . . . They wanted to be the symbol of American principles; suddenly there it was in stark terms. . . . Ultimately I’m glad it was brought to national attention.

At the organizational level, the Marianne Anderson incident demonstrated white-racial frames and ascriptive hierarchies trumped American principles of freedom, justice, and equality.

Additionally, the DAR sought to restrict non-northern and western European immigrants while promoting “Simon-Pure” poor Appalachian whites. Moreover, groups like the DAR, found it difficult to distance themselves from racialized views because they had an institutional legacy of racism.

The Marianne Anderson incident, unfortunately, was not the only racist incident within the DAR. On 12 February 1957, the AGIF made up primarily of Mexican-American veterans, got into a skirmish with the DAR. A Colorado correctional institute for boys scheduled a Lincoln Day celebration sponsored by the DAR, with the usual patriotic displays including waving flags and speeches. A local DAR chairwoman, however, voiced concern over the large number of "Mexicans" assigned to several tasks. "They're Mexican boys, not American boys," she was heard to complain. Later the DAR officer commented she would not have permitted a Mexican to carry an American flag in such a gathering (Ramos 78). She presumed most of the Mexican boys were not born in United States but from parents "who came from Mexico.” Senator Dennis Chavez (D-NM) an ally of the AGIF responded caustically in a letter to Colorado DAR officials

that “576 ‘Mexicans’ were among those carrying the American flag at Bataan in World War II. What makes you think they can’t carry it just as proudly in Colorado?” (Ramos 79). This incident symbolized the connection between white privilege, the social construction of a distinctively “American” status, and the second-class citizenship of Mexican Americans. It was easier for men in the Minutemen and other organizations to distance themselves from racist views of immigrants in part because they belonged to newer organizations that did not have this kind of institutional legacy. Both men and women in restrictionist movements complained contemporary immigrants did not want to assimilate. But the women in the DAR argued they could and should be persuaded to do so. Susan Metzger, a DAR Regent explains the DAR’s involvement with citizenship for immigrants:

We [DAR] have a committee called the Americanism committee. Through that committee you can volunteer through naturalization courts or identify people in your community that are interested in gaining citizenship, work with them to find schools for English as a second language, help them get assimilated into the community, finding churches and things like that. Help them study for their exam if they're interested in becoming a citizen. Some chapters have parties at the naturalization court after the ceremony. . . . Each year DAR provides a Medal of Honor, somebody who was not a natural born citizen but became naturalized as a citizen, and since they became a citizen have done something exemplary for leadership, nationalism, or patriotism.

The DAR developed projects and educational materials to promote citizenship and assimilation.

### ***Removing Race from the Anti-immigrant Agenda***

It was clear from interviews the new restrictionists worked hard to distance themselves from the racist views of anti-immigrant groups like the Ku Klux Klan. For example, Minutemen leader Jim Gilchrist distanced the Minuteman Project from past nativists. “Left-wing and pro-amnesty groups have falsely proclaimed that we are racists and vigilantes—even members of the

Ku Klux Klan! Nothing could be further from the truth.” Gilchrist denied that the Minutemen held racist views, like the Klan, and insisted that they opposed immigrants not because they belonged to different racial groups but because they came here illegally, and therefore had different values. Although both “old” and “new” nativists used reactionary politics, the old nativists might be characterized as *prejudiced discriminators*, while the new nativists might be described as *non-prejudiced discriminators*—anyone can come to the United States so long as they do so lawfully.

