

“Crossing the Border of Fear”: Exploring Imitation, Imagination, and Affect in the
Citizenship Enactment of Undocumented Immigrant Youth

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I am struck by the degree to which Robert Hariman's sentiments, in the opening to the acknowledgements of his book, *Political Style: The Artistry of Power*, mirror my own. He states, "When I was an undergraduate, I assumed that scholarship only required ideas. As a graduate student I learned, somewhat to my dismay, that it also involved training and discipline. Only recently have I realized how much it depends on acts of generosity." Over the course of the past year, when I at moments struggled with the seemingly Sisyphean task of completing my Master's thesis, I have relied on the generosity and encouragement of several individuals.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the young people whose voices and stories appear within its pages. Thank you for lending me your words. It is my hope that your courage and dedication in following your dreams will soon be rewarded.

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Chapter 1: Perchance to DREAM: Contextualizing How Citizens are Defined

On March 10, 2011, Osbaldo, a high school student, joined other people his age on a stage in Chicago's Daley Plaza to 'come out' as an undocumented immigrant. Approaching the microphone, he declared, "I am constantly asking myself what's next after high school. I want to go to college. I'm scared of the future. And I'm scared standing in front of everyone today. But it's even scarier to struggle alone and to live in a life filled with lies. My name is Osbaldo. I'm undocumented. I'm crossing the border of fear right now by telling you who I am. This is my home. This is where I belong."¹ Osbaldo was only one of many undocumented immigrant youth who took the stage that day to declare their status. These declarations were all part of the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign put on in 2010 and 2011 by the organizations United We Dream, DREAM Activist, and the National Immigrant Youth Alliance (NIYA), the latter an umbrella organization that now includes DREAM Activist and seven other regional immigrant rights organizations. NIYA was established in December 2010, after the DREAM Act failed to pass in the Senate, to unite groups and organizations representing undocumented immigrant youth across the country. Drawing on 1960s and 1970s GLBTQ liberation rights rhetoric, these organizations asked undocumented immigrant youth to 'come out' of the metaphorical 'shadows' by declaring their status to friends, co-workers, teachers, and even—perhaps especially—strangers.

The motivation for telling these stories and expressing these declarations seems to be to raise awareness of the relationships that citizens already have with undocumented immigrants. Danielle Allen argues that a healthy democracy functions by revealing or acknowledging the underlying networks between individuals who outwardly seem to be

strangers. Allen notes that, “On the same page or in the same city, alongside each other without touching, citizens of different classes, backgrounds, and experiences are inevitably related to each other in networks of mutual benefaction, despite customary barriers between them, and despite our nearly complete lack of awareness, or even disavowal, of these networks. This relationship *is* citizenship” (emphasis original).² Karma Chávez, in her work on the “coalitional subjectivities” that can exist between queers and immigrants, observes that, “Migrants and queers emerge as the prototypical threats to...borders, in part because they are figured within the national imaginary as strangers,” later adding that, “Strangers, especially queers and migrants, can easily become a common national threat that must be prevented from both material and imagined belonging, which often proves essential to unifying the rest of polity.”³ Keith Cunningham-Parmeter, in his study of metaphors applied to immigrants and immigration, too, observes that, “If ‘illegal’ means ‘criminal’ and ‘alien’ means ‘stranger,’ then through the *illegal alien* metaphor, immigrants become *criminal strangers*” (emphasis original).⁴ The immigrant youth involved with DREAM Activist and NIYA, many of whom identify as queer in addition to being undocumented, strive to minimize the extent to which they are strangers to others in the nation, arguing that *noncitizens* are just as caught up in these relationships and networks that Allen argues comprise the bonds of citizenship—as colleagues, friends, neighbors, classmates—and thus through their lived experiences *enact* citizenship.⁵ There is a very real sense in which these undocumented immigrant youth activists are engaged in a definitional struggle; they are trying to make citizenship a question of behavior, not birthplace. These youth are not only arguing that

citizenship is something that can be enacted, but are actively attempting to shift the notion of who can enact it.

The campaign was started in 2010 as part of a larger effort to rally support for the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act, commonly known as the DREAM Act. The DREAM Act, which ultimately passed in the House of Representatives but failed in the Senate during the 2010 legislative session, would have granted paths to citizenship to undocumented immigrants who met certain requirements, such as having entered the country before they were 15 years old, and who wished to either enlist in the military or pursue a college degree.⁶ The 2010 National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign focused on sharing personal narratives in order to garner support for the DREAM Act, and although support for immigration policy reform is clearly still a part of these organizations' goals, the 2011 campaign appears to have taken on the larger goal of transforming the campaign into a movement. Kemi,⁷ a co-founder of DREAM Activist and the "core member" in charge of policy, remarked in a post on the organization's blog that, "This is about way more than just the DREAM Act. How do we focus on building a movement rather than launching a campaign – for campaigns, alone, will never strengthen our movement or further the needs of the undocumented community. How do we become a movement of consecutive paradigm shifts?"⁸

In many ways, the goals and strategies that Kemi articulates for a movement of undocumented immigrant youth are similar to the goals of other oppressed groups in the United States—both historically and in the present. In fact, DREAM Activist and NIYA organizers have noted these similarities and actively draw on both the rhetoric and strategies of historical struggles and movements for civil rights to sustain and inspire

their own movement's rhetoric and strategies. From the movements for civil rights for African Americans and women to movements for farmworkers' rights, for centuries, these groups have asked: how can we get others to see and understand our plight? How can we change the institutions that oppress or limit us so that we, too, have power? In a sense, these movements sought change on two different but related levels: knowledge and power. Whether composed on the basis of gender, race, religion, sexuality, ability, or any number of other factors, one of the barriers that movements composed of oppressed individuals faced historically, and still face in the present, is that individuals outside of the movement or oppressed group frequently did not know about the suffering of these groups, or at least the extent of the suffering. Of course, simply educating the public about the suffering of a particular group is typically not enough to affect tangible change for a movement. Often, groups that are trying to change their conditions of existence must take some form of direct action to begin the process of gaining more rights and more power. Direct action can and has encompassed a wide variety of tactics, but can include anything from protests, sit-ins, rallies, and civil disobedience to drafting legislation and enlisting government representatives to advocate for this legislation. Thus, part of any movement strategy involves two steps: consciousness-raising and direct action.

When considering the situation facing a movement of undocumented immigrant youth, it seems clear that in terms of both consciousness-raising and direct action, these individuals are put into a difficult position. Undocumented immigrants present a challenge to the government of the United States, as the movement of bodies across borders only highlights the lack of control the government has over such movement.

Once an immigrant has transgressed the border of the nation, he or she is expected to remain silent, or to use a popular metaphor (that will be interrogated in Chapter Three of this study), to remain in the shadows. By speaking up, the immigrant not only risks personal harm in the form of ridicule, vigilante violence, detention, and/or deportation, but also exposes the cracks in the country's broken immigration system. At least on the surface, it appears to be in both undocumented immigrants' and the government's interests to enforce a culture of silence among immigrant communities. To be sure, the government and its enforcement agencies still very much want to control immigration by detaining and deporting undocumented immigrants, but part of this control also involves limiting whose voices get heard. Thus, if undocumented immigrants risk real harm by communicating their experiences, then on the issue of immigration policy, the only voices that are heard are those of the more powerful and secure (at least in terms of citizenship status). Drawing on Michel Foucault's observations about the way that forces of power and knowledge interact, one might conclude that on issues of immigration policy, the knowledge of what it means to be an undocumented immigrant is structured by those in power (the media, the government, etc.), but simultaneously, the notion of who has power is structured by the knowledge circulated. In other words, if current power structures determine whose speech is valued, then this becomes accepted knowledge that only serves to reinforce the power structures. Summarizing Foucault's work, James Jasinski observes, "Discourse, in short, is a mechanism of power. It creates knowledge and the institutions and disciplines that protect and perpetuate it."⁹

In this study, I examine the ways in which undocumented immigrants negotiate this culture of silence by embracing the notion that citizenship can be enacted by those

who are legally classified as noncitizens. Drawing on extant studies of the communicative components of citizenship and immigration, I argue that in the movement built by undocumented immigrant youth, a discursive, dissident style of citizenship emerges.¹⁰ Briefly, I wish to unpack three key terms within the previous sentence. First, by using the term discursive, I am drawing on Robert Asen's important article, "A Discourse Theory of Citizenship." Since publication, Asen's work has been picked up by other scholars studying citizenship as an effective means of discussing the ways that citizenship can be conceived not in specific acts such as voting or membership in a particular organization, but rather as "a mode of public engagement."¹¹ Asen argues that in order to value discourse as a means of enacting citizenship, the term 'discourse' must be defined broadly. He notes, "Taking discourse seriously means treating discourse expansively. Discourse may entail talk, but it also involves other modes of symbolic expression."¹² In his essay, Asen argues that an everyday act such as buying a cup of coffee, if it is motivated by political beliefs, can have civic value under a discourse theory of citizenship. I model Asen's use of the term discourse to include symbolic expression in multiple media, and use the term discursive to describe intentional and public symbolic expression in its variety of forms, including written, spoken, visual, and performative or embodied communication. For example, looking at recent actions taken by undocumented immigrant youth, "coming out" as an undocumented immigrant in a blog post and staging a sit-in in Senator John McCain's office would both be considered discursive acts.

Second, I use the term dissident to describe how undocumented immigrant youth enact citizenship by utilizing discourse and crafting rhetorical acts that position these

youth as the inheritors of a distinctly U.S. American tradition of challenging principles or policies of the U.S. government believed to be unjust. The undocumented youth of DreamActivist, and other organizations like it, have organized sit-ins, protests, marches, rallies, and rhetorical acts such as ‘coming out’ at a rally or on a blog that draw on tropes of equality and human rights. The implicit logic underlying these acts, supported by the undocumented youth’s extensive use of the rhetoric of past U.S. dissidents, is that one enacts citizenship through the act of speaking or acting out against the U.S. government or other institutional force under the banner of injustice. I term this type of citizenship enactment a discursive, dissident style of citizenship; again, I use the term discursive because crafted acts of public persuasion are valued in this style of citizenship enactment, and I use the term dissident to emphasize how the act of speaking truth to power is valued, in part for its historical legacy, in this style of citizenship enactment. Beyond the civil rights movements that the undocumented immigrant activists cite, this tradition of dissidents and dissent can arguably be traced back to figures like Thomas Paine and the founding of the country. To use Chávez’s framework of normative and differential forms of belonging, where normative belonging seeks to assimilate to mainstream (white, heteronormative) values and differential belonging “desire(s) relations across lines of difference,” the actions of the undocumented immigrant youth activists lie somewhere in the middle.¹³ In one sense, these activists do seek to develop “coalitional subjectivities” across varied movements and time, reaching back into history to borrow words and actions.¹⁴ However, in another sense, which will be discussed at greater length later in the study, many of the historical movements they draw on have been largely sentimentalized in public memory, and thus their use for political protest may go against the

commemorative desires of the general public.¹⁵ By using the term dissident, I wish to capture the extent to which undocumented immigrant youth *imagine* themselves as participating in a form of citizenship that finds its legacy in figures such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Harvey Milk, and César Chávez, and the movements they were leaders in.¹⁶

Finally, I use the term style to describe how undocumented immigrant youth enact citizenship for two reasons. First, I want to emphasize, again in line with Asen's work, that citizenship can be characterized by various discursive behaviors, and as such can be enacted in many different ways. By conceptualizing discursive choices as stylistic choices, my intention is to highlight the creativity and agency of the individuals enacting a particular form of citizenship. In making this distinction, I draw on both Robert Hariman's foundational work *Political Style: The Artistry of Power*, which discusses the stylistic dimensions of different types of governance, and Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, which describes how communities, nations, and nationalism come into being and interact. Anderson observes that, "Communities are to be distinguished... by the style in which they are imagined."¹⁷ In the introduction to his book, Hariman notes, "For the most part, the canon of style remains identified with cataloging discursive forms in the artistic text alone rather than understanding the dynamics of our social experience or the relationship between rhetorical appeals and political decisions."¹⁸ Thus, my second reason for emphasizing the stylistic components of citizenship is to further the scholarly project of connecting stylistic concerns to everyday performances and experiences.

Although I have outlined the basic components above, I will continue to develop the notion of a discursive, dissident style of citizenship throughout this study. The

remainder of this chapter is divided into four sections. First, I will discuss the background on how and why undocumented immigrant youth first began to organize, as well as the legislation that inspired them to organize. Second, I will review relevant scholarship on citizenship enactment and immigration, and synthesize it with my own concerns and goals for this study. Third, I will preview the remaining chapters of this study. Finally, I will provide some discussion of why a study of how undocumented immigrant youth enact a discursive, dissident model of citizenship is warranted.

The Beginning of a DREAM: How Undocumented Immigrant Youth Started to Organize

Like many other young people in the United States, when they were growing up, the immigrants that make up DREAM Activist and NIYA imagined what their futures might hold: perhaps this involved plans to go to college, to join the military, or to find a job. However, unlike young people who were either born or naturalized as citizens, many undocumented immigrant youth faced a moment where they realized that even if they could get into college, even if they could afford a college education or were willing to work to afford one, and even if they qualified for their dream job, these opportunities were oftentimes out of reach due to their immigration status. Most of these individuals were brought into the country by their parents at a very young age. Some did not know about their immigration status until they were older and facing decisions about their future. Some knew of their status and faced feelings ranging from shame to frustration as they attempted to navigate situational barriers that they had no hand in constructing.

Recognizing that it would perhaps be in the country's best interest to help these youth pursue future plans rather than penalize them, legislation was introduced during the

107th Congress, to the House of Representatives on May 21, 2001 and to the Senate on August 1, 2001, that would, according to the text of the Senate bill, “authorize the cancellation of removal and adjustment of status of certain alien college-bound students who are long-term United States residents.”¹⁹ This legislation was the first manifestation of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act, or what has become known as the DREAM Act. Versions of this bill were subsequently introduced in both the House of Representatives and the Senate during the 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, and 112th sessions of Congress.²⁰ Most versions of the DREAM Act sought to amend the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 to allow certain undocumented immigrants who were brought into the country as children and planned to pursue a college education or military service paths to citizenship. The most current version of the Senate bill, DREAM Act of 2011 (S. 952), outlines the qualifications undocumented immigrant youth would have to meet in order to be eligible for these paths to U.S. citizenship. First, the immigrant must have resided in the U.S. for a “continuous” period of at least five years before the Act was enacted. Second, in order to qualify for application to the paths to citizenship that the DREAM Act would provide, the immigrant must have entered the United States before the age of 16. Third, the immigrant must be “a person of good moral character.” Specifically, the immigrant must not have “ordered, incited, assisted, or otherwise participated in the persecution of any person on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion,” or have been convicted of “any offense under Federal or State law punishable by a maximum term of imprisonment of more than 1 year.” Fourth, the immigrant must have been admitted to a college or university at the time of application or have obtained his or

her high school diploma or G.E.D. equivalent. Finally, in order to qualify for application, the immigrant must have been under the age of 35 when the Act was enacted.²¹

Throughout the bill's legislative and political history, support for the DREAM Act has been in turns controversial and incontrovertible, oscillating between partisan and bipartisan. The DREAM Act was first proposed and introduced into the Senate by Republican Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah.²² Similarly, the DREAM Act's counterpart in the House of Representatives, the Student Adjustment Act of 2001, was proposed and introduced by Republican Representative Christopher Cannon of Utah.²³ The Student Adjustment Act of 2001 was also co-sponsored in the House of Representatives by Democratic Representatives Howard Berman and Lucille Roybal-Allard, both of California.²⁴ Later versions of the Act maintained this initial bipartisan support, with the sponsors of the DREAM Act of 2007 including politicians from Democratic Senators Richard Durbin of Illinois, Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts, Patrick Leahy of Vermont, Joe Lieberman of Connecticut (then listed as an "Independent Democrat"), Barack Obama of Illinois, and Russ Feingold of Wisconsin, to Republican Senators Charles Hagel of Nebraska, Richard Lugar of Indiana, Larry Craig of Idaho, John McCain of Arizona, and Michael Crapo of Idaho.²⁵

However, in the 112th Congress, the Senate bill lost all bipartisan support, with Democratic Senator Dick Durbin sponsoring the Act with 34 Democratic co-sponsors, and in the House of Representatives, where Democratic Representative Howard Berman sponsored the bill, only one out of 39 co-sponsors of the Act was a member of the Republican Party, Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen. This shift in support should not be underemphasized, for while the Act never had overwhelming support from the

Republican Party, it has historically had support from several of its leading members. The DREAM Act has increasingly become a highly politicized piece of legislation, with support for the Act divided even among parties. After repeated failures to pass comprehensive immigration reform in the Senate in 2007, which contained a version of the DREAM Act and had support from leaders in both parties, including President Bush, then minority leader Senator Mitch McConnell said, “I had hoped for a bipartisan accomplishment... What we got was a bipartisan defeat.”²⁶

According to the assessment of conservative political pundit Michelle Malkin, Representative Cannon, the Republican sponsor of the Student Adjustment Act of 2001 in the House, lost his reelection campaign during the primaries in 2006 despite the fact that, “Cannon outspent [his opponent] 7-to-1 and had the entire GOP establishment from the White House on down backing him,” because his opponent, “Republican Jason Chaffetz—an underfunded political newcomer...made opposition to illegal immigration, rejection of amnesty, and support for tough deportation policies a top campaign issue.”²⁷ John McCain notably withdrew his support for the Act in light of efforts made by Senate Democrats to pass the Act by amending it to a military spending bill in the last legislative session.²⁸ Among Democrats, too, there has been division among supporters of the Act. Congressman Luis V. Gutierrez, the only Latino member of Congress and the sponsor of the STRIVE Act of 2007, a piece of legislation that included the DREAM Act along with border enforcement provisions, has criticized President Obama for not pushing harder for an “immigration overhaul.”²⁹ In the words of Tamar Jacoby, “a Republican who heads ImmigrationWorks USA, a business lobbying group” and a supporter of comprehensive

immigration reform, Gutierrez “took immigration from a specialty policy issue to a Latino identity litmus test: are you for or against us as Latinos?”³⁰

There is a sense in which Jacoby’s characterization of Gutierrez could be broadened to the entire movement for immigration reform; what was once the domain of politicians and policy wonks in Washington D.C.—immigration policy—has become the province of immigrants, both undocumented and documented, and citizens alike, who have begun to see the personal in the political. Mireya Navarro observed in an article in the *New York Times*, “For many Latino students, the portrayal of immigrants as job-stealers and worse in the immigration debate sparked anger and deep pain.”³¹ In the same article, Al Mijares, the “superintendent of the Santa Ana Unified School District in Orange County, Calif., where about 3,000 high school and middle school students walked out to protest” these depictions of immigrants and to argue for better treatment and laws for immigrants, noted that, “They took it personally.”³² For supporters of paths to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who are already living in the U.S., the DREAM Act has served as a rallying point to organize previously apolitical individuals into politically active groups. During the 2007 push to pass comprehensive immigration reform, David Gonzalez wrote in the *New York Times*, “With Washington having failed to pass an immigration overhaul, advocates are increasingly turning to immigrants’ children as allies in their political efforts. Many young people raised in this country know their way around a system that sometimes baffles their parents. Those who are citizens can speak out for those who have yet to get their papers. And they can vote.”³³ On a similar note, Deepak Bhargava, “executive director of the Center for Community Change, an organization in Washington that does grass-roots organizing around poverty issues,”

observed of the organizing done by immigrant youth in the spring of 2006 that, “The immigrant young people are key influencers in their families because so many of them have had to act as translators between mainstream America and their families...Many of them have developed extraordinary maturity beyond their age. They bring a set of experiences that make them uniquely able to be organizers.”³⁴ Through their activism, Dr. Bhargava argued that, “The young people have humanized the immigration debate.”³⁵

Activism by young people, students, and immigrants—even when those categories overlap—is certainly not a new phenomenon. Mary F. Corey, a lecturer in history at the University of California, Los Angeles, noted that, “The movement around the immigration issue builds on previous student movements in the 1960’s and 70’s in which Latinos fought for better treatment and conditions in schools as well as multiculturalism in curriculums.”³⁶ Of course, as noted earlier in this discussion, much of the activism exhibited in the past decade by young undocumented immigrants, many of whom are students, draws heavily on the activism tactics and rhetoric of the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s more broadly, from the larger civil rights movement and its corresponding student movements to more specific feminist, Latina/o, and GLBT rights rhetorics. Mireya Navarro, a reporter for the *New York Times*, provides one characterization of the relationship between the two eras’ activists, noting that, “If the stereotypical student protester of the 1960’s in the United States listened to Bob Dylan, fought the establishment and rebelled against their parents, the newly minted 21st-century version listens to Mexican rap, salsa or Spanish rock, seeks acceptance from the establishment and is often acting on behalf of their parents.”³⁷ Even if Navarro’s assessment borders on oversimplification, the parallel she draws is apt, and her inclusion

of how the present movement of undocumented immigrant youth relates to “the establishment” raises an important question that will be addressed later in this discussion: how do undocumented immigrant youth and their allies negotiate a relationship with those in power? The present moment, however, necessitates a return to the question: how did organizing by undocumented immigrant youth and their allies begin?

One of the first highly visible actions around the issue of undocumented immigration was organized by immigrant workers and students alike, and their allies, to protest the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4437). This Act was introduced as an alternative to bipartisan legislation in both the House and Senate, such as the American Dream Act (House), the DREAM Act (Senate), or the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act (Senate), all of which would grant paths to citizenship to certain groups of undocumented immigrants. On March 10, 2006, an estimated 100,000 individuals turned out to march through the heart of downtown Chicago. Workers left their jobs and students walked out of school to join together to protest the Act, which if passed would classify undocumented immigrants as felons, punish those that aided or employed undocumented immigrants, and increase deportation of undocumented immigrants, among other stringent immigration enforcement provisions.³⁸ The march and rally in Chicago inspired others across the country. On March 28, 2006, students in several states, but predominantly in California, walked out of their high schools and marched to their respective city halls to protest. In terms of sheer numbers, the walkouts and the rallies that preceded them days before were highly successful. During a broadcast of *Democracy Now*, reporter Amy Goodman noted that in Los Angeles, “as many as 40,000 students walked out of classes [on March 28,

2006]...The walkouts followed a weekend of enormous rallies...that drew upwards of one million people.”³⁹ However, despite the large turnouts, coverage of the walkouts in the mainstream media portrayed the students as “kids running like idiots on the freeway,” according to one participant in the walkouts, or as CNN anchor Daryn Kagan put it, “perhaps these kids could use some more time in class to work on the smartness.”⁴⁰ Thus, the actions of a few students who ‘walked out’ onto the freeway in Los Angeles, were used to condemn and write off an entire movement, an anti-movement strategy that would not have been out of place in media portrayals of civil rights protests in the 1960s.

Although the actions of the students were condemned in some media outlets, it was harder to write off three sets of rallies and marches inspired by the Chicago march. On March 25, 2006, immigrants and allies held rallies in cities across the country, which drew an estimated half a million people in Los Angeles alone. These rallies represented the dawning of a new era in activism for many. According to Joshua Hoyt, executive director of the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, “There has never been this kind of mobilization in the immigrant community ever... They have kicked the sleeping giant. It’s the beginning of a massive immigrant civil rights struggle.”⁴¹ Hoyt’s words seem especially prescient in light of subsequent activism. A second set of rallies were held on April 10, 2006 as part of the “National Day of Action for Immigrant Justice,” and drew hundreds of thousands of individuals to “events in more than 140 cities in at least 39 states.”⁴² Jaime Contreras, “president of the National Capital Immigration Coalition, one of the groups involved in organizing the demonstrations,” repeated Hoyt’s metaphoric assessment of the nascent immigrant activism, stating, “The sleeping giant is awake – wide awake – and we’re paying close attention.”⁴³ A journalist

for the *New York Times* reporting on the rallies observed that, “Over and over again, construction workers, cooks, gardeners, sales associates and students who said they had never demonstrated before said they were rallying to send a message to the nation’s lawmakers.”⁴⁴ A third set of rallies took place on May 1, 2006, timed to coincide with May Day, a celebration of workers. In this case, the rallies were designed to draw attention to immigrant labor, a force that is often exploited. The day of rallies and protests was called “A Day Without an Immigrant,” and was organized to both protest the aforementioned legislation, as well as to continue to demonstrate the viability of immigrants as a political force.⁴⁵ Along with protests, boycotts were organized in at least 70 cities, as immigrants and supporters were encouraged to skip work and to refrain from buying anything in order to demonstrate the economic impact of immigrants.⁴⁶

In addition to organizing that occurred *against* proposed legislation, young undocumented immigrants also organized to advocate *for* legislation that would provide increased educational opportunities, as well as the chance to become legal citizens. The vast majority of organizational efforts by undocumented youth in support of legislation in the past decade has been to rally support for the DREAM Act. Organizations span the country and vary in the reasons and ways that they formed. From meetings in high schools and universities to “weekly conference calls” that would later turn into a networked organization, undocumented immigrant youth and their allies found ways to unite and organize to support the DREAM Act.⁴⁷ Much of the organizing occurred around the 2007 and 2009 versions of the DREAM Act. Recent organizing by undocumented youth has produced sit-ins, marches, rallies, protests, teach-ins, lobbying, and hunger strikes, among a host of other actions. For the sake of space, I will review a

few recent actions taken by members of the organizations that I examine in this study (primarily NIYA's member organizations), and that are perceived by members to be key to the movement's publicity and success.

