

ABSTRACT

BLOCH, KATRINA. Social Movement Framing and the Reproduction of Inequality: Immigrant Restrictionists Constructing Virtual Selves on the Internet. (Under the direction of Michael Schulman).

This study analyzes the websites and discussion forums of immigrant restrictionist groups. The research combines the literature on social movement framing and theories of the generic processes of inequality. The research questions include: (1) How are the emotional framings of an organization's website and discussion forums similar and how are they different? (2) How do the organizations use gendered symbols in their social movement frames, and (3) How do the immigrant restrictionist organizations construct a Latino/citizen binary?

In total, 91 websites and 200 threads from three discussion forums are included in the study. To answer the first research question, I focus on the website and discussion forum for the organization, Americans for Legal Immigration (ALIPAC). The results suggest that the main website presents a guise of rationality, while participants of the discussion forum openly discuss emotions. In particular, participants privilege powerful emotions. To examine the second and third research questions, I analyze all the websites and forum threads. The organizations and forum participants portray immigrants as part of an invasion that threatens the sovereignty of the nation. Many of the groups and forum members claim to rely on legal distinctions between immigrants, but they often conflate Latinos with immigrants. Further, immigrant restrictionists discuss Latinos as if they are a homogenous group, as opposed to individuals with different national heritage and class backgrounds. In contrast, immigrant restrictionists portray themselves as soldiers who are protecting the nation and mothers who are protecting their children.

Immigrant restrictionists also argue that politicians and corporations are greedy, but they fail to challenge the system at large. Instead of advocating a larger redistribution of wealth that would provide more stability for the working and middle class, immigrant restrictionists attempt to maintain the rights and privileges that they perceive illegal immigrants to threaten. Immigrant restrictionists reinforce an achievement ideology, whereby hard work should lead to success. However, group members argue that immigrants receive special privileges for breaking the law, while citizens are unable to achieve success through hard work. The immigrant restrictionists make sense of their position by drawing on widely held and available meanings related to race and gender. These ideologies influence their construction of an ideal national identity, a white male.

The dissertation adds to the sociological literature in three ways. First, it combines the scholarship on social movement framing and the generic processes of inequality. The social movement frames draw from and reinforce group distinctions that legitimate the reproduction of inequality. Secondly, the study contributes to the understudied importance of emotional framing and gendered frames within social movement theory. Immigrant restrictionists privilege emotions associated with men, such as rationality, power, and pride. Further, the gendered symbols of soldiers and mothers are emotionally powerful symbols within the United States, because of ideals regarding what it means to be a man or woman. Finally, I show how the emotional framing is important for legitimating inequality. The immigrant restrictionists have identity stakes in being race neutral, but simultaneously say things that marginalize racial minorities. Thus, relying on claims of rationality, using specific discourses (e.g. anchor baby vs. infant), and using stigma transference are ways in

which the group members engage in emotional framing activities that allow them to maintain positive self-appraisals despite contradictions in their social movement frames.

Social Movement Framing and the Reproduction of Inequality: Immigrant Restrictionists
Constructing Virtual Selves on the Internet.

by
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BIOGRAPHY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
LIST OF IMAGES.....	ix
1. Introduction: Nationalism and Why it Matters.....	1
1.1 Why Study Websites and Forums?.....	3
1.2 Contributions and Theoretical Significance.....	4
1.3 Dissertation Outline.....	6
1.4 A Note on Terminology.....	8
2. Othering and Social Movement Framing.....	11
2.1 Introduction to Theoretical Framework.....	11
2.2 Group Formation.....	12
2.3 Generic Groups and Othering Process.....	15
2.4. Othering, Threat, and Immigration	20
2.5. Social Movement Framing.....	26
2.6. Othering and Framing as Complementary Theories.....	32
2.7. Chapter Summary.....	33
3. Methods.....	35
3.1. Introduction to Methods.....	35
3.2. Websites.....	37
3.3. Forums.....	42

3.4. Analysis.....	47
3.5. Conclusion.....	53
4. Emotional Framing: Masculinity, Trolls, and Tokens.....	55
4.1. Introduction.....	55
4.2. Emotions in Framing.....	57
4.3. Organizational Dramaturgy.....	59
4.4. Creating a Group.....	64
4.5. Good and Bad Emotions.....	67
4.6. Trolls and Othering.....	72
4.7. The Race Card.....	77
4.8. Vocabularies of Motives, Narratives and Stigma Management.....	85
4.9. Chapter Conclusion.....	93
5. Constructing a Latino/American Binary.....	97
5.1. Introduction.....	97
5.2. Threat to Sovereignty: Invaders from Inside and Out.....	99
5.3. Citizens Rights are not Human Rights.....	105
5.4. Criminals Receiving Special Treatment.....	115
5.5. Assimilation.....	118
5.6. Creating a Latino/Citizen Dichotomy.....	123
5.7. Chapter Summary.....	127
6. Soldiers, Mothers, and the Construction of a National Identity.....	130

6.1. Introduction.....	130
6.2. Chapter Methods.....	133
6.3. White Male Soldiers.....	135
6.4. Adding Heterosexual to White Male Soldier.....	140
6.5. Protecting "WomenandChildren" from Illegal Immigrant Rapists.....	143
6.6. Mothers and Anchor Babies.....	147
6.7. Stigmatizing Bodies.....	155
6.8. Alternative Gendered Presentations and Black Guests.....	157
6.9. Chapter Conclusion.....	159
7. Conclusion.....	162
7.1. Results.....	163
7.2. Theoretical Implications: Class, Race, and Nationalism.....	166
7.3. Social Movement Framing: Emotional Frames and Gendered Frames.....	171
7.4. Analyzing Websites and Forums.....	173
7.5. Concluding Statements.....	177
References.....	179
Appendices.....	197
A. List of Immigrant Restrictionist Websites.....	198
B. Inactive Websites.....	204
C. Output.....	208
C.1. Example Output of Minuteman Civil Defense Core Frequencies.....	208

C.2. Example of Quotation Output.....	209
D. American For Legal Immigration Coding Overview.....	213
Endnotes.....	214

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Organizations with Inactive Websites.....	47
Table 2. ALIPAC Threads and Postings that Discuss Racism.....	77
Table 3. Websites and Threads Containing Attack Language.....	101
Table 4. Websites and Threads Containing Crime and Economics.....	109
Table 5. Websites and Threads Containing Gender.....	134
Table 6. Websites and Threads Containing Rape.....	144
Table 7. Websites and Threads Containing Anchor Baby.....	148
Table B1. Inactive Websites.....	204
Table B2. Frequencies for Inactive Websites.....	205
Table D1. Frequencies for ALIPAC Coding Overview.....	213

LIST OF IMAGES

Image 1. Race Card.....	84
Image 2. Immigration Leads to World Hunger.....	112
Image 3. An Illegal Alien is Coming.....	117
Image 4. Soldier Image 1.....	137
Image 5. Soldier Image 2.....	137
Image 6. Soldier Avatar 1.....	138
Image 7. Soldier Avatar 2.....	138
Image 8. Soldier Avatar 3.....	138
Image 9. Why Most Men are Republicans.....	142
Image 10. Mother's Against Illegal Aliens Logo.....	152
Image 11. Female Avatar 1.....	154
Image 12. Female Avatar 2.....	154

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: NATIONALISM AND WHY IT MATTERS

On November 4, 2008, American voters elected Barack Obama the first Black president. This represents a monumental event in the history of race relations in the United States. However, Obama certainly has his adversaries, including a growing group of “birthers.” Birthers is the name given to the group of mostly Republican citizens who question the validity of Obama’s Hawaiian birth certificate and thus, his very citizenship. Even during the election, polls indicated that fewer people viewed Obama as patriotic in comparison to his white opponent, John McCain. A *Time Magazine* article by Peter Beinart, published on October 9, 2008, was titled, “Is Barack Obama American Enough.” This raises the question, how do U.S. citizens distinguish between degrees of Americanness? Beinart’s article suggests that the language of “American” and “Patriotism” became the new way for Republicans to discuss race without using the term race. Is nationalism the new racism?

To assume that a relationship between nationalism and racism is something new implies that they were not related in the past. The American Revolution resulted in the creation of a nation-state, whereby the idealized notion of democracy suggested that all citizens would be granted rights and freedoms. However, throughout U.S. history, racial minorities have always been excluded from the idealized conceptualization of the national community (Puri 2004). Further, to suggest that a relationship between race and nationalism is something new also ignores what has gone on outside the borders of the United States. Nazi Germany is a striking example of how the interrelationship between nationalism and

racism can manifest as a holocaust. This also illustrates the need to take seriously the relationship between race and nationalism. However, to recognize that nationalism and racism have been historically linked and evident cross-nationally does not explain what about nationalism makes it a salient discourse in U.S. culture. Furthermore, we must ask in what ways are they related and what are the consequences for class inequality?

One place to examine the interrelationship of nationalism and race is in present day anti-immigrant sentiment. The influx of immigrants from Latin American countries has fueled fears about the well-being of the national community and the very sovereignty of the nation. Some of the loudest voices in the argument belong to members of the immigrant restrictionist movement (Chavez 2008). The number of immigrant restrictionist groups in the United States has also increased dramatically since 2000 (Buchanan and Holthouse 2007). This study examines the websites and online forums of immigrant restrictionist groups. If these groups are growing and capable of making a difference in political outcomes, as Chavez (2008) suggests, it seems pertinent to understand how they discuss nationalism. In what ways do they connect nationalism and racism?

Through the discourse of anti-immigrant groups, we can examine how other forms of inequality are reproduced. For instance, what does immigrant restrictionist discourse suggest about gender inequality in the United States? How is this related to race, and what are the consequences? My study is concerned with these types of questions. I analyze how immigrant restrictionists make sense of immigration and nationalism and how this informs their social movement. I will argue that the same ideology that legitimizes the

marginalization of immigrants in turn reinforces the class inequality that marginalizes immigrant restrictionists.

Why Study Websites and Forums?

In the July 15, 2007, *New York Times*, Robert Pear notes that members of one of the immigrant restrictionist organizations in my study, *Numbers USA*, “flooded the Senate with more than a million faxes,” sent through the group’s website. Pear goes on to quote the leader of the organization, Roy Beck, “But we built a grass-roots army, consumed with passion for a cause, and used the power of the Internet to go around the elites and defeat a disastrous amnesty bill.” If the *New York Times* article is correct and Beck’s interpretation of the effectiveness of his campaign is accurate, then social movement scholars and those studying radical right-wing groups will want to take internet communities seriously.

However, even if the internet forums serve largely as a place for people to engage in symbolic politics (Edelmann 1964), this has consequences. The internet is a new place for individuals to engage with political media. However, the interactive nature may further mask inequality in the democratic system in the United States. People who believe they make a difference in the online forum may be less likely to question inequality in the creation and reinforcement of policies. Further, while the groups may or may not have a direct impact on specific policies, their ability to generate and support right-wing race and gender ideology reinforces these beliefs as legitimate. In addition, their ability to meet others who share these beliefs slows change toward equality in the long run.

Contributions and Theoretical Significance

In this dissertation I combine two literatures: social movement framing (Benford and Snow) and the generic processes of inequality (Schwalbe et al. 2000). Social movement framing examines what social movement actors determine is the problem and how to go about fixing those problems. Social movement framing is an important theoretical approach for understanding the content of the social movement, instead of focusing solely on political climate and monetary resources. Research shows that the content has consequences for attracting movement participants, mobilizing members and political outcomes (Benford and Snow 2000). However, the way in which organizations discuss emotions and encourage or discourage them remains an understudied component of social movement framing (Goodwin et al. 2001). Throughout this study, I will refer to emotional framing as the process where social movement actors evoke emotions, provide definitions about what to do with those emotions and to whom to direct them. In addition, the way gendered symbols are used in social movement framing also remains understudied (Bayard de Volo 2004). I will show not only how immigrant restrictionists use gendered symbols in the frames of immigrant restrictionists, but I will also argue that they are important components of the emotional framing of the organization. In this way, I provide an analysis of two understudied components of social movement framing.

The content of the social movement frames of immigrant restrictionists include definitions and identity claims that have consequences for the reproduction of inequality. Emotional framing is not only important for the mobilization of the social movement, but also for the reproduction of inequality. The immigrant restrictionists make claims that they

are the moral authority on immigration. They present themselves as good American people. As part of their identity claims, they construct immigrants, politicians, liberals, and big business as morally inferior. Perhaps one of the greatest dilemmas for the immigrant restrictionists is their inability to talk about immigration without saying things that reinforce racial inequality. This is problematic because the group ends up spending a great deal of time arguing that they are not racist.

I have not met the majority of people in the sample that I studied, but it is my feeling that the individuals in the online forum and many of the leaders of the immigrant restrictionist organizations sincerely think they are not racist and certainly do not want to be so. While some of the organizations I studied have been directly linked to white supremacists, it is my feeling that these are a minority. As I will discuss further in the literature review, the immigrant restrictionists experience and interpret inequality within a highly stratified, capitalist nation. A vast literature shows that racist and sexist ideology is common within the United States. The finding that the immigrant restrictionists draw from and reinforce these beliefs is not surprising or shocking. What I hope to show is the way that emotional framing of the organization and “othering” processes provide a way even for well-meaning individuals to reproduce inequality and still maintain positive self-appraisals. However, in doing so, they also support a system that reinforces their own marginalization. Further, these social processes are a group endeavor. I show how social movement organizations and group members must engage in framing activities that provide individuals with positive self-definitions. In so much as individuals act on emotions, social movement organizations must evoke and manage the emotions of members to produce the desired

outcomes. For right wing organizations, such as immigrant restrictionists, this includes ways to manage threatening moral stigmas, such as racism.

To recap, this study contributes to the literature in three ways. First, I combine the literature on social movement framing and the generic processes in the reproduction of inequality. Second, the study expands social movement framing by examining emotional framing and the use of gender symbols. Third, I demonstrate how emotional framing legitimates the reproduction of race, gender, and class inequality, even if unintentionally. I will show that nationalist ideology is important for the creation and legitimation of other intersecting inequalities within the United States, because it provides symbols and rituals that provoke emotions that justify stratification between citizens.

Dissertation Outline

In the next chapter, I examine the theoretical framework for the dissertation. I identify two general frameworks, social movement framing (Benford and Snow 2000) and the generic processes in the reproduction of inequality (Schwalbe et al. 2000). Social movement framing posits that social movement actors identify problems and prognoses of the problem. Social movement actors interpret a problem and frame how to react to the problem and how to feel about the problem. This is an active process that has implications for attracting members and mobilization. Within the social processes identified as generic processes in the reproduction of inequality, I focus on the process of “othering” (Schwalbe et al. 2000). As part of the social movement frame, the organizations construct presentations of self as morally superior to illegal immigrant others.

In Chapter 3, I explain the research methods I used to examine my research questions. In particular, I discuss the strengths and weaknesses of conducting a content analysis of websites and online forums. I also outline how I defined the population studied, how I collected and coded the data, and how I analyzed the data. I revisit how the methods and analysis process influenced shifts in my research questions.

In Chapter 4, I examine the emotional framing of Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee (ALIPAC). I argue that the organization constructed a main website with images and messages designed to evoke emotional responses, while maintaining a guise of rationality and legitimacy. Meanwhile, the online forum serves as a place for social movement members to discuss and display emotions. In particular, ALIPAC forum participants provide accounts to manage the social stigma of racism. I identify three strategies: focusing on legality as an achieved status, accusations of using the “race card,” and stigma transference.

In Chapter 5, I examine how all the immigrant restrictionist organizations and forum participants construct a Latino and American dichotomy. In particular, I argue that the organizations construct social movement frames grounded in white Anglo normativity. Immigrant restrictionists perceive illegal immigrants to receive special privileges, which upsets their belief in individualism and meritocracy. In this way, immigrant restrictionists also turn their anger toward people who are pro-immigrant, especially those whose privileged status buffers them from any economic consequences of immigration. Further, discussions of Latinos/as from Puerto Rico highlight core contradictions in their arguments regarding why

they are not racist. I argue that the immigrant restrictionist organizations attach racialized characteristics to Latinos/as that fuel their racial threat and othering frames.

In my third analysis chapter, Chapter 6, I focus on the immigrant restrictionists' use of gendered symbols to construct powerful moral identities while stigmatizing illegal immigrants. In particular, organizations adopt the powerful emotional symbols of soldiers and mothers as part of their social movement frame. In contrast, the organizations portray illegal immigrant men as rapists and women as bad mothers who have "anchor babies" for personal gain. These images also highlight the way in which the gendered symbols reflect racist ideology.

Finally, in the conclusion I discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the analyses provided in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. I then examine connections across these chapters. Specifically, I argue that the organizations construct social movement frames that draw from emotionally powerful symbols as a way to construct moral legitimacy despite contradictions with their arguments. However, the presentations of masculinity and femininity that they provide are rooted in a gender hierarchy that intersects with racist ideology. I conclude with a discussion of how the research contributes to social movement framing and theories that explain race inequality. I also argue that the social movement frames have consequences for U.S. citizens who are disadvantaged through the intersections of race, gender and class.

A Note on Terminology

The groups pinpointed for this study come from three sources, The Southern Poverty Law Center, Sohoni's (2006) study of immigrant restrictionists, and website search engines.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) defines the groups they identify as “nativist extremists,” because they “target people, rather than policy” (Buchanan and Holthouse 2007). However, I would caution against a too literal interpretation of the word extremist. In Abby Ferber’s (1998) book *White Man Falling: Race, Gender, and White Supremacy*, she warns against understanding the ideology of the KKK and neo-Nazi groups as extreme, as opposed to reflections of the dominant ideology. While the SPLC names these groups “nativist extremist,” I also suggest that their messages reflect the larger normative climate. Further, little distinguishes the framing of these websites from the other organizations I identify for the study. For an illustration of how anti-immigrant organizations pull from readily available ideology in popular culture, one might reference online responses to, “The Great Immigration Panic,” an opinion piece published in the *New York Times* on June 3, 2008. While the piece was sympathetic to immigrants, many of the readers’ online responses reject the opinion as uninformed and in opposition to popular opinion. The comments reflect a belief that illegal immigrants break the law, have bad morals, and should get out of the country. If I held these comments up to the assertions made on the “nativist extremist” websites, the two texts would be indistinguishable.