Legal immigration has long been associated with whiteness. Of the immigrant quotas portioned out prior to 1965, 85 percent favored northern and western Europeans (Chacon and Davis 189). European whites, first northern and Western Europeans and then later eastern and southern Europeans, were able to upgrade their citizenship status, and slowly assimilate into the dominant culture (e.g., white ethnics such as Italians, Jews, and Greeks). Restrictionists insisted America was “colorblind,” and race does not matter—by denying race as a variable, American remains symbolically white—even in the face of changing demographics. “I believe whether you are brown, red, or white, black or otherwise, former American Patriots Coalition leader Albert Garza explained, “if you have the American concept, then you're an American.” “Just because I'm Hispanic doesn't mean I'm going to allow complete strangers trampling over property, vandalizing people's homes and ranches,” Garza said. Ten percent of the Minutemen's 8,000 members are Hispanic, he emphasized. “This has nothing to do with race,” said Garza, who was born in Raymondville in South Texas. “Anyone that has any racial agenda is not wanted in our group.”<sup>118</sup> What matters, Garza says, is enforcing the law and getting control of the border.

Denying the importance of racial characteristics also leads to omissions of past discriminatory

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<sup>118</sup> Garza, Cynthia L. “The Immigration Debate; Some U.S.-born Latinos Take Dim View of Protests; One Hispanic Minuteman Says It's a Matter of Law, Not a Race Issue.” *The Houston Chronicle* 28 April 2006

treatment. America is no longer exclusively white regarding its immigration policies, therefore discriminatory treatment is no longer an issue. Moreover, having a few token minorities within the restrictionists is an effective strategy to mitigate charges of racism.

### ***Immigrants as Freeloaders***

Compared with the “old” restrictionists, the “new” restrictionists characterized unauthorized noncitizens as freeloaders and conflated them with welfare cheats, a term historically used to disparage African Americans. The new restrictionists argued immigrants seek to obtain free public services and benefits, which makes them a burden on taxpayers. Unlike their immigrant predecessors, who came here to work hard, the new immigrants freeload, making them unfit for citizenship. “If you take away the public and the social services, former Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) and American Patriots Coalition interviewee Albert Garza declared, “the welfare and the freebies, this dilemma would go away all by itself.” Furthermore, Garza insisted the rule of law was not being enforced. “We're in a situation where we're being invaded and instead of figuring out a way to stop it there giving freebies, their amnestying people.” That unauthorized noncitizens produce a drain on public services and social safety nets burdening U.S. taxpayers is inaccurate. Some studies show immigrants contribute more in taxes than they receive in benefits. Although noncitizens do generate fiscal costs through the use of services (e.g., fire and police), infrastructure (e.g., roads and bridges), emergency services including hospital stabilization care, and K-12 public education, they also contribute to government revenue through income, payroll, property, and sales taxes (Hanson *Economics and Policy* 10). According to a *Time* article, unauthorized noncitizens have contributed a cumulative total of \$463 billion in payments to Social Security.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, noncitizens do not use services

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<sup>119</sup> Takeuchi et. al, “What It Means for Your Wallet.” *Time* 10 April 2006

at the same rates of the native-born. A March 2006 study published in the *LA Times* found that “only 15 percent of those who end up in California emergency rooms are uninsured.”<sup>120</sup>

### ***Immigrants Refusal to Assimilate***

The new restrictionists argued immigrants have not tried to assimilate but instead sought special privileges allowing them to maintain separate cultural identities and ethnic enclaves. Restrictionists complained, for instance, that banks and other institutions provide Spanish language instruction for ATMs and other services, which enables immigrants to resist learning English and assimilating. Minuteman Project interviewees Robin Hvidston and Raymond Herrera wanted to Wells Fargo bank to remove other than English signs and materials. “We’re working on a campaign with Wells Fargo in Hesperia California,” Hvidston emphasized, “which put some signs up in Spanish . . . . We would like to see those Spanish signs replaced with English signs, so that’s a Corporation were working with.” Hvidston was in contact with Home Depot concerning day laborers that “trespass” onto private property. Although petty nuisances for English speaking citizens, they are viewed as undermining the social order. Restrictionists focus on these because they represent a kind of “broken windows” theory of change—if immigrants are allowed to get away with petty forms of resistance to assimilation, eventually they will demand more serious accommodations from private and public institutions. By catering to these “foreign” elements, the state will, in effect, promote anti-assimilationist cultures and ethnic enclaves across the United States. Essentially they are portrayed as people with little regard for observing the law, who seek to take advantage of social services and refuse to embrace American values.