On January 1, 2010, four undocumented immigrant youth began a walk of 1,500 miles from Miami, Florida to Washington, D.C., in order to communicate their experiences and stories, "so that everyday Americans understand what it's like for the millions of young immigrants like us, unable to fully participate in society."⁴⁸ Called "the Trail of Dreams," the students' walk generated substantial press coverage for the movement and legislation, as well as adding to a growing number of immigrant youth who were "coming out" as undocumented. Moreover, the march inspired Jose Antonio Vargas, a former reporter for the Washington Post, to come out as undocumented in a recent column in the New York Times. He stated, "Last year I read about four students who walked from Miami to Washington to lobby for the Dream Act, a nearly decade-old immigration bill that would provide a path to legal permanent residency for young people who have been educated in this country. At the risk of deportation — the Obama administration has deported almost 800,000 people in the last two years — they are speaking out. Their courage has inspired me."⁴⁹ Vargas was not the only one inspired by the four Miami students. Five students set out from New York on April 10, 2010 towards Washington, D.C., a 250 mile trek, hoping to meet the Miami students in Washington on May 1, 2010.⁵⁰ "Solidarity marches" were also organized throughout the country by other undocumented youth and allies, including one from Philadelphia to Swarthmore, Pennsylvania and one from Detroit to Ann Arbor, Michigan.⁵¹ However, some responses to the march were far from positive; while walking through Georgia, the students

encountered a KKK rally timed to their arrival.⁵² Undocumented immigrant youth organizers were undeterred by this obstacle, as the march only paved the way for other forms of action, protest, and lobbying.

On March 10, 2010, the Immigrant Youth Justice League (a member of NIYA), led by undocumented students Rigo Padilla, Reyna Wences, and Tania Unzueta, organized a march and rally in Chicago in anticipation of National Coming Out of the Shadows Week from March 15-21, 2010.⁵³ This week of action encouraged undocumented immigrant youth around the country to declare their status openly, to a single person or to a packed rally. The “Coming Out of the Shadows: How to Guide” that was circulated around the internet by the various organizations involved in planning and promoting the event proclaimed, “We live every day in fear and we are tired of it. We want to be able to talk about our lives and our stories without fearing persecution or deportation. We are not free to travel, go to school, work, live, but we refuse to be helpless. In the same way the LGBTQ community has historically come out, undocumented youth, some of whom are also part of the LGBTQ community, have decided to speak openly about their status.”⁵⁴ The week of coming out rallies and marches produced countless stories, many captured on video or written and posted on the organizations’ websites that echoed similar themes: coming to the country at a young age with parents or distant family members, realizing at a certain point—usually when seeking a driver’s license or applying for colleges—that they were undocumented, and coming to terms with the range of feelings and emotions that this revelation produced. This first National Coming Out of the Shadows Week was deemed so successful that it was held again in 2011, this time sponsored by NIYA and its member organizations.

Activism around the DREAM Act continued through the rest of 2010 as well. Notably, in what the New York Times dubbed “an escalation of protest tactics,” five students donned in graduation robes, three of whom were undocumented, held a sit-in in the Tucson office of Senator John McCain on May 17, 2010.⁵⁵ Four of the students were arrested for this action, and of these four, the three who were undocumented were put in deportation proceedings.⁵⁶ Deportation is not a desirable prospect for any of the students involved in the sit-in, most of whom cannot remember their birth countries, but this is especially the case for Mohammad Abdollahi, one of the student protesters who is gay and was born in Iran, where “homosexuality is a capital crime.”⁵⁷

The marches, protests, and rallies described above certainly do not represent all of the actions organized by undocumented immigrant youth in the past decade. To catalog all of the actions taken would fill the space allotted for this study in and of itself. However, the above actions are a representative sample of the kind of organizing that undocumented immigrant youth and their allies have begun to do. In the words of United We Dream organizers, “Youth organizing for access to legal status and higher education has provided a stepping stone for immigrant youth to become politically active, to gain exposure to different streams of social justice work, and to share responsibility for building a movement based on principles of social inclusion and justice.”⁵⁸ In what remains of this study, I will examine just this phenomenon—how telling stories, sitting in senators’ offices, marching on the capitol, and many other actions has led to the creation of a movement of undocumented immigrant youth who see themselves as enacting citizenship. For the present moment, I will review existing scholarly literature on the rhetorical dimensions of citizenship and immigration as it informs my own work.

Entering the Conversation: Citizenship, Immigration, and Rhetoric

The topics of citizenship and immigration have received considerable attention in fields ranging from sociology and history to political science and legal studies. However, for the purposes of this study, I will primarily review scholarly work that has come from within the discipline of communication and work outside of the field that takes communicative aspects of citizenship and immigration as its focus. Much of the work that has been done on citizenship and immigration that considers communication as a key component of study can be placed into one of three categories: border studies, metaphor studies, and theories of citizenship or community studies. I will review each of these categories in turn.

D. Robert DeChaine observes that, “the specter of the border haunts the language of social relations.”⁵⁹ Indeed, studies of borders, how they are created and how they influence the lives of citizens and noncitizens alike, has fascinated scholars for years. One of the first major studies of border rhetorics within the communication discipline was Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop’s book *Shifting Borders: Rhetoric, Immigration, and California’s Proposition 187*. Ono and Sloop analyze the rhetoric of media coverage surrounding the passage of California’s Proposition 187, which “sought to eliminate public health, welfare, and education provisions for undocumented migrants.”⁶⁰ Their analysis focuses on the ways in which “demeaning depictions of undocumented workers, primarily from Mexico” were circulated in news coverage of Proposition 187 and were used to both marshal support for the Proposition and “rally the general public against” immigrants.⁶¹ Ono and Sloop argue that rhetoric surrounding Proposition 187 “*shifts* borders, changing what they mean publicly, influencing public policy, altering the ways

borders affect people, and circumscribing political responses to such legislation. We are suggesting that rhetoric shapes understandings of how the border functions; taken further, because of its increasingly powerful role, rhetoric at times even determines where, and what, the border is.”⁶² This argument is perhaps Ono and Sloop’s most provocative, and it is this argument that gets picked up and built on by other scholars.

Lisa Flores was also one of the first scholars in communication to write extensively on immigration and citizenship. Drawing on Ono and Sloop’s work, in one article, she analyzes mediated narratives about Mexican immigrants in the 1920s and 1930s during a U.S. government deportation drive and repatriation campaign. An important common thread that ties Ono and Sloop’s and Flores’ scholarship together, in addition to its focus on mediated discourses of border rhetorics, is their focus on the role of narrative(s) in that process. Flores notes that, “A narrative obtains social force in part through the appeal and reconizability of its characterizations.”⁶³ This is an important observation, especially considering the analysis to follow in this study of the narratives that undocumented immigrant youth tell about themselves, as well as how these narratives influence various audiences. Flores describes two narratives that circulated in mediated discourses that strove to define the Mexican immigrant population: Mexican immigrant as peon and Mexican immigrant as problem. Because “publics come to understand immigration and to conceive of immigrants via participation in mediated discussions,” Flores argues, “Suspect bodies carry the border on them.”⁶⁴ DeChaine (mentioned above) also forwards this argument in his article, “Bordering the Civic Imaginary: Alienization, Fence Logic, and the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps.” He notes that, “As a transgressive, racialized subject, the alienized migrant literally embodies

the border, rendering problematic any tidy relationship between physical and social space.”⁶⁵

Other scholars have also pursued study of embodied rhetoric and space. This subgroup of scholars studying border rhetorics has focused on the ways that space is created and produced, as well as the ways that space can be interpreted as rhetorical. Aimee Carrillo Rowe, in her article, “Whose ‘America’? The Politics of Rhetoric and Space in the Formation of U.S. Nationalism,” argues that, “the cultural production of space creates the condition of possibility for a range of lives and livelihoods that might be possible for any group of people living within and/or moving through that space. Space is not inert, but rather a site of highly contested meanings with tremendous consequences for those who occupy it.”⁶⁶ Many of the previously mentioned scholars have focused on the ways that anti-immigrant or immigration rhetorics have limited or constructed borders and the space of immigrants. However, in his work on the topic, Josue David Cisneros argues that undocumented immigrants can shape the meaning of space as well. In his article, “(Re)Bordering the Civic Imaginary: Rhetoric, Hybridity, and Citizenship in *La Gran Marcha*,” in part a response to DeChaine’s article, Cisneros argues, “Hybridity can be threatening to dominant logics, fueling attempts to shore up the borders of national identity. On the other hand, the hybrid position of migrants can challenge sedimented cultural forms by crafting new, diverse, and multi-positional forms of political identity. In sum, appropriation of the conditions that often make migrants abject creates opportunities to (re)border US citizenship and national identity.”⁶⁷ Cisneros defines hybridity as “a metaphor for the complex and intersecting purposes of many performances of citizenship, which , like other performances, feature a fusion of audiences...and functions.”⁶⁸ In this

study, I follow Cisneros' turn to the discourses—which he, like Asen, whose work he draws on, defines broadly—of undocumented immigrants.

Anne Demo, too, provides a shift in border studies scholarship. In her work on sovereignty discourses in immigration rhetoric, she argues that “developing literature on late twentieth century U.S. immigration rhetoric has failed to attend adequately to the character of sovereignty claims in contemporary immigration politics.”⁶⁹ She adds that, “This oversight likely stems from a critical emphasis on the news frames used to shape public opinions of undocumented immigrants.”⁷⁰ In her own analysis, she turns to INS public affairs videos between 1992-2000 to study discourse, “on the nation-state in general and sovereignty tropes in particular.”⁷¹

Beyond a focus on borders and space, citizenship and immigration scholars have studied the metaphors that comprise discourse on immigration. Many metaphoric studies of immigration have been done, but two of the best examples are Josue David Cisneros' article, “Contaminated Communities: The Metaphor of ‘Immigrant as Pollutant’ in Media Representations of Immigration,” and Keith Cunningham-Parmeter's article, “Alien Language: Immigration Metaphors and the Jurisprudence of Otherness.” Cisneros' work focuses, as the title suggests, on the metaphor of immigrant as pollutant. In his analysis, he compares coverage of news related to immigration on *CNN* and *Fox News* during the fall and winter of 2005 to news coverage of toxic waste spills, specifically the Love Canal crisis in the late 1970s. Cisneros ultimately finds striking parallels between the language and frames used to discuss immigrants and immigration and those used to discuss toxic waste spills. He concludes that, “Exposing these forms of representation and their ideological assumptions can be an important step in weakening their conceptual

hold and constructing more open metaphors for understanding the people who cross the border every day.”⁷² Cunningham-Parmeter, a law professor at Willamette University, discusses three metaphors in depth in his comprehensive article: “immigrants are aliens,” “immigration is a flood,” and “immigration is an invasion.”⁷³ Cunningham-Parmeter’s analysis focuses on legal discourses, specifically those of the Supreme Court. He remarks that, “If they were not obscured by metaphors, the images of immigrants in Supreme Court texts would appear comical, if not utterly tragic.”⁷⁴ Cunningham-Parmeter ultimately concludes that, “Because conceptual metaphors live in the imagination, attempts at revision must draw on the imaginative possibilities of language. If we can imagine immigration as an *invasion*, then we can also imagine it as a method for improving economic stability and national welfare.”⁷⁵ Cisneros’ and Cunningham-Parmeter’s analyses of the role metaphor can play in immigration discourses will necessarily inform analysis later in this study of the role that the metaphor of “the shadows” plays in shaping how undocumented immigrant youth enact citizenship through the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign.

Finally, Cunningham-Parmeter’s mention of the role imagination can play in constructing metaphors and language that shape our world transitions nicely to the next and final category of scholarship that will be considered on immigration and citizenship, theories of citizenship and community studies. Whenever the term imagination is invoked, it is hard to ignore the work of Benedict Anderson. In his book, *Imagined Communities*, Anderson defines a nation as “an imagined political community,” and argues that no “true” communities exist; they are all acts of creation and imagination.⁷⁶ Influenced in part by Anderson’s work, the term “imagination” has been picked up within

communication in studies related to nations and national boundaries. Recently, DeChaine and Cisneros, as previously mentioned, published articles in *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* that sought to understand how discourses—of Minutemen and immigrant activists—defined and redefined the borders of “the civic imaginary.” DeChaine defined the civic imaginary as, “Both real and imagined, performative and affective, it is a consummately rhetorical space where culture and politics converge, identity is shaped, and power is wielded. An adjunct of the public sphere, it proscribes conditions for citizenship enactment and the voices that are to be included in and excluded from deliberation. More than anything, the space of the civic imaginary serves as an ethical horizon for the articulation of the citizen as an embodiment of personhood.”⁷⁷ Karma Chávez, in her work on the intersections between the positionality of queers and immigrants, argues that choosing “differential belonging,” a concept she draws from the work of Aimee Carrillo Rowe, as a way of relating to others in a given social space, presents “an alternative mode of cultural citizenship, which can challenge the national social imaginary that figures queers and migrants as threats to family values and the good citizen.”⁷⁸ By using the term imagination to describe how a community sees the relationships between its members, it is easy to make connections between how it operates rhetorically and how it is enacted.

Most recent studies in communication on citizenship enactment (DeChaine’s and Cisneros’ included) build on the work of Robert Asen in “A Discourse Theory of Citizenship.” Asen turns the popular approach of considering what acts constitute citizenship, suggesting that, “Rather than asking what counts as citizenship, we should ask: how do people enact citizenship?”⁷⁹ Asen, in this turn, is responding to scholars in

other disciplines, such as Robert Putnam, who argue that civic participation is stagnating, citing declines in “voting, campaign volunteering, letter writing, attendance at public meetings and rallies, club membership, and organizational office-holding, among other activities” as evidence that citizens are not participating in vital acts of citizenship.⁸⁰ As previously mentioned, his “discourse theory of citizenship” suggests that citizenship is best conceived “as a mode of public engagement,” rather than in specific acts such as voting or volunteering.⁸¹ Notably for the purposes of this study, Asen argues that, “Theorizing citizenship as a mode of public engagement encourages us to reformulate our understanding of the relationship between citizenship and citizen. Of most importance, this means not regarding citizenship as the possession of citizens...Seen not as the exclusive possession of citizens, citizenship may not be granted. Instead, people enact citizenship through their own agency. This means, too, that citizenship may be enacted by non-citizens.”⁸² Alessandra Beasley Von Burg builds on the notion that citizenship can be enacted by non-citizens in her work on third-country nationals, or ““any person who is not a citizen of one of the member states’ of the EU but permanently and legally resides in one.”⁸³ Von Burg analyzes discourses around third-country nationals that promote “an idea of citizenship as performance with residents enacting citizenship by living together and deliberating with each other about common interests and concerns,” which she notes, involves a “reimagining of the meaning of citizenship.”⁸⁴ Von Burg and Asen, whose work she cites, thus provide further avenues for exploring and examining the ways that citizenship is imagined and enacted beyond the boundaries of normative legal understandings of the concept.

The study to follow builds on the important scholarship already written by the scholars cited in this review. The notions that borders and space are rhetorically produced, that metaphors profoundly shape our understanding of the world, and that citizenship can be performed, enacted, and imagined by citizens and non-citizens alike all influence the concept of a discursive, dissident style of citizenship to be developed in this study. This review has been necessarily limited in scope. The scholarship cited represents only the metaphorical tip of the iceberg. For instance, studies of presidential rhetoric on immigration, studies on nationalism, and studies of specific historical practices of citizenship are notably absent from this review.⁸⁵ Those, as they say, are the province of another, future project. With the reviewed literature in mind, I will next preview the contents of this study.

The Road Ahead: Mimesis, Memory, Metaphor, and Narrative

In this study, I argue that the undocumented immigrant youth of NIYA and its affiliates enact a discursive, dissident style of citizenship in their activism. Throughout the study, I explore the ways in which this style of citizenship enactment draws on history for authority and is characterized by discursive expression with an emphasis on voice, affective transformation, and publicity. In chapter two, I examine the ways in which undocumented immigrant youth draw on historical movements for civil rights as rhetorical and material resources for their own movement for citizenship and reform of U.S. immigration policies. Specifically, in this chapter, I argue that invocation of historical rights movements and the mimetic performances of their rhetoric and tactics allows undocumented immigrant youth to draw on certain U.S. norms as a source of authority in their arguments for citizenship rights, an essential goal for reaching hostile

audiences, while retaining individual and cultural identities. In this way, undocumented youth do not necessarily have to assimilate to U.S. cultural norms in order to make their argument. In other words, a discursive, dissident style of citizenship allows these youth to see themselves as continuing on the civil rights legacy, which makes them definitively U.S. American, but because the historical movements they draw from are diverse—from African-American civil rights to farmworkers' rights—the students do not have to compromise the diversity of their movement, which includes individuals from varying nationalities, genders, sexual orientations, and class backgrounds.

In chapter three, I examine the narratives of the undocumented immigrant youth through the metaphor used to solicit these narratives: “the shadows.” In this chapter, I argue that although “the shadows” might be an effective metaphor to capture what DeChaine describes as the “ambiguous positionality, the troublesome both/and of migrant subjectivity,” this metaphor might ultimately limit who can “come out of the shadows” and the way in which they can come out.⁸⁶ A discursive, dissident style of citizenship may expand the notion of *who* can enact citizenship, but in some ways, it also prescribes just *how* citizenship may be enacted. This is not entirely surprising, as I have argued that citizenship can be conceived as being enacted in different styles, and styles are necessarily marked by different discursive, aesthetic, and affective features. I do not use the term “style” to contradict Asen’s use of the term “mode”; I, too, wish to emphasize the agency, creativity, and multiplicity of choices that come with the enactment and performance of citizenship.⁸⁷ Rather, in conceiving of citizenship stylistically, I argue that one is better able to focus on how discourse is purposefully crafted through citizenship enactment. In chapter three, I outline three characteristics of a discursive,

dissident style of citizenship enactment that the metaphor of the shadows supports. These characteristics are discursive expression, what I term affective transformation, and publicity. I attempt to identify these characteristics not to demarcate strict, impermeable borders between different styles of citizenship—a goal that would be inconsistent with the goals of this study—but rather to analyze how enactment in citizenship is measured by those participating in its performance.

First, I argue that a discursive, dissident style of citizenship values discursive expression. By this I mean that through either words or body or some combination of the two, an individual is expected to express sentiments of dissent. In the movement for immigrants' rights by undocumented immigrant youth, this appears, for example, as coming out narratives or hunger strikes in front of politicians' offices. The historical movements that the undocumented students draw on, too, privilege voicing dissent versus remaining disengaged. One can see this in Harvey Milk admonishing gays and lesbians to come out. This observation may seem obvious or uncontroversial, but it is important to note that this style of citizenship enactment requires intentional, political expression. This is what allows one to be counted as part of the movement.

Second, I suggest that a discursive, dissident style of citizenship is characterized by affective transformation. Historically, this can be seen in the phrase “the personal is political” that characterized many of the movements that the immigrants' rights movement draws on as rhetorical resources. Among undocumented immigrant youth, this can be seen in discussion of the “empowering” and transformative possibilities of telling one's story of being undocumented. In the National Coming Out of the Shadows

campaign, undocumented youth are encouraged to move from living in “the shadows” in fear to being “undocumented and unafraid.”⁸⁸

Finally, a discursive, dissident style of citizenship values publicness or publicity. For instance, although private acts of dissent are part of the movement—participation in a boycott by not purchasing goods or not showing up to work, for example—it is the publicity of the act of voicing dissent that characterizes membership in the national body. This chapter examines how the undocumented immigrant youth involved in these organizations and movements both challenge and conform to expected representations of success and who this keeps “in the shadows.”

Chapter four concludes the study with a discussion of how the strategies of drawing on and mimicking historical civil rights tactics and rhetoric and the rhetorical choice to reproduce the metaphor of “the shadows” in narrative accounts represent manifestations of a discursive, dissident style of citizenship. Attention is paid in this chapter to how a discursive, dissident style of citizenship enactment compares to other types of citizenship appeals, such as those that emphasize similarities in cultural values, beliefs, aspirations, and occupations between citizens and non-citizens. In this vein, I consider the risks and benefits of this style of citizenship enactment for undocumented immigrant youth.

In all chapters, I will develop a discursive, dissident style of citizenship through a critical, textual analysis of the discourses of the movement for citizenship for undocumented students. Specifically, I will study the rhetoric of the organizations DREAM Activist and the National Immigrant Youth Alliance (which includes DREAM Activist), focusing predominantly on the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign

and the narratives and discussion it produced. Discourse examined includes written narratives posted on organization websites, video and audio narratives posted on organization websites or YouTube, reports of actions taken (protests, rallies, etc.), occasionally, visual images posted on organization websites, and blog posts discussing any of the previous items. Through a careful rhetorical analysis of these discourses, I will outline how undocumented immigrant youth conceive of themselves as enacting a discursive, dissident model of citizenship.

Examining Immigration: “The Fierce Urgency of Now”

The voices and actions of undocumented immigrant youth trouble notions of national identity and boundaries, along with provoking several important questions: What does it mean to be a U.S. citizen? Is there truly a border between U.S. citizen and noncitizen, and if so, what signifies this border? What is the ideal citizen? The ideal immigrant? What role does discourse play in either reinforcing or breaking with these categories? Can narrative be a positive force for social change? These questions, and others like them, have perhaps never been more vital. We live at a time when these questions are not merely an exercise in thoughtful theoretical reflection; how one answers these questions may have significant and tangible effects on the lives of citizens and noncitizens alike. To discern the truth of this statement, one need only to look to recent legislation that effectively made Arizona a police state for anyone with a less than lily-white hue to their skin, or to the indefatigable ‘Birther’ movement whose members, notably business mogul and former 2012 Republican presidential hopeful Donald Trump, demanded to see a copy of President Barack Obama’s birth certificate because they suspected he was not born in the U.S. Although the United States has a history of treating

recent immigrants rather poorly—in fact limiting who was allowed in on the basis of gender, race, religion, sexuality, ability, health, wealth, and political beliefs, among a variety of other factors—within the past few decades, the number of policies, institutions, and organizations aimed at regulating the bodily existence of undocumented immigrants has only increased exponentially. In this environment, reflecting on the questions listed above takes on an ethical imperative. Many have called for a change in U.S. immigration policy, but what will this change look like? How will it be affected? By whom? It is my aim that this study, by examining efforts by undocumented immigrant youth to create a movement for citizenship rights, will shed light on how citizenship is not only a legal category, but also something that is constructed socially through discourse and experience. Ultimately, I argue that it is the constructed side of citizenship that produces the most anxiety on the issue of immigration, particularly undocumented immigration. If individuals can immerse themselves in the social and political fabric of the country, then U.S. national identity is invariably mutable in categories such as race, class, religion, sexuality, or gender. Thus, it seems that what is at stake in the issue of immigration is not only a lack of control of bodies, but also identities. Though this study will necessarily be unable to answer all of the questions outlined, it is my hope that it will make contributions to a greater understanding of how discourse works within these anxieties to shape practices of citizenship.