While, many of the groups studied are clearly anti-immigrant hate groups, other groups pride themselves on being anti-*illegal* immigrant groups. Some even stress that they are pro-*legal* immigrants. Throughout the paper, I will use the term the organization has chosen for itself when discussing that particular group. However, when I refer to the organizations as a whole, I will refer to them as immigrant restrictionists. This term includes

organizations that: (1) want less illegal immigration through any means; and (2) want less legal immigration through legal means.

CHAPTER 2

OTHERING AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT FRAMING

Introduction to Theoretical Framework

In the next section, I review relevant scholarship on group formation and immigration. I develop a theoretical framework that I use to argue that the formation of immigrant restrictionist groups is directly related to the larger economic structure. The theoretical frameworks that I draw from include Marxist analysis of class and Schwalbe et al.'s (2000) general theory of social processes contributing to the reproduction of inequality, particularly the process of "othering." I also draw upon racial threat theories (Blalock 1967) to address how threat or fear operates to strengthen group ties. In addition, I will discuss the relationship between gender and nationality in the United States. Then, I address how these theoretical frameworks help us understand immigrant restrictionist organizations.

Next, I turn to the literature on social movement framing. I explain the importance and key components of social movement framing, highlighting strengths and criticisms of this theoretical framework. Social movement actors make sense of social problems from definitions available to them in the broader culture that permit them to determine the cause of a problem and to delineate a course of action. How well these frames resonate with the beliefs of potential and current members has consequences for recruitment and mobilization. People may be drawn to frames that are congruent with their own ideology, but also to frames that make them feel certain emotions. While understudied, frames evoke emotions that can also be used to attract and mobilize movement members.

After I discuss these two sets of theoretical frameworks, I will explain how these theories are complementary. The restrictionist groups are part of a social movement that argues that certain people, namely citizens, should have certain rights that other people do not have. In this sense, the restrictionist group frames are inherently engaging in an “othering” activity.

Group Formation

We are all parts of groups whether we consciously choose to be or not. I might argue that there is something about human nature (whatever that means) that makes us want to categorize individuals into groups. Fiske (2000:306) writes, “People detect each other’s probable gender, race and age within milliseconds of meeting.” Gender scholars have noted that we recognize so many signs of gender that we readily classify people as male or female on first glance (West and Zimmerman 1987). Any ambiguity makes people ask, “What are they?” Since people expect others to act differently based on sex, race and age, they also treat them differently based on these categories. Thus, grouping people provides us with shorthand to interpret any situation and reduce uncertainty in interactions.

One key component to the reproduction and formation of groups revolves around economic inequality. Classic Marxist perspectives argue that within the abstract models of capitalism people will begin to polarize into two classes: those who own the means of production and those who do not and whose labor produces surplus. Erik Olin Wright (1985) argues that modern capitalism has grown into a system with multiple levels of managers and supervisors, which requires a new conceptualization of class to adequately capture the nature

of inequality within the United States. However, Della Fave (2008) shows how recent shifts in the relationship between doctors and their means of production highlight how capitalism is moving towards a two-class model. The movement away from privately owned doctor offices and the growth of HMO's has led to a reduction in both the pay and autonomy of doctors in the United States. Doctors who had once owned their own means of production are now paid employees of large corporations.

Hechter (2004) argues that status groups (culturally based, race, sexuality, gender etc.) have become more important in modern capitalist nations than class groups. This seems to stand in stark contrast to theorists who argue that reducing class inequality is central to reducing race-based inequality. Perhaps William Julius Wilson (1980) is best known for bringing this argument to popular media and scholarship in his book, *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions*. Others argue that racial stereotypes and prejudice grew out of a need to justify class-based inequality (Du Bois 1935). In this sense, capitalism remains the underlying macro-structure that conditions the formation of other status groups.

It is not hard to understand why those in power do not attempt to dramatically change the production and distribution structures. It would mean giving up wealth and power. However, it is not clear why those who are disadvantaged do not attempt to change the power structure. Of course, by nature of being disadvantaged, the working class are limited by a relative lack of resources and by laws that reinforce their marginalized status and power position. However, the large number of disadvantaged suggests that workers could harness a collective power greater than that of the ruling class. This type of movement would require

the working class to establish a collective identity aimed at eliminating capitalism and class inequality. Something keeps workers from developing class-consciousness.

Individuals with class disadvantage could align themselves with marginalized immigrants to challenge the larger inequality structure. Instead, anti-immigrant sentiment creates a group faction. Scholars have identified multiple explanations for why workers do not form a collective identity based on class. One explanation is that workers may perceive the possibility for mobility. In this sense, the answer is not to change the structure, but merely to relocate with it. The pervasive ideology of individualism legitimates the inequality structure. Any inability to move upwards within it can be blamed on individual weakness (Della Fave 1980; Sennet and Cobb 1971). Another reason could be that labor has not become routinized to an extent that it homogenizes the working class (Burroway 1979). Enough segmentation has remained within the working class positions that it has not formed a cohesive unit. This segmentation is supported by an ideology that pits segments of the working class against one another. Status groups, such as racial groups, form divisions within the working class. Stereotypes of racial minorities legitimate the ideology that failure is the outcome of cultural inferiority instead of structural inequality. In this sense, racial minorities can be viewed as failures due to their racial inferiority (Neubeck and Cazenave 2003). When people explain failure based on race, this has implications for how people in the United States perceive whites who have not succeeded. Since their failure cannot be attributed to race, they are perceived as faulty whites. It appears as if there is something just as inferior about them that has kept them from achieving individual success (for example, see Bettie 2003). However, too many failures may lead to a crisis tendency in capitalism.

The United States is a country with a capitalist economic system rife with inequality. Actors within the United States make sense of their economic situation within this constrained environment. While they may have agency to create change, due to structural constraints (i.e. limited relative resources) it would require a collective movement. However, an ideology of individualism paired with group factions within the working class precludes any major restructuring of the inequality structure. Further, these factions may exacerbate the perception that the elite are too powerful to challenge successfully. While this is certainly not an exhaustive discussion of the reasons why workers do not revolt, I argue that people create groups to make sense of inequality and in the process reproduce it. In this section, I discussed what workers have not done. In the next section, I examine theories explaining what white workers have done, highlighting the construction and reproduction of ideologies of group distinction. This theoretical framework focuses on how the creation of groups is maintained through ideology and results in the reproduction of inequality. In other words, creating groups and maintaining group distinctions in face-to-face interaction support and reproduce class inequality.

Generic Groups and Othering Process

In his essay, "The Stranger," Simmel (1908) describes how individuals become members of an out-group. He uses the example of Jewish immigrants, pointing out that the "stranger" or Jewish immigrant is not really viewed as an individual per se. That is, the "stranger" is in a distant out-group and is thus characterized by beliefs of what it means to be a part of that group, Jews. This conceptualization resonates with Herbert Blumer's (1958)

definition of race prejudice. Blumer defines race prejudice as a collective process whereby a group of people define themselves as different from another group. This involves the more powerful group feeling superior and believing that they have a right to certain privileges and advantages. Meanwhile, the subordinate group is defined as intrinsically alien and is perceived to be plotting to undermine the rights of the dominant race. Group prejudice, thus, grows out of the perceived threat that racial minorities will challenge the “natural superiority” of the dominant group and their position of dominance (Blumer 1958). Economic inequality, thus, is a component upholding group positions and pitting racial groups against one another.

Both Simmel (1908) and Blumer (1958) offer important insights for understanding the stigmatization of an out-group. They make it clear that stigmatization is not about individuals, but about the ability to apply negative connotations to a generalized group. This must be convincing enough that when in-group members encounter out-group members who do not fit the stereotypes, their interactions do not challenge the over-all definitions of the group. These individuals might instead just represent exceptions to the rule. The in-group must be able to assume that generally all individuals from the out-group possess the negative attributes. Further, the out-group is perceived as posing a threat to the majority’s hegemony.

The salience of in-groups is strongest when there is some sense of threat from the out-group. For instance, national identity becomes more salient and ties among citizens are stronger when there is an ongoing fear of an outside invader (Simmel 1908). This concept of threat is also evident in race theories. Blumer (1943) suggests that ethnic groups are believed to pose a “persistent threat to vital security and [the] existence” of the majority group, but are

less threatening if they stay in what the dominant group deems their “proper place.” In this sense, members of the majority are more likely to have negative attitudes towards the minority group when the minority’s numbers grow and/or the minority group gains (or is perceived to gain) political or economic power (Blalock 1967).

Della Fave (2008) argues that proletarian whites are as much a product of the ideology emerging from global capitalism as are racial minorities. In so much as we acknowledge that attitudes and behaviors among poor minorities are adaptations to their structural conditions, we must also acknowledge that poor whites similarly adapt to their social location. The fear of job loss and insecurity that white workers feel and express are the result of real pressures and insecurity within the capitalist economy. An ideology that legitimates the marginalization of racial minorities is a symptom of capitalism. Racial minorities are marginalized into the least desirable positions, which benefits poor white workers in the short-term. Instead of uniting with racial minorities against capitalism, poor whites struggle to maintain the privileges they receive from white dominance. Most working class and poor whites do not think to challenge the larger inequality structure, because they have not been introduced to alternatives to capitalism. Therefore, they turn to politicians to fix employment problems during times of economic depression. In this way, poor whites settle for protecting the privileges they do have in the short-run instead of risking these privileges to gain more equality in the long-run (Della Fave 2008).

Schwalbe and colleagues (2000) develop a theory of the generic processes of inequality that puts group formation at its center. They suggest that “othering” is present in

all instances of inequality. According to Schwalbe et al. (2000:422) othering refers “to the process whereby a dominant group defines into existence an inferior group.” This process requires a symbolically constructed group identity, creating a boundary between the two groups. The creation of a superior and an inferior group justifies the reproduction of inequality, normalizing an unequal distribution of resources. The authors further distinguish between three different forms of othering: oppressive othering, creating powerful virtual selves (implicit othering), and defensive othering amongst subordinates.

Oppressive othering occurs when a group with power establishes itself as morally superior to another group. Another social process involved in othering is the creation of powerful selves, which refers to the performances of members of the powerful group (Schwalbe et al. 2000). This concept pulls from the dramaturgical approach of Goffman (1959), in which he gives the analogy of life as a series of performances. In this sense, members of the dominant group are actors who put forward positive public performances while hiding anything that might discredit their performances backstage. Schwalbe et al. (2000) also identify defensive othering. “Defensive othering is identity work done by those seeking membership in the dominant group, or by those seeking to deflect stigma they experience as members of a subordinate group” (Schwalbe et al. 2000:425). In this case, individuals in the less powerful group claim that they are not like others in the group. They do not challenge the over-all depiction of the group, but argue that they are exceptions who should not be seen as possessing the discrediting characteristics other members of the group are seen as having. The two forms of othering that I will be most concerned with are oppressive and defensive othering.

Othering processes that occur in order to reproduce race and gender inequality also reinforce class inequality. However, categorizing people into groups does not by itself reproduce inequality. Instead, it is what people do to recreate the groups as meaningful that matters. Even if we were to identify class as the key process explaining inequality, capitalism cannot be maintained without people actively behaving in ways that reproduce class relations. Schwalbe (2000) argues that we police each other's behavior by calling on or activating nets of accountability. Drawing from West and Fenstermaker (1995), he argues that social hierarchies are maintained when people hold each other accountable to the behavioral expectations associated with membership in different social categories. Accountability refers to "the requirement—when we're interacting with anyone—to explain and justify our actions" (Schwalbe 2008: 170). Criminal justice officials, employers, workers, religious leaders, parents etc. hold one another accountable to act in ways that reproduce and "constitute" capitalism. The more people with power who can be called upon to reinforce accountability, the stronger the nets of accountability. This highlights the fact that people who reproduce inequality do not always do so of their own accord, but are often held accountable by others to do so (Schwalbe 2008).

Thus, an othering approach situates interactions within a social structure. People have created power imbalances in determining what the rules are, in how resources are distributed, and who gets to police the behavior of others. However, actions that do not challenge the status quo operate to reinforce the structure and keep it intact. These actions are less likely to activate nets of accountability (Schwalbe 2008). To legitimate an unequal distribution of resources, a group will engage in othering, defining itself as morally superior

to an out-group. When it is determined who fits into what group, superior or inferior, ideologies regarding other group distinctions are constructed. However, group boundaries are not static. As I will discuss in the next section, racist ideologies often are elaborated and refined over time. Next, I apply othering to the history of race and immigration in the United States.

Othering, Threat, and Immigration

The creation of a citizen/non-citizen dichotomy in the United States has been influenced by the construction of racial groups (Chavez 2008). Racial categories are time and place specific (Omi and Winant 1987). Generally, the race story in the Americas starts with white colonizers differentiating themselves from Native Americans. However, to justify slavery, the creation of a Black category was necessary leading to a tri-race categorization based on skin color: Black, red, and white. Thus, the basis of race relations has been the creation of whiteness in opposition to “other” (Roediger 1991). When new ethnic groups began to immigrate to the United States, it was not immediately clear how they would fit into the established race schema (Brodkin 1998). Some scholars have suggested that during their peak immigration periods, the Irish (Ignatiev 1995), the Italians (Roediger 1991), and the Jews (Brodkin 1998) were not considered white on arrival. Instead, these groups were not quite white, but not black either. Since laws in the United States granted the greatest privileges to whites, immigrants had a stake in distancing themselves from a racial minority status and gaining the social and legal advantages of being “white.” This often meant distancing themselves from their national or religious ethnicity.

Changes in the racial categorization of immigrants correlated with the time and place specifics of the economic structure. For instance, Brodtkin (1998:76) writes, “The temporary darkening of Jews and other European immigrants during the period when they formed the core of the industrial working class clearly illustrates the linkages between degraded and driven jobs and nonwhite racial status.” This suggests that having underpaid, menial jobs requires an undeserving group of people. However, in this sense, we see a ranking system. While European immigrants were marked as “inferior” and “blackened” to justify their placement in low-status jobs, steps were taken to entirely exclude Mexicans and Asians from these jobs. Mexican and Asians were labeled as outsiders, and naturalization programs disproportionately served Europeans, while excluding Mexicans and Asians (Ngai 2004).

A substantial part of the literature examining racial threat has focused on white/black relations. Here the research tends to support the hypothesis that white prejudice increases with the size of the Black population (Dixon 2006). Recent research examining the applicability of group threat theory to new racial or ethnic groups and/or immigration finds mixed results. Some find no relationship between the actual or perceived size of the Hispanic population and prejudice against Hispanics (Dixon 2006, Dixon and Rosenbaum 2004). Others find support for threat explanations of white attitudes towards Hispanics (Huddy and Sears 1995). Bobo and Hutchinson (1996) show that Blacks are more likely than whites to view competition as a zero-sum equation. In other words, Blacks are more likely to perceive other racial groups as being in direct competition for resources. They explain that alienation and perceptions of unjust treatment increase the likelihood that minority groups will perceive other minority groups as posing this type of threat.

Research that examines attitudes towards immigrants finds that perceptions of economic threat increase the likelihood of negative attitudes (Alba et al. 2005; Bournas 2005). Here, the *perception* of threat is key. Belief in increasing numbers and power is more important than reality. Alba and colleagues (2005) find that almost 20% of their sample reported the belief that whites make up less than half of the U.S. population, when in reality non-Hispanic whites make up 66.9% of the population.

Economic insecurity has also been linked to heightened tension between racial groups. Blalock (1967) argues that it is during times of economic insecurity that violence and other restrictive policies are enacted by the dominant group in order to maintain their privilege. Beck and Tolnay (1990) show that during the 1882-1930 time period, lynchings of Blacks increased when the price was deflated. This finding was mediated by increases in cotton production. In this sense, white farmers' insecurity over economic returns from their crops served as an impetus for lynchings and other forms of racial violence. Blalock's (1967) proposition is supported in recent research showing that racial threat is a key catalyst for the formation of white supremacists, militias, and hate groups (Dyer 1997; McVeigh 2004; Van Dyke and Soule 2002). Van Dyke and Soule (2002) find that in areas experiencing economic restructuring (e.g. the loss of farms and manufacturing firms), militia groups are more likely to form. Similarly, McVeigh (2004) finds that hate groups are more likely to form in areas that have experienced an increase in economic inequality. He suggests that increasing inequality creates a situation where more white males face decreasing standards of living, but also may have the opportunity to view minorities in high-powered positions. The loss of economic resources appears to be a strong predictor for racist

movement growth. The sudden loss of jobs and other economic resources may create a fertile ground for militias and white supremacist groups to recruit members (Dyer 1997; Ferber 1998). Moreover, self-reliance is a core component of white masculinity. Thus, white males who lose their jobs also are unable to fulfill a key part of their identity, leading to negative self-evaluations. As Dyer (1997) notes, one method to survive the social-psychological depression of economic decline is to turn the blame outwards as opposed to inwards.

It is likely that economic restructuring, or economic inequality in a specific geographic region, directly affects the growth and membership recruitment of restrictionist groups. Fears of job loss and economic drain (i.e. for welfare, schools) are certainly evident in the discourse of groups advocating the restriction of immigration (Sohoni 2006). Jencks (2001) argues that immigration, especially illegal immigration, drives down wages for working class citizens. Meanwhile, big business benefits from cheap wages and the remainder of the upper class remains unscathed. Certainly, an illegal status provides employers with more opportunity to exploit workers by paying low wages, requiring long working hours, and not meeting safety standards. Illegal immigrants will not be able to challenge the employer without risk of deportation. However, it is also important to note that not all immigrants enter the same labor market with low wages. While poor immigrants, especially Mexicans, are often thought of when discussing illegal immigration (Chavez 2008), there are also immigrants who come to the United States and enter other labor markets, some quite well paid. However, according to a study by the Pew Research Center

(2005), these immigrants are much less likely to be illegal immigrants from Latin American countries.