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<sup>120</sup> Domestic violence is the number one health concern for women. This is a particular concern for noncitizens women who, because of fears of deportation, fear calling the police, effectively keeping them “in the shadows” and suffering in silence.

The primary marker of assimilation is language acquisition of the host culture. Children of Mexican immigrant parents do not “hold onto their language,” as restrictionists claim. Although first-generation Mexican immigrants remain primarily Spanish speaking, only four percent of the second generation speak Spanish as their main language (and 96 percent use English), and zero percent in the third generation use Spanish as their primary language (Chacon and Davis 169). Nor is it accurate to say Latinos want to re-conquer America and establish Aztlan. As AGIF member Vietnam veteran (1971–1972) Michael Garcia explained:

It wasn't that we [Mexican Americans] wanted to takeover; it's that we wanted to be included. We didn't create the *politics of exclusion* [emphasis added]. People don't realize the reason why our groups were started [e.g., LULAC and AGIF]. We weren't included in the Rotary; we weren't included in the Lions . . . . We weren't developing our leaders. . . . We had to create our own groups.

### ***9/11 and Security Threats***

The new restrictionists also tried to link “illegal immigration” to terrorism after 9/11. But this argument has become less salient, in part because most of the incidents of terrorism in the United States have been conducted by domestic citizens and “legal” immigrants from other countries, like the Boston Marathon bombers, not by “illegal immigrants” from Mexico and Central America. Although the new restrictionists argued “illegal” immigrants should be denied permission to stay or naturalize before 9/11, this argument garnered widespread public support after 9/11, as restrictionists linked illegal immigration to terrorism. Like the “old” restrictionists who framed immigrants as a subversive, communist threat, the “new” restrictionists treated unauthorized noncitizens as a terrorist threat. Jim Gilchrist on Dobbs's program emphasized the terrorist threat due to open borders. “Lou, there's no 100 percent ironclad insurance that you can stop anyone from doing whatever they want, I give you September Eleventh.. There's nothing we

probably could have done to stop that except not to have porous borders.”<sup>121</sup> “The truth is that hard-working immigrants are not the only people snaking their way across the border under cover of night,” Gilchrist opined, “Criminals and terrorists cross the border right along with them” (Gilchrist and Corsi 4). Other restrictionists made the same argument. Former Congressman Tom Tancredo (R-CO) warned his listeners, “They [illegal immigrants] are coming here to kill you, and you, and me, and my grandchildren” (Critchlow, *Conservative Ascendancy* 292–93). Nevertheless, they failed to identify growing internal enforcement within the United States, which was problematic from a civil liberties perspective. Soon after 9/11 in June 2002, a program called the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS) tracked Muslim noncitizens; almost 300,000 Muslims were registered through fingerprints, photographing, and questioning; this religious profiling netted no “terror-related convictions” (Koulish *Subverting Rule of Law* 82-83). Other programs included US-VISIT, designed to track the holders of short-term visas, as well as Real I.D., designed to verify immigration status through employment. Right-wingers who consistently disparage the ability of the federal government to manage, for example, guest worker or health care programs, do not have the same level of concern when it comes to security initiatives and tracking programs with serious civil liberty implications. Member of Congress Mike Pence (R-IN) was skeptical that the federal government could implement a guest worker program because “we certainly do not want to look to a failed government bureaucracy to manage this new guest worker program, or, quite frankly, it will fail as much as the bureaucracy failed us last time.” When it comes to security concerns, there is often less debate whether or not the government bureaucracy can perform its functions adequately.