Chapter 2: Out of the Shadows, Into History: Invoking the U.S. Civil Rights Movements in the Mimetic Strategies and Rhetoric of Undocumented Immigrant Youth

Mohammad Abdollahi, a co-founder of DREAM Activist and one of the students who was arrested and put in deportation proceedings after staging a sit-in at Senator John McCain's Tucson Office on May 17, 2010, prefaced a post on DREAM Activist's blog that included "Coming Out of the Shadows: A How to Guide" with the following quotation:

"Brothers and Sisters, [...] you must come out! come out to your parents, [...] come out to your friends, if indeed they are your friends, come out to your neighbors, come out to your fellow workers. [...] Once and for all, let's break down the myths and destroy the lies and distortions. For your sake, for their sake. For the sake of all the youngsters who've been scared by the voters from Dade to Eugene. [...] On the Statue of Liberty it says 'Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be [sic] free.' In the Declaration of Independence it is written, 'All men are created equal and endowed with certain unalienable rights.' [...] For Mr. Briggs and Mrs. Bryant [...] and all the bigots out there, [...] no matter how hard you try, you can never erase those words from the Declaration of Independence! No matter how hard you try you can never chip those words from the base of the Statue of Liberty! [...] That is where [sic] America is!"¹

By invoking the famous words of Harvey Milk, adapted from his "That's What America Is" Speech, Abdollahi effectively drew a parallel between the struggle for gay liberation in the late 1970s and the struggle for rights for immigrants in the present moment.² The use of the quotation by Milk only made the connections between past and present movements for rights more explicit, as the guide that Abdollahi posted was itself

designed to promote a campaign that took the movement for gay liberation in the late 1970s as its inspiration. In 1978, Harvey Milk emphatically insisted that in order for gays and lesbians to defeat “the John Briggs...the Anita Bryants...the Kevin Starrs and all their ilk” they must “break out” of the closet and come out.³ In 2010 and 2011, the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, put together by the organizations United We Dream, DREAM Activist, and the National Immigrant Youth Alliance (NIYA), urged undocumented youth to come out of the shadows and tell their stories in order to influence legislation that affected their lives and those of their families and friends. In his blog post on National Coming Out of the Shadows Week, Abdollahi described the motivation behind the campaign, noting, “We live every day in fear and we are tired of it. We want to be able to talk about our lives and our stories without fearing persecution or deportation. We are not free to travel, go to school, work, live, but we refuse to be helpless. In the same way the LGBTQ community has historically come out, undocumented youth, some of whom are also part of the LGBTQ community, have decided to speak openly about their status.”⁴ Ultimately, I argue that because of the need to appeal to different audiences, the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign had three related purposes: 1) “to humanize the immigrant community,” 2) to politicize undocumented immigrant youth, and 3) to mobilize these youth to action.⁵ In the first goal, the campaign is targeting individuals who are hostile or apathetic towards undocumented immigrants, or are simply unaware of what it means to live as an undocumented immigrant. In the second and third goals, the campaign is targeting undocumented immigrant youth who do not yet see their status as a gateway to political advocacy and activism. Abdollahi spoke to these goals, arguing that, “Sharing your

stories will allow us, as a movement of undocumented youth, to grow, as we continue to learn to accept ourselves. By being more open we will begin replacing fear with courage and, ultimately, be united in our demands for change. You will be surprised how little other people know about the realities of being undocumented. People who know someone who is gay or lesbian are more likely to support equal rights for all gay and lesbian people—the same follows for people who know someone who is undocumented.”⁶

Abdollahi thus astutely observes that sharing personal stories as part of the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign serves the dual function of encouraging self-acceptance and acceptance by others. As mentioned in the first chapter of this study, these goals are consistent with the goals and strategies of historical social movements—consciousness-raising and direct action tactics—where activists have had to reach audiences who have had different levels of involvement with a given issue. These comparisons to social movements for civil rights throughout U.S. history are significant for the way they are used to create a space for a discursive, dissident style of citizenship that can be enacted by non-citizens as well as citizens and, thus, should not be written off as trivial or incidental. As discussed in chapter one of this study, individuals who enact a discursive, dissident style of citizenship utilize rhetoric and symbolic actions from the history of dissident U.S. social movements in order to demonstrate its inherent civic value. I elaborate on this notion in this chapter through three primary claims. First, I argue that by drawing on the rhetoric and tactics of movements for civil rights in U.S. history, undocumented immigrant youth are able to position themselves as the inheritors of a distinctly U.S. American legacy of dissent. By doing so, their movement not only gains legitimacy through the invocation of past revered civil rights leaders, but this tactic

also allows undocumented immigrant youth to claim that they are like U.S. American dissidents without necessarily having to assimilate based on other normative U.S. values or standards of success. Second, and specifically, by using the rhetoric and tactics of the gay liberation movement and its leaders, undocumented immigrant youth expand the social and civic space of citizenship by challenging who can enact citizenship. In other words, making the rhetorical choice to use the words “coming out” to describe the act of declaring one’s immigration status and telling one’s personal narrative to friends, neighbors, colleagues, and strangers is simultaneously an act of coalitional solidarity and an invocation of historical authority.⁷ In the act of borrowing rhetoric and tactics, one can see relationships emerge between immigrant rights activism, gay liberation, including the Queer Nation movement, the African American civil rights movement, the United Farmworkers movement, women’s rights movements, and student movements from the 1960s, in addition to other movements from U.S. history, that invite a sense of identification not only across the perceived boundaries of race, class, sexuality, gender, or age, but also time. Third, and finally, I argue that the use of rhetoric and tactics from past U.S. social movements empowers undocumented youth, one target audience for the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, and appeals to U.S. citizens who value a version of U.S. history where what it means to be a U.S. American is constituted in acts of dissent, an audience that is created by the campaign.

This chapter is divided into three sections. First, I briefly review the work of other scholars who have already devoted study to the topics of coalitional rhetorics, collective memory, and imitation or mimesis as rhetorical strategies. Second, I survey and analyze how undocumented immigrant activists and organizations have invoked and made use of

the rhetoric and tactics of past U.S. civil and social rights movements, focusing on the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign. In this section, I primarily analyze two texts: the ‘coming out guides’ produced by United We Dream (2010) and NIYA (2011).⁸ Third, I discuss how the use of these rhetorics and tactics expands the notion of who can enact citizenship by telling a version of U.S. history in which citizenship is constituted by acts of dissent. In this section, I examine how this use of historical rhetorics and tactics affects the campaign’s targeted and created audiences.

Coalitional Rhetorics, Memory, and Mimesis

As previously mentioned, Aimee Carrillo Rowe and, drawing on her work, Karma Chávez, have written extensively on the subject of coalitional rhetorics. Chávez specifically adopts Rowe’s notion of differential belonging to characterize the ways that immigrants’ rights groups and queer or GLBT rights groups attempt to forge political alliances and coalitions that seek to understand and occupy the other’s position. Recall that in chapter one, I noted that on a spectrum that measures how an individual or group relates to others in society that ranges from normative belonging, defined as seeking to assimilate to mainstream (white, heteronormative) values to differential belonging, defined as desiring “relations across lines of difference,” the actions of the undocumented immigrant youth activists lie somewhere in the middle.⁹ Chávez describes the significance of differential belonging, noting that, “When one longs to or chooses to belong to another group that is predominantly positioned as threatening, the acts of longing and belonging directly confront the national imaginary and hence challenge the values and discourses that have largely constituted it.”¹⁰ She also observes that, because of its potential to challenge norms of thought and behavior in such significant ways,

“Differential belonging is not a mainstream form of political action because it is located outside of most people’s affective aspirations and it is, in a word, hard.”¹¹ Despite the challenges of differential belonging and coalitional politics, Rowe and Chávez respectively argue that this type of thought and action is necessary to fight back against the ways that political opponents, too, can blur the boundaries of seemingly distinct groups to limit who can enact citizenship and group membership more generally. For instance, discussing protests in Los Angeles by Latino students in response to California’s Proposition 187, Rowe argues that, “Anglos passing by in cars shouted at them to ‘go back to Mexico,’ ... The fact that Anglo motorists responded to Latino citizens as *noncitizens*, even as the latter were expressing their fundamental right to free speech, demonstrates the unevenness with which citizenship may be enacted.”¹² Chávez, too, observes that, “The slippage between being undocumented and ‘looking’ undocumented makes any distinction between the citizen and the other tenuous at best.”¹³ Rowe and Chávez’s observations are an apt reminder that in thinking about attempts to form connections between movements across political issues and time, one must not forget the role that both internal and external forces can play in disciplining individuals into certain identity categories or groups.

Karen A. Foss, in her essay in *Queering Public Address*, poses a question that is relevant for this study: “What can be learned about the possibilities and limitations of scripts and strategies for marginalized rhetors seeking the mainstream?”¹⁴ Studying the rhetoric of Harvey Milk, Foss argues that “Milk’s approach to his rhetorical situation offers a model for queer public address that perhaps can be used as a template by other marginalized groups.”¹⁵ She describes Milk as engaging in a “rhetoric of contradiction,”

which sought to create unity while encouraging and enacting contradictory positions. Foss notes, “He consistently acknowledged the boundaries of the dominant worldview and stirred them up; he recognized the limits and at the same time crossed them. These strategies allowed him to negotiate an opening—a rhetorical space for ‘both-and’ rather than ‘either-or’—in which a different world could emerge. And it is in this particular combination of contradictory strategies that a queer rhetorical situation emerges.”¹⁶ Foss’ language recalls that of D. Robert DeChaine mentioned earlier in this study regarding the “ambiguous positionality, the troublesome both/and of migrant subjectivity.”¹⁷ Thus, because Foss’ analysis of the queer rhetorical situation suggests avenues for other “marginalized groups” to occupy the rhetorically queer space of “both-and,” her discussion provides a framework for considering how undocumented immigrant youth activists do just this.

Kirt Wilson has considered the role of memory and mimesis in the struggle for promoting either the status quo or social change. Wilson argues that frequently, when memory of the civil rights movement is invoked, it is with a desire to sentimentalize the past, to quell the negative emotions associated with the past and foster positive emotions of racial harmony. He notes that, in a sense, memory of the civil rights movement has been largely relegated to commemorative or epideictic rather than deliberative speech, stating that, “My concern is that the public is not only reluctant to listen to the hard yet essential critiques that resulted from the civil rights movement, but also that we have found a way to avoid those critiques while simultaneously embracing the movement through a sentimental experience of its memory.”¹⁸ Through Wilson’s observations, one can see how some members of the general public might object to the undocumented

immigrant youth activists' use of the African American civil rights movement, and other rights movements, for contemporary political purposes. Even if U.S. Americans revere a history of dissent, even imagining it as constitutive of U.S. civic identity, it is important to consider that many U.S. Americans may believe that this tradition of dissent should remain in memory, in a sentimentalized version of the past.

Wilson also has contributed to important scholarship on the use of mimesis as strategy and tool for social change. In his study of how imitation was used by African Americans in nineteenth-century politics, Wilson notes, "When former slaves tried to reconstitute themselves as U.S. citizens, demonstrating the same mimetic behavior as had antebellum free blacks, they began to disrupt the South's systems of power."¹⁹ Contrary to prevailing assessments about the efficacy or desirability of mimesis, he argues that it can be an effective and progressive strategy for politically marginalized groups. Of African Americans in the nineteenth century, such as Frederick Douglass, he comments, "Salvation is not to be found on the borderlands of U.S. society, but inside the city walls. To survive modern civilization, one had to become a part of it; one had to evade the label of the 'other.'"²⁰ Wilson thus defends mimesis or imitation as a political strategy, arguing, "Imitation is not now what it once was, and the attempt to revitalize mimêsis as a dynamic theory and politically viable strategy does not require that one abandon blackness for whiteness...Practiced and theorized as a dynamic art, a careful balancing act that rhetoricians have practiced for millennia, perhaps a revived form of imitation offers an additional solution to the problem of two nations, black and white, separate, hostile, unequal."²¹ To this assessment, one might add: citizen and noncitizen. This additional seems especially apt when considering that the mimetic strategies Wilson

discusses occurred at a time when African-Americans were not considered citizens, in the antebellum period, or had only recently gained citizenship rights and were responding to these social and political changes later in the century. Wilson recounts how imitation and repetition have long been connected to U.S. institutions of education and citizenship, describing how education was historically designed to teach the “responsibilities of citizenship” in the nineteenth century “to protect the nation from the moral decay of immigration, Catholicism, and urbanization.”²² Drawing on Wilson’s work, in the next section of this chapter, I analyze how noncitizens—the undocumented immigrant youth of United We Dream, Dream Activist, and NIYA—have used mimetic rhetoric and strategies, or imitation of past U.S. rights movements, for “politically viable” ends.²³

Come Out, Come Out, *Whoever You Are*: Memory and Mimesis as Political Strategies

During an immigrants’ rights march in Chicago, one of the many marches that took place across the country in the spring of 2006, Jose Soberanis carried “a poster of Martin Luther King Jr. that he had sketched with his 11-year-old sister, Cecilia” because “He equated his fight with the civil-rights movements of the 1960s.”²⁴ He stated, “As the saying goes, ‘I have a dream.’ Well, we have dreams, too...African-Americans were looking for social acceptance. That is what we want too.”²⁵ At another immigrants’ rights march in Atlanta in the spring of 2006, Fabian Rodriguez, an undocumented immigrant from Mexico, claimed that, “We are in the situation that Rosa Parks was in several years ago.”²⁶ Some of the protests and rallies held for immigrants’ rights during the spring of 2006 were designed to coincide with an event called “A Day Without an Immigrant,” which encouraged immigrants to boycott all economic activity (including going in to

work) on May 1, 2006. This boycott was allegedly “inspired by the farmworker movement of the 1960’s led by Cesar Chavez and Bert Corona.”²⁷ One of the four students who embarked on the “Trail of Dreams” in early 2010, discussed in chapter one of this study, stated, “I think the greatest motivation I have is the history books... That once upon a time the laws in this country said it was O.K. to have slaves. It was O.K. to put people in the back of the bus. But the laws changed.”²⁸ Even the name “Trail of Dreams” evokes memory of the “Trail of Tears,” the forced removal of Native Americans from their homes in the southeastern U.S. to the western U.S. territories. In these examples of discourse from the immigrants’ rights movement, one can glean references to slavery, African American civil rights, the farmworkers’ movement of the 1960s, and the oppression of Native Americans. There is a sense in which, for many in the immigrants’ rights movement, not just undocumented youth, the history of the United States becomes a resource for argument, a source of inspiration. No movement or moment of oppression is off limits; all can generate arguments for the immigrants’ cause. These *past* moments of oppression or movements for rights allow undocumented immigrants to imagine a *future* when their demands for rights have been granted.

Perhaps no other aspect of the immigrants’ rights movement utilizes memory of U.S. history as a resource more than the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, organized by undocumented youth. In 2010, the organization United We Dream, founded in July of 2009 by undocumented immigrant youth, declared that March 15-21, 2010, was “National Coming Out of the Shadows Week.”²⁹ IYJL, based out of Chicago, organized a “National Coming Out of the Shadows Day” on March 10, 2010, in order to publicize the campaign to be held the following week and to begin to solicit ‘coming out’ narratives

from the undocumented immigrant youth who gathered for the event. On National Coming Out of the Shadows Day, “eight undocumented youth from the Immigrant Youth Justice League in Chicago...marched alongside 300 supporters from Chicago’s Union Park to the downtown Homeland Security headquarters. They set up a stage and one by one, each came forward and told their stories in front of the enforcement agency that’s responsible for deporting them.”³⁰ Reyna Wences, one of the undocumented youth who participated in the event, said that the experience was “liberating.”³¹ Invoking themes from the slogan for 2010’s Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, “Undocumented and Unafraid,” she said, “We were claiming our space, saying we are undocumented, and we are not afraid.”³² The slogan for the 2011 Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, which was organized by NIYA, was “Undocumented. Unafraid. Unapologetic.” Together, the 2010 and 2011 Coming Out of the Shadows campaigns made the act of coming out an integral part of the larger immigrants’ rights movement.

Both campaigns drew inspiration from the gay liberation movement of the 1970s, which made coming out of “the closet” a political priority for gays and lesbians. Specifically, these campaigns were influenced by the figure of Harvey Milk, who viewed the act of coming out as a “moral imperative.”³³ Milk “suggested that if ‘every Gay person were to come out only to his/her own family, friends, neighbors and fellow workers, within days the entire state would discover that we are not the stereotypes generally assumed.’”³⁴ When Milk was trying to rally gays and lesbians against California’s Proposition 6, he felt that “coming out became the ultimate enactment of an authentic personal and political response to this repressive measure.”³⁵ From this, Foss concludes, Milk “transformed the constraints of the closet into resources, both personal

and political, that he believed could transform the social landscape.”³⁶ Thus, just as the closet became a resource for gays and lesbians to declare their identities and tell their stories, so, too, the shadows became a resource for undocumented immigrants to tell their stories. As one journalist stated of the coming out of the shadows campaign, “It’s been a narrative-driven campaign, a movement to change people’s minds about immigrants through real people’s stories. That, coupled with a lineup of old-school activism—marches, hunger strikes, sit-ins and civil disobedience—has made them a force to be reckoned with.”³⁷ In the assessment of another commentator, “It’s no accident that so many of the leaders of this movement are queer, like Felipe Matos and Juan Rodriguez, a gay couple from Miami who last year walked 1,500 miles to Washington to lobby for the Dream Act, and Tania Unzueta and Reyna Wences from Chicago, who organized the first National Coming Out of the Shadows Day. The telling of personal stories to convey a larger moral argument has long been a staple of the gay movement, and gay people are some of the most gifted practitioners of this narrative/political art.”³⁸ In Milk’s admonishments to gays and lesbians to come out of the closet, and in the gay liberation movement more generally, the previously stated goals of the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign can be seen: humanize, politicize, mobilize. In order to see how memory of U.S. history motivated these goals and inspired imitation of past civil rights movements, a closer look at the ‘coming out guides’ that were created to correspond with each year’s Coming Out of the Shadows Day/Week is warranted.

The first guide, “Coming Out of the Shadows: A How to Guide,” was published jointly by DREAM Activist, the New York State Youth Leadership Council, and the United We Dream Network before the 2010 campaign, and distributed around the

internet to other immigrants' rights groups and the media. The first notable feature of the guide is that it creates five levels of commitment with different actions prescribed for each level. This allows individuals reading the guide to choose their own level of participation in the coming out of the shadows campaign. Each level, except for the first, is named for a figure or leader from a past U.S. rights movement or struggle (see Figure 1, below).

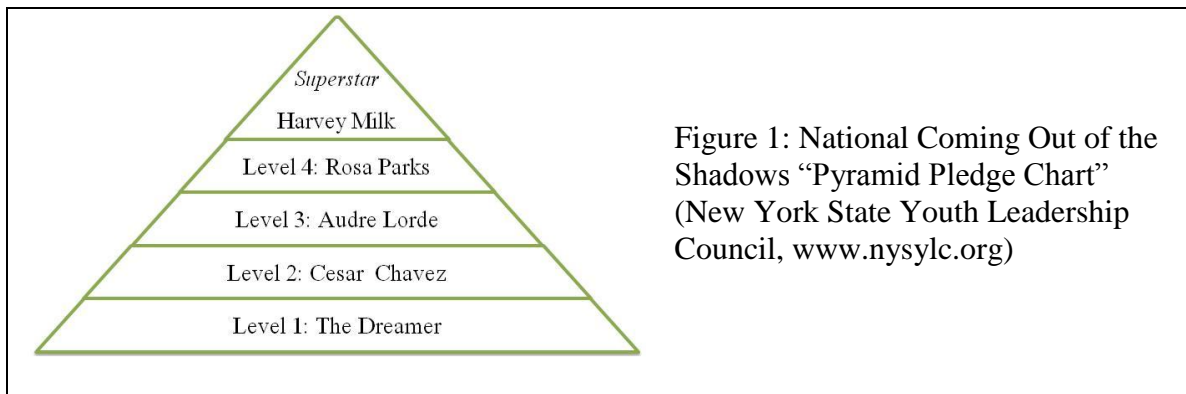


Figure 1: National Coming Out of the Shadows “Pyramid Pledge Chart” (New York State Youth Leadership Council, www.nysylc.org)

Level one, “The Dreamer,” asks the individual to come out to someone they know, perhaps a close friend or teacher. In this section of the guide, emphasis is placed on the fact that the act of telling one’s story not only should be personally fulfilling, but also work towards achieving the campaign’s political ends. The guide states, “Remember, telling your story can be an empowering experience but it can also help broaden the immigrant student movement. Don’t be afraid to ask that person to get involved.”³⁹ Level two, “Cesar Chávez and the UFW,” increases the level of commitment from the individual by asking him or her to hold a “coming out meeting.” This level suggests that deeper personal bonds can form between members of the undocumented immigrant youth community as a result of coming out to others in a small group setting. However, the guide also acknowledges that this level requires greater risk on the part of the individuals

participating in it, advising that, “not everyone accepts undocumented youth and you may be putting yourself in harms [sic] way.”⁴⁰ Again, at this level, individuals are asked to remember that in order for their stories to have an impact, the experience of sharing narratives has to go beyond being “empowering” to building the immigrant student movement.⁴¹ Level three, “Audre Lorde – ‘Shout it Out,’” suggests throwing a coming out party, observing that, “Coming Out doesn’t have to be an ominous thing.”⁴² This level, too, reminds individuals to tie the fun of the party to “a commitment to pass the DREAM Act.”⁴³ Level four, “Rosa Parks – ‘We Are Here Get Used to It,’” invites individuals to hold a press conference on National Coming Out of the Shadows Day. This section of the guide includes tips for writing a media advisory and press release, as well as cautioning individuals thinking about attempting this level to be adequately prepared for the event. The guide notes that the individual organizing the event, as well as the individuals they invite to share their coming out stories, “must be aware of all the potential consequences of telling their story to such a wide audience.”⁴⁴ The final level, level five, “Harvey Milk – ‘Out of the Closets and into the Streets,’” suggests that individuals hold a rally. The guide states that, “A coming out rally is an empowering and action oriented opportunity to come out to your community.”⁴⁵ This section of the guide asks individuals to consider the agenda or goal of the rally and to have a specific demand in mind before organizing it.

Each level is accompanied by a picture of the individual the level is named for. For instance, level one features a picture of undocumented immigrant youth activists, level two includes a picture of Cesar Chávez and members of the UFW, level three shows a picture of Audre Lorde with a quotation from Lorde imprinted on the photo, level four

uses the famous picture of Rosa Parks sitting at the front of the bus (after the success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott), and level five includes a picture of a jubilant Harvey Milk leading a protest march against California's Proposition 6 and holding a sign that reads "I'm from Woodmere, N.Y." Additionally, each level asks the individual to translate personal narratives into political strategy. Specifically, the guide asks, "Have you completed the _____ level now?" for each level and lists the requirements for completing the level, usually including sharing one's story, persuading a certain number of other individuals to share their stories, and gathering anywhere from 10 to 100 petition signatures in support of the DREAM Act.

With the success of the 2010 Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, NIYA and the members of its alliance decided to repeat the campaign in 2011, and produced a new guide, "A Guide to Coming Out for Undocumented Youth," to correspond with the campaign. Although the 2011 guide maintained some of the same language and suggestions from the 2010 guide, the most notable difference is that all explicit references to past U.S. civil rights movements have been removed. Now, instead of introducing the guide with the quotation from Harvey Milk urging, "Brothers and Sisters, you must come out! come out to your parents, come out to your friends, if indeed they are your friends, come out to your neighbors, come out to your fellow workers," the 2011 guide begins with two quotations from undocumented immigrant youth activists involved in the movement. Both quotations ask undocumented youth to declare their status as undocumented and seek to explain why they should do so. Angy, an undocumented youth active in DREAM Activist and the New York State Youth Leadership Council, an organization that advocates for educational access for immigrant students and a member

of NIYA, is quoted as stating, “Being undocumented doesn’t define who you are. By Coming Out we take back our right of speech that for years others have been trying to control and oppress. Being undocumented is something that has given us strength and patience throughout the years. Nobody, not even the Senate, can stop us. We’re here and we’re not leaving, be proud and be loud!”⁴⁶ Another quotation, from Reyna, a member of the Immigrant Youth Justice League (a member of the NIYA alliance), reads, “By Coming Out, we are taking control of the same fears that are going to exist no matter what. Last year, we came out, sat in, and rose up. Now, no one can stop us. This year, not only are we undocumented and unafraid, but we are also unapologetic. We are and we deserve to be a part of this country, and we won’t let anyone tell us differently.”⁴⁷

As the guide continues, level one remains mostly the same as it was in the 2010 guide. It is still called “The Dreamer,” and asks the individual contemplating action to come out to someone they know. However, unlike the 2010 guide, at level one, the 2011 guide does not mention connecting the telling of one’s story to asking for support for the DREAM Act. Level two of the 2011 guide essentially combines level two and three of the 2010 guide and is simply called “Shout it Out or Going Public.” This level suggests holding a meeting or a party to “deepen relationships with allies and other dreamers” and starting or connecting with an existing immigrants’ rights group.⁴⁸ Level three of the 2011 guide is called “Loud and Proud” and is closest in its commitment to level four of the 2010 guide. It, too, asks undocumented youth to host a press conference and provides tips for negotiating the media. Level four shifts the language of the 2010 guide’s level five, substituting the word “shadows” for “closets,” and is called “Out of the Shadows and into the Streets.” Significantly, one of the additional requirements for completing level four (versus level five of the 2010 guide) is committing “to continuing to organize

for immigrant youth.”⁴⁹ Finally, level five of the 2011 guide takes on the slogan of the 2011 Coming Out of the Shadows campaign: “Undocumented, Unafraid, and Unapologetic.” This level calls for “direct action or civil disobedience.”⁵⁰ This section of the guide notes that, “In the past year undocumented youth have engaged in both types of actions. Several groups have camped out and starved in front of Senators offices forcing the media and public to pay attention. Other groups have risked and been arrested while engaging in non-violent, civil disobedience.”⁵¹

The 2011 coming out guide, like the 2010 coming out guide, includes pictures that correspond to each level. Level one features two pictures of undocumented youth holding signs that read “I am undocumented and unafraid” and “I am undocumented,” respectively.⁵² These signs became iconic during the 2010 Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, which featured videos and pictures of undocumented youth holding these signs. Level two shows a picture of what appears to be undocumented youth (and potentially allies) gathered for a coming out meeting or party. Level three includes a picture of two youth activists engaged at a rally, one holding a megaphone above their heads, the other yelling into it. Level four borrows a picture from the march held on the 2010 Coming Out of the Shadows Day in Chicago. Finally, level five contains two pictures of direct action or civil disobedience that occurred in 2010. The first is a picture of students staging a hunger strike at the San Antonio office of Senator Kathryn Ann Bailey Hutchison. The second is a picture of students participating in a sit-in style protest in the middle of a public street. Like the 2010 coming out guide, the 2011 coming out guide also asks participants to compile a list of supporters for each level, but the 2011

coming out guide increases the number of signatures and supporters gathered from 100 to 200.

In identifying the historical influences on the 2010 and 2011 coming out guides, some are immediately clear while others require more reflection. There are the references to leaders and voices from various movements in the 2010 coming out guide. These individuals and the movements they represent span the decades of the most heightened period of social activism in the United States during the twentieth century: the 1950s, the 1960s, and the 1970s. Rosa Parks represents a figure from the beginning of the African American civil rights movement in the 1950s. César Chávez did most of his organizing work with the UFW in the 1960s. Although her work spans multiple decades, Audre Lorde is arguably most well-known for her debates with other feminists in the 1960s over how gender and race should be treated within the feminist movement. Harvey Milk, whose story has been told recently in the documentary *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) and the popular film *Milk* (2008), campaigned for gay and lesbian rights in the 1970s and eventually passed some legislation in this area as a member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.⁵³ Although the selection of these individuals may not seem to follow a consistent pattern, one can speculate that the rhetoric and tactics they promoted inspired their selection. These individuals seem to embody the tradition of speaking and acting out in response to some form of political or social oppression.