Chavez (2008) argues that the media in the 1990s and 2000s used a Latino threat discourse to discuss immigration. Latinos were presented as an “other” with media persons claiming that they pose a threat to the economic well-being of the country, the safety of citizens, the perceived value of citizenship, and even a threat to the actual existence of the United States. Latinos are framed as non-citizens, or immigrants, who are criminal by means of being in the country illegally. Rights to health care, education and other basic social services are portrayed in the media as citizen rights as opposed to human rights. Resources are perceived to be limited; thus, some restrictions must be established for their allocation. The value of citizen rights is perceived to be degraded if “illegal” non-citizens receive them, because restrictions have not been applied. Only those who are deserving of the rights should receive them. The Latino threat discourse also portrays Latinos as failing to assimilate into U.S. culture (Chavez 2008). Zhou (2002) writes that non-Hispanic whites in high immigrant populated areas perceive immigration as a threat to their “American identity,” fearing that Americans will become “unAmericanized by them.” However, as Chavez (2008) notes, this fear goes beyond concerns about cultural loss to concerns about actual loss of sovereignty over parts of the United States. A citizen/non-citizen dichotomy is reinforced in the media through a Latino threat discourse (Chavez 2008).

Nationalism is an ideology that defines a community of individuals and their relationship to the state. Individuals and groups within the nation challenge and reproduce the ideology through symbols and interactions that make it appear natural and a-historical. In

doing so, they also suggest what type of individuals represent the ideal members of the community and who should receive different benefits for their citizenship (Puri 2004). The civil rights movement and women's suffrage movement in the United States attempted to challenge the ideologies that cast the ideal national as a white male in order to obtain full citizenship rights for women and Blacks (Chavez 2009). However, Prividera and Howard (2004) suggest that in the current day United States, the image of a white male continues to represent the national archetype.

People with strong nativist ideology in the United States exhibit high levels of patriotism and pride in White-Anglo culture (Tatalovich 1995). Soldiers are hailed as idealized citizens who are willing to fight and die defending the sovereignty of the nation (Enloe 1990; Prividera and Howard 2004; Yuval-Davis 1997). However, soldier and masculine are coupled in the media and common conceptualization. Male soldiers are conceptualized in relationship to what they are not, female and in need of protection (Enloe 1990). In addition, the ideal soldier is symbolized as a white male (Prividera and Howard 2004). The United States also continues to be a nation in which whites have more power and resources than racial minorities. The dominant culture reflects white supremacy and normativity. And white individuals continue to view racial and ethnic minorities as guests (Bell and Hartmann 2007).

In a review of the literature on masculinity, Schrock and Schwalbe (2009) argue that gender scholars should focus on the performance of gender (West and Zimmerman 1987). More specifically, men perform "manhood acts" (Schwalbe 2005) "aimed at claiming privilege, eliciting deference and resisting exploitation (Schrock and Schwalbe 2009:281).

Soldier images are a way that immigrant restrictionists perform manhood acts to gain power in the debate over immigration. Women in the movement who reinforce a mother ideology are also giving gendered performances to gain credence in the dialogue. However, implicit in the mother identity claim is compliance with the subordination of women by men. This is similar to how poor whites settle for white privilege instead of challenging the larger inequality structure. Women also comply with their subordination to men to maintain the privileges they do receive from white privilege and the privileges they acquire through white men.

Individuals and media outlets that use an immigrant threat discourse are simultaneously constructing who is and who is not a citizen. In this case, a citizen is not Latino (Chavez 2008). The Latino out-group is constructed in relation to the idealized national archetype of white and male. The coupling of citizen with white and male is also evident in messages of other conservative social movements attempting to construct a particular type of nationalism that reinforces a white male hegemony (Dyer 1997; Ferber 1998; Ferber and Kimmel 2004). This ideology sets up a framework of nationalism, whereby the default for “national” is a white male.

Social Movement Framing

Social movement members and leaders attempt to change definitions of what is right and wrong. In the terminology of Becker, they are moral entrepreneurs embarking on the journey of the moral enterprise (Becker 1963). In the process of convincing others that some moral breakdown exists, their legitimacy as moral authorities is crucial. Thus, presentation

of self plays a critical role (Goffman 1959). Do people seeking to make changes have the cultural capital and props to convincingly act as an authority on the subject? Are they themselves morally believable? If not, there is the risk that no one of consequence will be convinced by their arguments. Or perhaps, some might sympathize with their arguments about something being wrong but disagree about what type of social change is needed or how to go about creating it.

Thus, social movement framing activities involve interpreting the social phenomenon, specifying causes, giving a moral performance, and providing a plan of action (Snow and Benford 1988). In their review of the framing literature, Benford and Snow (2000: 612) argue that, “Framing processes have come to be regarded, alongside resource mobilization and political opportunity processes, as a central dynamic in understanding the character and course of social movements.” Supporting this claim is a host of articles, books, and book chapters that have used this theoretical framework since the early 1980s. The literature examining the organizational frames of social movement organizations is rooted in the work on framing by Goffman (1974) (see Benford and Snow 2000). While Goffman’s exact definition of what constitutes a frame is still debated, a standard interpretation is that a frame is a shared schema for interpreting and reacting to a social phenomenon (Scheff 2005). In other words, we rely on frames to make sense of what is going on. This interpretation is consistent with the general conceptualization of frames within the social movement literature.

Snow and Benford (1988) elaborate on the components of framing in social movements by drawing on Wilson’s (1973) three elements of ideology. First, there is diagnostic framing, whereby the issue or problem and its roots are identified. Second, there

is prognostic framing, in which strategies are pinpointed in order to solve the problem at hand. Finally, there is motivational framing or “a call to arms or rationale for action that goes beyond the diagnosis and prognosis [emphasis in the original] (Snow and Benford 1988:202). Their direct incorporation of Wilson’s three components of ideology into three components of frames prompted Oliver and Johnston (2000) to question whether framing merely renames ideology.

In response to Oliver and Johnston (2000), Benford and Snow (2000) delineate the connections and differences between ideology and social movement framing. They argue that their intent was not to merely rename ideology, but to show how ideology constrains or enables social movement actors’ abilities to frame, or make sense of, the social phenomenon they find problematic and seek to change. Tarrow (1994) and Benford and Snow (2000) borrow from Swidler’s (1986) concept of the cultural tool chest. Swidler uses the tool chest, or “tool kit,” as a metaphor to describe culture. Culture is a tool kit containing “symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views, which people may use to varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems” (Swidler 1986:273). Social movement actors pull from their cultural tool chest actively to create the collective social movement frame. In terms of the analogy, social movement actors pull different worldviews or symbols out of the toolkit to construct the three components of the framing process discussed above. Thus, by using framing correctly, scholars will avoid the reification of ideas and instead, highlight the socially constructed nature of what propels social movement activities. As Tarrow (1994:119) writes, “If the struggle between movements and their opponents was primarily symbolic, then a social movement could be understood as no more than a cognitive message

center.” A frame then, is a cognitive schema shared by members of a social movement organization that is actively created and re-created by interaction. For instance, while people may agree that illegal immigration is a problem, there may not be agreement on what the solution should be. Social movement actors work to not only identify a problem, but also to determine what should be done about the problem, who should do what, and the way that it should be done.

The social and political environment is important to the construction of the frame as well as the reception of it (Snow et al. 1986). Social movements are trying to create social change; and, as Tarrow (1994) put it, they are, in a sense, looking for a consumer. Thus, frames might be more or less successful depending on how well they resonate with their audience. People are drawn to frames that help them make sense of a confusing situation and serve their emotional needs. In this sense, it is not just about whether a social movement frame makes sense to potential or current members, but how it makes them feel.

These examples suggest that frames are constructed in a way that the cause and solution to the problem resonate with the individual’s beliefs. However, the ways in which emotions are attached to an individual’s reactions to a frame are under-investigated. The social movement scholarship on framing often ignores the role of emotions as part of the framing process (see Goodwin et al. 2001; Jasper 1998; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Schrock et al. 2004; Wolkomir 2001 for critiques). Scholars focus on the definitions of the problems and courses of action inherent in specific social movement frames, instead of the emotional responses that members have to the definitions and the consequences this has for mobilization. For example, Schrock et al. (2004) argue that the literature examining frame

resonance focuses largely on cognitive processes and ignores “emotional resonance.”

However, the scholarship that focuses on the emotions of social movement actors demonstrates the utility of delineating how and under what circumstances different emotion management strategies are used.

Jasper and Poulsen (1995) show that some social movement actors choose frames specifically to evoke emotions. They examine the different frame alignment, or recruitment strategies, of two social movements: the animal rights movement and the anti-nuclear protest movement. The authors suggest that while the anti-nuclear movement was much more likely to recruit members through networking, the animal rights movement relied more on “moral shocks.” They define a “moral shock” as “when an event or situation raises such a sense of outrage in people that they become inclined toward political action, even in the absence of a network of contacts” (Jasper and Poulsen 1997:497). They conclude that moral shocks are especially important for social movement organizations attempting to recruit strangers and individuals who need to be convinced that the movement’s claims that something is a problem are true. For example, pictures of animal cruelty may “shock” someone into agreeing that animal cruelty is a problem (Jasper and Poulsen 1995). Jasper (1998) argues that “moral shocks” are part of the framing processes. Evoking an emotion does not mean that people who feel the emotion will act in the manner the social movement desires. As part of the framing process, social movement actors provide targets for the emotion and definitions that tell people what they should do with their emotions (Jasper 1998).

Gould (2001) shows the importance of emotions for prompting membership and mobilization. During the 1980s, gay political figures and social movement leaders

encouraged gays and lesbians to become angry about how the government was handling AIDS. In this sense, leaders were attempting to evoke participation, advocacy, and mobilization through fostering anger as opposed to complacency. Not only were gays and lesbians asked to agree that the government needed to change, they were asked to *feel* angry.

As a result of the influence of the current political and ideological climate as well as perceptions of what will resonate with the public, social movements adopt master frames. These frames are constructed by pulling from larger ideologies that span multiple movements and times to connect social movements to one another (Snow and Benford 1992). Social movements engage in a process of master frame alignment in which the master frames are molded to better coincide with the particular socio-political and historic environment (Swart 1995). For instance, Berbrier (2004) examines the ideology of pluralism and multiculturalism across three different movements, the gay movement, the deaf movement, and the white supremacist movement. He discusses how the larger arguments and themes of pluralism and multiculturalism are co-opted by the different movements. The three groups argue for increased rights through claims of similarities with the Black civil rights movement. Even white supremacists rely on the argument that they are threatened minorities, similar to the marginalization of Blacks during the 1960s. However, while the gay and deaf movements argue for multiculturalism, the white supremacists connect their perceived marginalization with their rights to maintain white pride and separatism from other racial minorities. Thus, while all three groups argue they have similarities with the Black civil rights movement, only the white supremacists simultaneously argue for pluralism and for the right to remain different and separate from racial minorities (Berbrier 2004).

Social movement frames are ways to make sense of social phenomena. Through frames, movement actors pinpoint the causes of a social problem and determine a plan of action. How well the definitions given by the organization match the beliefs of potential members and the way they make members feel has consequences for membership and mobilization. In the next section, I describe how framing and othering complement one another as frameworks to examine restrictionist social movement organizations.

Othering and Framing as Complementary Theories

Social movement framing as described by Benford and Snow (2000) and the generic processes of inequality as laid out by Schwalbe et al. (2000) are distinct social theories. Taken together, they are useful for investigating and explaining the patterns and themes found on the websites and in the online forums of immigrant restrictionist organizations. The generic processes of inequality and social movement framing are compatible in that they both approach social reality from a constructionist approach. The key component of both theories is the avoidance of reification and the focus on interaction. As Schwalbe et al. (2000) note, social structure is only that which is created by patterned the actions of individuals interacting together. However, actions do take place and people create meaning within a socio-political structure and a historical climate.

Secondly, both approaches highlight the creation of in-groups and out-groups. For social movement framing, in-groups and out-groups delineate who is experiencing injustice, who should argue for change, and who should make those changes. For Schwalbe et al. (2000), creating in-groups and out-groups is essential to the reproduction of inequality.

Since restrictionist groups are in part a counter-movement against immigrant rights groups, they are reproducing inequality through their social movement frame. Thus, both are important components of the process of othering illegal immigrants.

Further, using Schwalbe's (2000) nets of accountability concept helps illuminate how efforts to maintain and legitimize race and gender privileges can structure patterns of behavior that encourage the creation and maintenance of a citizen/non-citizen dichotomy. Gamson (1992) argues that all movements are inherently based on a "rights framework." Social movement groups are stating there is a problem or "injustice" that people in their group deserve or have the right to have resolved. However, the way in which immigration restrictionist groups pull from ideologies regarding race, class, gender and other categorization schemas to create an undeserving immigrant is not inherent within a "rights" framework. The social movement frames, missions and actions of the immigration restrictionist organizations reproduce inequality by creating an in-group and an out-group through processes of othering.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I provided an overview of the main theoretical paradigms and concepts I draw from in the dissertation. The continued segmentation among the working class keeps workers from uniting and changing the larger inequality structure. Recent immigrants compete for resources and serve as another group that segments the working class. However, the ideology that supports this segmentation manifests in multiple ways, drawing from definitions of masculinity and racial prejudice to reinforce status group distinctions. I argue

that “othering” is an underlying group process through which immigrant restrictionist groups construct a positive virtual self as good Americans and stigmatize illegal immigrants. The social movement frames of the immigrant restrictionist groups construct a “Latino threat.” Emotion management is important for the process of “othering” and social movement framing. In the following chapter, I discuss the methods I use to examine the process of othering and social movement framing of immigrant restrictionist websites and online forums.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Introduction to Methods

Adams and Roscigno (2005) argue that websites are an important medium for social movement organizations to disseminate their missions and frames to an audience without being filtered by the media. Since anti-immigrant groups are often charged with being bigots and racists, these organizations need to control their own representations (Sohoni 2006). As vehicles for mobilization, websites may be especially critical for these “controversial” organizations. Further, unlike pamphlets and other printed materials, people from all over the world can access the information without having prior ties with the organization. Movements that were once local or regional can become internationalized. The presentation of the organization becomes important in terms of gaining sympathetic viewers, possible volunteers, and monetary donations.

Overviews of qualitative methods note the increasing prevalence of analyses of web-based text (Esterberg 2002; Charmaz 2006). When access is restricted or dangerous, web pages provide an information base for researchers to access information and conduct unobtrusive analyses that will not influence interactions or the responses of participants (Esterberg 2002; Webb et al. 2000). By using unobtrusive measures, validity is not affected by the researcher’s presence. However, Charmaz (2006) warns that texts such those found on websites are difficult to place within a context since the researcher is not actually watching the creation of the text.

Unknown information and information sources complicate the analysis. Limitations include the inability to know if the websites represent the actual beliefs and behavior of the groups, and the inability to track who visits the websites. Internet users in general must have knowledge of and access to computers. This group of people tends to be younger and wealthier in comparison to the general population. Thus, this analysis illuminates an understanding of material created in part for a selected audience (Esterberg 2002). Whether or not this changes how the organization represents itself is not known. Web pages are created with the assumption that they will be viewed by unknown people and that the content may increase the number of sympathizers or members. If the immigrant restrictionist organizations are trying to appeal to a wide audience, they might tone down the extremist nature of the content. Other types of immigrant restrictionist organizations may present a more extreme front in order to attract radical members who are dissatisfied with more mainstream groups.

My data are collected from a group of immigrant restrictionist websites and a sample of restrictionist online forums. The websites included for analysis consist of 52 “nativist extremist” groups located across the United States identified by the Southern Poverty Law Center, 17 organizations identified by Sohoni (2006), and 22 anti-immigrant groups located through web search engines. I also analyze samples of threads from the online forums of three restrictionist organizations: Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee (ALIPAC), the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC), and the Indiana Federation for Immigration Reform & Enforcement (IFIRE). I chose these forums because they were the only online forums that were fully available to the public, with the exception of

one online forum that only had 36 posts in total. These posts were updates on important dates and did not have responses. I do not believe that including these posts would have changed my conclusions here. There were also three websites that had blogs. Since all the blogs were written by the leaders of the organizations and rarely had any responses, they did not provide an opportunity to analyze interactions among members. Instead, I analyzed these blogs as part of the websites. Additionally, one website posted “responses” that were sent as emails to the website administrator. However, they were not conversational in nature and therefore, I included them for analysis as a part of the website. I analyze only websites and forums that are publicly available and do not require membership of any kind. I have not interacted with members and have been completely unobtrusive.

Websites

The population of restrictionist organizations for the website analysis was created from several sources, each of which I will discuss in detail below. First, I use a list of “nativist extremist” groups compiled by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). I discuss this list in detail below. Second, I supplement this list with active groups from Sohoni’s (2006) study, a list she compiled from 3 sources: The Political Research Associates (<http://www.publiceye.org>), *The Terry Anderson Radio Show*, and internet search engines. Finally, like Sohoni (2006), I supplement these lists with Google and Ask searches. The list of organizations, their website addresses, and the date that each website was copied is located in Appendix A.

The initial list of immigrant restrictionist organizations comes from the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). It identifies 144 groups, which it labels “nativist extremist.” The SPLC list provides the name of the organization and the city and state of its headquarters (when known). The SPLC Intelligence Project identified these groups as organizations that “target people, rather than policy. They do not limit themselves to advocating, even in forceful terms, for stricter border security, tighter population control, or tougher enforcement of laws against hiring illegal immigrants. Instead, they go after the immigrants themselves” (Buchanan and Holthouse 2007). In private correspondence, Mark Potok, the director of the Intelligence Project at the Southern Poverty Law Center, explained the criteria used to create the list. Organizations were not included solely based on organizational materials or expressions of beliefs and missions. The SPLC investigation of each organization had to indicate actual direct confrontation with immigrants, such as harassing people at day labor hiring centers or patrolling the border with guns and making “citizen arrests.” This suggests that the list includes only groups that were active in 2007 and existed off the internet. These groups may also represent the more radical organizations within the larger immigrant restrictionist movement.