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<sup>121</sup> LDT 21 March 2005

## **Problems With Restrictionist Frames**

In the period after 9/11, many Americans and politicians adopted or endorsed the anti-immigration arguments advanced by the new restrictionists. But that may be changing. Some of these arguments have become less salient. Although the new restrictionists have distanced themselves from racialized views of immigrants, they have not managed to persuade people, particularly minorities, they have abandoned them completely. Because restrictionists organized border patrols on the U.S.–Mexico border to prevent Mexicans and other Latin Americans from crossing the border, rather than organizing protests on the Canadian border, this suggests they still viewed immigration in racial-ethnic terms. Army reservist Art Ballandran from the AGIF, who served in the army for over thirty years, expressed his views concerning the unfair focus on the southern border. “They’re concentrating on the Mexicans from Mexico and not from the other sides. A lot of them would come over to Canada and then come down, and it was a proven fact that they were coming back in illegally that way, but nobody says anything about that; they’re all concentrating on building a wall along the Rio Grande River.” Some restrictionists interviewed in this dissertation wondered why they had not drawn African Americans or Hispanics to their cause in light of the adverse impact of unauthorized immigration on African-American employment. Minuteman Project volunteer Francis Semler, for instance, did not understand why more African Americans were not aligned with the Minuteman Project, and she was impugned for her involvement with the Minuteman Project. “Emanuel Cleaver, he and all the black religious leaders were right up in front calling me a racist because I belonged to the Minutemen even though they didn’t know me. . . . I just do not understand it when there are so many unemployed African-American people here in town.”

Both male and female members of restrictionist groups complained about the Catholic Church because it provided “sanctuary” for Hispanic immigrants and worked to support illegal

immigrants generally. Minuteman Project interviewee Robin Hvidston described an unauthorized woman and her child provided sanctuary from the church. During the protest, the opposition called the Minuteman project volunteers “racists.” If the church is going to be political, Hvidston insisted, “the church should be taxed. We're saying to the church, pay taxes if you're going to be a political organization. We went out to the church, not after the mother or her children in any way shape or form. It would not be something we wanted to do. We focus more on the institution.” Hvidston was careful to distinguish the unauthorized noncitizen from the church that sheltered them. Nevertheless, this is problematic because anti-immigrant nativist organizations had long expressed hostility to Catholics in racial-religious terms. Nativist and restrictionist attacks on the Catholic Church may be viewed by Catholics in the United States as having an old-fashioned, racist content.



**Figure 8.1 Robin Hvidston and other restrictionists protesting outside of a church**

### **Politics, the Hispanic Vote, and Immigration Reform**

There is also a more general political problem with the “new” restrictionist frame. The new restrictionists were able to pass anti-immigrant state laws, block immigration reform at the national level, and get people elected to support these policies. But Republicans lost the 2012 election, in part because their anti-immigrant arguments antagonized legal Hispanic voters and Catholics. Moreover, the resolute anti-immigrant frame was perhaps too strong, that is, it may have boxed in its proponents and make it difficult for them to respond politically to new developments without contradicting their principles. A 2013 Gallup Poll, for example, described the gap between support for Democratic and Republican Party policies regarding immigration

reform. Overall, 40 percent of adults favored Democratic policies on immigration reform versus 36 percent for Republican policies. But the gap increased when minority groups were sampled. Hispanics were more than twice as likely to support Democratic Party policies, and African American support for Democratic Party policies was even larger (70% to 14%).<sup>122</sup>

During the second presidential debate at Hofstra University in 2012, Mitt Romney and Barack Obama debated the issue of immigration. After Romney argued the cumbersome process by which immigrants with science and math degrees get green cards must be streamlined, he set his sights on noncitizen issues: “We’re going to have to stop illegal immigration. There are four million people who are waiting in line to get here legally. Those who’ve come here illegally take their place. So I will not grant amnesty to those who have come here illegally.” This theme was consistent with Republican Party ideology—which held amnesty initiatives were inconsistent with the rule of law and rewarded illegal behavior. Obama, in contrast, depicted Romney as being to the right of George W. Bush, arguing Romney’s top advisor on immigration designed the restrictionist Arizona laws. Obama mentioned Romney’s campaign trail comment that noncitizens might “self-deport” if incentives were removed. Romney responded this did not mean he favored forced expulsion of noncitizens, but if benefits were removed, noncitizens might voluntarily leave the United States. Nevertheless, this did not sit well within the Latino community. Reading between the lines, Obama said the immigration system was “broken” and argued for “comprehensive immigration reform,” speaking to progressives as this is code for a pathway to citizenship.