The rhetoric of these guides, too, is steeped in the language of the past. Much of the rhetoric of the guides seems to be influenced by the queer pride and black power movements. For instance, three slogans from the 2010 and 2011 coming out guides are borrowed from the queer activist group, Queer Nation.⁵⁴ Queer Nation was formed in

1990 and officially lasted only two years as an organization, but its impact carried on well beyond this period.⁵⁵ Initially formed as an affront to the mainstream GLBT movement, Queer Nation is credited with reclaiming the word “queer” from its more pejorative uses by GLBT rights opponents.⁵⁶ GLBT Historian Susan Stryker describes Queer Nation’s movement strategy this way: “Rather than launching long-term campaigns to create social change, Queer Nation favored short-term, highly visible, media-oriented actions, such as same-sex kiss-ins at shopping malls. Their political philosophy was succinctly summed up in the now-clichéd [sic] slogan, ‘We’re Here. We’re Queer. Get Used to It.’”⁵⁷ Level four of the 2010 coming out guide uses “We Are Here Get Used to It” as the heading for that section. Additionally, level five of the 2010 coming out guide includes the heading “Out of the Closets and Into the Streets,” another slogan often attributed to Queer Nation. Level three of the 2010 coming out guide and level two of the 2011 coming out guide use the phrase “Shout It Out.” The “Queer Nation Manifesto,” handed out at a Gay Pride parade in New York in 1990, declared, “If you are Queer, Shout It,” continuing, “Be proud. Do whatever you need to do to tear yourself away from your customary state of acceptance. Be free. Shout.”⁵⁸ The theme of pride is itself borrowed from the black power movement, which was a source of inspiration for the members of Queer Nation. Brain Walker observes that, “The early pamphleteers of Queer Nation drew an explicit link between their strategies and those of black nationalists.”⁵⁹ The rhetoric of pride shows up in the coming out guides as well; level three of the 2011 coming out guide is called “Loud and Proud.” Even the immigrant youth activists’ strategy of drawing tactics and rhetoric from various historical U.S. rights movements may have been inspired by Queer Nation. Lauren Berlant and Elizabeth

Freeman, in an article that discusses Queer Nation and the “political logic of Queer Nationality,” observe that, “Queer Nation’s tactics of invention appropriate for gay politics both grass roots and mass-mediated forms of countercultural resistance from left, feminist, and civil rights movements of the sixties—the ones that insisted that the personal is political, engaging the complex relation between local and national practices.”⁶⁰ Thus, the strategy of appropriating rhetoric and tactics from past U.S. movements against oppression and for civil rights by immigrants’ rights groups, too, carries on a tradition started by earlier U.S. social movements.

Remembering the Past, (Re)membering the Future

I argue that mimetic rhetoric and deployment of strategies from past dissident movements ultimately expands the notion of who can enact citizenship, shifting ideas about who is perceived as a member of the nation. In order to understand how citizenship is expanded through historical remembering and imitation, it is useful first to examine how historical imitation worked rhetorically in the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaigns. The most notable feature of these campaigns was not the sheer number of mimetic representations of historical rhetoric or tactics, nor was it the diversity of their influences; the most notable feature of the campaign was how explicit references to historical campaigns and movements dropped off dramatically from the 2010 to the 2011 campaign. Above, I detailed the shifts in the names of each level from the 2010 to the 2011 campaign. Figures such as Rosa Parks and Harvey Milk were removed as level names, as were their pictures. However, these pictures were replaced by pictures from the students’ own actions and activism: students sitting in the middle of a public street blocking traffic, arms linked, replaces a picture of Rosa Parks sitting on a bus; a crowd of

banner and sign-laden undocumented immigrant youth and allies marching down Chicago's streets replaces a picture of Harvey Milk leading a sign-laden crowd of Proposition 6 protesters down San Francisco's streets; students protesting with a megaphone held high replaces a picture of Audre Lorde with hands raised; undocumented students and allies gathered at a coming out meeting replaces a picture of César Chávez gathered with members of the UFW. Even the picture of the Dreamers, level one in both years' guides, changes. In 2010, level one features a picture of several students marching, backs to the camera, with a sign that reads, "We Are the American Dream."⁶¹ In 2011, as discussed above, level one features two pictures of immigrant youth looking straight into the camera, holding signs that declare their status as undocumented. Additionally, the words opening the guides shifted from those of Harvey Milk in 2010 to those of undocumented immigrant youth activists in 2011.

I argue that these changes represent a shift in how participants in the immigrants' rights movement imagined themselves within the civic body. In 2010, the movement of undocumented immigrant youth was still relatively new. Although the DREAM Act was 10 years old by this point, most of the organizations composed of immigrant youth were formed in 2007 at the earliest. There is a sense in which 2010 marked a turning point for undocumented immigrant youth activists. As detailed in the history section of the first chapter of this study, there were actions before 2010—marches, boycotts, protests—but in 2010 actions increased across the country. Even though the DREAM Act failed to pass in the Senate in December of 2010, undocumented immigrant youth saw seemingly isolated acts of protest grow into a networked movement that year. In the 2010 coming out guide, references to and imitation of history was a way for undocumented immigrant

youth to place themselves as the inheritors of a distinctly U.S. tradition of dissent. There is an implicit argument at work in the use of the rhetoric of Queer Nation and pictures of Harvey Milk and the others, for example, which operates on two premises: 1) these individuals challenged the U.S. government for full access to the rights of citizenship, and if they could do it, why not undocumented immigrants, who also are denied full access to the rights of citizenship, and 2) these individuals gained rights by openly and publicly dissenting against the institution (usually the U.S. government) that was denying them rights. Thus, seemingly paradoxically, it is the act of being denied citizenship rights that provides the context for undocumented youth, and others in movements before them, to enact citizenship by behaving as dissident citizens through the imitation of dissident rhetoric and strategies of the past. In 2011, undocumented immigrant youth have come a long distance as a movement, even if they have yet to achieve significant legislative goals. The 2011 coming out guide reflects the extent to which undocumented immigrant youth have begun to actively imagine themselves as enacting citizenship through participating in the mimetic rhetoric and actions of movements from the past. From 2010 to 2011, undocumented youth thus moved from explicitly performing citizenship practices to enacting citizenship through discursive expression. History's influence is present in the 2011 coming out guide; however, it is now the students themselves who are pictured as participating in these quintessential acts of dissent that encapsulate a discursive, dissident style of citizenship.

Earlier in this chapter, I claimed that imitating the rhetoric and actions of past U.S. social movements allowed undocumented immigrant youth to “act like citizens” without having to subscribe to other values or assimilate certain norms of success. The

United States has historically had a rocky relationship with how to properly value the act of dissent. Founded in a revolutionary act, the nation has in turns embraced the ability to speak one's mind, to speak truth to power, as well as quashed unfavorable remarks or sentiments during times of political turmoil (as the Alien and Sedition Acts or McCarthyism remind us). However ambivalent the U.S. public might feel towards a tradition of dissent, it is clear that the ability to speak one's mind is still claimed as a value that buoys U.S. national identity. Berlant and Freeman, in their study of Queer Nation, note that, "Queer Nation has taken up the project of coordinating a new nationality. Its relation to nationhood is multiple and ambiguous, however, taking as much from the insurgent nationalisms of oppressed peoples as from the revolutionary idealism of the United States."⁶² To the extent that the immigrants' rights movement led by undocumented youth picks up the rhetoric of Queer Nation, these have been their influences as well: social movements fighting against oppression and the birth mythos of the United States as the country that was born of revolution.

The notion that citizenship can be enacted by individuals who are legally non-citizens does not exist just in academic circles or in movements like that of undocumented immigrant youth trying to embody this notion. In a recent speech on immigration, President Barack Obama took the "Anyone can make it in America" cultural myth and applied it to the situation of immigrants. He stated:

That's the promise of this country — that anyone can write the next chapter in our story. It doesn't matter where you come from...; it doesn't matter what you look like; it doesn't matter what faith you worship. What matters is that you believe in the ideals on which we were founded; that you believe that all of us are created

equal, endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights. . . . All of us deserve our freedoms and our pursuit of happiness. In embracing America, you can become American. That is what makes this country great. That enriches all of us.⁶³

Although Obama's conclusion that "In embracing America, you can become American" sounds promising, in fact, it is potentially damaging for the cultural diversity of the country. For instance, if one accepts the premise that citizenship can be enacted by non-citizens, it would be easy for someone to counter that non-citizens—undocumented immigrants—should just "act like Americans" if they want to be citizens. This is why I argue that a discursive, dissident style of citizenship expands the notion of who can enact citizenship in a way that is more inclusive than a culturally assimilationist style of citizenship. A discursive, dissident style of citizenship draws on and shapes memory of past U.S. social movements as a resource for mimetic rhetoric and actions that come to be defined as the behavior of citizens. Here the work of Robert Asen is important and relevant. Asen conceives of "citizenship as a mode of public engagement," observing that, "Theorizing citizenship as a mode of public engagement encourages us to reformulate our understanding of the relationship between citizenship and citizen. Of most importance, this means not regarding citizenship as the possession of citizens."⁶⁴ By focusing on engagement as constitutive of citizenship, Asen shifts the focus from specific acts such as voting or volunteering to politically motivated discursive acts. Building on Asen's model, I propose that drawing on the memory of U.S. social movements and imitating their rhetoric and actions represents one way or style of performing citizenship. In a discursive, dissident style of citizenship, the focus is on the multitude of ways that

citizens have voiced—with their words and with their bodies—dissent against institutions of power, to such an extent that the history of these movements has created a way to perform and, eventually, enact citizenship. Thus, anyone who is publicly voicing a specific claim of harm or oppression against an institution of power with the goal of persuading others to support or act on their cause is enacting a discursive, dissident style of citizenship. This style of citizenship opens up the notion of *who* can enact citizenship through the diversity of its history. Since the ideal of dissent is such an ingrained part of the U.S. national mythos, anyone from Rosa Parks to Mohammad Abdollahi can enact a discursive, dissident style of citizenship. In other words, these individuals claim their citizenship through the very act of taking it from the powers that claim to hold it. In this way, undocumented immigrant youth follow the lead of centuries of dissidents by voicing their claims against those in power, thus enacting citizenship.

In relying on discursive moments in U.S. history that involve acts of dissent against the U.S. government or other powerful institutional force(s), undocumented immigrant youth weave a narrative where they are the inheritors of this legacy of dissent. This narrative is appealing to undocumented immigrant youth in that it allows them to imagine a future where their goals have been met. This narrative is also an attempt by undocumented youth to appeal to an audience, citizen and non-citizen alike, which may be initially uninformed or apathetic towards the future of immigration policy. The use of dissident moments in U.S. history as resources allows the youth of NIYA and DREAM Activist to create an appealing role for this audience to play. Simply by affirming the undocumented youth's reading of U.S. history as constituted in acts of dissent, this audience supports the goals of the campaign. For as the narrative crafted in the National

Coming Out of the Shadows campaign implies, if citizenship is constituted in acts of dissent against those in power, and undocumented youth are the inheritors of this tradition of citizenship, then it follows that these youth are already enacting citizenship, and thus deserve legal recognition of their citizenship. The undocumented youth thus create a role for their diverse audiences: supporting the narrative work of the campaign.

Undocumented immigrant youth, by perceiving themselves as the inheritors of this legacy, grant the movement, and those participating in it, agency over their own cause. As seen in the discussion above, undocumented youth may have mined the history of U.S. dissent for discursive resources, but this allowed them to find their own voices. For others not involved in the campaign, be they citizen or non-citizen, supporting the narrative of citizenship as constituted in acts of dissent allows this audience to commit an act of solidarity in an issue where substantive action can feel out of reach (after all, the DREAM Act was first introduced in 2001). For those individuals in the campaign's target audience wielding policy-making power, supporting the narrative work of the campaign becomes marketable in its ties to certain myths surrounding U.S. national identity. As referenced above, many may find the image of U.S. Americans as revolutionary dissidents flattering to the notion of What It Means To Be an American. In the third chapter of this study, I focus on the metaphor of the shadows within the Coming Out of the Shadows campaign. I argue that analyzing how this metaphor functions within the campaign allows one to understand what discursive, dissident citizenship enactment looks like stylistically, and how the shadow metaphor is used for different purposes to appeal to different audiences.

Chapter 3: Closets, Shadows, and Other Dark Places: The Role of Metaphor in Shaping Norms within a Discursive, Dissident Style of Citizenship

A range of metaphors has historically been used to describe the everyday experiences of undocumented immigrants, and has included terms such as phantoms, ghosts, or shadows. Gabriel Rincón, the founder of Mixteca Organization, an organization that serves and “empowers” Mexican and Latin-American immigrants in New York, noted in an article in the *New York Times* why it is important to organize citizen immigrants to vote in the interest of protecting the interests of undocumented immigrants: “The undocumented are phantoms who are not here legally, so they do not exist.”¹ A recent editorial in the *New York Times* stated that new immigrants “live in the shadows, so their American-born children do, too.”² The metaphor of the shadows has so pervaded the language used to describe and characterize the experience of undocumented immigrants that it has been used by the president and the U.S. Supreme Court. In his speech in May of 2011 on immigration policy, President Barack Obama stated that “undocumented immigrants live in the shadows, where they’re vulnerable to unscrupulous businesses.”³ In 1982, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Plyler v. Doe*, which referred to a “shadow population of illegal migrants—numbering in the millions—within our borders.”⁴

Plyler v. Doe ruled that a 1975 Texas law that “allowed the state to withhold from local school districts state funds for educating children of illegal aliens” was unconstitutional on the grounds that it violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.⁵ *Plyler v. Doe* was also significant, according to Keith Cunningham-Parmeter, because “despite the case’s famously egalitarian ends, the decision relies on restrictive metaphors to portray a nation overcome by illegal

immigration.”⁶ In an analysis of the text of *Plyler v. Doe*, Cunningham-Parmeter argues, “According to *Plyler*’s metaphors, bad aliens are criminal adults, while good aliens are infantilized immigrants who remain quiet and vulnerable. Legal responses emerge naturally from these frames: good immigrants deserve an education; bad aliens deserve swift removal from the country... *Plyler*’s story begins with innocent children hiding in the shadows and ends with adult criminals deluging the nation.”⁷ As can be seen from Cunningham-Parmeter’s observations, the U.S. Supreme Court has invoked a range of metaphors, including floods, aliens, and shadows, to characterize immigrants. Ultimately, he concludes that because “there is no way to ‘neatly summarize’ a group of noncitizens with varied backgrounds and objectives...the goals of immigration metaphors are neither necessary nor attainable; metaphors that attempt to capture the essence of immigrants will inevitably miss the mark and therefore distort.”⁸ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, in their foundational work, *Metaphors We Live By*, argue that it is not so much the actual distortion that matters, but how perceptions are shifted by metaphors and what actions those perceptions influence. They note, “In most cases, what is at issue is not the truth or falsity of a metaphor but the perceptions and inferences that follow from it and the actions that are sanctioned by it. In all aspects of life...we define our reality in terms of metaphors and then proceed to act on the basis of metaphors... Metaphors... play a central role in the construction of social and political reality.”⁹ Thus, undocumented immigrant youth who decide to become politically active must operate within this discursive metaphorical framework by accepting, modifying, or rejecting these metaphors in order to shape “the construction of social and political reality.”

In the previous chapter, I argued that undocumented immigrant youth adopted a strategy of imitating the rhetoric and actions of past U.S. movements for rights in order to argue through enactment that undocumented immigrant youth are the inheritors of a distinctly U.S. tradition of dissent and, thus, deserved citizenship rights. In this chapter, I focus on one particular mimetic act—coming out—to discern how undocumented immigrant youth negotiate the cultural prevalence of the metaphor of the shadows by using it to support enacting a discursive, dissident style of citizenship. I argue that, for the undocumented immigrant youth who organized the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, the metaphor of the shadows represents a way to characterize and enact a discursive, dissident style of citizenship related to the three goals of the campaign described in chapter two. These three goals are 1) to humanize, 2) to politicize, and 3) to mobilize undocumented immigrant youth. The National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, and the use of the shadows metaphor, allow undocumented immigrant youth to 1) humanize undocumented immigrants through discursive expression that encourages identification with U.S. citizens past and present, 2) politicize undocumented immigrants through what I shall call affective transformation, and 3) mobilize undocumented immigrants through the publicity of their declarations, the three characteristics of a discursive, dissident style of citizenship outlined in chapters one and two.¹⁰ In this chapter, through a textual analysis of coming out narratives from the 2010 and 2011 Coming Out of the Shadows campaigns, as well as discussion on the DREAM Activist and Immigrant Youth Justice League blogs related to the Coming Out of the Shadows campaigns, the connection between how undocumented immigrant youth negotiate the culturally predominant metaphor of the shadows and the characteristics of a discursive,

dissident style of citizenship will be explored. These narratives and discussions are primarily drawn from videos and written accounts posted to the DREAM Activist and Immigrant Youth Justice League blogs.¹¹

In the first section of this chapter, I review the ways that undocumented immigrant youth utilize the metaphor of the shadows to humanize undocumented immigrants through discursive expression that encourages U.S. citizens to identify with undocumented immigrants, and in turn, to identify undocumented immigrants within a tradition of U.S. dissent. In the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, the presumption that living in the shadows renders one voiceless is generally accepted; and thus the way to humanize undocumented immigrants is to come out of the shadows and communicate one's experiences. In this section, I argue that this strategy, by preserving the shadows metaphor and its assumptions, has the potential to privilege discursive expression, or participation in the movement for immigrants' rights, as the defining feature of the humanity of undocumented immigrants.

In the second section of this chapter, I analyze the affective transformation that characterizes the experience of undocumented immigrants coming out of the shadows. Emotions such as shame, anger, and fear are typically assigned to the experiential realm of the shadows, whereas emotions such as pride, determination, and resolve characterize an undocumented immigrant who comes out of the shadows into the light of the public. I argue that the metaphor of the shadows has the potential to empower and politicize undocumented youth, who can translate their new emotional well-being into political activism. In this way, the affective qualities of the shadows—shame, anger, and fear—are precursors to political involvement. The act of coming out of the shadows also has the

potential to prompt affective transformation in the audiences of the campaign, but does not guarantee it. In this section, I discuss how the campaign attempts to create an audience that moves from emotions such as anger, fear, and resentment to empathy and identification. I argue that such affective transformation underscores the importance of affect to notions of citizenship.

In the third section of this chapter, I evaluate how the metaphor of the shadows mobilizes undocumented immigrant youth by valuing publicity as a component of discursive expression. The shadows are constructed as a private realm where exploitation occurs; thus, life out of the shadows is characterized by its publicness, openness, and the agency of individuals who make the transformation from private to public expression. Finally, I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the consequences of the use of the shadows metaphor in the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign for a discursive, dissident style of citizenship. I argue that although the campaign has the potential to encourage identification between undocumented immigrants, documented immigrants, and U.S. citizens, the campaign also has the potential to create an essentialized vision of those immigrants still in the shadows.

Humanizing Undocumented Immigrants through Discursive Expression

Felipe Matos, one of the students who made the 1,500 mile March of Dreams from Miami to Washington, D.C., in early 2010, described an encounter he had with a man in North Carolina when the students were passing through the area: “‘You’re not completely human,’ a man said. I couldn’t believe it...The man looked me right in the eye—that was the most astonishing thing...Every time we turn on the TV they call us criminals...The truth is we’re not aliens. We’re human beings.”¹² Matos’ words aptly

capture one of the primary goals of the immigrants' rights movement—to break through all the metaphoric shortcuts, being called “aliens” and “illegals,” in order to be viewed on the same plane as any other human being. The metaphor of the shadows reinforces these other metaphors by casting the world of undocumented immigrants as dark and unknown, and therefore subject to speculative metaphors that attempt to characterize this unknown quality. The main way that undocumented immigrant youth try to humanize their movement is through public narrative, by sharing personal stories in their own words and through mediated events. Matias Ramos, one of the founding members of United We Dream, reflected on his experience with the Coming Out of the Shadows campaign and the immigrants' rights movement more broadly: “Each time a voice gets raised, it gets noticed by other people...I know many people as very public leaders who when I first started working with them would never in their lives have convinced themselves they could do such a thing.”¹³ In this statement, it is clear that the act of discursive, often vocal, expression has the potential not only to humanize undocumented immigrant youth to strangers or political opponents, but also to humanize an undocumented youth to himself or herself. Many undocumented youth, as will be seen in the next section of this chapter, have internalized the qualities associated with “the shadows”—dark places full of shady employment practices, secrecy, “otherness,” and feelings of shame, fear, or inadequacy. Discursive expression is presented as a way out of the shadows and as a way to shake off the shadowy qualities that have become associated with undocumented immigrants. If the shadows are the domain of undocumented immigrants, then by coming out of the shadows, undocumented youth place themselves in the same light as citizens.

The goal of humanizing undocumented immigrant youth through the act of coming out of the shadows relies on these youth being viewed as “like citizens.” However, the act of humanization can occur in two potentially conflicting ways: 1) when undocumented immigrants come out, speak out, and share their stories publicly, citizens will identify with them, thus, undocumented immigrants will be humanized through this acknowledgement; and 2) when undocumented immigrants come out, speak out, and share their stories publicly, they demonstrate their agency through control over their story; thus undocumented immigrants are humanized through this exercise of agency. One can see how these two avenues to humanization could come into conflict; in the first, an undocumented immigrant youth relies on a process of identification with others for humanization, and in the second, an undocumented immigrant youth relies only on himself or herself for humanization.

The first approach to humanizing undocumented immigrant youth brings certain qualities to the fore in order to prompt identification with citizens. This approach typically invokes three primary and related themes: family, milestones of success, and U.S. cultural myths or ideals. Many of the youth’s narratives involve stories of how their parents first brought them to the United States and what growing up in their families was like. Lulu, a young woman at the National Coming Out of the Shadows Day event in Chicago in March of 2011, declared to a crowd, “Eighteen years ago my parents immigrated to this country. They left their family and the lives they had built in Mexico. They took a leap of faith in hopes of raising their children in a land of opportunity.”¹⁴ In this statement, besides the obvious reference to family, one can also glean the U.S. cultural myth of “anyone can make it if they try hard enough” in the reference to taking

“a leap of faith...in a land of opportunity.” Luis, a young man at the same rally, stated, “I came to this country with my mother and sister, following my father, who like many others has been working in this country for many years. I want to keep on developing myself to do better things and do bigger things. But I am not allowed because like many others, I wasn’t born in this country. I am sick of being treated like I am less of a human.”¹⁵ In Luis’ appeal for recognition of his humanity, he cites familial relationships with his parents in the context of his father’s hard work, an integral part of the cultural mythos surrounding U.S. identity, and his own desire to “do better things and do bigger things,” which is representative of ambition in the face of adversity, yet another U.S. cultural ideal. Other youth at the rally, again displaying ambition in the face of adversity, expressed concern that the obstacles to success that they faced might be insurmountable. Jorge, a young man at the rally, reflected, “This May, I will walk across the stage to receive my university diploma. As much as I want to say that I am excited, I’m not. I’m scared. Scared that my Bachelor’s degree will be nothing but a piece of paper.”¹⁶ For many undocumented youth, themes such as ambition or success are expressed in terms of career-related achievements or desires such as going to college or getting a dream job. Martha, another undocumented youth at the rally, enumerated her dreams, declaring, “I’m gonna go to college. I’m going to succeed. I want to become an actress. I want to become a math professor.”¹⁷ In all of these stories from undocumented youth, mentioning familial relationships, career milestones, and cultural myths or ideals tied to U.S. identity are ways to invite recognition, acknowledgement, and identification from U.S. citizens. This approach assumes that the shadows represent silence and anonymity, and that coming out of the shadows through discursive expression can, but does not always, result

in humanizing undocumented immigrants in the eyes of others. The aforementioned themes are included within the narratives of undocumented immigrant youth to appeal to audiences that might be hostile or ambivalent to the campaign's goals and to increase the chances of identification with and acknowledgement from others.

Not all narratives follow the approach outlined above, since at least on the surface, it appears to limit who can speak within and for the movement and what can be said at the moment of discursive expression. The second approach to humanization argues that undocumented immigrant youth have the agency to humanize themselves through the very act of discursive expression. Angy, an undocumented woman who regularly posts on the DREAM Activist blog, echoes the words of Judith Butler, writing, "That's why I invite everyone to come out. Coming out isn't about them. It's about US. It's about taking back our power, simply by stating something they want to keep hidden."¹⁸ In *Giving an Account of One's Self*, Judith Butler argues that "speaking is also a kind of doing, an action that takes place within the field of power, and that also constitutes an act of power."¹⁹ This approach emphasizes the control and agency that undocumented immigrants, particularly youth, have over their stories, and how the act of taking control of their stories gives them power and helps them restore their humanity against the characterizations associated with being in the shadows.

One undocumented youth stated, "By coming out, we put a face to the issues of immigration and gave voice to the community that has been voiceless."²⁰ As discussed in chapter one, the community of undocumented immigrants that this youth mentions has long operated under a culture of silence—enforced externally by the U.S. government's surveillance of immigrants and anti-immigrant rhetoric and actions by citizens, and

internally by undocumented immigrants to protect themselves from harassment, detainment, deportation, and other forms of violence. David, an undocumented youth, explained the rationale behind the 2011 National Coming Out of the Shadows Day: “March 10 is about sharing our stories and publically coming out as undocumented. So kind of step away from that fear that for most of us, as children, was kind of instilled in us: never share your status, you might be taken away.”²¹ Alaa, a young undocumented woman at the 2011 National Coming Out of the Shadows Day in Chicago, illustrates how this culture of silence affected her when she was younger: “I spent years in denial, keeping my head down whenever I was told I don’t belong here, that my parents are criminals, lawbreakers, take advantage of the system.”²² In this approach to coming out of the shadows, the very act of coming out and speaking out represents a break with the culture of silence tied to the shadows, demonstrating the agency of the individual coming out. Thus, through telling their stories, undocumented youth are humanized by their own actions.