Other researchers have used other SPLC lists, such as their list of militias and hate groups (Freilich and Pridemore 2005; McVeigh 2004; Van Dyke and Soule 2002). McVeigh (2004:913) identifies the SPLC's lists of U.S. racist organizations as being “the most comprehensive available.” However, some argue that the SPLC and similar organizations may exaggerate the threat of these groups and over-report their presence (Chermak 2002; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997). Frelich and Pridemore (2006) warn against making strong

inferences when using the SPLC list of militia groups. They argue that researchers are limited by the SPLC's definitions of groups. They lack information on the size of the organizations and have no way to validate whether or not the groups are representative. My project is not intended to be generalizable to all restrictionist websites. Instead, I focus on how the groups in the sample construct their social movement frames and the contradictions that emerge in their arguments. This provides the opportunity to analyze what part of their ideology is specific to the movement frame and what definitions and ideology are part of a generic social process in the reproduction of inequality.

I made an effort to locate a website for each of the 144 SPLC organizations using Google and Ask search engines. The final result is a list of 52 unique websites. The smaller number is largely the result of many of the organizations on the SPLC list being smaller branches of larger organizations. For instance, the SPLC list contains 32 branches of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps. The Minuteman Civil Defense Corps has one main site. In addition, I was able to locate websites for three state branches, Maryland, Oklahoma, and Kansas. Within Kansas, there are three branches but only one website. Thus, from the 32 Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, there are four unique websites: (1) The main organization's page, (2) The Kansas state page, (3) The Maryland state page, and (4) The Oklahoma state page. There are five organizations for which I could not find a related website. In addition to the 52 websites, there are nine organizations whose websites went down between April 2007 and August 2007. While I was able to retrieve all but one of these organization's websites using the website <http://www.archive.org/web/web.php>, they were excluded from the analyses presented here, because they were not available to the public on the day the

sample was taken. Moreover, subsequent analyses of the websites suggest that they would not change the conclusions of this study. Additional information about these organizations is available in Appendix B.

To address the criticisms that the Southern Poverty Law Center's list may over-represent "radical" restrictionists, I supplement it with websites obtained from two other sources. First, I use a list compiled by Sohoni (2006) of immigrant "restrictionist" groups. This list combines organizations identified by a conservative talk show, *The Terry Anderson Show*; a liberal organization tracking right wing movements called The Political Research Associates (www.publiceye.org); and through internet search engines. Sohoni included any organizations that gave a mission statement that included immigration restriction. In contrast to the SPLC list, Sohoni's list of organizations is not restricted to groups that physically threaten immigrants. Because of this, Sohoni's list includes eight organizations that advocate the restriction of immigration for environmental reasons, specifically population control. I included these organizations in the analysis. From Sohoni's list of organizations, I include 17 websites not on the SPLC list. There are only three organizations on both the SPLC list and Sohoni's list: American Border Patrol, The Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement, and the United Patriots of America.

Second, I locate anti-immigrant organizations through the use of the "Google" and "Ask" online search engines. In order to be included in the study, the websites must fit two major criteria. First, the website must in some way indicate that it is a group's and not just an individual's website. Second, the organization must list restricting immigration as the key mission of the organization. This was determined through an analysis of the mission

statements and/or 'about us' sections of websites. If other issues (e.g. stopping same-sex marriage, stopping a Jewish take-over) were mentioned in the mission statement, I did not include the organization in my analysis. I used the following key words in my online searches: 'illegal immigration,' 'anti-immigrant organization' and 'stop illegal immigration.' From these searches, I identified 23 unique websites to be included in the study. During the search for these organizations, I also found eight of the organizations on the Southern Poverty Law Center list and seven organizations on Sohoni's (2006) list. I denote these organizations in Appendix A by an asterisk after their name. The Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement was the only organization found using all three methods.

There is no way to determine how many or which organizations I may have missed in my searches. There is little over-lap between the different lists, suggesting that if a new list were found, it may provide unique websites not included in my analysis. However, the difference between Sohoni's (2006) list and the Southern Poverty Law Center is likely explained by the type of organizations sampled and the time frame in which they were collected. Many of the organizations on the SPLC list were founded after Sohoni's list was created and her article published. Further, unlike the SPLC list, Sohoni (2006) did not exclude organizations that did not actively target immigrants. Thus, Sohoni's list could not include organizations that did not exist at the time of the research, and the SPLC list does not include organizations on Sohoni's list that exist only on the internet and/or restrict movement activities to non-violent policy-advocacy. This explains a good deal of the discrepancies between the two lists. My use of internet search engines may be the least reliable sample selection strategy. What websites are found through searches change regularly, depending on

the amount of traffic to the website and the number of links to the website provided on other websites. I made every effort to create a comprehensive list of organizations. However, due to the nature of how search engines work, I likely found larger and/or more active organizations. Thus, smaller organizations may be underrepresented in the lists formulated through website search engines.

Forums

One way that some organizations include current members and website visitors in a virtual interaction is through the use of online forums. In online forums, participants have the option to remain anonymous. Forum participants choose their own “aliases” or user name and “avatars” or pictures serving as symbolic representations of themselves when they post in the forum. In a recent review of online ethnographies, Garcia et al. (2009) conclude that it is unclear whether or not the anonymous nature of the forum and the physical distance among participants actually changes how forum participants respond to others’ comments, and if so, in what ways. One of the central tenants of symbolic interactionism is that we adjust our actions based on our perceptions of how others view us and how we would like them to respond (see Cooley 1902). Our ability to create the intended response in another person is limited by our ability to gauge the other person’s reaction, our relative power in the interaction and the props we have to work with (Goffman 1959). What remains unclear is if internet interactions have different effects on the actions of individuals than face-to-face interactions.

While forums often have rules for engagement (e.g. no swearing) and moderators (individuals who decide whether the post violates the rules), organizations post disclaimers stating that the views of the users are not necessarily the views of the organization. Some participants may feel that they have more freedom to say what they think, responding anonymously to others' posts. Other participants may be more guarded and edit their comments before posting them, since the posts are saved and logged on a public website. Similar to conversations within groups in public, outsiders may hear, or in this case, overhear parts of the conversation. For example, a thread in the *Minuteman Civil Defense Corps* forum warned participants to avoid blatant racism, because it is morally offensive, but also because pro-immigrant groups may use the quotes against the restrictionist social movement.

I analyze forums that are completely available to the public without any requirements to become members to gain access. I do not include forums in which you must be a member to view posts, such as the *Riders Against Illegal Immigration*. Online forums differ from virtual chat rooms in that forums save all of the comments. In virtual chat rooms, people write to one another; but when a person leaves the chat room, the conversations disappear. Further, individuals must join chat rooms in order to participate and read the conversations. I do not include chat rooms in my analysis, because they are not publicly available or archived. Participants I studied may be more guarded due to the public and archival nature of the forums. Thus, I may be under-estimating the amount of blatantly racist content and other inflammatory comments made by immigrant restrictionists.

There are two organizations with very large and active public forums: the Minutemen Civil Defense Core (MCDC) and the Americans for Legal Immigration (ALIPAC). Of the

two, ALIPAC is the largest. On July 1, 2007, over 500 posts were made. On August 28, 2007 at 4:22 p.m., there were 76 users in the forum and 7,360 registered forum users over all. The 76 users looking at the forum pages made up approximately 10% of the users on the ALIPAC website (762) at that time. Since May 2005, over 9,000 new threads have been started; and by September 18, 2007, there were 186,943 posts archived in the “general discussion” portion of ALIPAC’s online forum. Threads refer to all responses that can be traced to an original post. For instance, I could post a comment about an illegal immigrant I know. Someone might then respond to me, and then someone else and someone else. All of the posts would be part of the thread that I started.

Threads are listed by their title down the page, approximately 40 at a time. These titles are chosen by the person who starts the thread. In order to view the next 40, one must click on a link. An example of a title is “Do you like Mexican food?” The page also tells you when the most recent post was made to the thread, who started the thread, how many posts have been made in the thread, and how many times the thread has been opened and looked at. In order to know when the thread was started, one must open the thread and trace it back to the original comment. For instance, I could open and post to a thread in August that was originally started in January. The thread would then move to the first page of the forum’s thread listings, and it would be listed as having its most recent posting being the date I posted the message.

Since the forums are large, I sampled from the larger population of possible threads. First, I sampled by threads as opposed to posts or posters, because threads provide evidence of interaction. To sample otherwise would create data devoid of its context. The comments

may not make sense without knowing what previous comments spurred them. Secondly, I sampled threads only from general discussion forums, not from more specific forums, such as one of ALIPAC's devoted entirely to discussing the most recent presidential election. These types of forums restrict the discussions to a particular issue instead of allowing participants to determine the topics that they find most important. Since I am most interested in examining what issues are important to forum participants and how they discuss them, I restricted my sampling to general discussion forums.

I obtained a sample of 200 threads in each of the two major forums by sampling every fifth thread.¹ Additionally, I took a sample of 200 threads in the same fashion from the *Indiana Federation for Immigration Reform and Enforcement* (IFIRE) online forum, which is much less active than ALIPAC and MCDC. Over all, I analyzed 600 threads, including 3,973 individual posts by users. This sampling technique did not discriminate based on the number of posts per thread, which skewed the resulting sample towards threads with fewer posts. These threads result in fewer codes and provide less interactive data. In retrospect, this decision may have hindered my ability to build theory from the interactions, by reducing the amount of interactions in my data. At the time at which I collected the data, I sampled this way to gain a level of generalization and allow a comparison between threads that produced lots of activity and those that did not. For instance, in the following chapter, I will argue that the thread welcoming members to ALIPAC is important, because it is much longer than the average thread. I believe this offers an important component to my analysis. However, in retrospect, I could have sampled in a way that would allow me to make this argument and collect more theoretically important threads. In the conclusion of the

dissertation, I advocate taking a smaller “random” sample and using the open coding of the small sample to guide future theoretical sampling (Charmaz 2006).

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for the online forums. ALIPAC had the most posts, 2168, with an average of 10.8 and median of 6 posts per thread. In contrast, the sample of threads from the Minuteman Civil Defense Core included 1325 posts for an average of 6.6 posts and median of 5 posts per thread. IFIRE had the fewest posts, 480, with an average of 2.4 posts per thread. While the majority of ALIPAC and MCDC forum threads were conversations between online users, the threads from IFIRE often contained only one post with no response. The sample of threads for ALIPAC also contained the highest number of unique aliases, 274, in comparison to 88 and 28 for the MCDC and IFIRE respectively. While the median number of posts per user (3) and fewest number of posts per user (1) were the same across all three organizations, MCDC had the highest average posts per user (15) and highest number of posts by one user (292).

I provide these frequencies to give the reader a basic idea of how much data was coded and general differences in the interactions across the forums. The IFIRE forum by far provided the fewest interactions to analyze. This may reflect the local nature of the group, in comparison to the national scope of ALIPAC and MCDC. Throughout my analysis chapters, the ALIPAC and MCDC forum will often exhibit higher percentages of threads containing different codes. These findings are likely reflective of the much smaller number of posts across the IFIRE threads. Threads that contain five responses are more likely to contain multiple themes that I coded for than threads that contain only one post.

Table 1: Descriptive Frequencies for the Online Forums: 12/15/07-12/27/07

	ALIPAC	MCDC	IFIRE	Total
Total threads analyzed	200	200	200	600
Total posts analyzed	2168	1325	480	3973
Average posts per thread	10.8	6.6	2.4	6.46
Median posts per thread	6	5	1	3
Minimum posts per thread	1	1	1	1
Maximum posts per thread	191	61	88	191
Number of unique aliases	274	88	28	390
Average posts per user	7.9	15	13.4	9.9
Median posts per user	3	3	3	3
Most posts by one user	187	292	178	292
Fewest posts by one user	1	1	1	1

All three of the organizations are on the SPLC list of nativist extremists and the organizations' websites express similar beliefs about immigration. However, MCDC differs from the other two organizations because members of the group actually patrol the southern border of the United States. In two threads, a member of the MCDC posted pictures and updates regarding the group's latest border patrol outing. However, no other members referred to actually patrolling the border, suggesting that the majority of forum participants do not participate in this group activity. In this way, the forum participants were similar across the groups.

Analysis

The web pages were copied into word documents between December 10 and December 21, 2007. The ALIPAC forum threads were copied into word documents on

December 15 and December 16. The MCDC threads were copied on December 19, 2007 and December 20, 2007, and the IFIRE threads were copied on December 27, 2007. Saving all of the text for analysis in a short time span is critical, as Mautner (2005) notes that information on the internet changes and can vanish without warning. At the time I took the sample, the presidential primaries were underway for the upcoming 2008 elections, and forum members did discuss the immigration policies of presidential candidates. However, it is important to note that the sample was drawn before the media reported that the United States was entering an economic recession. Because of this, my sample may contain fewer threads that discuss concern over job loss and wage cuts than if the sample was taken later.

After the web materials were copied into word documents, I uploaded the files into the ATLAS.ti qualitative software for analysis as four hermeneutic units: (1) websites, (2) ALIPAC forum, (3) MCDC forum, and (4) IFIRE forum. This would be similar to creating 4 different data sets in quantitative data analysis software packages.

My approach to coding the data included both deductive and inductive techniques. I began coding the website with a partial coding scheme looking specifically for how the websites and online forums discussed threat, race, and gender. However, I also followed a grounded approach (Glaser and Strauss 1967) that involved two coding stages. I began with open coding, in which each line in the data received at least one code representing the meaning of the words (Esterberg 2002; Charmaz 2006). Charmaz (2006) suggests that a very detailed word-by-word analysis may be even more important when working with internet data that is unattached to its context, because it forces the researcher to examine the meaning of words and images while exploring the flow and ordering of the words. While I did not

code each word, I often assigned multiple codes per line. I open-coded 15 websites, which were arranged in alphabetical order. This included immigrant restrictionists from all three lists. Additionally I coded the first twenty threads of online forums. The threads I included varied in topic.

From the open coding, a set of key themes emerged as important. I then used these themes to move into focused coding, allowing me to go through the remaining data more quickly. Overall themes I coded for in the websites and online forums included: (1) United States under attack due to immigration; (2) immigrants as criminals; (3) economic threat posed by immigration; (4) gender, including website gender performance and discussions of immigrant gender; and (5) discussions of race and racism. Specific to the online forums, I also coded the participant's user name for each posting. In retrospect, the five themes I coded during the focused coding stage were very broad, complicating the analysis. For instance, combining all references to immigrants negatively affecting resources into one code made it difficult to generate output distinguishing between jobs and welfare and limited the specificity of information for analysis. However, as I will discuss below, the theoretical patterns and themes that emerged in the memo-writing stage often prompted me to return to coding in order examine more specific hypotheses. In this sense, coding and analysis were not strictly sequential, but instead reflected an iterative process.

After coding, I generated two types of Atlas ti. output for each hermeneutic unit. One type of output was an Excel spreadsheet. The spreadsheet listed each website and then the number of times each theme was coded on the individual website. The spreadsheet also contained a column with the total number of codes per website and a row with the total

number of times a theme was coded across websites. The Excel output was similar for the forums except that codes were listed per thread as opposed to per website. I provide an abridged version of the Excel spreadsheet generated for the Minuteman Civil Defense Core online forum as an example in Appendix C.1. Both rows and columns were deleted for the appendix so that the sheet could fit on one page. This appendix is provided for those who are interested in what the Excel output from Atlas ti. looks like and to better understand what I used to construct tables later in the dissertation. It, in itself, does not provide substantial content towards theoretical development.

The second type of output was a list of all of the quotes within the data that I coded under each theme. For example, in the ALIPAC forums, I coded “immigrants as criminals” 157 times. This generated 65 pages of output in Rich Text Format and contained all of the text in the ALIPAC forum to which I assigned that code. Note, when I provide direct quotes, I cut and paste them directly from the output. They often have grammar and spelling mistakes. These mistakes reflect those of the original author. Similarly, the forum participants often use capital letters or bold face to stress words or phrases in their postings. When quotes contain markers of emphasis, they are those of the original author. In Appendix C.2, I provide the first four pages of this type of output from for the code, economic threat posed by immigration, for the website hermeneutic unit. This output is also provided as descriptive background of my methods instead of offering content towards my arguments. I used these outputs to write analytic memos and to explore nuances in the quotes for each theme and how the themes relate to one another. I drew from and expanded the analytic memos to write the analytic chapters of the dissertation.

My original research questions were quite general. After working with the data, these research questions shifted and became more specific. In my proposal, I asked the following research question, “What types of narratives (stories) and discourse (written text) do the anti-immigrant groups located across the United States use to present the missions, goals, and concerns of their organizations through websites?” I identified race and gender ideology as important components of the social movement frames. As I coded for gender, I noticed patterns of soldier and mother images. I adapted my research question to address how the restrictionist organizations adopted emotionally powerful gendered frames. Secondly, racial threat ideology was also prevalent in the data. Another focused research question emerged: how do the immigrant restrictionist organizations construct a Latino/citizen binary?

In the original proposal, I also asked the question, ‘Do the narratives and discourses of forum participants match the social movement frames of the main websites?’ After coding the websites and forums, I revised (liberally) the third research question to focus on the emotional framing of the ALIPAC main website and online forums. As I wrote analytic memos drawing from the ALIPAC forum, I became interested in the way forum members discussed emotions. I increasingly noted how members talked about fear, anger, pride, power, and also the emotion management strategies they used to deflect a racist stigma. In chapter 4, I address the following research questions: how are the emotional framings of the ALIPAC website and the ALIPAC forum similar and how are they different? Also, how do the forum members manage the stigma of being called racist? In order to analyze these questions, I returned to my data and coded for explicit accounts of how the forum members discussed racism. I created different codes for instances in which forum members gave

accounts explaining why they are not racist and what does constitute racism. This is the focus of the following chapter.