Dobbs’s disparaging of so-called “socio-ethnic” interest groups such as LULAC, La Raza, and MALDEF attempts to break the solidarity between legal and unauthorized noncitizens

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<sup>122</sup> Kofan, Tal. “Poll: Democrats Right on Immigration.” [www.politico.com](http://www.politico.com) 15 July 2013

and the Latino organizations which represent them. During the 1980s, the Hispanic population increased by 53 percent, while between 1992 and 1996 the number of Hispanic voters grew 30 percent nationally and 45 percent in California (Gillon 196). The right-wing fears demographic changes sweeping the nation—the “browning of America.” Provoking right-wing fears include the political implications of amnesty for millions of unauthorized noncitizens—augmenting Hispanic voting pools tending to favor democrats in elections. Reverend Deacon Salvador Alvarez from LULAC responded to the Aztlan movement. “So do I think there is a re-conquest of the Southwest by Latinos, well it's not coming it's here . . . in terms of the browning of America.” Similarly, according to Danny Morales from the AGIF, “The Reconquista is going to take place, and there is not going to a drop of blood shed, and they’re [Anglos] not even going to know it happened.” Furthermore, Morales argued there are 50 million Latinos in the United States today, and surging Latino populations may make Latinos a majority in California if not the United States. Nevertheless, Morales argued that whites will not simply relinquish power:

The gabachos [non-Hispanics] are not dumb. You don’t think they study us in the Rand Corporation and all their think tanks? “You Latinos are gaining too much power; they didn’t use to have anyone in Congress . . . . Look what they have now. Look at their purchasing power.” What do you think the Republicans are doing in Florida, disenfranchising people, profiling them. It’s all a big plan. We see it [Latinos]; we’re not dumb.

Despite right-wing framings of unauthorized noncitizens, this researcher’s evidence suggests U.S. citizens of Mexican descent fail to see substantial political distance between themselves and noncitizens; neither do the “socio-ethnic” organizations that represent them. For example, LULAC is a civil rights organization supporting both “undocumented” and U.S. citizens of Mexican descent. At a state conference this researcher attended, the AGIF, a veterans group made up primarily of Mexican Americans, passed a resolution supporting the Dream Act.

Therefore, right-wing intransigence may undermine the party's ability to compete for Hispanic votes in local, state, or federal elections. These difficulties associated with particular anti-immigration arguments may force restrictionists to develop a new way to frame their arguments in the future.

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## **Appendix A - Interview Schedule and Consent Form**

### *Interview Schedule*

#### **Background:**

1. Tell me a little bit about yourself – work, family, education, military experience, religious affiliation, religiosity, recreation, etc.? Control – work for someone else?
2. Do you vote in state, federal elections? Party affiliation? Describe your overall politics?
3. Are you involved in any other social movements? Other organizations you belong to and think are important?
4. Do you donate money to any organizations?
5. Related to this organization or ones similar to it, how many events do you attend each month? Each year?
6. Average age of organizational member?