The two approaches to meeting the goal of humanizing undocumented immigrants outlined above may differ in terms of where and when in the act of coming out humanization occurs, but are also fundamentally similar in that they preserve the metaphor of the shadows and its associations. This has significant consequences for the immigrants’ rights movement as a whole because the metaphor of the shadows, defined by silence, makes it easy for immigrants who cannot or choose not to speak to be confined to “the shadows” and all of its associated characteristics. This concern appears in debates within the immigrants’ rights movement led by undocumented youth over who can speak, what they can say, and the role that voicing one’s story should play in the

movement. Kemi, a co-founder of DREAM Activist and its policy chair, encouraged others to resist policing and enforcing norms of coming out narratives:

I urge you to challenge the traditional notion of the milestones we must meet in life in order to be successful. Whether it takes you 4 years or 7 to finish college, or you decide not to go at all, or are not able to go; whether you wear your “I Am Undocumented” shirt to the grocery store or have only told one person that you are undocumented; whether you are working 3 jobs or are organizing full-time – own your story, own your experience and never apologize for how different your life has turned out to be from some pre-determined “norm.” For it is the uniqueness of our individual stories and experiences that makes our collective story as undocumented youth so powerful.²³

Angy, writing on similar themes, observed that since discursive expression by undocumented youth was mediated, this affected what were considered norms for coming out narratives. She noted:

During the battle for the federal Dream Act last year many of our youth felt excluded and isolated themselves from the fight. The definition of dreamer became a 4.0 GPA valedictorian student who was part of every club/team, received every award and every scholarship. Senators presented these students during their floor speeches and those were the stories shown in the media, excluding all of our other youth. Where were the stories of the LGBTQ undocumented youth? The day laborers that qualify for the Dream Act? When did they mention the mommy and daddy youth? What about the high school and college drop outs who can still apply? Did I miss the stories of the G.E.D holders?

Instead of dreamer being endearing, it had turned into an imaginary person I no longer related too as much since I am not a perfect student. We are all worthy of being interviewed or presented during floor speeches; our stories matter and deserve to be heard. We don't come in different shades of the same color, but totally different colors, shapes, struggles and sizes.²⁴

In Kemi's and Angy's words, one can see diversity as the core of what humanizes undocumented youth, and diversity seems to be a platform for identifying with citizens, documented immigrants, and other undocumented immigrants. Embrace of diversity—in movement strategies, resources, or make up—is a common theme of a discursive, dissident style of citizenship, as discussed in chapter two.

It is difficult to completely destroy or ignore a metaphor as prevalent as that of the shadows, especially in a movement as sprawling as the immigrants' rights movement. Undocumented youth adapted the metaphor of the shadows, and the closet metaphor it stems from, to create a space for youth (and other undocumented immigrants) to share their stories through the act of coming out to take control over their lives and futures. No matter the approach, whether humanized by external or internal recognition or some combination of the two, in the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, discursive expression was a way for undocumented youth to enact citizenship by speaking and acting like citizens. True to a discursive, dissident style of citizenship based in mimetic strategies pulled from diverse historical movements for rights, the diversity of the students' stories attempted to stave off restricting whose voice was allowed out of the shadows. Discursive expression thus was an opportunity for undocumented immigrant youth to demonstrate that they were like citizens through the act of public, political

speech (or acts), but the process of affective transformation that accompanied many of these narratives politicized undocumented youth and allowed for participation in an affective enactment of citizenship.

Politicizing Undocumented Immigrants through Affective Transformation

In her article, “Be Longing: Towards a Feminist Politics of Relation,” Aimee Carrillo Rowe argues that “We tend to overlook the ways that power is transmitted through our affective ties. Who we love, the communities that we live in, who we expend our emotional energies building ties with—these connections are all functions of power.”²⁵ Danielle S. Allen, in her book (cited in the first chapter of this study) *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship Since Brown v. Board of Education*, argues that “Democracy depends on trustful talk among strangers and, properly conducted, should dissolve any divisions that block it.”²⁶ Allen also notes that frequently distrust is located along racial lines, and that overcoming distrust is essential for building the relational bonds of citizenship that are key to a healthy democracy. Building on the work of Rowe and Allen, in this section, I discuss the centrality to the immigrants’ rights movement of affective transformation, a fundamental shift in the way one views self and others that is tied to the way one affectively sees and experiences the world.²⁷ I argue that the process of affective transformation works through the act of coming out of the shadows, and relies on the affective characteristics that are associated with both the metaphoric state of the shadows and existence “out of the shadows.” Affective transformation has the potential to influence undocumented immigrants, documented immigrants, and citizens alike as shifts occur in the way that one experiences relation to self, other, and

community through either witnessing or participating in the act of coming out of the shadows.

As mentioned above, the notion of the shadows has certain affective associations that can come to characterize the individuals that inhabit the metaphoric space of the shadows. Common emotions and feelings such as fear, anger, anxiety, shame, frustration, inadequacy, inferiority, and depression, among other affective states, define the experience of life in the shadows in the narratives of undocumented youth. One undocumented youth, writing about the frustrations “specific to growing up undocumented,” described feelings of anger, resentment, and helplessness at situations that were beyond their control.²⁸ Many undocumented youth express experiencing feelings of denial or resistance to their situation and status in response to this negative affective state. Aura, an undocumented young woman, wrote, “For a while I was in a period of denial in which I was aware of my status but it still seemed like something foreign to me, something that didn’t affect me. At moments I was determined to accomplish my dreams, while at other moments I felt like giving up. But my reality kept presenting itself. It was the uncertainty that threw me off balance. I knew I could not let myself fall into a state of depression. I knew I needed a support system.”²⁹

Another common theme in the coming out narratives of undocumented youth are feelings of frustration and immobility, usually because of an opportunity denied, be it going to college or getting a job. One young woman aptly characterized these feelings, writing, “I was trapped in a golden cage. There was so much to do and so, so much to see, but as an undocumented person I could not and would not be able to do many things I aspired [sic]. I not only hid in the shadows as an undocumented student, I hid my

dreams.”³⁰ For Jesus Morales, this feeling of immobility turned to helplessness and hopelessness. He wrote, “I got my first job rejection when I was 16, when I tried to apply for a job as a lifeguard. The rejection depressed me and made me feel hopeless. I was rejected for the simple fact of not having a little card that has 9 numbers. Nine numbers separate me and millions of other undocumented youth from pursuing our dreams and goals in school and society.”³¹ Uriel Sanchez, in a particularly compelling story delivered at an Immigrant Youth Justice League press conference, described how these feelings of despair, hopelessness, and immobility can be transformed into more positive emotional states that empower individuals through the act of coming out. Reflecting on a phone call received just before she was to start college, Uriel stated:

In the late summer, exactly one week prior to the beginning of the biggest milestone in my life I received a phone call. A call from a person who worked for the financial aid office, who calmly asked for a few simple pieces of information, the last being, a social security number. I was immediately shrouded in a swarm of emotions, I was unable to speak with a quiver in my voice, and confusion swallowed my mind. Because of that, that technicality, I was denied one of the most fundamental rights that should be given to a human being, an education. But I have not resigned to desperation, submission or hopelessness. When we fail to speak up, when we fail to criticize, when we fail to stand up for our ideals, and when we fail to improve the lives of those around us; it is a far greater blow to the freedom, the decency, and to the justice which truly represents this nation we call home.³²

In Uriel's account, a connection is made between the act of speaking up and coming out and the politicization of undocumented youth. Furthermore, this politicization, represented through abandoning the affective states of "desperation, submission or hopelessness," is explicitly connected to defending the values of "freedom" and "justice." Thus, coming out represents a shift from the negative affective state of the shadows to an affective state that allows one to participate in civic life.

Countless undocumented youth have expressed feelings of pride and empowerment after coming out, linking their new affective state and newfound political commitments. Angy, reflecting on her own coming out, wrote, "As I sit here with tears in my eyes I'm able to see how I've grown. I feel *empowered* and *in control* of my life. Tears in my eyes while I remember how worried my mother was about me when I told her I would be wearing a shirt that said: undocumented. Now, she wishes me luck and asks me about my interviews. The same interviews she was scared about a year ago. By coming out I *liberated* her too" (emphasis added).³³ Alaa, speaking about the National Coming Out of the Shadows Day in Chicago, stated that, "When we say coming out of the shadows, no kidding. It's like having a huge cloud over your head and just being able to remove it. And the fact that, even though you are still undocumented, it's a huge relief to be able to share your experiences with someone else and to be able to work with them towards a greater cause, it's not only just a huge relief, it pulls you out of a deep depression, out of deep denial, and makes you part of something that's greater than just yourself."³⁴ In the words of these two undocumented youth, in the act of coming out of the shadows, a shift in how one affectively experiences the world—Alaa speaks of a cloud or weight being lifted—corresponds to how one views self, others, and community.

As more and more youth come out, their example appears to weaken the metaphoric hold of the shadows, encouraging more undocumented youth to join what has become a politicized community. Cindy, an undocumented young woman, stated, “Seeing all of these people say, ‘I’m undocumented but I’m not afraid anymore,’ changes everything for me, because for the longest time I’ve been ashamed of being undocumented.”³⁵ Razan, another undocumented young woman, remarked “Hearing other undocumented youth come out” is what caused her to make the decision to come out.³⁶ The act of coming out of the shadows thus clearly creates a community among undocumented immigrant youth through the bonds of a shared affective transformation, which primes these youth for political action. But how does this affective transformation connect undocumented youth to citizens and citizenship?

As mentioned in the previous section, citizens who witness undocumented youth coming out can participate in the process of humanizing undocumented immigrants simply by acknowledging their presence or identifying with them in some way. It follows that in hearing coming out narratives, some citizens might also undergo their own affective transformation. According to one account, “For many Americans, undocumented immigrants remain a shadow community, a scary abstraction and jumble of fearful stereotypes—job stealers, anchor babies, phantoms living among us.”³⁷ Although an individual who subscribes to anti-immigrant views might be less likely to be moved by the youth’s narratives, for those who are, one can imagine moving from feelings of suspicion, anger, or fear directed at an outward “other,” to feelings of identification, if not acceptance. One might take the words of conservative Republican Rick Perry at the September 22, 2011 GOP presidential debate as an example of the role

empathy can play in one's position on immigration. Responding to critics of his approach to immigration policy as governor of Texas, Perry stated: "If you say that we should not educate children who have come into our state for no other reason than they've been brought there by no fault of their own, I don't think you have a heart."³⁸ Although Perry later apologized for characterizing critics of his policy as "heartless," he stood by the legislation.³⁹ Perry's comments demonstrate that one's emotions or affective state can influence one's political views and actions.

Ultimately, and significantly for the immigrants' rights movement, increased knowledge about the lives of undocumented immigrant youth on the part of an individual who held or still holds anti-immigrant views might not result in a shift in the way that they affectively identify with immigrants. However, it is more likely that citizens who were apathetic, in the middle, or even supporters would experience an affective transformation in response to the undocumented youth's narratives. In this scenario, individuals may move from an affective state in which they feel nothing towards undocumented immigrant youth to one where they feel empathy and an urge to change the situation. When citizens *do* undergo an affective transformation in the way they identify with undocumented immigrants, this paves the way for the realization—by citizen and non-citizen alike—that the bonds of citizenship extend beyond legal definitions.

Whether or not citizens undergo affective transformations in response to coming out of the shadows narratives, undocumented immigrant youth enact a discursive, dissident style of citizenship in effecting their own affective transformation. Undocumented youth cite experiencing feelings of empowerment and pride in a

community of undocumented immigrants as central to their political awareness and activity in the larger immigrant rights movement. This larger sense of community combined with the use of past U.S. rights movements' rhetoric avoids compelling undocumented immigrants to "act like U.S. Americans" in order to identify with them; instead, it supports a style of citizenship enactment that appeals to norms of dissident expression and common emotions or affective states that can prompt identification. In experiencing affective transformation, many citizens may be able to identify with replacing feelings of frustration, fear, or anger in the face of obstacles to success with perseverance and determination. However, all citizens need not experience affective transformation for undocumented youth to enact citizenship, if, returning to Robert Asen, one conceives of citizenship enactment as a "mode of public engagement."⁴⁰ By drawing attention to the affective states that influence communication between individuals and characterize everyday experiences and relationships, undocumented youth highlight the affective bonds that connect us all as U.S. citizens. Just as citizens like Harvey Milk and Martin Luther King, Jr. have experienced desperation, they also have experienced feelings of liberation. Looking at the history of U.S. rights movements invoked by the activism of undocumented immigrant youth illustrates how affective transformation has played a central role in increasing identification between activists and their audiences in movements from gay rights to women's rights, prompting individuals to see how the deeply personal is also political. By mimicking the metaphoric strategy of coming out, undocumented immigrant youth again make the implicit claim that they deserve citizenship because the affective ties that bind them to their families and communities parallel the affective ties that connect U.S. citizens to their families and communities.

Mobilizing Undocumented Immigrants through Public Discursive Expression

In order to mobilize undocumented youth into taking action on behalf of the immigrants' rights movement, the acts of discursive expression and affective transformation needed to take place in public. Publicity is highly valued by the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, as a brief review of the 2010 and 2011 guides to coming out of the shadows demonstrates. Recall that in the 2010 guide, to reach level one, an individual only had to come out to one person, but to reach level five, an individual needed to organize a rally that attracted press coverage, thus adding a mediated element to the narratives. In the 2011 guide, level five went one step farther to suggest participating in some sort of civil disobedience or direct action tactic, such as a hunger strike or sit-in, to draw attention to an event or the cause in general; this, too, added a mediated component to the campaign. Thus, although the campaign reserved space in the movement for more private acts of confession, e.g., telling a teacher that you are undocumented, public acts of declaration and affective transformation, especially mediated acts, are more highly valued, as evidenced by the aforementioned guides. Even individuals who participate in seemingly private acts of coming out are encouraged to connect these acts to public ends. For instance, recall that level one of the 2010 coming out guide encouraged undocumented youth by saying, "Remember, telling your story can be an empowering experience but it can also help broaden the immigrant student movement. Don't be afraid to ask that person to get involved."⁴¹

I argue that publicity is valued in the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign precisely because the metaphor of the shadows connotes a private realm. At the beginning of this chapter I suggested that the metaphor of the shadows invites

comparisons to enclosed spaces, shut off from the forces of knowledge and influence. In both pro- and anti-immigrant rhetoric, references to the shadows indicate “shady” practices that occur by virtue of lack of oversight and the shadows’ private character. In Obama’s words in a recent immigration policy speech, cited in the beginning of this chapter, he described, “unscrupulous businesses” that prey on undocumented immigrants living in the shadows. For opponents of immigrant rights, the shadows represent a private realm, a space where undocumented immigrants “belong,” and contrary to immigrant rights advocates, many opponents would like to see the private space of the shadows maintained. As described in an October 2010 article in *The Nation*, the virulent immigrant rights opponent Lou Dobbs was exposed for hiring undocumented workers. Isabel MacDonald, the *Nation* reporter who broke the story, wrote of Dobbs:

But with his relentless diatribes against ‘illegals’ and their employers, Dobbs is casting stones from a house—make that an estate—of glass. Based on a yearlong investigation, including interviews with five immigrants who worked without papers on his properties, *The Nation* and the Investigative Fund at The Nation Institute have found that Dobbs has relied for years on undocumented labor for the upkeep of his multimillion-dollar estates, and the horses he keeps for his 22-year-old daughter.⁴²

The shadows thus represent a space that is frequently closed and sheltered from the discerning eye of public scrutiny.

For undocumented immigrant youth, the act of publicly coming out as an undocumented immigrant represents a way to draw attention to the hardships of life in the private realm of the shadows and to mobilize undocumented youth and allies to act to

destroy the shadows. In the demands for acknowledgement and through the process of affective transformation, undocumented youth seek to be seen as and feel like members of a public. Publicity supports and is a product of discursive expression and affective transformation; these qualities of a discursive, dissident style of citizenship enactment reinforce one another. For instance, Kemi encourages other undocumented youth to come out by stating, “Why come out? Because in the shadows your voice is silenced, and it is that much harder to be a part of the change when your very presence has yet to be acknowledged.”⁴³ In her coming out narrative, Lulu speaks symbolically to the woman she was one year before, from her transition from private observer to public activist: “I am standing here today because I want to tell that scared girl who did not know what would come next after high school that she is worth it. That the sacrifice she and her parents made are worth it. That the fact that she is now standing on this stage is a sign that a future without fear is possible.”⁴⁴ In Kemi’s words, discursive expression is linked to acknowledgement, as indicated above, a practice that occurs largely in public, often mediated spaces. Lulu’s narrative suggests that the process of affective transformation happens on a stage, and the publicity of the speech act, for Lulu, is a *prima facie* indicator that the future represents a move away from fear, anger, and shame towards pride, determination, and belonging. The affective transformation might not have been possible without the public dimension, and the quality of publicity itself calls for discursive expression and effects an affective transformation.

Michael Warner, who has written extensively on public/private distinctions, argues that a desire to mesh a private self with a public that rejects that self is what leads to identity politics in the first place. He writes: “Longing for unity can also be seen in

modes of collective public intimacy... Identity politics in this sense seems to many people a way of overcoming both the denial of public existence that is so often the form of domination and the incoherence of the experience that domination creates, an experience that often feels more like invisibility than like the kind of privacy you value.”⁴⁵ Although Warner is writing specifically about the experiences of individuals and groups marginalized on the basis of sexuality, his observations also apply to the situation of undocumented immigrant youth who are organizing a movement, composed of diverse individuals, based on the shared identity of being undocumented. Undocumented youth, engaged in a campaign based in identity politics, face the challenge of simultaneously publicly uniting and mobilizing a movement and gaining public support, all while trying to maintain the complexity and diversity of their members and control over their stories.

The problem for some undocumented youth is that publicity can be empowering, but potentially disempowering as well. Alaa Mukahhal, an undocumented young woman, implores well-intentioned supporters and allies to let undocumented youth tell their own stories. She writes:

Don't rob me of my voice. Otherwise the voiceless will stay that way and we'll stay a stereotype in the minds of peoples and politicians, a faceless abstract image in the back of their heads coming to the front only when they need someone to take the heat. Don't make up my voice because I'm real, I'm alive, I exist, and when I can only watch the world that I thought I was a part of from a dark corner, my voice is all I have to know that No, I'm not less, I am the same as all the others; I'm human too.⁴⁶

Flavia, an ally who writes regularly for DREAM Activist, describes the role a “good” ally should play for undocumented youth. She notes, “The premise of the DREAM Act is to restore agency to young undocumented immigrants, so we should reflect that in our work and make sure they are the agents in their own movement. If you’re down with the cause, you know that this is about empowering a disempowered group. So acknowledge their power, and lend them the support of yours.”⁴⁷ Alaa and Flavia’s words suggest that publicity may be a boon for mobilizing youth within the immigrants’ rights movement, but like any other social movement, it faces the perils of a modern mediated environment, where individuals cede at least partial control over their story when narratives become an entity in and of themselves. As I discuss in the following section, despite these challenges, undocumented immigrant youth can retain agency when seeking publicity for their movement by imagining a new public in which they are enacting citizenship.

“Publics Are Queer Creatures”: Out of the Shadows and Imagining Citizenship⁴⁸

Warner’s words, above, remind us that the idea of a unitary and unchanging public is a convenient fiction. As Warner notes, “It seems that in order to address a public, one must forget or ignore the fictional nature of the entity one addresses. The idea of a public is motivating, not simply instrumental. It is constitutive of a social imaginary.”⁴⁹ In the previous chapter, I argued that by drawing on and imitating the rhetoric and strategies of historical U.S. rights movements, undocumented immigrant youth position themselves as the inheritors of a legacy of dissent, and through their imitation, enact a discursive, dissident style of citizenship. I noted that this style was characterized by three qualities: discursive expression, affective transformation, and publicity. In the present chapter, I examined how these three qualities operated and were

influenced by the metaphor of the shadows, adopted from the historical metaphor of the closet, and applied to the mimetic act of coming out. The metaphor of the shadows, as noted, is associated with silence, negative affective states, and the private realm. Coming out of the shadows, in contrast, is associated with discursive expression, usually some degree of vocality, positive affective states, and publicity. Through the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, undocumented immigrant youth thus set the stage—literally and figuratively—for undocumented youth to enact a discursive, dissident style of citizenship.

It is important to note that although it provides opportunities for undocumented youth to enact citizenship, using the metaphor of the shadows has the potential to reinforce stereotypes about undocumented immigrants. The metaphor of the shadows may seem to enforce stark borders between silence and speech, and thus inhumanity and humanity; between affective disempowerment and affective empowerment, and thus observer and agent; between private and public, and, thus, whether one is deserving of citizenship or not. Although a diverse range of narratives are found within the movement, if those stories that are circulated by politicians and the media fit a certain profile— young, ambitious, successful, hardworking—this can reinforce stereotypes about individuals who remain unknown, in the shadows. It begs the question of how many narratives are enough to break one’s preconceived notions about undocumented immigrants. This question is one that exceeds the scope of this study; however, it does prompt necessary reflection on what borders are reinforced, broken, or seemingly insurmountable in the discourse of the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign.

It seems that the very act of coming out of the shadows enacts a style of citizenship in which such borders begin to lose their meaning, indeed, where borders in general begin to lose their meaning. Drawing on the observations of Michael Warner, undocumented immigrant youth imagine a public in which by publicly speaking out words of dissent in rhetorical campaigns and organizing mass action, they and all other immigrants enact citizenship. Although a discursive, dissident style of citizenship can be characterized through the qualities of discursive expression, affective transformation, and publicity, its core reliance on the rhetoric and strategies of the past engages in a strategic synecdoche, arguing that the diversity of a discursive, dissident style of citizenship applies not only to past, but also to the present. In other words, although the style of citizenship that the coming out of the shadows campaign supports has defining characteristics that may limit whose voices are heard within and outside of the movement, these voices are intended to be representative, not restrictive. Maria Teresa, an undocumented woman who spoke at the 2010 National Coming Out of the Shadows Day event in Chicago, aptly characterized undocumented immigrant youth's efforts to fight back against such border-drawing. She declared:

“Please do not let the mistaken rhetoric that we need to slow down with our struggle, that we are asking for too much, that it's not the right time, that it's okay if only a few get documentation, bring you down. Don't they see that when they accept that they are accepting that we are not equal (and if I know one thing, [it] is that we are all equal), and that if anything destroys solidarity best it is leaving people out? Please don't dare ask me to forsake the rights of humans for just a few undocumented people. We want LEGALIZATION FOR ALL!!”⁵⁰

A discursive, dissident style of citizenship thus encourages all to abide by its characteristics, without leaving out those who choose not to. While arguing for citizenship through claims to a diverse tradition of dissent, undocumented immigrant youth enact the future public they wish to see by making their own movement as inclusive as possible.

In the final chapter of this study, I argue that undocumented immigrant youth enact a style of citizenship that publicly emphasizes similarities with citizens through rhetorical and behavioral features without demonizing those who do not subscribe to this style of enactment. I compare the risks of two types of citizenship appeals that fall under a discursive, dissident style of citizenship to a type of citizenship appeal that relies on emphasizing similarities in cultural values, beliefs, aspirations, and occupations between citizens and undocumented immigrants. I argue that although the former contain risks, the value they add in avoiding the limiting features of the latter approach and in attempting to insert the voices of undocumented immigrants into the immigration policy debates, ultimately offset potentials risks. For instance, through participation in a discursive, dissident style of citizenship, undocumented youth run the risk of alienating other groups of undocumented immigrants; if their campaign is successful and their claims to citizenship are accepted by those in power, it does not necessarily follow that other undocumented immigrants will be granted citizenship as well. Furthermore, in the short term, through participation in the campaign, undocumented youth risk deportation and separation from their families. In fact, since beginning this study, several youth active in the organizations discussed in this study have been placed in deportation proceedings. I examine what these risks mean for the viability of a discursive, dissident style of

citizenship in the final chapter. In this chapter, I also reflect on the value of looking at discourse like that of undocumented immigrant youth for the field of rhetoric.

Chapter 4: Perilous and Precarious: The Risks and Rewards of Citizenship Enactment by Non-Citizens

“The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy. The true neighbor will risk his position, his prestige and even his life for the welfare of others.” – Martin Luther King, Jr., Strength to Love, 1963¹

Over the course of this study, I have argued in support of Robert Asen’s propositions that citizenship is not “the possession of citizens,” and that “people enact citizenship through their own agency. This means, too, that citizenship may be enacted by non-citizens.”² Through an analysis of the discourse and actions of two organizations founded by undocumented immigrant youth, DREAM Activist and the National Immigrant Youth Alliance (NIYA), and specifically the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign organized by these two groups, I have demonstrated that imitation, imagination, and metaphor are powerful strategies that allow these youth to enact citizenship. The undocumented immigrant youth who comprise these organizations are claiming citizenship in three primary ways. First, they claim, through their stories and coming out narratives, that they are U.S. Americans through their everyday lived experiences, which mirror those of many U.S. citizens. In this claim, the undocumented youth thus make a cultural argument; we are like U.S. citizens culturally, thus we are U.S. citizens. Second, undocumented immigrant youth enact citizenship by creating a style of citizenship that locates citizenship in discursive expression and acts of dissent. In this claim to citizenship, undocumented immigrant youth utilize the rhetoric and strategies of past U.S. social movements in order to create a diverse tradition of discursive, dissident style of citizenship enactment of which they frame themselves as the

heirs. This appeal allows undocumented immigrant youth to imagine a future where their goals have been met. Third, undocumented immigrant youth invoke the metaphor of coming out of the shadows to suggest that by publicly declaring their status, they move from the realm of the shadows to the province of citizenship. Relying on the premise of the second claim—that citizenship is defined through certain dissident ways of speaking and behaving—this claim suggests that undocumented immigrant youth have agency over their own citizenship status; they merely need to declare it purposefully and publicly to attempt to shift perceptions of citizenship from something that is just a legal status to a practice defined through discursive acts of dissent.