Lastly, the final research question posed in the proposal, “What are the differences in the organizations’ narratives and discourses based on the national vs. community level/scope of the organizations?” is not included in the dissertation. Meaningful patterns and avenues for exploration did not emerge from the data that addressed this research question. As I noted in the introduction, I could not obtain reliable and valid data about the size, membership, or community of the organization. This is reflective of the nature of websites and my disconnect from the context in which people created the websites (Charmaz 2006). Thus, I directed my research to the emotional, gendered, and racial framing of the immigrant restrictionists’ websites and forum participants, and the implications these have for the reproduction of inequality.

There are three organizations included in my analysis that do not discuss immigration in the same way as the other groups in the sample: *Carrying Capacity*, *Environmental Balance*, and *Support Population Stabilization*. These three organizations do not use any of the themes I analyze in the content of their websites. They discuss immigration only as being detrimental to the environment, because it contributes to a larger issue of over-population in the United States. As Sohoni (2006) points out, these organizations remain anti-immigrant, because they advocate restricting immigration instead of focusing on changing the consumption habits of citizens. However, instead of focusing on how immigrants are different and unable to assimilate, these organizations argue that immigrants will become like U.S. citizens and use too many natural resources. These organizations are considered part of

the population from which my averages are computed. However, they are the only organizations in my sample that do not include at least one of the themes I discuss throughout the study.

Conclusion

Like any other methodology, the data collection and analysis I employ in this dissertation has both strengths and weaknesses. With the increasing popularity of the internet, social scientists have recognized the importance of expanding research to include virtual spaces (Adams and Roscigno 2005; Garcia et al. 2009). I analyze the websites and forum participation as a complete observer, and thus do not influence the individuals who are being studied. Compared to in-person observation, I was able to collect a larger amount of data in a shorter amount of time and could devote more time to coding. These data include a host of written and visual representations of the organizations' and forum participants' goals and presentations of self. Further, the online forums provide a unique opportunity to observe virtual interactions between others, without influencing their interactions. While it is unclear how the forums' anonymous nature may influence participants' behavior, it does not make their interactions any less real. I was able to analyze how forum participants discuss emotions and racism without any prompting or intrusion.

My analysis is not generalizable to all right wing movements. The purpose is to construct theoretical explanations for the social processes and patterns evident in the data on immigrant restrictionists. One of the greatest weaknesses of my study is that I cannot determine intent. I have only what the individuals say, and I cannot ask follow-up questions

to explore motivations. Other limitations of my method include that no inter-coder reliability tests were conducted. I was the sole coder, which may introduce unknown bias into the coding schemes. In general, manifest coding (coding for specific words) has higher inter-coder reliability than latent coding (coding for meaning) in content analyses (Esterberg 2002). In my analysis, codes such as “author name” and the term “anchor baby” would likely have the highest inter-coder reliability. However, latent coding, which garners the highest validity (Esterberg 2002), would likely have lower reliability. Secondly, I sampled from one time-period. This introduces unknown bias due to the social and political context of the time-period in which I collected the data. Finally, I only studied publicly accessible websites and forums. Forums where one is required to become a member may be less moderate than the public websites. In short, my analysis lacks the generalizability of large surveys, but provides richer understanding of the symbols, narratives, and interactions between others. Similarly, I have the strength of unobtrusive research methods, but lose the benefit of follow-up questions and interactions with participants.

CHAPTER 4

EMOTIONAL FRAMING: MASCULINITY, TROLLS, AND TOKENS

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the original research question about how the framing of main websites and discussions in the online forums are similar and different. However, I focus on the specific research questions that emerged from the data. These include the following: ‘How is the emotional framing of the ALIPAC website and the ALIPAC forum similar and how is it different, and also, how do the forum members manage the stigma of being called racist?’ This chapter contributes to the call for more research to examine emotions within social movements (Goodwin et al. 2001). By analyzing immigrant restrictionist websites, I show which emotions group members support, which ones they do not, and how they are consistent with advocating the restriction of immigration. I argue that emotions are an important part of social movement framing. Research that looks solely at questions, such as What is the diagnosis?, and ignores questions, such as How are members supposed to feel about the diagnosis?, ignores a vital component of framing as a process of social movement mobilization.

I concentrate on the main website of Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee (ALIPAC) and 200 threads from their online forum. As noted in the methods chapter, the 200 threads were collected on December 15, 2007, by selecting every fifth thread. The resulting sampling includes 2,169 individual posts by 217 unique usernames or aliases. While other chapters examine the framing of the anti-immigrant movement at large, the purpose of this chapter is to compare the emotional expression or lack

of expression between the organizational front of a social movement organization and that of its members. I focus on ALIPAC for several reasons. First, it was the largest of the three forums. Secondly, the headquarters of ALIPAC are in the same city where I attended graduate school, so I was able to attend two ALIPAC sponsored events. While these events are not discussed here, they provide me with background information regarding the group (e.g., the vast majority of individuals at group events were white), lending validity to my conclusions. Finally, unlike the other two organizations with forums, ALIPAC's leader and public spokesperson, William Gheen, has appeared as an authority on immigration on major television networks, including CNN. Because of this, the ALIPAC forum may be likely to attract individuals nationally who are drawn to organizations that appear less radical. Since this chapter focuses on the emotional framing of the organization and online forum, I find it more interesting to examine the accounts and interactions of individuals who may have a greater stake in appearing to themselves and others to be good, average, non-racist citizens. Further, the feelings and beliefs of ALIPAC participants may be more reflective of average anti-immigrant sentiment as opposed to those who are more radical.

The relationship between emotions and framing remains understudied. While Adams and Rosigno (2005) study social movement framing via the web, their analysis focuses largely on definitions, symbols, and mission statements. My analysis shows how ALIPAC creates a website that evokes emotions. Further, the online forum is a place where emotions are labeled, and are encouraged or discouraged. I argue that ALIPAC reinforces emotional reactions that draw from and support the organization's framing of immigrant threat.

Emotions in Framing

In the introduction to a series of essays on emotions and social movements, Goodwin, Goodwin et al. (2001) argue that theory within the field is plagued by dichotomies that led to the oversimplification of emotions into irrational or rational. Until the 1970s, scholars treated social movement members as irrationally moved by panic, crazes, or uncontrollable psychological urges. Scholars sympathetic to the movements they studied, attempted to address these shortcomings by treating social movements as part of the normative culture. The switch was made from studying ‘why’ actors protest to ‘how’ protests came to be and what factors lead to success (Goodwin et al. 2001). This approach, resource mobilization, ignores the content of the social movement and concentrates on factors such as the number of movement members, economic resources, and the organization’s member hierarchy. Scholars of this paradigm “treated rational protestors as devoid of emotions” (Goodwin et al. 2001: 5).

Benford and Snow move from the largely structural paradigm of resource mobilization and bring a symbolic interactionist approach to social movement theory. Drawing from Goffman’s work on frames, this approach focuses on how social movement actors create and share meanings regarding social issues (see Benford and Snow (2000) for a review). Social movement framing scholars argue that movement organizations and members pull from the surrounding culture to interpret or make sense of social issues and to develop a course of action. People join social movements when the frame “resonates” with them. However, this approach leaves the emotional aspect of these concepts underdeveloped (for critiques see Goodwin et al. 2001; Jasper 1998; Schrock et al. 2004; Wolkomir 2001).

For example, Schrock et al. (2004) argue that framing treats frame alignment or resonance as a purely cognitive process.

Arlie Hochschild (1979) suggests that there are “feeling rules,” or definitions for how someone should feel in different situations. People engage in emotion management strategies, where they either express or suppress emotions based on feeling rules and the desired emotional response in others. Social movement members also engage in emotion management strategies (Taylor and Rupp 2002). Emotions are part of the cultural toolkit (Swidler’s 1986) that social movement leaders and members pull from to interpret and to make claims regarding social phenomenon. In a review of the literature, Polletta and Jasper (2001: 299) argue that while a great deal of research has begun to theorize about collective identities in social movements, “we know little about the emotions that accompany and shape collective identity.” Recent scholarship demonstrates that emotions are important for drawing members into social movements (Gould 2001; Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Klandermans et al. 2008), for sustaining membership (Klatch 2004; Reger 2004) and for mobilizing members (Hercus 1998; Taylor and Rupp 2002).

The remainder of this chapter unfolds in the following order. First, I examine how the emotional framing of the main webpage of the organization differs from that of the online discussion forums. Then, I turn to the role of emotional framing for creating in-groups and out-groups. Of particular importance for this type of emotion framing are forum contributors who are labeled as outsiders, and legal immigrants who serve as tokens in accounts that forum members give to justify anger about illegal immigrants. Finally, I show how forum

members engage in emotion management strategies through personal accounts and stigma management strategies, where they attempt to deflect a racist stigma.

Organizational Dramaturgy

Social movement organizations present different organizational frames depending on whether or not they are engaging in a front or backstage performance. For example, Kubal (1998) shows how the front stage frame of an anti-toxic social movement was constructed to blame technology in an attempt to resonate with commonly held cultural beliefs. However, backstage presentations among group members rely on radical frames that blame crooked politicians and Satan worshippers (Kubal 1998).

The distinction between front and backstage is less clear for websites and online forums. Anyone who has access to the internet can view both the main website and online forums of ALIPAC. In this sense, they both represent public space. At the same time, the discussion forum differs from the main website in two important ways that have consequences for the type of emotions expressed. First, the main website contains official statements by ALIPAC as an organization. A notice on the forum page states that postings on the group's forum section are "NOT organizational statements." Since the main website represents organizational statements, one can assume that these are official statements that can be attributed to known group leaders. However, in the forum section, members choose aliases (screen names) that allow them to remain anonymous. Thus, unlike public spaces where one's identity is attached to the words spoken, the statements posted by forum members cannot be traced back to an individual person unless that person decides to disclose

his or her identity. In this sense, the anonymous nature of the forum lends some level of privacy to a public performance. This is the second way in which that the websites and forums differ.

One key factor that determines a social movement's mobilization potential or resonance with potential constituents is what Snow and Benford (1988:208) call "empirical credibility." Empirical credibility refers to how well the organizational members back up their claims with information that is perceived to be true. Snow and Benford (1988:208) write, "Is the framing testable? Can it be subjected to verification? Are there events or occurrences that can be pointed to as evidence substantiating the diagnostic, prognostic, or motivational claims of the movement?" One way that ALIPAC constructs empirical credibility is by supporting its claims regarding the ills of illegal immigration through posting news articles. Newspapers represent legitimate mainstream and outside sources that provide information that supports the organization's arguments. The newspaper postings are frequently updated on the website, suggesting that the organization's claims are frequently supported.

News articles report illegal immigrants driving while impaired, committing gang-related crimes, and going to college on taxpayers' funds. This presentation of information through newspaper articles suggests not only empirical credibility, but also a type of emotional presentation. The website creators only post negative articles, suggesting a moral or emotional stance. However, people have traditionally dichotomized facts and rationality from emotions and irrationality. By utilizing newspapers, the website gives the impression that the information provided is objective. This is consistent with research on actors in other

social movements. For example, Groves (2001) shows how members of an animal rights movement purposely attempt to disassociate themselves from “emotional” activists who simply love dogs and act irrationally. They argue that the way to convince others is through science and facts. Thus, in the case of ALIPAC, the lack of emotional expression on the main website is consistent with what we would expect from an organization that is attempting to appear legitimate through a reliance on rationality, logic, and facts.

The public sphere, traditionally linked with masculinity and paid labor, is a space where certain types of emotional expressions are not normative. Emotional displays are perceived to be expressive rather than instrumental activities. People are taught that emotions belong in the private sphere, since they are associated with women and the home. ALIPAC’s main website follows these culturally prescribed rules for where emotions belong in order to construct a legitimate front and support the credibility of their social movement frame. While the website contains information intended to evoke emotions and clues to what the emotions of the creator are, this is masked by a guise of rationality.

The creators of the main website choose which articles to post. They post only those articles that fit within the anti-illegal immigrant social movement frame. The creator of the ALIPAC website makes claims connecting illegal immigrants with crimes, usually perceived by the public to be reprehensible, such as sex crimes, child molestation, and gang violence. For example, one news posting regarding the arrest of illegal immigrant sex offenders claims that, “All of those arrested were on probation in New York City for prior felony or misdemeanor convictions for sex crimes including rape, sexual abuse, sexual misconduct, endangering the welfare of a child, sodomy and promoting prostitution. The youngest victim

was a six-year-old girl and one of the victims was a 15-year-old boy.” This statement connects illegal immigrants with highly stigmatized behavior such as child molestation and same-sex rape. This news story can be assumed to at least evoke disapproval, if not shock and disgust in the majority of its readers.

One way that social movements attract members who would otherwise be disinterested in the movement is through “moral shock” framing strategies (Jasper and Poulsen 1995). Jasper and Poulsen (1995:497) define a “moral shock” as “when an event or situation raises such a sense of outrage in people that they become inclined toward political action, even in the absence of a network of contacts.” For example, in their study of animal rights protestors, moral shocks were provoked through pictures of animal cruelty (Jasper and Poulsen 1995). The anti-illegal immigrant representations on the main web page evokes specific types of emotions that allow viewers to believe they are involved in the political process and engaged in the construction of moral definitions, when in fact their political involvement is a symbolic action (Edelmann 1964).

The main website provides an organizational dramaturgical front that simultaneously presents information in a way intended to suggest empirical credibility through rationality, while at the same time giving an emotional presentation. Cohn (1987) shows how defense intellectuals use technical language and acronyms to portray themselves as scientific and rational when arguing the need to build the United State’s nuclear arsenal as a defensive strategy. The concept of world peace is not in the discourse of defense intellectuals, who dismiss those who discuss it and fail to use the language of defense intellectuals as uniformed hippies. While defense intellectuals often used phallic analogies when discussing nuclear

weaponry, their reliance on science provided a way to both legitimate themselves as rational and discuss death in abstract terms that makes death and suffering invisible.

For ALIPAC, the reliance on newspapers gives the illusion that the website creator is unbiased and relies on facts. However, the creator of the ALIPAC website provides negative and shocking representations of immigrants. The lack of positive representations of immigrants and the organizational message about ending illegal immigration allows the reader to assume that their shock or anger is congruent with the organization. The home page of the organization lists an abridged version of its mission stating, “Americans for Legal Immigration PAC ALIPAC has formed to address the disparity between the public's desire for more control of illegal immigration and the actions of lawmakers.” If viewers of the page feel shock or anger related to criminality and illegal immigration news stories, these emotions fit with the organization’s message and potentially result in membership and mobilization. As part of the emotional frame, the ALIPAC website provides information that evokes emotions, but also tells website visitors to whom they should direct those emotions and what should be done about them.

Forum members also use newspaper stories to prompt angry discussions about illegal immigration. In this sense, the backstage online forum allows them to promote their symbolic political actions through conversations about media presentations of illegal immigration. The backstage forum members also post newspaper articles that are not anti-illegal immigrants and respond to them with anger, shock, and indignation. For example, one newspaper article posted by Bren4824 discusses a boy who was suspended from school for committing a “hate crime,” calling a Latino boy “brown.” Examples of responses include

working4change's, which states "unbelievable .. the charge of a hate crime at nine years old??? What a world." This statement was followed by an emoticon to symbolize anger with red eyes and a scowl. Similarly, joazinha responded, "The REAL truth, anti-WHITE racism is JUST as IMMORAL and WRONG as anti-NON-white racism. It is just SICKENING to hear racism against non-whites described as a hate crime when racism against whites is NOT similarly denounced." Similarly, tinybobidaho responded to an article on illegal immigrants who drive drunk and are responsible for car accidents resulting in deaths by stating, "This President will never get it," followed by the same angry emoticon used by working4change. Notice that the use of all capital letters, along with emoticons, symbolize emotional responses. Emotional expressions are more explicit in the backstage forum than on the front stage web site, where rational discourse dominates.

The use of and response to news articles in the online forum suggests that news stories about immigration evoke emotions including anger and feeling "sickened." In the backstage forum, they reinforce the idea that these responses are natural and appropriate. The tactic of the main website to evoke a "moral shock" is consistent with - and appears to resonate with - the feelings expressed by members in the online forum. In the next section, I examine how forum members construct solidarity and group belonging through their use of screen names, which also evoke emotional meaning.

Creating a Group

Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford (1986) argue that frame alignment, or "the conjunction of individual and [social movement organization] interpretive frameworks," is a

necessary process for movement participation. In order for individuals to desire involvement, they must perceive their beliefs and interpretations of a situation to match that of an organization. Inherent in this process is the reward of having one's beliefs and values validated. Jaggar (1989) argues that when one's emotions do not match societal expectations for how someone should feel, the individual has outlaw emotions. Emotions are perceived to be natural and innate, as opposed to learned or policed. However, feeling rules define how someone should feel, how they should show how they feel, and how long they should feel that way (Hochschild 1979). Since emotions are culturally prescribed but are perceived to be natural, disagreement with mainstream definitions of how to feel can be emotionally taxing and alienating. Individuals with "outlaw" emotions may self-define or be defined by others as innately flawed. Social movements can then serve as a space for these individuals to feel at ease about their definitions and emotional reactions. For example, Reger (2004) shows how feminists at a NOW convention saw group meetings as an emotionally safe space where they could be with others like themselves and have their feelings validated, in comparison to their typical day-to-day interactions where feminist ideals are devalued.

The backstage online forum serves as a supportive space for individuals who perceive themselves to have outlaw beliefs and emotions regarding illegal immigration. Individuals create group boundaries and collective identities in order to construct safe spaces. This involves the coordination of individual presentations of self to construct a group identity. Schwalbe and Mason-Schrock (1996:115) define identity work as "anything people do, individually or collectively, to give meaning to themselves or others. Identity work is thus largely a matter of signifying, labeling, and defining." Identities are constructed through

social interaction, and others determine whether or not a person's identity performance is convincing.