#### ***Research Question 1: How are restrictionist movements to be understood and what strategies are used to bring awareness to their cause?***

1. What American values are important to you and your organization?
2. Are there any American values which you feel are threatened today?
3. In terms of citizenship and immigration issues, what policies would your organization like the U.S. government to pursue?
4. Who are your opponents? How would your opponents characterize your organization? Would their characterizations be accurate? Why or why not?
5. ***Research Question 2: How do other established patriotic organizations (e.g., DAR, AGIF) understand immigration outside of the law?***

6. What is it that distinguishes the United States from other nations?
7. Traditionally, what types of people or groups has America been *for*? From your organization's perspective, who *should* America be for?
8. Many different immigrants come to the United States, including movie stars, ball players sports stars, models, and refugees, how should the United States handle different immigrant groups?
9. Many different terms are used to describe persons that are here without proper documentation in the United States. How does your organization refer to such persons? Why is this appropriate usage?
10. ***Research Question 3: Why would Mexican- Americans support movements to curtail immigration outside of the law?***
11. What are important qualities that U.S. citizens should have?
12. How do you identify yourself? (e.g., Mexican American, American-Mexican, American)  
What makes you proud to be a Mexican (or other ethnic/racial identity)? What makes you proud to be an American?

*Consent Form*

**KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY**

**INFORMED CONSENT**

**PROJECT TITLE:** “New Bottles, Old Wine: Restrictionist Social Movements in the Illegal Immigration Debate

APPROVAL DATE OF PROJECT: Jul 8, 2009      EXPIRATION DATE OF  
PROJECT: July 8, 2012

(both dates will be provided in the approval letter, dates must be in place before distributing to subjects)

**PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Robert K. Schaeffer Ph.D.**

**CO-INVESTIGATOR(S): Saul U. Cohn**

**CONTACT NAME AND PHONE FOR ANY PROBLEMS/QUESTIONS:** Robert K.  
Schaeffer Ph.D.

PH: (785) 532-4974   roberts@ksu.edu

**IRB CHAIR CONTACT/PHONE INFORMATION:** *(This information is for the subject in case he/she has questions, or needs or wants to discuss any aspect of the research with an official of the university or the IRB)*

- Rick Scheidt, Chair, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, 203 Fairchild Hall, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506, (785) 532-3224.
- Jerry Jaax, Associate Vice Provost for Research Compliance and University Veterinarian, 203 Fairchild Hall, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506, (785) 532-3224.

**SPONSOR OF PROJECT:** None

**PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH:** To understand the values and attitudes of people with regards to citizenship and immigration issues in the United States.

**PROCEDURES OR METHODS TO BE USED:** Participants will be reminded that participation is completely voluntary and that they can withdraw at any time before, or during, the interview. Participants' observations will be recorded both digitally and by cassette recorder and also through written notes. They will be informed about issues of confidentiality.

Participants will be expected to give honest answers to all questions. The interview will last for approximately one hour. At the end of the interview session, participants will be debriefed and given Saul Cohn's business card in case they have questions about the study or further thoughts based on the interview.

ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURES OR TREATMENTS, IF ANY, THAT MIGHT BE  
ADVANTAGEOUS TO SUBJECT: Not applicable

**LENGTH OF STUDY:** Participants are expected to participate in one hour face-to-face interviews and follow up via the telephone or email.

**RISKS OR DISCOMFORTS ANTICIPATED:** Participants may feel anxious during the course of the interview. Leaders of organizations may experience anxiety due to negative reactions associated with their comments. There are no other known risks other than minimal anxiety.

**BENEFITS ANTICIPATED:** Participants get to air their views without fear of reprisal and contribute to the citizenship and immigration debate.

**EXTENT OF CONFIDENTIALITY:** The information, tapes, digital archives, and transcriptions will be kept in locked file cabinets in Saul Cohn's home office. All computer files will be password protected. The names of members of organizations will be identified only by a non-identifiable numbering system or a pseudonym.

IS COMPENSATION OR MEDICAL TREATMENT AVAILABLE IF INJURY  
OCCURS: Not applicable

**PARENTAL APPROVAL FOR MINORS:** Not applicable

**TERMS OF PARTICIPATION:** I understand this project is research, and that my participation is completely voluntary. I also understand that if I decide to participate in this study, I may withdraw my consent at any time, and stop participating at any time

**without explanation, penalty, or loss of benefits, or academic standing to which I may otherwise be entitled.**

I verify that my signature below indicates that I have read and understand this consent form, and willingly agree to participate in this study under the terms described, and that my signature acknowledges that I have received a signed and dated copy of this consent form.