In the process of making this declaration, I argue that affective transformation occurs within those doing the declaring, and potentially in members of their audience. What I have termed affective transformation occurs for undocumented immigrant youth when they move from characterizing their existence in “the shadows” in terms of fear, anger, and shame, to characterizing their existence after declaring their status in terms of being unafraid, determined, and empowered. These are some of the emotions named by undocumented youth to represent how their relation to themselves and the world—which I have characterized in terms of affect, or how emotion can influence the lens through which one experiences the world—has shifted; in other words, how they experience their everyday lives, from how they communicate to how they act, has shifted as a result of taking control of their status.

In this study, I have focused primarily on the latter two claims to citizenship, suggesting that they form what I have called a discursive, dissident style of citizenship

enactment. Earlier in the study, I argued that these types of claims to citizenship were preferable to the first type of claim—shared cultural beliefs and practices—because they allow for a greater diversity of experiences and backgrounds within the movement, grant undocumented immigrants agency over how they frame their own status, and better avoid the perils of assimilationist arguments, the most extreme of which might suggest that immigrants should just “act like Americans.” As discussed in chapter three, strategies of humanizing undocumented immigrants have two potential goals and audiences—humanizing an undocumented immigrant to himself or herself and humanizing an undocumented immigrant to a neutral or hostile audience. Through the metaphor of coming out of the shadows, undocumented immigrant youth gain self-acceptance through affective transformation and make a compelling argument, through enactment, for why citizenship should be viewed in discursive, dissident acts, including speech acts. Within the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign and the immigrant rights movement more generally, arguments that draw attention to cultural similarities, such as similar values, beliefs, and experiences, are present, but they have created controversy within the movement for how these types of appeals can narrow whose voices are heard and who gets to be seen as a citizen. In chapter three, I quoted Kemi and Angy, two leaders within the DREAM Activist organization, who expressed concern about how these types of arguments may be persuasive in the short term, but hurt the breadth and potential impact of the immigrants’ rights movement in the long run. Recall that Angy stated, “The definition of dreamer became a 4.0 GPA valedictorian student who was part of every club/team, received every award and every scholarship. Senators presented these students

during their floor speeches and those were the stories shown in the media, excluding all of our other youth.”³ Ultimately, I believe that this is the biggest tension within the movement for citizenship for undocumented immigrants: what is the best kind of appeal or argument to make to prove something that you have believed and felt your entire life—that you are an U.S. American?

As has been previously mentioned, most of the young people who are involved in these organizations and who are advocating support of the DREAM Act legislation came to the United States as children. Many of them grew up unaware of their status as undocumented immigrants. These youth believed that they were U.S. Americans because their lives were like many of their citizen peers. Even if they knew about their immigration status, most of them believed they were U.S. Americans because they *felt* like U.S. Americans. As one undocumented youth, whose family emigrated to the U.S. from Mali when he was one-year old, noted, “I grew up as an American, I went to school as an American, and, in essence, I am [an] American.”⁴ Another undocumented youth, Yoshinori, stated, “You wouldn’t be able to distinguish me from any ordinary American, but I’ve been living as a ghost in limbo almost my entire life...So I decided to share my story not to complain about how much my life sucks, but just to give insight into a unique situation that a small group of ‘Americans’ are living in.”⁵ Mauricio’s story reflects Yoshinori’s sentiments: “I am one of those who within me feel American, yet I am unrecognized as one. I am one of those who considers English my first language and Spanish my second. I have only known one life, the American life, yet I am forced to live behind those invisible jail bars: the lack of a legal status in this country.”⁶ Cynthia,

another undocumented youth, distilled these sentiments clearly as a matter of redefinition, declaring, “We are not criminals, we are Americans!”⁷ As someone who was born a U.S. citizen, I can only imagine the desperation, frustration, and heartbreak that must accompany such a fundamental gap between your perceived identity and the one assigned to you by the government. Thus, appeals to cultural similarities are understandable; many of these youth probably do feel culturally U.S. American and this kind of argument would likely appeal to a hostile audience of the “English Should Be the National Language” variety. However, with that said, just because this type of appeal is understandable does not mean that one should not also try to understand the effects it might have on who is perceived as deserving of citizenship.

These types of arguments follow a pattern, as discussed in the previous chapters, typically invoking themes of family, milestones of success, and U.S. cultural beliefs or ideals. Consider the narrative of Sung, an undocumented youth born in South Korea who immigrated to the United States at the age of five:

“I conclude by saying I am American. It’s not just because I speak perfect English with a hint of a mid-western accent (if such exists). It’s not just because I want to vote and exercise my civic duties. Neither is it because this country has invested so much in me for it to go to waste would be a shame. I am American because this country has instilled in me an undying love of freedom. I am American because this nation raised me to believe in equality for all people. I am American because I have inherited the wishes and desires of countless people before me; I desire what they desire, to see precious dreams soar on the mighty wings of freedom.”⁸

Sung's narrative clearly invokes the fundamental and oft-cited U.S. values of "freedom" and "equality." Furthermore, Sung explicitly states, "I desire what they desire," laying bare the argument that undocumented immigrants like Sung believe what U.S. Americans believe and want the same things that U.S. Americans want. In other words, appeals that rest on certain ideas about what constitutes success, such as a 4.0 GPA, the desire to pursue a college education, etc., or certain cultural beliefs or values fundamentally make the argument that undocumented immigrants are citizens because they have the same beliefs and desires as U.S. Americans, and thus deserve legal recognition of their citizenship.

To fully understand the potential negative implications of this type of argument, consider the United Farm Worker's "Take Our Jobs" campaign. The campaign asks U.S. citizens to replace migrant workers by accepting jobs on farms throughout the United States. The point of the campaign, it seems, is to draw attention to the fact that "as communities nationwide grapple with tenacious unemployment, migrant workers are often accused of stealing jobs from Americans," and yet, as UFW president Arturo Rodriguez stated in *CNN* article, "Farm workers do the work that most Americans are not willing to do."⁹ Tellingly, only three people signed up to participate in the campaign months after it had launched, when "at least half a million applicants" would be needed to replace migrant farm workers in the United States.¹⁰ The campaign gained some attention when comedian Stephen Colbert signed up to be the fourth participant and testified about his experiences working as a farm worker for one day in a testimony before a congressional committee.¹¹ The message of this campaign, then, lies in stark contrast to

appeals that emphasize aspirational, occupational, and belief similarities; the message of this campaign is “take our jobs” and you will find out how hard our existence is and how much it differs from your expectations. The “Take Our Jobs” campaign operates on the premise that, any U.S. citizen that takes a job as a farm worker will quickly realize that it is hard work and return, enlightened, to their everyday lives. This campaign, by emphasizing dissimilarities of everyday existence between U.S. citizens and migrant farm workers, suggests that U.S. citizens should acknowledge perceived differences in the kind of work U.S. citizens and undocumented immigrants are willing (and able) to do, and should grant more respect and rights to those they are not willing to change places with.

Arguments for citizenship that rely on appeals to cultural, occupational, and belief or value similarities are thus rhetorically dangerous, because they necessarily restrict citizenship to those individuals whose beliefs, values, and experiences reflect those that are prevalent or pervasive among U.S. citizens and to those that are willing to assimilate to this set of beliefs, values, and experiences. The implicit message of these types of citizenship appeals, then, is assimilate or be left out. The “Take Our Jobs” campaign, which emphasizes differences in the experiences of migrant farm workers from those of average U.S. citizens, would be left out of a culturally assimilated type of citizenship appeal. From this example, one can see how appeals to similarities in cultural values, beliefs, aspirations, and occupations might also have the potential to enforce a class divide in the question of who gets citizenship. If the argument becomes, “Give citizenship to those that want to go to college,” it becomes easy to leave out, or even demonize, immigrants like migrant farm workers who do not fit this narrative.

As noted in previous chapters, individuals within and outside of the movement for immigrant rights have drawn attention to the problematic aspects of this type of appeal. Recall that Keith Cunningham-Parmeter, in his discussion of U.S. Supreme Court jurisprudence on immigration, remarked of the landmark *Plyler v. Doe* case, which ruled that a 1975 Texas law that “allowed the state to withhold from local school districts state funds for educating children of illegal aliens” was unconstitutional, “According to *Plyler*’s metaphors, bad aliens are criminal adults, while good aliens are infantilized immigrants who remain quiet and vulnerable. Legal responses emerge naturally from these frames: good immigrants deserve an education; bad aliens deserve swift removal from the country... *Plyler*’s story begins with innocent children hiding in the shadows and ends with adult criminals deluging the nation.”¹² Thus, even in a case that was ostensibly in favor of immigrants’ rights, insuring that children of undocumented immigrants had the opportunity to be educated in public schools, the appeals were made in such a way as to exclude and alienate a large population of undocumented immigrants—adults—who were framed as criminals. From within the movement for immigrants’ rights, recall the words of Maria Teresa, an undocumented woman who spoke at the 2010 National Coming Out of the Shadows Day event in Chicago, quoted at the end of chapter three, who attempted to push back against the types of citizenship appeals that draw borders that leave portions of the undocumented community out. She stated:

“Please do not let the mistaken rhetoric that we need to slow down with our struggle, that we are asking for too much, that it’s not the right time, that it’s okay

if only a few get documentation, bring you down. Don't they see that when they accept that they are accepting that we are not equal (and if I know one thing, [it] is that we are all equal), and that if anything destroys solidarity best it is leaving people out? Please don't dare ask me to forsake the rights of humans for just a few undocumented people. We want LEGALIZATION FOR ALL!!”¹³

In Cunningham-Parmeter's analysis and Teresa's declaration, the perils of casting too narrow of an appeal are clear: arguments that paint a specific sub-group of undocumented immigrants in a seemingly positive light can only serve to bring down perceptions of other undocumented immigrants.

One might understand how this process works by turning to the notion of perspective by incongruity, which is invoked in citizenship appeals grounded in similar cultural values, beliefs, aspirations, and occupations. Kenneth Burke has defined perspective by incongruity as carrying “on the same kind of enterprise [as metaphors and puns] in linking hitherto unlinked words” or ideas.¹⁴ The argumentative work of all three types of citizenship appeals outlined at the beginning of this chapter relies on invoking a kind of perspective by incongruity. All three types of appeals seek to change what an audience thinks of when they hear a certain word; in the first type of appeal, that word is “American,” in the second and third types of appeals, that word is “citizenship.” Appeals that emphasize similarities with U.S. Americans seek to associate the word “American” with undocumented immigrants, a group of individuals typically thought of as culturally different foreigners. By urging an audience to change their association with the word “American” to include all individuals—regardless of birthplace—who believe in certain

thing and act in certain ways, if successful, this type of appeal also encourages individuals receiving this message to view as “un-American” any individual who does not believe or act in culturally prevalent ways; this effect would likely be compounded if the individual in question was not born in this country and/or was undocumented.

Having considered the ramifications and risks of the first type of citizenship appeal, I now turn to the second and third types of citizenship appeals which have been the focus of this study. In the second chapter, I analyzed the efforts of undocumented immigrant youth to redefine citizenship from a legal status to a way of behaving. Specifically, I looked at two guides to coming out, created to support the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, and how the rhetoric and strategies of past U.S. social movements functioned within these guides. I argued that the rich and diverse history of U.S. social movements allowed undocumented immigrant youth to present a version of history that redefined and reframed citizenship as constituted in discursive acts of dissent. By invoking the rhetoric and strategies of these past movements and movement leaders, from Rosa Parks to Queer Nation, undocumented immigrant youth used U.S. history as an authoritative resource that allowed them to imagine a future in which their goals, like those of movements that came before them, had been achieved. Invoking past rhetoric and strategies created an opportunity for undocumented youth to shift the association of citizenship with legal categories and duties such as voting, jury duty, etc. to the act of purposefully and publicly speaking truth to power.

In chapter two, I argued that this type of appeal—one that sought to associate citizenship enactment with discursive acts of dissent—was preferable to the kind of

appeal previously discussed that relies on arguments about similarities between undocumented immigrants and U.S. citizens in terms of cultural values, beliefs, aspirations, and occupations. I suggested that this type of appeal was preferable because it allowed for a more inclusive movement for immigrants' rights; rather than limiting the movement to those who wished to assimilate to U.S. cultural norms and values, a discursive, dissident style of citizenship enactment opened the movement up to anyone who was willing purposefully and publicly speak out against the United States' immigration policy.

In chapter three, I continued this argument, suggesting that a third type of citizenship appeal relied on the act of claiming agency over one's own citizenship status. In other words, through the very act of purposefully and publicly coming out of the shadows and declaring one's status as an undocumented immigrant, one entered into the realm of citizenship by "crossing the borders" from the shadows. The border between the shadows and the world occupied by citizens is marked by three primary characteristics. First, I argued that the shadows were represented by silence, and that coming into the realm of citizenship involved a degree of vocality or discursive expression. Second, I suggested, as previously mentioned in this chapter, that the shadows were characterized by emotions such as fear, anger, and shame and that coming out of the shadows, as the words that open this thesis and give it its title suggest, involved "crossing the border of fear" and emotions such as empowerment, determination, and pride. I characterized this "border-crossing" as a process of affective transformation, or a shift in the way that undocumented immigrant youth experienced the world and expressed their relation to it.

Third, I noted that the shadows represented the private realm, a place where exploitation could occur out of sight from the public. Coming out of the shadows thus involved a degree of publicity and the openness and scrutiny that the public implied.

Both types of citizenship appeals outlined above rely on shifting common perceptions of citizenship in order to allow undocumented immigrants to participate in its enactment. Together these strategies form a discursive, dissident style of citizenship enactment. Ultimately, although a discursive, dissident style of citizenship enactment prescribes certain ways of behaving—in the manner of past U.S. dissidents, speaking out against those in power in public, undergoing an affective transformation—I argue that it is a more inclusive style of citizenship enactment. However, this is not to say that there are no drawbacks or risks to a discursive, dissident style of citizenship enactment. To begin with, undocumented immigrant youth who employ a border-drawing style of rhetoric, between the shadows and the light of citizenship, run the risk of alienating those who cannot or choose not to come out of the shadows. Declaring one's status as an undocumented immigrant often involves taking a giant leap of faith, a material risk that often has dire consequences. Since starting work on this thesis, several of the undocumented youth whose voices appear within its pages have been deported or are in deportation proceedings, such as Alaa Mukahhal and Mohammad Abdollahi.¹⁵ Mukahhal and Abdollahi were put in deportation proceedings as a direct result of their activism—citizenship enactment—on behalf of immigrants' rights. This is a bigger risk than many are willing to take, especially considering that Abdollahi faces deportation back to a country, Iran, where he may be put to death for his sexuality.

Furthermore, since many undocumented immigrants are unwilling to take the material risks that coming out of the shadows entails, they risk having the qualities associated with the shadows—silence, negative emotions and affective states, private exploitation—applied to themselves. Individuals that choose not to enact citizenship by participating in immigrants’ rights activism and publicly declaring their status thus have the potential to be silenced and forgotten about. In the case of the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign, does Cunningham-Parmeter’s discussion of the power of the shadows metaphor to create certain destructive images of “criminal adults” and “infantilized immigrants who remain quiet and vulnerable” apply?¹⁶ Although the campaign does contain the potential to reinforce negative notions about who occupies the shadows and who gets to come out of the shadows, I argue that the campaign’s central premise—striving to make citizenship status something that can be discussed openly and encouraging undocumented immigrants to have a voice in that conversation—works to offset these potential setbacks or risks.

There is no doubt that, to a hostile or neutral audience, bright, young students with big dreams of college and careers who were brought to the United States as children might represent the most compelling argument to be made for granting citizenship to certain undocumented immigrants. Thus, it is understandable that undocumented immigrant youth might be the first to the fore to speak out on behalf of immigrants’ rights. With this said, there is no need to resort to arguments that emphasize shared values and norms to appeal for citizenship. A discursive, dissident style of citizenship enactment allows undocumented immigrant youth to draw authority and inspiration from

past U.S. social movements while embracing their own agency to fight for their status—and those of their families and friends. For through this fight, undocumented immigrant youth demonstrate that, although the title of citizen or legal resident can mean the difference between staying where one grew up or being deported to a strange foreign country, citizenship is about more than just a legal status. The undocumented youth of DREAM Activist, the National Immigrant Youth Alliance, and other organizations like them have truly demonstrated Asen’s thesis that citizenship is something that you do, something that can be enacted through discursive acts of dissent, by speaking truth to power.

This thesis is situated within a small, but growing area within the field of communication that considers issues of citizenship and immigration. Robert Asen’s article, “A Discourse Theory of Citizenship,” has been vital to this project and has served as a launching point for several other scholarly articles published on immigration and citizenship in the field, such as D. Robert DeChaine’s “Bordering the Civic Imaginary: Alienization, Fence Logic, and the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps” and Josue David Cisneros’ “(Re)Bordering the Civic Imaginary: Rhetoric, Hybridity, and Citizenship in *La Gran Marcha*,” both recently published in the *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. My goals in writing this thesis were twofold. First, intrigued by Asen’s article which forwarded a theoretical proposition, I felt that it was important to consider a tangible example of how citizenship can be conceived of as purposeful speech and action, and something that can “be enacted by non-citizens.”¹⁷ Starting with Asen’s argument that citizenship can be seen in everyday, quotidian acts, I wanted to understand how symbolic communication

within the immigrants' rights movement—declaring one's status, whether it be on a stage at a rally or on a t-shirt—could be viewed as citizenship enactment. I believe that my contribution on this front lies in presenting a careful examination of the benefits and risks of different types of citizenship appeals that could potentially be made. This study forwards the notion of a discursive, dissident style of citizenship, which sees citizenship as enacted in discursive, dissident expression and through a process of coming to feel and imagine one's self as a citizen. This is a shift away from part of Asen's argument, which as mentioned above, sees citizenship as constituted in everyday symbolic discourse such as the intentional or politically-motivated purchase of a cup of fair trade coffee at a local coffee shop (versus a chain coffee shop).¹⁸ In contrast, the discourse examined within this study is intentional or politically-motivated, but rather than being quotidian in and of itself, it brings the quotidian to discourse. What I mean by this is that for undocumented immigrants, part of their struggle is that they cannot communicate a significant part of their lived experiences—their citizenship status—without fear of persecution, deportation, and other severe consequences. A discursive, dissident style of citizenship enactment emphasizes types of symbolic communication—dissent and self-acceptance through reclaiming of identity—that are crucial to creating meaningful associations with the notion of citizenship.

My second goal in writing this thesis was to make the argument that social movement rhetoric generally and the voices of undocumented immigrants specifically, deserve to be considered within communication scholarship. On this front, I am preceded by a number of scholars mentioned previously in this study such as Karma R. Chávez and

Josue David Cisneros. In the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign and the larger immigrants' rights movement it came out of, one of the central goals is ending the culture of silence that surrounds the issue of citizenship status within the undocumented immigrant community. The goal of lifting the silence could apply to the scholarly community as well. Communication plays such a vital role in discourse on immigration, from the construction of metaphors and borders to the tools to break these discursive constructions. It is true that many of the problems that face this country in terms of immigration are institutional: an influx in private detention centers, created not for justice, but to make the state money, inflexible immigration laws, corrupt immigration lawyers, renegade sheriffs, and vigilantes who patrol the border, for example. However, we cannot neglect the role that discourse plays in constructing, justifying, and sustaining many of these institutions. Examining the rhetoric of undocumented immigrants allows one to understand the effect of these discursive constructions on the individuals and communities they damage the most and how these individuals and communities respond by accepting, modifying, or rejecting and replacing these constructions, such as "the shadows."

This study has been necessarily limited in its scope. At the beginning of this study, I asked some big questions: What does it mean to be a U.S. citizen? Is there truly a border between U.S. citizen and noncitizen, and if so, what signifies this border? What is the ideal citizen? The ideal immigrant? What role does discourse play in either reinforcing or breaking with these categories? Can narrative be a positive force for social change? My hope is that by presenting and analyzing a discursive, dissident style of

citizenship enactment, I have provided at least one concrete example of how the borders of what is considered citizenship are quite permeable. Furthermore, I have demonstrated that U.S. citizens are not the only ones with the power to shift or reinforce these borders—undocumented immigrants do so every day through the degree to which they choose to accept common notions of what it means to be a U.S. citizen and enact citizenship or to create their own notions, guided by participation in discursive, dissident expression. Of course, many of these questions have gone unanswered, or were answered only partially, and are the province of future studies. In future studies, I, or other scholars, could explore in greater depth the way that affect, or emotion, impacts the way that citizens and non-citizens communicate. As mentioned at the beginning of this study, Danielle S. Allen has written that there is no citizenship without trust among citizens. I can imagine future studies that looked at how feelings such as fear, anger, and shame, emotions I labeled as being associated with the shadows, effected the communication of citizens and non-citizens alike. Certainly more work could be done to understand and analyze the affective components of anti-immigration discourse and the ways in which these affective components conflict and overlap with those of undocumented immigrants. Additionally, I believe that a more complete picture of the immigration and citizenship policy debate would emerge by analyzing in more depth responses to the National Coming Out of the Shadows campaign by U.S. citizens and documented immigrants, to the extent that these responses are available. In this study, I was not so much concerned with responses and effects, but with the campaign as a platform for citizenship enactment. However, these responses would nonetheless only add to an understanding of

the efficacy and viability of shifting notions associated with citizenship from a legal category and duties to specific ways of speaking and acting.

Despite these limitations, it is my hope that, even if one does not buy into the premise of a discursive, dissident style of citizenship enactment, a few basic points can be taken away. The movement for immigrants' rights in the U.S. is often popularly characterized as being driven by Latino/as, and undocumented immigrants are portrayed as being predominantly Latino/a. Although Latino/as are an important part of the active undocumented community, this community is by no means limited to Latino/as. As I hope is clear from this study, the movement for citizenship for undocumented immigrants is as diverse as the history it draws upon. The movement is comprised of individuals from different races, ethnicities, countries of origin spanning the globe, genders, sexualities, ages, occupations, and abilities. Finally, a discursive, dissident style of citizenship enactment is risky, as the deportations of several undocumented youth demonstrate. When we consider citizenship as something that is not the exclusive province of citizens, but rather something that can be enacted through purposeful, public, discursive acts of dissent, we honor the youth engaged in this struggle. But we should go one step further and consider how conceiving of citizenship in this way is also vital to democracy. In the words of Abbie Hoffman, an activist during the 1960s and the founder of the Youth International Party, "Democracy is not something you believe in or a place to hang your hat, but it's something you do. You participate. If you stop doing it, democracy crumbles."

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

¹ Immigrant Youth Justice League, *ILYJ Out of the Shadows 2011*, video, 8 minutes and 33 seconds, April 2, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bATPoDrxkAA>.

² Danielle S. Allen, *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship Since Brown v. Board of Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 45.

³ Karma R. Chávez, "Border (In)Securities: Normative and Differential Belonging in LGBTQ and Immigrant Rights Discourse," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 7, no. 2 (2010): 151, 138.

⁴ Keith Cunningham-Parmeter, "Alien Language: Immigration Metaphors and the Jurisprudence of Otherness," *Fordham Law Review* 79, no. 4 (2011): 1576.

⁵ Here, I wish to distinguish the term enactment, which I have used purposefully, from performance, a related term. Enactment signifies the extent to which individuals' bodies, words, and/or actions serve as a demonstration or as material proof for the point they are trying to make. For instance, as undocumented immigrant youth stand on a stage at a rally, arguing for citizenship, they enact citizenship as defined in public acts of dissent. The term performance, on the other hand, might signify that individuals do not already behave in a certain way, but adopt new behaviors associated with certain categories or identities. The terms are necessarily related, and both terms might apply to the strategies of the undocumented immigrant youth considered in this study: enactment, when the undocumented youth emphasize how their current behaviors already qualify them for citizenship, and performance, when the undocumented youth imitate behaviors associated with citizenship to appeal to different audiences for their campaign.

⁶ Abaddon, "Basic Information About the DREAM Act Legislation," *DREAM Act Portal*, last modified July 16, 2010, <http://dreamact.info/students>.

⁷ Because of their precarious position as vocal activists who risk physical violence, verbal abuse, and/or deportation as a result of their activism, most, if not all, of the DREAM Activists use only their first name and perhaps a last initial.

⁸ Kemi, "We Exist: Lessons from Georgia," *DREAM Activist: Undocumented Students Action and Resource Network*, April 27, 2011, <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2011/04/27/lessons-georgia/>.

⁹ James Jasinski, "Discourse," in *Sourcebook on Rhetoric* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2001), 171.