One way ALIPAC forum members signify their identity and belonging in the group is through their screen name (or alias). Unlike most of the names people go by, a screen name is not given to someone by someone else. Since we often see names as core representations of the self, the ability to pick one's own is a unique opportunity to signify one's identity to others. Faced with this opportunity, some of the posters choose names that clearly align with the larger frame of the organization. For example, to show that they believe they are part of a group protecting the rights of citizens and the sovereignty of the nation, individuals choose names such as "Americanpatriot" and "Patrioticpatti." More specifically, 20 out of 279 screen names (7%) contain the words America, American, US, Patriot, citizen or make their U.S.-born status known. Twenty-seven out of 279 (10 %) reference a more specific location, with Texas (8 user names) and California (6) being the most common. These states have high populations and share a border with Mexico. Other members (8 out of 279, 3%) have patriotic names that refer to historical people or events such as "BearFlagRepublic," "Patrickhenryjr," and "BetsyRoss." Others have names that connect illegal immigration with war rhetoric (11 out of 279; 4%), such as "bordersoldier" and "AirborneSapper."

In traditional social movement rallies, protest leaders can engage those present in activities and rituals meant to evoke emotions and group belonging. For example, Mayo (1990) uses the Nazi political rally as an example. He argues that the Nazi political rallies were staged with music, flags, and other symbols to instill a feeling of awe or a "mystical sense of greatness" towards the Third Reich. Further, "with appropriate stimulation from

selected charismatic actors, the crowd becomes an action-oriented mass rather than a listening body comprised of autonomous individuals” (Mayo 1990:357). However, the forum members are not physically in a single location and cannot engage in audience activities in the same way. They are in a virtual space, where they choose names and visuals that orchestrate a group dynamic. They are no longer individuals at keyboards. They are at the computer as active participants of a social movement group. It is as if their name and virtual presentation replaces the group T-shirts or waving of flags that could be used in a physical space. However, in this instance, it is not just a prop on the body or held by the body; the name and visual become the core representation, or virtual body, of the individual.

Good and Bad Emotions

One thread in my sample from the ALIPAC forum served the express purpose of welcoming new forum members and encouraging them to contact politicians to urge them to end illegal immigration. This is only one out of 200 of the analyzed threads,² but it is one of the longest (191 posts vs. the average 10 posts per thread) and spans one of the longest time frames (September 17, 2007-December 15, 2007 when my sample was taken). The significance of the thread is shown not only in the number of posts and duration, but also in the number of members that posted “BTT.” In forums, BTT means, “bump to the top,” and this was used 17 times on this thread. Since new threads are always listed at the top of the thread lists, old threads move towards the back. BTT is used as a signifier that the thread, though older, is important and should be bumped to the top of the list of threads. By posting BTT, a member creates activity on the thread that results in it moving back to the top of the

thread list. Including this thread, only five of the 200 analyzed threads were coded as containing BTT. Of the other four threads, BTT was used more than once in only one of the threads. In other words, this is rarely employed by ALIPAC forum members, and therefore, they see welcoming new forum members as extremely important. By bumping to the top of the forum, posters to this thread show that they want other members to read and submit additional posts to this thread.

The welcoming thread is listed under the title “To all Observers of “ALIPAC” we “WELCOME YOU,” and it begins with the member SOSADFORUS posting the following:

“Dear Friends, Getting personally involved is so important by everyone, I know we have alot of people who just read the threads and are afraid to sign up and join in. Posting is so important as we learn alot from people of all walks of life, and from all over the United States, your experience's and changes in your own home towns helps us realize we are not alone in this, ours is not the only town with crime, corruption and mass culture and population changes. Please if you are just reading to educate yourself and keeping up with what is happening in our country on many subjects, thats great, your welcome to do that, but if you have time to get involved and add to this forum and our power as **"we the people of the United States"** we **need** you to get involved. If you are afraid to make calls, then send e-mails or faxes which you can do for free through Numbers USA if you don't have access to a fax machine, Calls are important but all of it matters, just as your input is so important and why we need **YOU** posting your opinion here on this forum. I promise you will feel very good about yourself when you join in the fight, and we welcome all people who are concerned for their country, If you are "racist" this is not the forum for you but if you are a "Protectionist" and your concern is protecting our great nation, one of what use to be a Nation of Law and Order and is quickly turning into chaos and anarchy, Please get involved and encourage others to do the same. **"BE A PROTECTIONIST AND JOIN IN BECAUSE YOU ARE A PATRIOT AND YOU LOVE YOUR COUNTRY!!!"** "Remember all of us at ALIPAC **"WELCOME"** you, your input and help!!" From A PROUD member of ALIPAC 😊 _____ AUT*AGERE*AUT*MORI (EITHER ACTION OR DEATH)”

This opening posting is exemplary of how emotions are expressed in the forum. On the surface, it illustrates the importance of welcoming new members. However, it also has

important implications for how people are assumed to feel before joining the group and how they should feel after joining. In the first portion of the posting, SOSADFORUS (so sad for us) couples the feelings of fear with isolation. He or she claims to know that people who are not active forum participants or ALIPAC members “are afraid to sign up and join in” and “afraid to make calls.” However, posting is “important” so that group members realize they “are not alone in this.” In this sense, SOSADFORUS is stating that those who are not involved are afraid and alone.

Looking at the second part of the quote, SOSADFORUS then makes claims about how individuals should feel after they join. SOSADFORUS states, “I promise you will feel very good about yourself when you join the fight.” This statement as well as the remaining quote also suggests what feeling “good” means. Here, SOSADFORUS connects patriotism, pride, and power. Specifically, SOSADFORUS states that he or she is “A PROUD” [emphasis is theirs] member, suggesting that pride is one emotion members may have. This claim of pride is directly below a statement urging individuals to be a “protectionist” because they are “Patriot[s]” who love their country. In addition, while SOSADFORUS claims that simply posting to the forum is important, joining the forum is also described as part of a “fight.” About half way through the quote SOSADFORUS also states, “. . .if you have time to get involved and add to this forum and our power . . .” In this sense, SOSADFORUS links joining the forum and/or involvement in anti-immigrant activities with feelings of pride and power.

Other forum members echo and support what SOSADFORUS states by responding “Great post SOSAD,” “SoSad said it perfectly” and “Well said, SOSAD.” Even ALIPAC’s

president, William Gheen, responds to the thread stating, “Thank you Sosad! Yes, welcome visitors. Jump on in, the water is fine!” In Gheen’s response, he echoes the theme that individuals should not be afraid to act. The statement conjures images of a child or person at the edge of a pool who is afraid to enter the water. However, Gheen assures them that the “water is fine!” This suggests that the imagined individual should overcome their fear and act.

The negative feelings that SOSADFORUS and Gheen suggests that non-members have are associated with powerlessness. SOSADFORUS suggests that becoming a social movement member is a way to overcome negative emotions. Anti-immigrant social movement activities are associated with regaining power and pride. Taken a step further, SOSADFORUS and Gheen are presenting participation in the organization as a way to leave a feminine state and become masculine. Power is associated with maleness and is a key component of performing masculinity (Connell 1987; Messner 1992). What constitutes ideal masculinity is constantly challenged and renegotiated (Connell 1987; Christensen and Ferree 2009) and varies between subcultures (Wilkins 2009), races and classes (Connell 1987). Despite variations, emotions associated with power, such as anger and pride, continue to be perceived as natural male emotions and are in opposition to what is feminine, such as feeling weak, sad and afraid. The website and forum members reinforce and use emotions that fit within their particular construction of masculinity, one marked by patriotism. Symbolic presentations and the meanings attached to being patriotic in the United States are associated with male normativity (Puri 2001).

According to a self-administered ALIPAC online poll of its supporters, 52% of the 1,368 individuals who participated were female and 81.4% of 1,873 participants were white. This is not a scientific study and the results should be interpreted cautiously. However, these demographics are consistent with my observations at two ALIPAC sponsored events. If we assume the survey results mirror the actual gender make-up of the online forums, a nearly fifty/fifty male to female split between ALIPAC members does not challenge male normativity. ALIPAC's "president and spokesman" William Gheen is a white male.

Women in the online forum also reinforce emotions such as anger, and do not threaten the masculine performance of the group as a whole. Many women and girls devalue femininity and align themselves with men and support male dominance to gain power (Pascoe 2007; Risman and Seale 2009). Just as women in largely male places of employment often "act like men" in order to gain power within an organization structured by patriarchy (Padavic and Reskin 2002), women in the ALIPAC forum reinforce the idea that masculine-defined traits and behaviors are better than those that are defined as feminine.

Both the main website and the online forums reinforce masculine emotions. On the main website, the organization relies on a guise of rationality associated with masculinity, while simultaneously giving a performance of anger and disgust through the presentation of very specific types of news articles. The organization also presents itself as a vehicle to overcome or challenge illegal immigration. It presents itself as a way to create action and change, which is also associated with power. However, it is in the backstage of the online forum that the emotions are explicitly stated and reinforced. Here, the guise of rationality is not necessary to the presentations. The ills caused by illegal immigrants are assumed to be

largely agreed upon. Explicitly naming and fostering some emotions and not others becomes a way to encourage participation and to continue to motivate those already involved in the organization.

Trolls and Othering

According to Durkheim (1933), when someone commits a deviant act that goes against the moral collective, it provides an opportunity for other community members to build solidarity through shared rituals and conversations affirming the negative values of the act and individual who committed it. In this sense, deviant individuals serve the purpose of reaffirming the correctness of the group and its solidarity (Durkheim 1933). Just as anti-immigrant forum members reinforce individual and group identity by including some individuals, group membership is defined in opposition to those who should be excluded. The good feelings reaped from constructing an identity as part of an anti-illegal immigrant organization are jeopardized if oppositional identities are accepted and rewarded in a similar manner. When individuals post ideas about immigration and policy that forum members disagree with, ALIPAC members come together to dismiss the ideas and ostracize the individual who stated them.

The easiest individuals to label as forum outsiders are those who claim to be illegal immigrants or strong supporters of illegal immigrants. These individuals are constructed within the forum as the group's enemies. Two threads out of my sample of 200 (1% of threads) contained individuals who matched this description. These individuals self-identified as illegal immigrants and openly disagreed with forum members regarding

immigration policies. Both of these forum participants were immediately labeled as trolls. The term troll is an internet term for individuals who write inflammatory comments in order to anger and/or distract forum members from normal routines or activities. On top of clearly being treated and labeled as outsiders, ALIPAC forum members also perceive trolls to be members of opposing social movement groups. The following interaction comes from one of the two threads containing participants labeled as trolls.

Retro wrote, “kids are born on this soil and that makes them citizens, whether you like it or not.” To this statement, EX_OC responded, “Well, retro, that's the point: WE DON'T LIKE IT. That's why we are trying to change it [emphasis is speaker's].” Both retro and EX_OC verbalize that they belong to different groups. Retro writes, previously in the thread Retro made it explicit that you refers to “you alipacers,” which indicates that Retro is not a part of the group he is addressing. In response, EX_OC does not state that ‘I’ disagree with the law, EX_OC says “WE.” He or she takes the liberty to speak for the group, and even emphasizes that this is a group claim through the use of all capital letters. Other members then thank him/her for speaking for the group, which reinforces the solidarity and collective identity constructed by those in the forum by granting individuals the ability to mark others as outsiders.

GREGAGREATAMERICAN then goes on to write,

“We also know you are a Dreamie and have come to ALIPAC (or...what is it you call us? Asslickpackers, Alicrap, Alif*ckers, etc -- hohum, ask me if I care) to debate us. Frankly, since you have been better behaved than those other trolls you've sent us, the mods have allowed you to stay. So if you stay civil and don't name-call, you can stay as long as you can stand us. Or should that be "as long as WE can stand you"? I would suggest that you enroll in some Logics classes though. Being a Dreamie, I know you love to go to school. Keep in mind, we are all older than you are, and

experience has made us very wise. So try to elevate your intelligence and logic, or you will just bore us to tears. Thanks for playing!”

The “otherness” of retro is also made clear in the postscript “Open Border’s Lobby.” Retro claims that this affiliation was not something that he or she chose, but must have been assigned by the forum moderator or web administrator. It clearly symbolizes his status as an outsider whose beliefs do not hold weight and thus, do not challenge the collective identity or safe space of the online forum. On the contrary, it allows individuals to voice beliefs that they know the majority of other forum members will agree with. Their morals will be reinforced by creating outsiders and ridiculing their beliefs and intelligence. In this way, the individual shows that they are both morally and intellectually superior.

Notice that GREGAGREATAMERICAN labels retro a Dreamie. This is a reference to the failed Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act (DREAM Act), proposed by Senator Richard Durbin on October 18, 2007. The DREAM act would have provided a route to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who could prove that they were in the United States for five years or more, came to the United States before age 16, and obtained a higher education degree. The word dream has been used in multiple famous speeches to conjure support. For example, Martin Luther King Jr.’s *I Have a Dream* speech is hailed as a key moment in civil rights history. However, GREGAGREATAMERICAN alters the connotation by calling retro a “Dreamie.” Instead of suggesting a grand and moral plan for the future, this term suggests that retro is a daydreamer who has lost touch with reality.

In comparison to Dreamies, GREGAGREATAMERICAN claims that forum participants are wise from experience. Most simply, GREGAGREATAMERICAN is stating that forum participants are smarter than retro, and is, thus, engaging in an “othering” activity whereby the immigrant restrictionist group is constructed as morally superior to illegal immigrants seeking citizenship through education. However, the quote also privileges wisdom that comes with age over formal education. This dismissal of formal education may also indicate a disdain for upper-middle class liberals. GREGAGREATAMERICAN asserts that his (and also his forum co-members) experience is more valid than education. Higher education in the U.S. is, at least in the public mind, associated with liberal ideology. Republicans launched an attack on higher education during the 1980s that continues today. Publications and speeches associated advanced education with multiculturalism, feminism and Marxism, which they claimed were un-American and threatened the moral fiber of the nation (Messner-Davidow 1993). While people in the United States continue to view education as a path for mobility, higher education continues to be associated with liberal elites. Here GREGAGREATAMERICAN is “othering” both retro and liberal elites, in so much as they are associated with formal education.

Sennett and Cobb (1972) show how blue-collar workers continued to view education as a way to gain upward mobility. However, even men who encouraged their children to succeed through education and worked with people with higher degrees continued to view educated individuals with suspicion. The men internalized a feeling of self-doubt and unworthiness as people, even while simultaneously devaluing the type of work elites do. As one man suggested, pushing papers does not produce a tangible product. Even with upward

mobility, the men continued to feel what Sennett and Cobb call the “hidden injuries of class.” In this sense, immigrant restrictionists such as GREGAGREATAMERICAN may engage in oppressive othering of illegal immigrants, because they are attempting to neutralize the negative feelings associated with their own marginalization.

GREGAGREATAMERICAN suggests that some other organization or group that is assumed to call ALIPAC bad names has sent retro. GREGAGREATAMERICAN backed up by another forum participant named Sam-I-Am. Sam-I-am reinforces the belief that retro is part of an “other.” Sam-I-Am writes, “Proves my point of you guys not caring about the laws you don't like.” In this statement, Sam-I-Am suggests that retro is part of a “you guys” category, which is evaluated negatively. The “you guys” category consists of people who ignore laws when they disagree with them. LegalUSCitizen reinforces this categorization, stating, “Why does "fair treatment" mean that people who are in our country ILLEGALLY are telling the legal citizens of the U.S. how our country will be run and making demands?!!” Again, retro is being categorized as part of an illegal group that is negatively evaluated and is also in opposition to “legal citizens” which the group self-identifies as its allies/members.

This illustrates the process of othering as fundamental in the reproduction of inequality (Schwalbe et al. 2000). Group members make claims about who they are as individuals and as a collective by creating an inferior illegal immigrant group. The ALIPAC forum members construct their in-group in relation to illegal immigrants. Participants in the forum ridicule and label “trolls” ignorant in order to preserve the group’s claims of superiority. Forum members attribute the perceived negative attributes of illegal immigrants to trolls. However, participants also make claims about themselves. Recall that

GREGAGREATAMERICAN didn't just call retro unintelligent, he wrote, "So try to elevate your intelligence and logic, or you will just bore us to tears." This implies that not only are illegal immigrants unintelligent, but forum members are of superior intellect. In fact, they are so intelligent that engaging in an argument with an illegal immigrant is boring. Thus, GREGAGREATAMERICAN was not just calling retro dumb and himself smart, he was also applying smart to everyone else in the forum posting anti-illegal immigrant sentiments. Forum participants label pro-immigrant participants as outsiders not only to preserve their group, but to elevate their group status. In the next section I examine how forum members welcome legal immigrants into the group.

The Race Card

Going back to the earlier thread, we know that SOSADFORUS argues that protectionists, patriots, and those who love their country are welcome, but "racists" are not welcome. Table 2 provides the frequencies for the number of threads and forum posts that explicitly state that they are not racist and/or that someone else is racist. Overall, 35 threads and 103 posts make one of the racism claims.

Table 2. Number of ALIPAC Threads* and Postings that Discuss Racism

	Not Racist	Someone Else is Racist	Not Racist & Someone else is Racist	Racism total
Threads	25	26	16	35
Individual Posts	67	60	12	103

* Sample of threads collected December 15 and December 16, 2007

Being racist threatens both the legitimacy of the group and of individuals. This is a particularly problematic identity dilemma since group members reinforce racist ideology, some more explicitly than others. For example, an explicitly racist statement was posted in response to a Chicano forum. EX_OC writes, “They resort to that because (a)their level of sanity is limited and (b) the macho rapist/tough guy image makes up for their pigmy stature and mental midget failure of Mexico to achieve what America has. 😊” In this statement, EX_OC is connecting the physical makeup of Chicanos (pigmy stature) with mental abilities, “mental midget failure.” In response, No2illegals posts, “Wow...I couldn't have said it any better....Awesome!” and wilro writes, “It's amazing how childish the chicken forum-ooops, I mean chicano forum is. Only small minds like theirs can produce something so moronic.” While the statements above are clearly attaching negative attributes with genetic characteristics, less explicit statements that reinforce racist ideology include instances where posters conflate all Latino groups and apply negative attributes, such as criminality.