(Remember that it is a requirement for the P.I. to maintain a signed and dated copy of the same consent form signed and kept by the participant

**Participant**

**Name:**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Date:**

**Participant**

**Signature:**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## **Appendix B - Conceptual Framework**

### **Research Question 1**

- Whites as Victims
- Reduction of the value of citizenship
- Uniqueness of America
- Strong and Weak Versions of multiculturalism
- Inclusion/Exclusion

### **Research Question 2**

- Gatekeepers(e.g., DAR)
- Assimilation(e.g., DAR)
- Citizenship claims (e.g., AGIF)
- Groupism (e.g., AGIF)
- Hierarchy and hegemony

### **Research Question 3**

- Hyphenated Americans
- Citizenship *before* culture
- Seizing the Chance
- Social Distance

- Groupism (e.g., AGIF)

## Appendix C - DAR Membership by States



DAR Membership Counts 01-01-2011



	# Chapters	Official Membership Count
<b>At Large</b>	53	4,613
<b>Alaska</b>	4	237
<b>Alabama</b>	71	4,091
<b>Arkansas</b>	45	2,316
<b>Arizona</b>	39	2,255
<b>California</b>	114	8,892
<b>Colorado</b>	41	3,072
<b>Connecticut</b>	41	2,424
<b>District of Columbia</b>	15	991

<b>Delaware</b>	7	544
<b>Florida</b>	101	8,679
<b>Georgia</b>	111	7,146
<b>Hawaii</b>	2	189
<b>Iowa</b>	48	2,038
<b>Idaho</b>	9	462
<b>Illinois</b>	109	7,266
<b>Indiana</b>	85	4,652
<b>Kansas</b>	59	2,717
<b>Kentucky</b>	81	4,149
<b>Louisiana</b>	45	3,097
<b>Massachusetts</b>	40	2,149
<b>Maryland</b>	46	2,768
<b>Maine</b>	24	961
<b>Michigan</b>	54	3,054
<b>Minnesota</b>	25	1,038
<b>Missouri</b>	107	5,192
<b>Mississippi</b>	82	3,885

<b>Montana</b>	11	451
<b>North Carolina</b>	106	6,219
<b>North Dakota</b>	4	144
<b>Nebraska</b>	28	1,120
<b>New Hampshire</b>	20	1,001
<b>New Jersey</b>	47	2,700
<b>New Mexico</b>	19	761
<b>Nevada</b>	11	664
<b>New York</b>	132	6,627
<b>Ohio</b>	103	5,831
<b>Oklahoma</b>	42	2,686
<b>Oregon</b>	37	1,677
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	99	6,209
<b>Rhode Island</b>	8	453
<b>South Carolina</b>	73	4,197
<b>South Dakota</b>	7	247
<b>Tennessee</b>	105	5,536
<b>Texas</b>	194	15,738

<b>Utah</b>	9	391
<b>Virginia</b>	136	8,762
<b>Vermont</b>	17	492
<b>Washington</b>	36	2,119
<b>Wisconsin</b>	39	1,497
<b>West Virginia</b>	39	1,785
<b>Wyoming</b>	11	430
<b>Australia</b>	2	47
<b>Bahamas</b>	1	43
<b>Canada</b>	6	158
<b>United Kingdom</b>	3	135
<b>France</b>	1	161
<b>Germany</b>	1	34
<b>Italy</b>	1	29
<b>Japan</b>	1	14
<b>Mexico</b>	5	112
<b>Russia</b>	1	13
<b>Bermuda</b>	1	12

<b>Spain</b>	1	25
<b>Austria</b>	1	33
<b>Totals</b>	<b>2,763**</b>	<b>167,430</b>