¹⁰ For example, see (many to be discussed later): Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop, *Shifting Borders: Rhetoric, Immigration, and California's Proposition 187* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002).; Lisa A. Flores, "Constructing Rhetorical Borders: Peons, Illegal Aliens, and Competing Narratives of Immigration," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 20, no. 4 (2003): 362-387.; Aimee Carrillo Rowe, "Whose America? The Politics of Rhetoric and Space in the Formation of U.S. Nationalism," *Radical History Review* 89 (2004): 115-134.; Robert Asen, "A Discourse Theory of Citizenship," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 90, no. 2 (2004): 189-211.; Anne Demo, "Sovereignty Discourse and Contemporary Immigration Politics," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 91, no. 3 (2005): 291-311.; *Who Belongs in America? Presidents, Rhetoric, and Immigration*, ed. Vanessa Beasley (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004).; D. Robert DeChaine, "Bordering the Civic Imaginary: Alienization, Fence Logic, and the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 95, no. 1 (2009): 43-65.; Alessandra Beasley Von Burg, "Caught Between History and Imagination: Vico's *Ingenium* for a Rhetorical Renovation of Citizenship," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 43, no. 1 (2010): 26-53.; Chávez, "Border (In)Securities.;" Josue David Cisneros, "(Re)Bordering the Civic Imaginary: Rhetoric, Hybridity, and Citizenship in *La Gran Marcha*," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 97, no. 1 (2011): 26-49.

¹¹ Asen, "A Discourse Theory of Citizenship," 191.

¹² Asen, "A Discourse Theory of Citizenship," 207.

¹³ Chávez, "Border (In)Securities," 144.

¹⁴ Chávez, "Border (In)Securities," 151.

¹⁵ Here I draw on Kirt Wilson's discussion of the sentimentalizing of commemoration of the civil rights movement in: Kirt Wilson, "Rhetoric and Race in the American Experience: The Promises and Perils of Sentimental Memory," in *Sizing Up Rhetoric*, eds. David Zarefsky and Elizabeth Benacka (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 2008): 20-39.

¹⁶ Here, too, by using the term imagine, I invoke Benedict Anderson's work on *Imagined Communities*, in which he argues that there are no "true" communities, but that all communities are acts of creation and imagination. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983).

¹⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

¹⁸ Robert Hariman, *Political Style: The Artistry of Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 8.

¹⁹ Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM Act), S. 1291, 107th Cong. (2001). <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-107s1291is/pdf/BILLS-107s1291is.pdf>; Student Adjustment Act of 2001, H.R. 1918, 107th Cong. (2001). <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-107hr1918ih/pdf/BILLS-107hr1918ih.pdf>.

²⁰ The bills introduced to the House of Representatives were: Student Adjustment Act of 2001, H.R. 1918, 107th Cong. (2001); Student Adjustment Act of 2003, H.R. 1684, 108th Cong. (2003); American Dream Act, H.R. 5131, 109th Cong. (2006); American Dream Act, H.R. 1275, 110th Cong. (2007). (Also included in this session as part of: STRIVE Act of 2007, H. 1645, 110th Cong. (2007).); American Dream Act, H.R. 1751, 111th Cong. (2009).; DREAM Act of 2011, H.R. 1842, 112th Cong. (2011).

The bills introduced to the Senate were: Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM Act), S. 1291, 107th Cong. (2001); DREAM Act, S. 1545, 108th Cong. (2003); DREAM Act of 2005, S. 2075, 109th Cong. (2005). (This version of the bill eventually part of: Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2006, S. 2611, 109th Cong. (2006).); DREAM Act of 2007, S. 774, 110th Cong. (2007). (This version of the bill eventually part of: Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007, S. 9, 110th Cong. (2007).); DREAM Act of 2009, S. 729, 111th Cong. (2009). (This version of the bill eventually part of: Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2010 (CIR Act of 2010), S. 3932, 111th Cong. (2010).).

DREAM Act of 2011, S. 952, 112th Cong. (2011). (This version of the bill eventually part of:

Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2011, S. 1258, 112th Cong. (2011).).

These lists have included the versions of the bills introduced into the House and Senate, not those that were placed on the calendars, which have different bill numbers. Text of all bills available at: thomas.loc.gov.

²¹ DREAM Act of 2011, S. 952, 112th Cong. (2011). <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/F?c112:1:./temp/~c112Vcm1zg:e0>:

²² Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM Act), S. 1291, 107th Cong. (2001). <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-107s1291is/pdf/BILLS-107s1291is.pdf>.

²³ Student Adjustment Act of 2001, H.R. 1918, 107th Cong. (2001). <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-107hr1918ih/pdf/BILLS-107hr1918ih.pdf>.

²⁴ Student Adjustment Act of 2001.

²⁵ DREAM Act of 2007, S. 774, 110th Cong. (2007). <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-110s774is/pdf/BILLS-110s774is.pdf>.

²⁶ Robert Pear and Carl Hulse, "Immigration Bill Dies in Senate; Defeat for Bush," *New York Times*, June 29, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/29/washington/29immig.html?ref=immigrationandemigration>.

²⁷ Michelle Malkin, "Shamnesty Republican Chris Cannon defeated in Utah primary," *MichelleMalkin.com*, June 25, 2008, <http://michellemalkin.com/2008/06/25/shamnesty-republican-chris-cannon-defeated-in-utah-primary/>.

²⁸ Julia Preston, "Democrats Reach Out to Hispanics on Immigration Bill," *New York Times*, September 16, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/17/us/politics/17immig.html?ref=immigrationandemigration>.

²⁹ Julia Preston, "A Potential Obama Ally Becomes an Outspoken Foe on Immigration," *New York Times*, May 28, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/29/us/politics/29gutierrez.html?ref=immigrationandemigration&page_wanted=1.

³⁰ Preston, "A Potential Obama Ally. "; Randal C. Archibold, "Immigrants Work On a Bill Dies and Views Divide," *New York Times*, June 30, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/30/us/30react.html?ref=immigrationandemigration>.

³¹ Mireya Navarro, "Children of Immigrants Take to the Streets for Their Parents' Sake," *New York Times*, June 11, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/11/fashion/sundaystyles/11LATINOS.html?ref=immigrationandemigration>.

³² Navarro, "Children of Immigrants."

³³ David Gonzalez, "Raising Young Voices for Illegal Mexican Immigrants," *New York Times*, July 16, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/16/nyregion/16citywide.html?ref=immigrationandemigration>.

³⁴ Navarro, "Children of Immigrants."

³⁵ Navarro, "Children of Immigrants."

³⁶ Navarro, "Children of Immigrants."

³⁷ Navarro, "Children of Immigrants."

³⁸ Oscar Avila and Antonio Olivo, "A Show of Strength," *Chicago Tribune*, March 11, 2006, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2006-03-11/news/0603110130_1_immigration-debate-pro-immigrant-illegal-immigrants.

³⁹ Amy Goodman, "Thousands of Students Defy School Lockdowns and Continue Walkouts to Protest Anti-Immigrant Bill," *Democracy Now*, March 29, 2006, http://www.democracynow.org/2006/3/29/thousands_of_students_defy_school_lockdowns.

⁴⁰ Navarro, "Children of Immigrants. "; Goodman, "Thousands of Students."

⁴¹ Teresa Watanabe and Hector Becerra, "500,000 Pack Streets to Protest Immigration Bills," *Los Angeles Times*, March 26, 2006, <http://articles.latimes.com/2006/mar/26/local/me-immig26>.

⁴² Rachel L. Swarns, "Immigrants Rally in Scores of Cities for Legal Status," *New York Times*, April 11, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/11/us/11immig.html?pagewanted=1>.; "Rallies Across U.S. Call for Illegal Immigrant Rights," *CNN Politics*, April 10, 2006, <http://articles.cnn.com/2006-04->

10/politics/immigration_1_jaime-contreras-national-capital-immigration-coalition-illegal-immigrant-rights?_s=PM:POLITICS.

⁴³ “Rallies Across U.S.,” *CNN Politics*.

⁴⁴ Swarns, “Immigrants Rally in Scores.”

⁴⁵ Randal C. Archibold, “Immigrants Take to U.S. Streets in Show of Strength,” *New York Times*, May 2, 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/02/us/02immig.html?pagewanted=1&_r=1&ei=5094&en=e9b7414ed9b65b5f&hp&ex=1146542400&partner=homepage.

⁴⁶ Archibold, “Immigrants Take to U.S. Streets.”

⁴⁷ “About,” *United We Dream*, Accessed: June 18, 2011, http://unitedwedream.org/?page_id=18.

⁴⁸ *Trail of Dreams*, Accessed: June 18, 2011, <http://trail2010.org/>.

⁴⁹ Jose Antonio Vargas, “My Life as an Undocumented Immigrant,” *New York Times*, June 22, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/26/magazine/my-life-as-an-undocumented-immigrant.html?pagewanted=1&_r=1&sq=vargas&st=cse&scp=1.

⁵⁰ John Stish, “The Trail of Dreams is Becoming a Movement,” *Al Día News*, April 13, 2010, http://dreamact.pontealdia.com/home/the_walk/the_trail_of_dreams_is_becoming_a_movement/.

⁵¹ Angela Meng, “‘Swatties for a DREAM’ Organize Walk from Philadelphia to Swarthmore,” *The Daily Gazette*, April 22, 2010, <http://daily.swarthmore.edu/2010/4/22/dream-walk/>. ; “Dream Act,” *OneMichigan*, Accessed: July 12, 2011, <http://1michigan.org/about/dream-act/>.

⁵² Alex DiBranco, “Trail of Dreams v. KKK: Walking On For Immigration Reform,” *Alternet*, March 2, 2010, http://www.alternet.org/immigration/145858/trail_of_dreams_vs._kkk:_walking_on_for_immigration_reform.

⁵³ “Rigo Padilla, Reyna Wences & Tania Unzueta: Chicago, IL,” *Freedom From Fear Award*, Accessed: July 12, 2011, <http://freedomfromfearaward.com/celebrate/iyjl>.

⁵⁴ Mohammad Abdollahi, “National Coming Out of the Shadows Week – March 15th to the 21st,” *DREAM Activist*, March 5, 2010, <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2010/03/05/comeout/>.

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- ⁵⁵ Julia Preston, "Illegal Immigrant Students Protest at McCain Office," *New York Times*, May 17, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/18/us/18dream.html>.
- ⁵⁶ Preston, "Illegal Immigrant Students Protest."
- ⁵⁷ Devin Dwyer, "Immigrant Students Face Deportation After Protest at McCain Arizona Office," *ABC News*, May 19, 2010, <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/undocumented-student-immigrants-face-deportation-mccain-office-protest/story?id=10689042>.
- ⁵⁸ "About," *United We Dream*.
- ⁵⁹ DeChaine, "Bordering the Civic Imaginary," 43.
- ⁶⁰ Ono and Sloop, *Shifting Borders*, 3.
- ⁶¹ Ibid.
- ⁶² Ono and Sloop, *Shifting Borders*, 5.
- ⁶³ Flores, "Constructing Rhetorical Borders," 367.
- ⁶⁴ Flores, "Constructing Rhetorical Borders," 365, 381.
- ⁶⁵ DeChaine, "Bordering the Civic Imaginary," 46.
- ⁶⁶ Rowe, "Whose 'America'?", 121.
- ⁶⁷ Cisneros, "(Re)Bordering the Civic Imaginary," 33.
- ⁶⁸ Cisneros, "(Re)Bordering the Civic Imaginary," 32.
- ⁶⁹ Demo, "Sovereignty Discourse," 292.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid.
- ⁷¹ Ibid.
- ⁷² Josue David Cisneros, "Contaminated Communities: The Metaphor of 'Immigrant as Pollutant' in Media Representations of Immigration," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 11, no. 4 (2008): 593-594.
- ⁷³ Cunningham-Parmeter, "Alien Language," 1545.
- ⁷⁴ Cunningham-Parmeter, "Alien Language," 1598.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ⁷⁶ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

⁷⁷ DeChaine, "Bordering the Civic Imaginary," 60.

⁷⁸ Chávez, "Border (In)Securities," 137.

⁷⁹ Asen, "A Discourse Theory," 191.

⁸⁰ Asen, "A Discourse Theory," 189.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Asen, "A Discourse Theory," 203-204.

⁸³ Von Burg, "Caught Between History and Imagination," 27.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ For more on these studies, see: Vanessa B. Beasley (Ed.), *Who Belongs in America?:*

Presidents, Rhetoric, and Immigration (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2006).; Angela G. Ray and Cindy Koenig Richards, "Inventing Citizens, Imagining Gender Justice: The Suffrage Rhetoric of Virginia and Francis Minor," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 93, no. 4 (2007).; Angela G. Ray, "The Rhetorical Ritual of Citizenship: Women's Voting as Public Performance, 1868-1875," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 93, no. 1 (2007).; Susan Zaeske, "Signatures of Citizenship: The Rhetoric of Women's Anti-Slavery Petitions," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 88, no. 2 (2002).

⁸⁶ DeChaine, "Bordering the Civic Imaginary," 50.

⁸⁷ Asen, "A Discourse Theory," 194-198.

⁸⁸ "Are You Undocumented and Unafraid? Time to Come Out," *National Immigrant Youth Alliance*, February 10, 2011. <http://theniya.org/comeout/>. See also, Appendix B, "A Guide to Coming Out for Undocumented Youth" (2011), 148.

CHAPTER TWO

¹ Mohammad Abdollahi, "National Coming Out of the Shadows Week – March 15th to the 21st," *DREAM Activist*, March 5, 2010. <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2010/03/05/comeout/>.

² For the text of the speech this quotation is drawn and adapted from, see: Harvey Milk, “That’s What America Is” in *The Mayor of Castro Street* by Randy Shilts (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982): 364-371. Ellipses in brackets indicate where Abdollahi has omitted text.

³ Milk, “That’s What America Is,” 371, 368.

⁴ Abdollahi, “National Coming Out.”

⁵ Julianne Hing, “How Undocumented Youth Nearly Made Their DREAMs Real in 2010,” *Color Lines*, December 20, 2010. <http://calulac.org/blog/tag/national-coming-out-of-the-shadows-day/>.

⁶ Abdollahi, “National Coming Out.”

⁷ Aimee Carrillo Rowe has described a type of coalitional belonging (or “be longing”) as “differential belonging.” She notes that a “politics of relation...moves theories of locating the subject to a relational notion of the subject. It moves a politics of location from the individual to a coalitional notion of the subject” (16). Aimee Carrillo Rowe, “Be Longing: Toward a Feminist Politics of Relation,” *NWSA Journal* 17, no. 2 (2005).

⁸ The 2010 guide can be downloaded at: Mohammad Abdollahi, “National Coming Out of the Shadows Week – March 15th to the 21st,” *DREAM Activist*, March 5, 2010, <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2010/03/05/comeout/>. The 2011 guide can be found at: “Are You Undocumented and Unafraid? Time to Come Out,” *National Immigrant Youth Alliance*, February 10, 2011, <http://theniya.org/comeout/>. For copies of the guides, see Appendices A and B. Note: In the appendices, I have attempted to reproduce the guides as true as possible to their original form, but some formatting changes were necessary.

⁹ Chávez, “Border (In)Securities,” 144.

¹⁰ Karma R. Chávez, “Border (In)Securities: Normative and Differential Belonging in LGBTQ and Immigrant Rights Discourse,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 7, no. 2 (2010): 151.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Aimee Carrillo Rowe, “Whose America? The Politics of Rhetoric and Space in the Formation of U.S. Nationalism,” *Radical History Review* 89 (2004): 125.

¹³ Chávez, "Border (In)Securities," 149.

¹⁴ Karen A. Foss, "Harvey Milk and the Queer Rhetorical Situation: A Rhetoric of Contradiction" in *Queering Public Address: Sexualities in American Historical Discourse*, ed. Charles E. Morris, III. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2007): 74.

¹⁵ Foss, "Harvey Milk," 88.

¹⁶ Foss, "Harvey Milk," 86.

¹⁷ D. Robert DeChaine, "Bordering the Civic Imaginary: Alienization, Fence Logic, and the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 95, no. 1 (2009): 50.

¹⁸ Kirt Wilson, "Rhetoric and Race in the American Experience: The Promises and Perils of Sentimental Memory," in *Sizing Up Rhetoric*, eds. David Zarefsky and Elizabeth Benacka (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 2008): 37.

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²⁰ Wilson, "The Racial Politics of Imitation," 102.

²¹ Wilson, "The Racial Politics of Imitation," 105.

²² Wilson, "The Racial Politics of Imitation," 89, 91.

²³ Wilson, "The Racial Politics of Imitation," 105.

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³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Foss, “Harvey Milk,” 84.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

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³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Hing, “How Undocumented Immigrant Youth.”

³⁸ Richard Kim, “How to Weaponize Your Personal Crisis,” *The Nation*, June 28, 2011.
<http://www.thenation.com/article/161703/how-weaponize-your-personal-crisis>.

³⁹ Abdollahi, “National Coming Out.” Also, see Appendix A for a copy of “Coming Out of the Shadows: A How to Guide” (2010), 138.

⁴⁰ Appendix A, “Coming Out of the Shadows,” 139.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Appendix A, “Coming Out of the Shadows,” 140.

⁴³ Appendix A, “Coming Out of the Shadows,” 141.

⁴⁴ Appendix A, “Coming Out of the Shadows,” 142.

⁴⁵ Appendix A, “Coming Out of the Shadows,” 144.

⁴⁶ “Are You Undocumented and Unafraid? Time to Come Out,” *National Immigrant Youth Alliance*, February 10, 2011. <http://theniya.org/comeout/>. See also, Appendix B, “A Guide to Coming Out for Undocumented Youth” (2011), 146.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Appendix B, “A Guide to Coming Out,” 150.

⁴⁹ Appendix B, “A Guide to Coming Out,” 156.

⁵⁰ Appendix B, “A Guide to Coming Out,” 157.

⁵¹ Ibid.

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⁵³ Those seeking more biographical details of Milk’s life and political campaigns should see: Randy Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982).

⁵⁴ For studies of Queer Nation, specifically its relation to nationalism and citizenship, see: Brian Walker, “Social Movements as Nationalisms, or, On the Very Idea of a Queer Nation,” *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 22 (supplementary volume) or Lauren Berlant and Elizabeth Freeman, “Queer Nationality,” *boundary 2* 19, no. 1 (1992).

⁵⁵ Susan Stryker, “Queer Nation,” *GLBTQ: An Encyclopedia of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Culture*. Accessed: July 24, 2011. http://www.glbtc.com/social-sciences/queer_nation.html.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

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⁶⁰ Lauren Berlant and Elizabeth Freeman, “Queer Nationality,” *boundary 2* 19, no. 1 (1992): 153, 152.

⁶¹ Appendix A, "Coming Out of the Shadows," 137.

⁶² Berlant and Freeman, "Queer Nationality," 151.

⁶³ "Text of Obama's Speech on Immigration," *The Wall Street Journal*, May 10, 2011.

<http://blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2011/05/10/text-of-obamas-speech-on-immigration/>.

⁶⁴ Robert Asen, "A Discourse Theory of Citizenship," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 90, no. 2 (2004): 191, 203.

CHAPTER THREE

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http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/27/opinion/27fri3.html?_r=1&ref=immigration.

³ "Obama's Remarks on Immigration," *New York Times*, May 10, 2011.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/11/us/politics/11obama-text.html?pagewanted=1&sq=immigrants%20in%20the%20shadows&st=cse&scp=5>.

⁴ Keith Cunningham-Parmeter, "Alien Language: Immigration Metaphors and the Jurisprudence of Otherness," *Forham Law Review* 79, no. 4 (2011): 1561.

⁵ "Plyler v. Doe," *Oyez: U.S. Supreme Court Media*. Accessed: July 29, 2011.

http://www.oyez.org/cases/1980-1989/1981/1981_80_1538.

⁶ Cunningham-Parmeter, "Alien Language," 1561.

⁷ Cunningham-Parmeter, "Alien Language," 1562-1563.

⁸ Cunningham-Parmeter, "Alien Language," 1558.

⁹ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003): 158-159.

¹⁰ Here, and in this chapter, I use *publicity* as defined by Merriam-Webster as “the quality or state of being public”; “Publicity,” *Merriam-Webster*. Accessed August 3, 2011. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/publicity>.

¹¹ I have chosen to analyze these two blogs for two reasons. First, the DREAM Activist blog served as the hub of activity for the 2010 Coming Out of the Shadows campaign. Although United We Dream was the official sponsor of the campaign, the narratives that resulted from the campaign were primarily posted on the DREAM Activist and Immigrant Youth Justice League blogs. Second, the Immigrant Youth Justice League organized and hosted the first National Coming Out of the Shadows *Day* (as opposed to the weeklong activities organized by United We Dream) that gained media attention. These are certainly not the only two blogs of the undocumented immigrant youth movement, but I believe that they are both representative of and significant for the movement as a whole.

¹² Julianne Hing, “How Undocumented Youth Nearly Made Their DREAMs Real in 2010,” *ColorLines*, December 20, 2010. <http://calulac.org/blog/tag/national-coming-out-of-the-shadows-day/>.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ IYJL, “[VIDEO] Coming Out of the Shadows 2011,” *Immigrant Youth Justice League*, April 4, 2011. <http://www.iyjl.org/?p=2055>.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Angy, “Ask Angy: A New Me,” *DREAM Activist*, March 21, 2011. <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2011/03/21/a-new-me/>.

¹⁹ Judith Butler, *Giving an Account of One’s Self* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005): 125.

²⁰ Himnp13, “The Act of Civil Disobedience,” *DREAM Activist*, April 14, 2011. <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2011/04/14/act-disobedience/>.

²¹ IYJL, “[VIDEO] Coming Out.”

²² Ibid.

²³ Kemi, "Milestones, My Sister, & I," *DREAM Activist*, May 26, 2011.

<http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2011/05/26/milestones-sister/>.

²⁴ Angy, "D-Identity," *DREAM Activist*, May 30, 2011. <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2011/05/30/didentity/>.

²⁵ Aimee Carrillo Rowe, "Be Longing: Towards a Feminist Politics of Relation," *NWSA Journal* 17, no. 2 (2005): 16.

²⁶ Danielle S. Allen, *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship Since Brown v. Board of Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006): *xiii*.

²⁷ In this study, specifically in this section of the study, I use the term *affect* to signify embodied emotion that deeply influences the way one experiences that world. To this end, I will frequently use the word "state" to describe how affect functions in an embodied way. The word *emotion* is not interchangeable with affect, but is closely related. I use the word emotion to describe feelings such as anger, fear, etc. In summation, I use affect to characterize the experiential and lived dimension of named emotions. This noted, it is not my intention in this study to participate in the conversations and debates within communication and cultural studies over the precise meaning of the word 'affect'; that is work for another time and place. For more on these concerns, see: Lawrence Grossberg, *We've Gotta Get Out of This Place: Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992). On affect, Grossberg notes, "The affective plane is organized according to maps which direct people's investments in and into the world. These maps are deployed in relation to the formations in which they are articulated. They tell people where, how and with what intensities they can become absorbed—into the world and their lives" (82). Also, see: Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002). On the important differences between emotion and affect, Massumi observes, "Affect is most often used loosely as a synonym for emotion. But...emotion and affect...follow different logics and pertain to different orders" (27). For Massumi, emotion is qualified, "narrativizable," whereas affect is "unqualified," beyond language (28). For the purposes of my study, I find value in both

Grossberg and Massumi's work. Grossberg, for attention to the way that affect maps one's experiences of the world (as seen in the quotation above) and Massumi for emphasizing the way that affect works bodily (although I do not place affect outside of language in this study).

²⁸ IYJL, "Frustrations on Being Undocumented," *Immigrant Youth Justice League*, January 12, 2010. <http://www.iyjl.org/?p=125>.

²⁹ NYSYLC, "My Name is Aura and I am Undocumented," *DREAM Activist*, March 11, 2010. <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2010/03/11/aura-undocumented/>.

³⁰ IYJL, "Trapped in a Golden Cage," *Immigrant Youth Justice League*, March 14, 2010. <http://www.iyjl.org/?p=503>.

³¹ IYJL, "Education Delayed," *Immigrant Youth Justice League*, July 17, 2010. <http://www.iyjl.org/?p=1234>.

³² IYJL, "When We Fail," *Immigrant Youth Justice League*, January 15, 2010. <http://www.iyjl.org/?p=150>.

³³ Angy, "Ask Angy: A New Me."

³⁴ IYJL, "[VIDEO] Coming Out."

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Hing, "How Undocumented Youth."

³⁸ "Perry Fights Back On Immigration: 'You Don't Have a Heart,'" *Fox Nation*, September 22, 2011. <http://nation.foxnews.com/rick-perry/2011/09/22/perry-fights-back-immigration-you-dont-have-heart>.

³⁹ Philip Rucker, "Rick Perry Says His Remarks on Immigration Were 'Inappropriate,'" *The Washington Post*, September 28, 2011. http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/rick-perry-says-his-remarks-on-immigration-were-inappropriate/2011/09/28/gIQAr25t5K_story.html.

⁴⁰ Robert Asen, "A Discourse Theory of Citizenship," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 90, no. 2 (2004): 192.

⁴¹ Mohammad Abdollahi, “National Coming Out of the Shadows Week – March 15th to the 21st,” *DREAM Activist*, March 5, 2010. <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2010/03/05/comeout/>; Appendix A, “Coming Out of the Shadows: A How to Guide” (2010).

⁴² Isabel MacDonald, “Lou Dobbs, American Hypocrite,” *The Nation*, October 25, 2010, 11.

⁴³ Kemi, “My Name is Kemi and I Am Undocumented,” *DREAM Activist*, March 11, 2010. <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2010/03/11/kemi-undocumented/>.

⁴⁴ IYJL, “Lulu: A Future Without Fear is Possible,” *Immigrant Youth Justice League*, March 15, 2011. <http://www.iyjl.org/?p=2004>.

⁴⁵ Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books, 2002): 26.

⁴⁶ IYJL, “We Are All Egypt. We Are All Undocumented,” *Immigrant Youth Justice League*, June 20, 2011. <http://www.iyjl.org/?p=2318>.

⁴⁷ Flavia, “Coming Out as an Ally,” *DREAM Activist*, March 25, 2011. <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2011/03/25/coming-ally/>.