One way that the main website and the forum members respond to this dilemma is by claiming they are not racists because they welcome *legal* immigrants and people of all races and ethnicities. For example, the platform provided on the main website of ALIPAC illustrates the emphasis placed on legal status. It states, “ALIPAC supports those that legally immigrate, but we DO NOT support any amnesty, visa expansion, or "Guest Worker" program designed to reward illegal aliens or legalize their presence in the US.” The platform stresses that legal immigrants are welcome, but that the organization opposes illegal immigration and laws they perceive to be rewarding illegal immigrants. In the forum, stressing legality becomes immediately linked with accounts that neutralize racist stigmas.

For example, in a thread titled “Is Illegal Immigration about Racism,” Joazinha writes, “Jim Gilchrist, founder of the Minutemen Project, told me that illegal immigration is a LEGAL, NOT a RACIAL/ETHNIC issue because ANYONE can be an illegal!”

While sociologists largely agree that racial groups are socially constructed, many lay people perceive race to be solely biological. In its most simplistic and common conceptualization, race refers to physical features present at birth that no individual can change. However, legal citizenship status is seen as an achieved status, an identity that someone can acquire through social action. While the opportunity to obtain legal status in the United States is clearly restricted and difficult to achieve without enormous resources, the anti-immigrant movements use the notion of legality being an achieved status in their accounts of how they are not racist.

Legal immigrants on the forum serve a purpose similar to minority tokens in the workplace who symbolize racial equality while hiding the persistent and very real racial inequality in hiring and promotion. Legal immigrant tokens represent exemplars of how things should be done and proof that it can be done that way. There were two individuals who started conversations in the forum by announcing their status as legal immigrants. Below is an exchange between forum participants on the ALIPAC website and one of the two legal immigrants. The conversation begins with a new member claiming to be a legal immigrant, and then other members respond.

sbi – Do I have a place here? Been here **legally** for over 11 years, started green card process 6 years ago, **never** overstayed my visa. My name check (part of the green card process) is pending with the FBI for 5 - yes, five - years. I wish Washington (AKA McCain and Kennedy) would devote time to deal with this nonsense as much as they do to help those crimeallians.

PinestrawGuys - You most certainly DO, sbi, and WELCOME TO ALIPAC!!!! Jump right in and give 'em hell, you're the kind of immigrant we're fighting for. 😊

Cliffdid - Welcome sbi. People like you are one of the reasons I become so infuriated with people who break our laws and sneak in. I commend you for doing things the legal way. For any trolls reading this who have cut in line... I hope your ashamed of yourselves!

There are several important components to this exchange. By welcoming a legal immigrant, the forum members reinforce the message from the title of their organization Americans for Legal Immigration. Welcoming legal immigrants underscores ALIPAC's claim that they oppose only illegal immigrants. The warm welcome also supports their claim of not being racists.

Sbi notes the long hard process of getting legal status. He or she states a six year visa process and five year waiting period for the government to verify his or her name. Further, Sbi uses the language of ALIPAC when labeling undocumented immigrants, calling them "crimeallians". PinestrawGuys responds that sbi is "the kind of immigrant" that the group fights for. This reinforces the difference between immigrants who go through legal channels and those who do not, and it reinforces the connection between undocumented immigrants and criminality. It also describes ALIPAC members as moral champions of legal immigrants. In addition, Cliffdid suggests that illegal immigrants have "cut in line" and are not only illegal but contributing to a much harder and longer process for immigrants who attempt to gain citizenship status through acceptable legal channels. The immigrant is engaging in defensive othering (Schwalbe et al. 2000). Sbi argues that he or she is different from other immigrants by relying on legal status. He or she uses terminology consistent with

ALIPAC to claim moral superiority over other immigrants. Thus, Sbi is claiming to be more like ALIPAC members than illegal immigrants. Forum members accept this claim.

The separation of immigrants based on the achieved status of legal and illegal is also bolstered by a conceptualization of who is deserving and who is not deserving. Calavita (1996) argues that the recent focus of anti-immigrant sentiment on immigrants' use of social welfare resources derives from a "balanced-budget conservatism" propelled by deindustrialization and economic decline. Fear and anger about economic uncertainty lead individuals to resent taxes and treat the most recent immigrants as scapegoats. The implication is that if there were fewer immigrants, there would be enough resources available for U.S. citizens.

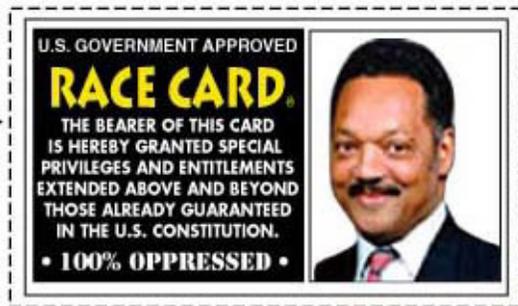
The resulting dichotomy of deserving and not deserving is evident in other contemporary social movements; for example, the countermovement of the Christian Right. Conservative activists express similar disdain for people they feel "take advantage of the system" and "are trying to get something for nothing, who don't know the value of discipline and hard work" (Stein 2001;125). However, both the Christian Right and ALIPAC are drawing from long-standing and deeply-rooted beliefs about the poor that are evident in the history and structure of the United States. For example, creating a dichotomy of deserving and undeserving has been used to justify welfare policies enacted by the state. However, racist ideology often informs who is perceived as deserving and who is not. For example, policy makers argued that the Welfare Reform Act of 1996 was a "colorblind" policy, but analysis of the congressional hearings showed that policy makers drew from racist stereotypes of Black women as welfare queens (Hancock 2003).

When forum participants label some immigrants as non-deserving, the participants legitimate the anger they feel towards illegal immigrants. No2Illegals also claims to be a legal citizen who came to the United States at age 12. No2Illegals writes, “I am really angry at how the immigration laws cater to the illegals. . . If you come here to make a better life, then live by the laws, speak English, and quit asking for a handout.” No2Illegals’ statement implies that illegal immigrants do not live by the law, do not assimilate, and are unwilling to work for a living. This statement reinforces a belief in the Protestant Work Ethic and American Dream Ideology. Under this ideology, hard work leads to upward mobility and the well-being of the nation (Weber 1930). However, illegal immigrants are portrayed as wanting a “handout.” Receiving resources without working for them threatens the ideology that only those who work hard should succeed. Having worked hard and followed the rules allows even those who have not gained wealth or status to feel good about themselves. They feel as if they have earned the resources that they have through honest means. This provides individuals with little class mobility a set of positive self-appraisals. It also results in perceptions that illegal immigrants do not want to work hard for resources. In this sense, the token also operates to reinforce anger as an appropriate response to illegal immigration. If forum members have not gained class mobility, allowing immigrants whom they perceive to be unwilling to work or to follow the rules to gain privileges likely seems unfair. Similarly, forum members who have gained class mobility may feel that it is unfair for illegal immigrants who have not worked as hard as they to gain class mobility. Thus, relying on an ideology of individualism and meritocracy legitimates their claims that they deserve and should maintain the privileges that they have.

Forum members claim that illegal immigrants and their supporters falsely charge that immigrants are victims of racism. For example, GDP writes, “Too many minorities (esp. Mexicans) have used the race card accusation of racism and have run with it. . . They in effect are trying to make you feel guilty ah-praying on white guilt to manipulate you to get their way.” Similarly, fedupDeb writes, “It would also be appreciated if illegal aliens would cease using the race card, and comparing their status in this country with the plight of blacks during slavery or the Civil Rights Movement. It is a tremendous affront to the black community.” While fedupDeb suggests that immigrants who claim that they are discriminated against because of their race are simply pulling the “race card,” she goes on to claim this is an affront to Blacks. This claim serves to signify that she not a racist, because she is sympathetic to the plight of a different racial minority group, Blacks.

While fedupDeb suggests that drawing a parallel between immigrants and the Civil Rights Movement is unfair to Black people, she later suggests that Black people are also manipulative and “cry” racism when there is none. In an entirely different thread, a participant posted a picture of a ‘Race Card’ with an image of Reverend Jesse Jackson on the front (see Image 1). The ‘Race Card’ states “U.S. Government Approved Race Card. The Bearer of this card is hereby granted special privileges above and beyond those already guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution. 100% Oppressed.” To the race card, fedupDeb’s only response is, “well, if it isn’t Jesse “Photo-Op” Jackson.” It is thus unclear why fedupDeb would feel that immigrants who ‘cry racism’ are insulting Black people, when she simultaneously believes that Black people also pretend to be the victims of racism to gain special privileges.

Image 1: Race Card



There were six separate instances where individuals used the term “race card” in the ALIPAC internet forum. The ‘Race Card’ implies that marginalized groups are responsible for their own marginalization. In common discourse, someone is said to use a ‘race card’ when they claim that they were treated unfairly due to race. The person using this discourse suggests that the individual was not treated unfairly and is only claiming racism to gain some sort of privilege or advantage over whites. In the context of ALIPAC’s forum, forum participants argue that racial minorities who try to cheat the system or use the “race card” make it more difficult for other immigrants to obtain citizenship. This argument suggests that the marginalization of illegal immigrants has nothing to do with those in power (the white, upper class, male majority that runs the legal system) making it difficult for immigrants to gain legal status; it is illegal immigrants who cut in line or cheat the system who cause problems for other legal immigrants. In this way, forum members use a discourse that denies the existence of racism and institutionalized discrimination.

Tokens are perceived to be aberrations or exceptions within the larger immigrant category. They are not like other immigrants. They are legal immigrants. This reinforces the positive virtual identity of the forum participants through the process of implicit othering. ALIPAC forum members, along with legal immigrants, represent a group that sees itself as legally and morally superior to illegal immigrants who cheat the system and rely on fake claims of racial discrimination. In the next section, I examine the accounts forum participants give when they perceive their moral superiority to be challenged by claims that they are racist.

Vocabularies of Motive, Narratives and Stigma Management: Being Called Racist

C. Wright Mills (1940) conceptualizes vocabularies of motive as part of a social phenomenon whereby explanations for behaviors are constructed and reconstructed based on the audience and the individual's reinterpretation of her own motives. The accounts are thus not innate or based on internal drives, but part of an interpretive process. People put labels on one another's motives and talk about them, making vocabularies of motive an interactional process. Lowe (2002) argues that vocabularies of motive are crucial to connecting the moral claims of social movement groups with the larger social structure in which they are constructed. Moral vocabularies are part of one's cultural toolkit (Swidler 1986), as social movement members draw from different definitions regarding morality while ignoring others (Lowe 2002). The level of conscious decision making regarding the construction of a moral self is indeterminate. However, moral entrepreneurs typically believe in their moral crusades (Becker 1963). Even convicted rapists construct accounts which

draw from widely held patriarchal gender beliefs to explain and neutralize their acts, going as far to construct a narrative that redefines their actions as something other than rape (Scully and Marrola 1984). Sharing narratives within a social movement organization builds solidarity and helps align individuals with the social movement frame (Martin 2002).

Within the ALIPAC forum, members construct accounts that neutralize claims that they are racist. To do this, members first make claims that they have personally been called racist or the group as a whole has, next they provide an account of how they felt, and then they offer reasons why they should contest the shame and how they should go about it. Responses to being called racist include anger, guilt, and shame. In one telling example, ArticleIV writes, “The race argument is so weak, but at the same time it is a spear into your being. It works. We curl up into the fetal position. . . .” Here, ArticleIV puts a label on his or her feelings through the use of a metaphor. The reader is left to interpret for herself the emotions alluded to by a “spear into your being.” This metaphor is useful in that the imprecise nature of the metaphor can conjure multiple feelings, as opposed to limiting it to just anguish. The reader then goes on to visualize a person drawn into a fetal position, which could represent feelings of retreat, weaknesses, or fear. In this sense, the emotional response of ArticleIV does not challenge the moral definition from mainstream culture that racism is bad. This definition remains intact. It is only the application to anti-illegal immigrant members that is challenged

While guilt and fear are portrayed as understandable feelings, they are also portrayed as feelings that should be contested in order to maintain solidarity. Curling into a fetal position is not conducive to activism or social change. In his study of weight organizations,

Martin (2000) found that members of a pro-weight social movement organization engaged in shame contestation. Through injustice frames, group members redefine weight within the injustice frame. They define discrimination towards obese or other overweight individuals as morally unjust, and believe that shame should be contested in order to challenge mainstream ideas about weight. For example, the group ate in public to challenge beliefs that those who are overweight need to monitor what and how much they eat in public. Instead, members redefine food and eating as something that should bring joy as opposed to shame (Martin 2002). ALIPAC also works as a group to overcome emotions such as shame and fear.

Anger is portrayed as normative. However, unlike fear or guilt, anger is not a feeling that is usually contested. On the contrary, anger is encouraged. The feelings of anger or frustration are represented in the screen names that individuals chose. Some examples include Grandmasmad, MadInChicago, and pistov. In this sense, anger is viewed as normative and is encouraged as a feeling that can motivate individuals to maintain membership and engage in activism. Thus, anger is never met with criticism, as long as the individual can manage the anger well enough to be an effective social movement member. For example, at one point in the welcoming thread, fedupdeb writes, “Thanks for your encouraging words. I had to take a little break from calling because my blood is boiling. I’ll return to the phone in a minute.” Edelman (1964) suggests that people’s involvements in the political system are largely symbolic. While people may perceive that their votes and political actions are instrumental in making change, their actions are largely symbolic, allowing them to express outrage, frustration and anger.

One way that members contest or manage their negative feelings associated with being called racist, is to apply the label to their accusers. This strategy is similar to those expressed by women who deal with stigmas associated with having a socially transmitted disease (Nack 2000). Nack argues that women move through stages of hiding or covering the stigma, to eventually deflecting the stigma onto the men they believe gave them the disease to begin with. She calls this process “stigma transference.” It is a coping mechanism whereby all the anger and shame the woman feels is projected onto an ex-boyfriend. Similarly, the forum members attempt to deflect the stigma of being ‘racist’ off themselves and redirect it to others. Similar to the technique of neutralization, condemning the condemners, whereby those who break the law neutralize their breach by challenging the morality of those labeling them as deviant (Sykes and Matza 1975),the forum members claim that those who call them racist are indeed racist themselves. Recall that Table 1 shows that 60 forum postings claim that someone or some other group is racist and 12 posts where individuals said first that they are not racist and secondly that someone else is racist.

In some instances, concrete individuals who have applied a racist label to an immigrant restrictionist become the target for stigma transference. For example, ArticleIV writes, “My family outed me because they say I am racist when I responded to an email with things that I have seen . . . The sad part is I am the least racist person in my family. My parents are racist country club members and the person who outed me, my sister, only finds trivial relationships whereas my dearest friends come from diversified backgrounds.” ArticleIV contests the label “racist,” throwing it back at his parents and sister.

More commonly, there is no specific incident of an identified person calling specific forum members racist. For example, Oldglory writes, "Is illegal immigration about racism? YES! On the part of the illegals and their supporters!" Similarly, wilro writes, "*Who are the equivalent of the kkk? LaRaza, and the ACLU.*" Forum participants return the stigma of racism back to these groups even in the absence of a particular instance of being called racist. In this sense, forum members redirect the racist stigma to illegal immigrants and organizations they perceive to be pro-illegal immigrant. The logic they are using in claiming that these groups are racist seems to rely largely on the fact that the groups claim that white individuals are racist and that they advocate for the well-being of a particular racial or ethnic group.

Zeezil posted a blog by D.A. King, the leader of the *Dustin Inman Society* that was directed toward Janet Murguia of La Raza. This posting prompted the following responses about La Raza:

RealID- They know they don't have a "leg to stand on" and try to use the only card they have, racist. What a joke, you are the racist here, not American citizens who are fighting for THEIR country. We did not invade you, you invaded us. We WILL WIN. We have right on our side. If things are so darn hard in your country go back there and fight for what you want. Stop taking the easy way out and running from your problems. Your countrymen would not be in the position they are in today, if you used your so-called "smarts" and tackled your problems at home. You cannot expect another country to continually bail you out of your problems, you need to find solutions and use them at your homeland, not OURS. You represent the extreme and other groups similar. You do not promote anything other than trouble and racism. Just look at your name, it says it all.

Jamesw62- here is my post on the commentary by the LaRaza hate bating racist woman a Raza meaning "the race" or "the people" along with LULAC and MALDEF think that anyone who wants the borders secured is racist.. I did not know that being illegal means your a race of people. Especially when one considers the Border Patrol report that came out a few months ago where they reported that citizens

of 140 different countries were arrested crossing illegally into the US from Mexico. So the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps is a vigilante group? i find this to be the best joke I have heard today. Does Ms. Murguia know that the true racist and vigilante group is hers?

In these responses both REALID and Jamesw62 deny accusations that immigrant restrictionists are racist, and return the racist label to La Raza. In addition, both forum participants cite the English translation of La Raza, the race, as evidence that the group is racist. Further, the statements suggest that La Raza is racist simply because this organization accuses immigrant restrictionists of being racist, when they feel that evidence suggests otherwise. RealID makes reference to the race card and Jamesw62 further relies on legality to legitimate their claims that immigrant restrictionists are not racist. Jamesw62 suggests that the claims of racism is “hate bating” which fuels animosity between groups. Thus, La Raza is racist for advocating for a particular ethnic or racial group and making false accusations of racism towards presumably white immigrant restrictionists and no other race or ethnic group.

Similarly, the ACLU is referred to as racist for claiming that whites are racist but not Latinos. For example, here is an instance of where nntrixie discusses how Black leaders are concerned with only white violence towards Blacks.