⁴⁸ Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 7.

⁴⁹ Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 12.

⁵⁰ IYJL, “Message to Pro-immigrant and Anti-Immigrant People,” *Immigrant Youth Justice League*, May 23, 2010. <http://www.iyjl.org/?p=853>.

CHAPTER FOUR

¹ Martin Luther King, Jr. “On Being a Good Neighbor,” in *Strength to Love* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress Press, 1981): 35

² Robert Asen, “A Discourse Theory of Citizenship,” *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 90, no. 2 (2004): 203-204.

³ Angy, “D-Identity,” *DREAM Activist*, May 30, 2011. <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2011/05/30/didentity/>.

⁴ Mamadou, "Our Stories," *DREAMActivist*. <http://www.dreamactivist.org/about/our-stories/mamadou/>.

⁵ Yoshinori, "Coming Out: My Name is Yoshinori, and I am Undocumented," *DREAMActivist*, February 23, 2011. <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2011/02/23/coming-yoshinori-undocumented/>.

⁶ Mauricio, "Our Stories," *DREAMActivist*, <http://www.dreamactivist.org/about/our-stories/mauricio/>.

⁷ Cynthia, "Our Stories: Cynthia," *DREAMActivist*, April 18, 2010. <http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2010/04/18/cynthia/>.

⁸ Sung, "Our Stories," *DREAMActivist*. <http://www.dreamactivist.org/about/our-stories/sung/>.

⁹ Aaron Smith, "Farm Workers: Take Our Jobs, Please!" *CNN Money*, July 10, 2010. http://money.cnn.com/2010/07/07/news/economy/farm_worker_jobs/index.htm.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ "Stephen Colbert's Testimony Before Congress (Text)," *The Washington Post*, September 24, 2010. http://voices.washingtonpost.com/blog-post/2010/09/stephen_colberts_testimony_bef.html.

¹² Keith Cunningham-Parmeter, "Alien Language: Immigration Metaphors and the Jurisprudence of Otherness," *Forham Law Review* 79, no. 4 (2011): 1562-1563.

¹³ IYJL, "Message to Pro-immigrant and Anti-Immigrant People," *Immigrant Youth Justice League*, May 23, 2010. <http://www.iyjl.org/?p=853>.

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¹⁵ Devin Dwyer, "Immigrant Students Face Deportation After Protest at McCain Arizona Office," *ABC News*, May 19, 2010. <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/undocumented-student-immigrants-face-deportation-mccain-office-protest/story?id=10689042>.; Alaa Mukahhal, "In Deportation, Forever Unapologetic," *Immigrant Youth Justice League*, July 1, 2011. <http://www.iyjl.org/?p=2399>.

¹⁶ Cunningham-Parmeter, "Alien Language," 1562-1563.

¹⁷ Asen, "A Discourse Theory," 203-204.

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artner=homepage](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/02/us/02immig.html?pagewanted=1&_r=1&ei=5094&en=e9b7414ed9b65b5f&hp&ex=1146542400&partner=homepage).
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APPENDIX A

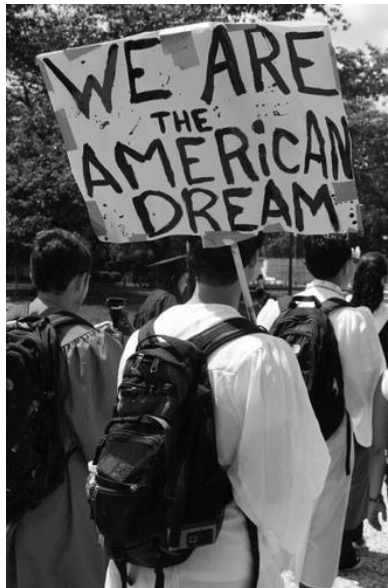
Coming Out, A How To Guide ©

<http://dreamactivist.org> - 1.800.596.7498 | New York State Youth Leadership Council -

<http://nysylc.org>

United We Dream Network | <http://unitedwedream.org>

Level 1 – The Dreamer “Shout it Out”



Maybe you have always wondered about how you came to be here, you have either asked your parents for the story or have been told bits and pieces of it and you want to know more, you want to put your story together. You are maybe just getting started with an organization on campus or you are were just looking for information on the internet about the Dream Act. **Is this you?**

Sample Action - A One on One

Make a personal decision to come out to someone you know. You can meet up at a coffee shop or schedule a meeting with the person you are hoping to come out to. You might be thinking to yourself, ‘how do I bring up the topic of immigration?!’

You can do so in various ways:

-
1. You can say to the person that you are coming out to that you have an important thing to say.
 2. If you are too scared or too worried about being alone during this one on one, bring a friend you already came out to. They don't have to say anything but just being there for moral support is enough!
 3. You can casually steer the conversation into your story.

Take a listen to how [David comes out to his friend](#).

Sample dialogue:

For example, you could be talking about the upcoming study abroad opportunity over the summer. “Hey Sally Joe, how is it hangin? . . . I am doing great too, but I am kind of bummed, remember that study abroad thing to China? Well I was really pumped to go but I can’t because . . .”

or maybe

“Hey Joey, what’s kickin? Oh you are going to the mall tomorrow, I really want to come, can you come pick me up? [Joey says, sheez get a driver’s license already!] . . . Well actually the reason I can’t get a license is because. . . “

You get the idea. Coming out can happen in any situation or conversation if you do not want to just sit the person down and say, “hey sally, I have something important to say, I am undocumented. <insert your personal story here>.”

The Action – Have you completed a Dreamer level now?

After you share your story remind the person that there is a solution and it is called the Dream Act. Urge them to get active and support your efforts, invite them to become a part of this organization you are a part of. Remember, telling your story can be an empowering experience but it can also help broaden the immigrant student movement. Don’t be afraid to ask that person to get involved. After you conversation, ask them to sign a postcard/petition.

You have completed this level if you:

- Share your story; and
- Gather at least 10 petition signatures.

Tools you need to complete this level:

- [Guide to telling a good story](#); and
- [Petition forms](#)

Level 2 – Cesar Chavez and the UFW



Sample Action - A Meeting

Consider hosting a coming out meeting. You can convene a meeting with other dreamers and/or allies. In meetings, it's important to start the meeting with group agreements that include a commitment to confidentiality and respect when sharing personal stories. Use this meeting as an opportunity to deepen relationships with allies and other dreamers. Create a safe space by listening and thanking others for sharing their stories. You know better than anyone who can be invited to this meeting. Be cautious with who you decide to come out too, not everyone accepts undocumented youth and you may be putting yourself in harm's way.

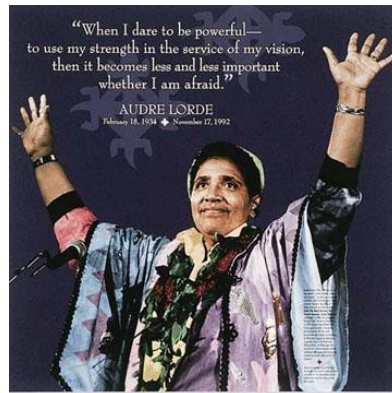
The Action – Have you completed a Cesar Chavez and UFW level now?

After everyone has had the opportunity to share their story remind everyone, that there is a solution and it is called the Dream Act. Use the meeting as an opportunity to encourage everyone to get active and support efforts for the Dream Act to pass. Remember, telling your story can be an empowering experience but it can also help broaden the immigrant student movement. At the meeting encourage everyone to a postcard/petition and host their own coming out meetings.

You have completed the Cesar Chavez and the UFW level if you:

-Collect 25 petition signatures (or text message sign-up) & share you story with us (written or video)

Level 3 - Audre Lorde “Shout it Out”



Sample Action - A Party

Coming Out doesn't have to be an ominous thing! Host a coming out party!

At least 1- 2 week ahead:

Like all parties, plan ahead including sending out invitations to your party and brainstorming what activities you would like to have. Your party could be action oriented. You can host a call in party to your Senators! Or it can be a fund raising party to support a scholarship to help you get to school or help out your local Dream Team, etc

A week ahead:

Call and Email folks about your coming out party. Give them all the details to your event. Consider making it a potluck event to cut costs.

If you are hosting the event at a location outside your home, confirm the place and time. Ideally it should be free.

If you are hosting a fundraiser, meet with a group of friends to plan out event including thinking of different fundraising activities and roles needed. Will you need to pick up extra food for guests? What other materials/decorations will you need?

A couple of days ahead:

Call and Email to confirm. Organize yourself by keeping track of guests and if they are bringing food make a note of that as well.

Day of: Enjoy the Party! Don't forget to have fun and tie all this work to a commitment to pass the Dream Act.

The Action – Have you completed the Audre Lorde level now?

- Collect 50 petition signatures (or text message sign-ups) & share you story with us (written or video) & hold a coming out party.

Level 4 - Rosa Parks – “We Are Here Get Used to It”



Sample Action - A Press Conference

Host a press conference on National Coming out Day. Before you get started at this level, there are a couple of items you should have in hand.

These include:

- a media list or a list of press contacts. If you do not have one contact Juan@dreamactivist.org or Tolu@unitedwedream.org
- a purpose to the press conference: Why are you calling this press conference? Are you announcing coming out day? Are you coming out to tell you story? Is a press conference a good format for this?
- group of students/youth who are willing to tell their story: make sure that are prepped. You/They must be aware of all the potential consequences of telling their story to such a wide audience.

3-5 Days Before of Press Conference:

- Draft, Edit and Finalize Media Advisory with 5 W's for event (who, what, where, why, how)
 - Media Advisory
 - This for planning purposes only. It is not news; it is merely to educate reporters on the event you are planning.
 - The number you include in the advisory must be one where you can be reached the day of the event. Only include an email if you will be checking it at the event.
- Know the permit policy and media policy of your event location and make sure you contact the director of communications for your location (especially on college campuses). Email, Fax, and Call reporters to pitch your press conference
 - When you call -
 - Identify yourself right away and ask if they have time to speak
 - Tell them about your event in 30 seconds or less
 - Localizing instead of federalizing the issue can be helpful in getting a local reporters attention – They him/her why this issue affects their community
 - With flagship publications don't stop with one reporter. If the immigration reporter says no, by all means call the higher education reporter
- Invite family members, allies, etc to event. Who do you want to be there?
- Draft Agenda of Press Conference and order of speakers with bios on each speaker.

1-2 Days

-
- Draft Press Release with 5 W's for event (who, what, where, why, how)+ additional narrative. Include quotes from students who will talk at event and reasons why they are coming out.
 - Press releases are news and can be quoted from, so it is very important that you fact check the information you are releasing.
 - Have a good understanding of your audience. Who the reporters attending are and who reads the paper/magazine, or watches their television station (parents, young adults, educators, politicians, immigrants etc.)
 - Email, Fax, and Call reporters to pitch your press conference the night before and the day of the press conference.

Day of the Press Conference:

- Send out your press release and have printed copies available at your press conference.
- Consider room set up. Make sure mics and podium are set up if you are using this format.
- Have someone there with a camera or a flip
- Prep: Run Down Agenda of Press Conference and Good Luck!

The Action – Have you completed the Rosa Parks level now?

You have completed this level if you:

- Collect 75 petition signatures or text message sign-ups;
- Shared you written and video story with us; and
- Held a coming out event that had local press coverage.

Level 5 - Harvey Milk "Out of the Closets and into the Streets"



Sample Action - A Rally

A coming out rally is an empowering and action oriented opportunity to come out to your community

When preparing for a rally:

At least 2 weeks ahead:

- Consider turn out goals. The sky is the limit but consider other factors such as your time and capacity. Ideally, you could be working with a team of folks to make sure your rally is a success. Clarify roles and responsibilities early at the beginning of your planning sessions.
- What is the agenda of the rally? Consider adding a speak out component and have a specific demand.

Have you completed a Harvey Milk level now?

You have completed this level if you:

- Collect 100 petition signatures (or text messages)
- Get at least 5-7 people to share their story with us (written or video)
- Hold a coming out event w/ press coverage
- You've helped others come out as well

APPENDIX B

Prepared by The National Immigrant Youth Alliance © 2011 <http://theniya.org> | Email: info@theniya.org | Phone: 678-561-NIYA | Twitter: @TheNIYA

A guide to ‘Coming Out’ for undocumented youth



National Coming Out Week

March 10th is National Coming Out Day. In Chicago, the Immigrant Youth Justice League will be leading us to launch a week long period in which undocumented youth across the country will be “coming out.” Coming out can be anything from telling a friend about your status, to posting a note on facebook to planning an all-out rally on your campus. Whether big or small, consider participating in the National Coming Out Day and weeks by coming out!

“Being undocumented doesn’t define who you are. By Coming Out we take back our right of speech that for years others have been trying to control and oppress. Being undocumented is something that has given us strength and patience throughout the years. Nobody, not even the Senate, can stop us. We’re here and we’re not leaving, be proud and be loud!”

Angy, New York State Youth Leadership Council

“By Coming Out, we are taking control of the same fears that are going to exist no matter what. Last year, we came out, sat in, and rose up. Now, no one can stop us. This year, not only are we undocumented and unafraid, but we are also unapologetic. We are and we deserve to be a part of this country, and we won’t let anyone tell us differently.”

Reyna, Immigrant Youth Justice League

Overview:

Congratulations! You have decided to come out of the shadows about your undocumented status. Perhaps you have finally decided to tell your friends why you haven't signed up for your drivers' ed. class or why you still don't drive to school. Maybe, you will come out to your guidance counselor, who has asked you repeatedly to turn in your college application, but you were too afraid to tell him/her that you don't have a social security number and that you still don't know how you will pay for college without financial aid.

Please remember you are not alone. You are part of a large community of courageous undocumented youth who have decided to come out of the shadows about our immigration status. We live every day in fear and we are tired of it. We want to be able to talk about our lives and our stories without fearing persecution or deportation. We are not free to travel, go to school, work, live, **but we refuse to be helpless.**

This guide is meant to help you in your quest to come out. We have outlined numerous actions you can take as an individual or as a collective group. We have a listing of actions, videos and pictures from the 2010 National Coming Out week. If you have any questions you can always reach us at info@theniya.org

Difficulty of Coming Out:

You decide, it could be easy to medium to very difficult.

Time needed for action:

Anywhere from just 10 minutes to 2 hours.

Tips and Tricks

- **Practice, Practice, Practice:** In front of a mirror or with someone who already knows about your status. Little siblings are great to practice on!
- **Breathe:** Breathing is a good thing. When we are nervous, we tend to withhold our breath or breathe heavily. Take a break and be conscious of your breathing. Breathe in and out until you can hear your heart beat normally. This is good for centering yourself and your thoughts.
- **Story got you nervous?** Check out our nifty story guide <http://action.dreamactivist.org/story>. Don't let it overwhelm you; after all it's just your own story.
- **More support:** Give us a call at **678-561-NIYA** or email us info@theniya.org

Coming Out 2010: A sample of what took place

Immigrant Youth Justice League sets the tone in Chicago (Video and pictures):
<http://www.peterholderness.com/iyjl/index.html>

Isabel from DreamActivist Virginia scores a city resolution for Dream by coming out:
<http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2010/03/02/coming-works-story-harrisonburg/>

Maria from DreamActivist Pennsylvania shares her fears initially coming out:
<http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2010/03/12/being-coming-fears/>

The Ramos brothers come out for their sister in Argentina:
<http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2010/03/15/coming-sister-selfdeported-dreamer/>

Perna outlines ten really good reasons for why you should already be out!:
<http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2010/03/11/10-reasons-proud-undocumented-immigrant/>

67 undocumented youth from Washington come out on video:
<http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/2010/03/16/wda/>

Youtube Coming-Out Videos:

My name is Johnathan and I am Undocumented:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4VjZjh9RTNI>

Need more support? Contact us

Media (how to turnout press, do a press release, talk to reporters, etc.):

Juan@dreamactivist.org

Story Coaching (review your rough draft, talk it through with you, etc.): 678-561-NIYA

Recruitment (tips for getting people to your event, etc.): outreach@theniya.org

FIVE LEVELS OF COMING OUT: YOU DECIDE

Level 1 – The Dreamer

Maybe you have always wondered about how you came to be here, you have asked your parents for the story or have been told bits of it and you want to know more, you want to put your story together. You are maybe just getting started with an organization on campus or you are were just looking for information on the internet about the Dream Act or scholarships for undocumented youth. **Is this you?**



Sample Action: A One on One Difficulty: Easy

Make a personal decision to come out to someone you know. You can meet up at a coffee shop or schedule a meeting with the person you are hoping to come out to. You might be thinking to yourself, „how do I bring up the topic of immigration?!” You can do so in various ways:

1. You can say to the person that you are coming out to that you have an important thing to say.
2. If you are too scared or too worried about being alone during this one on one, bring a friend you already came out to. They don't have to say anything but just being there for moral support is enough.
3. You can casually steer the conversation into your story. For example, you could be talking about the upcoming study abroad opportunity over the summer. “Hey Sally Joe, how is it hangin? . . . I am doing great too, but I am kind of bummed, remember that study abroad thing to China? Well I was really pumped to go but I can't because . . .”

or maybe

“Hey Joey, what’s kickin? Oh you are going to the mall tomorrow, I really want to come, can you come pick me up? [Joey says, sheez get a driver’s license already!] . . . Well actually the reason I can’t get a license is because. . .”

You get the idea. Coming out can happen in any situation or conversation if you do not want to just sit the person down and say, “Hey Sally, I have something important to say, I am undocumented. <insert your personal story here>.”

You are done with level 1 if you have done the following:

- You shared your story with at least 1 person (friends, family that doesn’t know, a teacher maybe.)
- **You submitted the pledge form** letting us know how it went.

**Want to take it to the next level?
Read the next section and see if
you are up for it.**

Level 2: Shout It Out or Going Public



Sample Action: A Meeting Difficulty: Easy to Medium

Consider hosting a coming out meeting. You can convene a meeting with other dreamers and/or allies. In meetings, it's important to start the meeting with group agreements that include a commitment to confidentiality and respect when sharing personal stories.

Use this meeting as an opportunity to deepen relationships with allies and other dreamers. Create a safe space by listening and thanking others for sharing their stories.

You know better than anyone who can be invited to this meeting. Be cautious with who you decide to come out too, not everyone accepts undocumented youth and you may be putting yourself in harms' way.

You are done with level 2 if you have completed the following:

- Share your story with at least 5 people.
- Always document your journey, get your story down on paper.

Report back: let us know how your pledge to come out went

Going Public

Sample action: A coming out party

Difficulty: Medium

Coming Out doesn't have to be an ominous thing! Host a coming out party! Maybe poetry slam with friends?

At least 1-2 week ahead of action:

- Brainstorm, what kind of party do you want to host? Get some friends together and plan it out.

-
- Your party could be action oriented. You can host a call in party to your Senators!
 - Consider making it a potluck event to cut costs.
 - It can be a fund raising party to support a scholarship to help you get to school or help out your local Dream Team, etc.
 - What will you and your friends each be in charge of? Assign roles and set a timeline.
 - Like all parties you will have to invite people to attend, create a list of everyone so you can keep in touch with them.

A week ahead:

- Call and Email folks about your coming out party, double check if they are going to attend.
- Send out logistics information to those attending, where is it going to be, where do they park, who to call in case of an emergency, etc.
- If you are hosting the event at a location outside your home, confirm the place and time.

A couple of days ahead:

- Call and email to triple and quadruple check to see who is going to attend.
- Organize yourself by keeping track of guests and if they are bringing food make a note of that as well.
- Confirm to make sure you still have the space.
- If using sound systems or anything make sure you have spare batteries for mics, rentals are all in order etc.

You are done with level 2 (Going Public) if you have completed the following:

You sent us your story to publish online with your nick name (or real name if you are ready to take that step!).

Updated your facebook / twitter status with the online message.

You have shared your story with at least 15 people.

You" ve created a list of at least 50 supporters (name, email and phone-number).

You decided to get active, if you are not a part of a group take some time to think if you want to start a group or join a local one.

Report back: let us know how your pledge to come out went. Make sure to let us know if you are looking for a group to join or want to start your own.

**Want to take it to the next level?
Read the next section and see if
you are up for it.**

Level 3: Loud and Proud



Sample Action - A Press Conference

Difficulty: Medium to Hard

Host a press conference. Before you get started at this level, there are a couple of things to keep in mind:

- a media list or a list of press contacts. If you do not have one contact Juan@dreamactivist.org
- a purpose to the press conference: Why are you calling this press conference? Are you announcing coming out day? Are you coming out to tell you story? Is a press conference a good format for this?
- group of students/youth who are willing to tell their story: make sure that are prepped. You/they should always be aware of all of the risks in publicly sharing your story.

3-5 Days Before of Press Conference:

- Draft, Edit and Finalize Media Advisory with 5 W's for event (who, what, where, why, how)
- Email, Fax, and Call reporters to pitch your press conference
- Invite family members, allies, etc to event. Who do you want to be there?
- Draft Agenda of Press Conference and order of speakers

1-2 Days

-
- Send final Press Release with 5 W's for event (who, what, where, why, how)+ additional narrative. Include quotes from students who will talk at event and reasons why they are coming out.
 - Email, Fax, and Call reporters to pitch your press conference the night before and the day of the press conference.

Day of the Press Conference:

- Consider room set up. Make sure mics and podium are set up if you are using this format.
- Prep: Run Down Agenda of Press Conference and Good Luck!

You are done with level 3 if you have completed the following:

- Hmm, you have **already shared your written story**? Now send us a 3-minute video of yourself.
- You have shared your story with at least 25 people.
- You have created a list of at least 100 supporters (name, email and phone-number).
- Your action has generated at least 3 local media hits (press on site, an editorial you wrote etc.)
- You took the next step and either contacted us (mo@dreamactivist.org) to start your own group or to get connected to a group on the ground.
- **Report back: you let us know** how your pledge to come out went. You made sure to send us links to any pictures or articles.

**Wow you are courageous!
Willing to take it to yet another
level?
Read the next section and see if
you are up for it.**

Level 4: Out of the shadows and into the streets



Sample action: A Rally

Difficulty: Hard

A coming out rally is an empowering and action oriented opportunity to come out to your community. It is a good way to also connect with other undocumented youth who might be too scared to come out. Show them that you are there to support them. *If you make it this far and you are ready to take on the challenge of a bigger event you should already be in contact with us, if not make sure to shoot an email to mo@dreamactivist.org*

At least 2-3 weeks ahead of time:

- Brainstorm: what will action look like?
- Consider turn out goals. The sky is the limit but consider other factors such as your time and capacity. Ideally, you could be working with a team of folks to make sure your rally is a success.
- Clarify roles and responsibilities early at the beginning of your planning sessions.
- Make clear commitments and a timeline to get things done by. What is the agenda or the theme of the rally?
- Consider adding a speak out component and have a specific demand and ask of your supporters.
- What do you want the event to look like? What will the signs say? Will we be color coordinated, same shirt etc.
- Who is going to outreach? Are we using online resources (fb, twitter etc.)?

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- Do we need a permit or permission for the space?
 - Do we need sound system?
 - Do we need security or police liaisons?
 - What if the weather is bad?
 - How many volunteers do we need, to do what?
 - Are you advertising event? (local radio, college campuses, classroom presentations etc.)

We would suggest that at this point you form clear committees or groups to get each part of the event down (Media, Advertising, Recruitment, Agenda, Logistics etc.)

Make sure everyone in the team is communicating regularly, create a google group and encourage discussions to one another.

You should be meeting face to face regularly.

At least 1 week before rally:

- How many participants have been confirmed?
- Do we have all permits etc. we might need?
- Do we have roles for day of event finalized, volunteers etc.?
- Do we have a sense of the agenda for the event?
- Have students been prepped on how to tell their story, talk to media etc.?

3-5 Days before the rally:

- Draft, Edit and Finalize Media Advisory with 5 W's for event (who, what, where, why, how)
- Send a copy of your press advisory to Juan@dreamactivsit.org
- Update facebook event page and other forms of recruitment
- Build up the hype

1 day before the rally

- Send final Press Release with 5 W's for event (who, what, where, why, how)+ additional narrative. Include quotes from students who will talk at event and reasons for it.
- Email, Fax, and Call reporters to pitch your press conference the night before and the day of the press conference.

Day of the rally:

- Be there early to set-up
- Make sure mics and podium are set up if you are using this format.
- Prep: Run Down Agenda
- Take a deep breath and go for it!

You are done with level 4 if you have completed the following:

- You **sent in your story** on paper and video, now you helped at least 5 other undocumented youth come out.
- You created a list of at least 200 supporters (name, email and phone-number). You were able to get at least 5 local and 1 national media hit (press covering your event, editorial / opinion piece you wrote, etc.)
- You are committed to continuing to organize for immigrant youth. **Report back: you let us know** how your pledge to come out went. Make sure to send pictures from events, links to articles and any comments / suggestions you have.

Level 5: Undocumented, Unafraid and Unapologetic



Sample action: Direct Action or Civil Disobedience

Difficulty: Very Hard

You are ready to take things to the next level and want to draw attention to your event, consider incorporating direct action or civil disobedience. In the past year undocumented youth have engaged in both types of actions. Several groups have camped out and starved in front of Senators offices forcing the media and public to pay attention. Other groups have risked and been arrested while engaging in non-violent, civil disobedience.

Some of the factors to consider:

- Action can include citizens / allies or just undocumented people or a mixture of both.
- Will there be a risk of arrest?
- Who are you trying to reach, does action make sense?
- Will attorneys help out?
- What happens if an undocumented person is arrested?

***If you are seriously considering a direct action or civil disobedience then please reach out to us right away at escalate@theniya.org*