“Where are the so-called black leaders in all this? Making nice with Mexico maybe? And staging silliness in Louisiana? Oh, and getting all involved in the so-called Duke Rape case? They seem to be nowhere around when it involves blacks being harmed by illegals - like the three young people in NJ.”

Nntrixie de-legitimizes Black leaders in two distinct ways. First, nntrixie argues the Jena Six incident in Louisiana and the Duke rape case were not instances that warranted a response from Black leaders. In essence, nntrixie de-legitimizes claims of white racism towards Blacks. Second, nntrixie argues that Black leaders do not respond to instances where Blacks

are harmed by illegal immigrants, because Black leaders align themselves with Mexico. This suggests the belief that Black leaders are more concerned with calling whites racist and aligning themselves with Mexico than the well-being of other Blacks. More generally, this suggests that the claims of racism made by Black leaders are not valid on any grounds. Thus, if the ACLU or other Black leaders side with illegal immigrants their arguments are not grounded in reason, but in a desire to punish whites. In this sense, the ACLU and La Raza are racist because they only call white people racist and not Latinos. They are also perceived to be advocates for a particular racial or ethnic group, which is equated with racism towards white people.

In contrast to the forum, only allusions to the stigma of racism are given on the main website. The main website gives two references to racism. They are both in statements made by the organization's president, William Gheen. They are in two different speeches and each one demonstrates each of the above concepts, but without an expression of guilt or anger. First, Gheen explains the utility of old quota laws regulating immigration, stating, "While some argue that these enforcement measures were racist and that some American citizens of different races were improperly deported at the time, we now have the technology and methodology in place to assure that American citizens and legal immigrants are not improperly affected by our immigration enforcement efforts." Here, Gheen argues that while some laws in the past may have been racist, this does not mean that the policy need be racist. In other words, you can be opposed to illegal immigration and even support policies that were once racist, without actually being racist.

The second reference is more obscure, but is similar to attempts in the forum to deflect the racist stigma. Gheen writes, “Unfortunately, there is a state of non-enforcement of laws, made possible by politicians, greedy corporations, and racially motivated industries that represent less than 10% of the US population, yet wield a great deal of power and influence.” Here, Gheen suggests that those who are what the organization would deem pro-illegal are “racially motivated.” Again, if the opposition is racially motivated or racist, this implies that the group itself is not racist.

The reliance on newspapers on the main home page reinforces the group members’ claims that they are not racist. Newspaper articles support their claims that immigrants are morally reprehensible by offering supposedly objective facts, not emotions or racist ideology. In this way, the main website continues to supply moral definitions. However, it is in the forum that the emotions attached to the moral definitions are given names, expressed, and the way to handle them discussed. This is likely, because the forum provides a place for backstage performances. Further, participants can respond to one another, reinforcing beliefs and emotional reactions. Through accounts that redirect a racist label, the ALIPAC forum members draw from moral definitions that will neutralize negative emotions that are evoked by negative moral selves. Through a group process of contesting shame and stigma transference, the individual identities are re-defined in a manner that aligns with the collective group. Individuals come to see themselves as moral soldiers in a moral campaign.

Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, my analysis addresses the call for research on emotions in social movement framing. Analyses of emotions within social movement framing are rare, and the exact emotion management strategies used by different social movement organizations are unidentified. I show that emotions are necessary parts of frames used to construct and maintain collective identities on the internet, through websites and online forums. Further, emotions are inherent in the “othering” process. Feelings of outrage, anger, power, moral superiority, etc. provide members with justifications for self-defining as superior to an illegal immigrant other.

My research question asked how the emotional framing strategies of the main website and the discussions of emotions in the forum are similar and different. I found that whether or not emotions are explicitly given labels and identified varies between the main website and the backstage online forum. Members in the online forum explicitly state their emotions and describe how they think others feel. In contrast, the main website presents news stories to provoke shock and anger. Newspaper stories provide a guise of rationality and empirical validity separate from emotions. However, the website creator chooses only articles that portray immigrants negatively, suggesting an emotional motivation.

In contrast to the main website, members openly claim to have emotions in the forums. In many ways, analyzing the conversations of members in the online forum suggests that the forum operates similarly to support groups in live interactive settings. Wolkomir’s (2001) study of gay and ex-gay support groups found that men first attended support group meetings because of the promise of gratifying feelings. Gay Christian men felt badly about

themselves because they were gay. The support group offered a safe space where they could feel good about themselves. In order to accomplish this, the support group leader and members worked to redefine their outlaw emotions. In one support group, this meant redefining mainstream and Christian negative evaluations of same sex behavior as being morally inferior. The other group worked to redefine their own emotions to become ex-gay. They were told to feel shame, but for only a limited time, in order for them to move forward in eliminating their outlaw emotions and desires. Similarly, in the ALIPAC forum, members make claims about how they feel and how others feel. Some emotions are encouraged or implied to be “good” feelings while others are discouraged. In this case, weak feelings, such as fear and isolation, are discouraged, while emotions related to power, such as pride and anger, are encouraged. Forum members who describe themselves as having the correct feelings and who devalue other feelings reaffirm their commitment to the feeling rules of the group and the group itself. Agreeing on emotional responses to immigration builds social solidarity among the group members.

The promise of good feelings may seem simplistic, but the failure to actually deliver these positive feelings can lead to the deterioration of a group. For instance, Taylor et al. (2008) found that in-fighting in a lesbian organization resulted in members attaching negative emotions to their interaction with the group itself. Group meetings were strained and members did not receive positive returns from their involvement. This led to a rapid decline in the number of volunteers (Taylor et al. 2008). Similarly, Klatch (2004) shows how negative group dynamics led to feelings of alienation and the eventual collapse of Students

for a Democratic Society. In this instance, members felt pressured to prove that they were radical enough. This made individuals feel judged and doubted.

The examples of the lesbian organization and the Students for a Democratic Society suggest that organizations must construct a “we-ness” without alienating their members. ALIPAC forum members use patriotic self-identifiers to create a we-ness. They exclude and negatively label individuals perceived as pro-illegal immigrant. These individuals receive an out-group label and are ascribed negative character traits, including inferior intellect and morality. By excluding these individuals, forum members create and maintain a positive group identity and build social solidarity.

In this chapter, I asked what types of accounts ALIPAC forum members use to neutralize the stigma of being called racist. I showed that stigma management strategies and “race card” rhetoric are part of the othering process. Specifically, they use stigma transference techniques to deflect charges of racism in order to maintain a sense of moral worth. This illustrates the important connection between the organization, the emotion management strategies within its organizational frame, and the larger socio-political environment in which it constructs meanings. To deflect moral claims that hinder the group, they draw from culturally available dichotomies regarding who is deserving and who is not deserving. They engage in positive virtual representations of themselves in relation to a morally inferior “other.”

Strong emotions including anger and moral outrage are part of the othering process, which rely on masculinity as an avenue for regaining perceived loss of power at the hands of illegal immigrants. Color-blind racist dialogue allows them to make claims that they are not

racist, while simultaneously justifying feeling good about reproducing racial and ethnic inequality. The group members use the term “race card” to suggest that failure on the part of members of marginalized groups is due to their own cultural inferiority and not racism. Mills (1940) uses the concept vocabularies of motives to refer to the words individuals give to describe their behavior. This is accomplished through typing, instead of verbal explanations. Through stigma transference the group members reaffirm a positive virtual self in the othering process. They preserve their own moral superiority, by making claims that they are not racist, and that they fight against racist opponents.

In the next chapter, I expand on the contradictions in the restrictionist groups’ arguments that they are not racist by focusing on the groups’ construction of a Latino/American dichotomy in their social movement frame. I focus on the research question, “How do the websites and forum participants create a Latino/American dichotomy while attempting to appear race neutral?” I will argue that Latino groups are conflated into one group regardless of class or origin and are portrayed as threatening to the economic and moral well-being of the nation.

CHAPTER 5

CONSTRUCTING A LATINO/AMERICAN DICHOTOMY

Introduction

Recent immigration waves from Latin America have sparked a debate regarding the future of the racial categorization schema in the United States. Will Latin Americans in the United States assimilate into the category “white,” or will they continue in popular discourse to be an ethnic/racial minority? Lee and Bean (2007) argue that recent trends in Latino and Asian self-identification as multiracial or white suggest that members of these ethnic groups may align with the larger white racial category. They liken Latino and Asian immigrants to the Irish immigrants of the 1800s, because they are assimilating (i.e., learning the language by the second generation), gaining socio-economic status, and lack clear physical markers of racial difference, allowing them to gain a placement within the majority racial and ethnic category. They write, “Based on patterns of multiracial reporting, it appears that Asians and Latinos are more actively pursuing entry into the majority group, and that whites are more willing to accept their entry compared to Blacks” (Lee and Bean 2007:580). They predict that this may lead to a Black/non-Black color line.

Others suggest that a tri-race categorization schema will emerge (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Golash-Boza and Darity 2008). If this occurs, the white and Black categories will remain, but a third middle category will emerge. Some Latinos will be able to assimilate into the white category. Black Latinos will be treated as Black. Latinos who do not gain social acceptance as whites and are not Black will be part of a middle racial category. Bonilla-Silva

(2004) and Golash-Boza and Darity (2008) argue that the tri-racial schema is more likely than the Black/non-Black dichotomy, because Latino has taken on racialized characteristics in popular discourse. Chavez (2009) argues that media representations of immigration draw from and reinforce a Latino threat discourse. He writes, “Mexico, Mexican immigrants, and the U.S.-born of Mexican origin are the core foci of the Latino Threat Narrative, but the threat is often generalized to all Latin American immigrants and at times to all Latinos in the United States” (Chavez 2009: 22). Public discourse treats Latinos as if they are one cohesive group, as opposed to people from various countries, who speak different languages, have different economic resources and different viewpoints, and represent different generations of immigrants. The immigrant restrictionist social movement frame similarly generalizes to all Latinos.

My analysis does not draw from a statistically representative sample of a known universe and cannot be used to make predictions regarding the likelihood of where the color line or lines will fall in the future. However, it is useful for delineating the type of ideology that upholds the construction of a racialized Latino minority identity. The restrictionist websites and forum members discuss assimilation in terms of white normativity, whereby Latinos are a racial other with threatening morals. My research questions ask the following: “What are the social movement frames portrayed by immigrant restrictionists on their websites and in their online forums? How do immigrant restrictionists pull from racist ideology to engage in group othering to construct the social movement frame?” Unlike the prior chapter, I do not limit this analysis to the website and forum for one organization. I analyze all 91 immigrant restrictionist websites and 600 threads from the three online

discussion forums. I focus on how restrictionist groups use racial threat arguments to construct illegal immigrants as part of a Latino “other” category that is criminal and undeserving of economic resources. The social movement frame of the restrictionist websites and online forums draws from an ideology that stands as a barrier to the predictions of Lee and Bean (2007). While Lee and Bean (2007) argue that the fast assimilation of Latinos facilitates their entry into the white category, I will show that the most common sentiment expressed on the internet restrictionist websites and online forums is that Latinos, generalized to anyone of Latin American decent, do not assimilate. Despite research suggesting that Latino immigrants do assimilate quickly, with the second generation speaking English and out-marrying (Lee and Bean 2009), perceptions of the lack of Latino assimilation fuel restrictionists’ claims of a Latino racial threat. The groups and their members argue that they are not racist, but they attach racialized meanings to “Latino.” In contrast to accounts that the restrictionists give claiming that they differentiate solely by legal status, even Puerto Ricans, who are U.S. citizens, are discussed as a Latino other. Latino and American are dichotomized in their discourse, and their social movement frame portrays Latinos as a threat to the sovereignty of the United States.

Threat to sovereignty: Invaders from inside and out

Chavez (2008) argues that actors in the media use a Latino threat discourse when presenting stories about immigration. Immigrants are portrayed as posing an economic or moral threat (Chavez 2008). The immigrant restrictionist websites and forum participants similarly use a Latino threat discourse when discussing immigration. They discuss Latinos

and other immigrants as taking jobs away from citizens, using up but not paying back taxpayer dollars, and posing public health threats through crime and diseases. Further, immigrant restrictionist websites and forum members discuss plots by Mexican and other Latino organizations to take over the southwestern states. Additionally, references are made to the “ameros” and “superhighways” as part of a one-country continent connecting Mexico to Canada. In short, the United States’ very existence as a sovereign nation is portrayed as threatened.

Table 3 presents frequencies for the number of times I coded forum threads and websites as describing illegal immigration as part of an “attack” or “invasion.” Over half of the websites (60.4%) discuss the United States as being under attack. Also, all three of the immigrant restrictionist forums I analyze contain threads that refer to the United States as being under attack, or to illegal immigrants as invaders. The forum for *Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee* (ALIPAC) has the highest percentage of threads with this code (36%), in comparison to 28.7% of the threads in the *Minuteman Civil Defense Core* (MCDC) forum and 16% of the threads in the *Indiana Federation for Immigrant Reform and Enforcement* (IFIRE) forum. However, these numbers should be interpreted as descriptions of the data and approached cautiously when making inferences about the differences in the saliency of the issue across the different forums. Recall that ALIPAC had the most posts over-all and the highest average number of posts per thread, followed by the MCDC forum, and then the IFIRE forum. The difference in percentages may just indicate that the sample of threads from ALIPAC contained more posts and longer conversations instead of any real difference in the saliency of perceptions of immigration as an invasion

across the forums. However, it should be noted that the content of the IFIRE website does use the term “invasion” to discuss immigration. Unlike the ALIPAC and MCDC websites who explicitly discuss an immigrant invasion, IFIRE claims only that they are dedicated to “securing the border” and warn that terrorists might be aided by the ability to obtain an Indiana Driver’s License in their “attack.” Also note that 16% may seem deceptively small. When I first generated the output, I was myself shocked at the numbers. However, remember that my sample contains 200 threads or conversations in each of the forums. With all the possible topics that could be discussed, having 32 out of 200 conversations mention a specific concern without being prompted suggests that the issue is important to forum participants.

Table 3 : Frequencies for Immigrant Restrictionist Forum Threads and Websites containing Attack Language*

	ALIPAC**	MCDC**	IFIRE**	Websites***
Number	72	57	32	55
Percentage	36%	28.7%	16%	60.4%
Total	200	200	200	91

* The websites and online forum threads were saved for study between December 10, 2007 and December 27, 2007.

** Numbers for the online forum are thread counts.

*** Numbers for the Websites refer to any reference of the code made on the main website.

The following are quotes from websites and the ALIPAC forum that are representative of statements coded as containing “attack” or “invasion” language:

“Even though poll after poll shows the vast majority of Americans want their borders protected, Congress refuses to adequately address the illegal immigration invasion and to adequately fund measures to protect our border.” *Desert Invasion*³

“The members of the AVIMM, a multi-ethnic group of American citizens, endeavor to secure the Antelope Valley from the illegal alien invasion that threatens the bonds of our union, our schools, neighborhoods and livelihoods.” *Antelope Valley Minutemen*⁴

“How ridiculous to go backwards and allow illegal alien invaders to destroy and overtake America because of this thinking. Citizens from third world nations flooding in daily will beget a third world nation.” *ALIPAC* forum member⁵

The three examples show that illegal immigrants are labeled “invaders” who pose a threat to America and American citizens. The quote from the organization *Desert Invasion* suggests that Congress is failing to “protect” the United States and that funding needs to be allocated to “protect” the border. The *ALIPAC* forum member also expresses the sentiment that actions are not being taken to protect the country. The forum participant expresses the concern that illegal immigrants will “overtake America,” and that allowing illegal immigrants in the country will create a “third world nation.” In this sense, illegal immigrants are invaders engaging in a war to overtake the United States and turn it into a less powerful, third world nation. Simmel (1908) argues that national identity becomes increasingly salient when there is a constant fear of an outside invader. The restrictionist social movement frame portrays illegal immigrants and Latinos as invaders threatening the sovereignty of the nation.

The social movement frame of the restrictionist groups also suggests that illegal immigrants are threatening because they have gained political power within the United States. Crooked or ineffective politicians are blamed for either allowing or helping the “invasion.” For instance, take the following quote about President George W. Bush posted in the *Minuteman Civil Defense Core* forum on October 7, 2007. G.R. writes, “Bush won't have to worry about any one of his fellow Americans being in any positions of authority in his self made Amerimexico, because we won't have jobs or homes and we'll be living on the

streets - if Mexico let's us live without shooting us outright.”⁶ The above quote by the Antelope Valley Minutemen mentions a threat to schools and neighborhoods. G.R. adds that jobs, the ability to own homes, basic resources, and physical safety are also threatened. G.R. suggests that the loss of power may lead to “Mexico” shooting “us.” In this statement, the invasion is envisioned as Mexico taking over the United States due to the intruders and their political power. President Bush is named as the politician giving this power to Mexico. G.R. uses the term Amerimexico to describe the overtaking of the United States and the morphing of it into a lesser state.

Illegal immigrants are not standing in war configuration at the border with guns and heavy artillery. Blumer (1943) argues that race prejudice is heightened and constant, because racial minorities are ever-present and visible in daily life. Immigrants are an imminent threat, because they are internal to the nation. While immigrant armies are not at the border, the war language remains salient throughout the websites and forums. Perhaps the best representation of this thinking is evident in phrases that refer to the “Trojan Horse.” This is less widely used, though the sentiment is present in the many references to the “invasion.” Three websites out of 91 use the exact term “Trojan horse” and it is mentioned twice in the *Indiana Federation for Immigration Reform and Enforcement (IFIRE)* online forum. Here are two examples:

“Americans have been duped by the left-wing notion of a “proposition nation” and by myths about third-world assimilation, neither of which will occur. Historically, nations have been built upon blood and soil, kith and kin, ancestral rites, and genealogical ties. A real nation is but an extension of a tribe, and this realization should be shared by all traditionalists, conservatives, paleolibertarians, patriotic liberals, union democrats, and moderates. The “creedal nation” (one only has to

believe in propositions to be a good citizen) is a lie; it is but a Trojan horse to implement the third-world invasion of America.”

*Minutemen Midwest*⁷

“At stake is the United States of America. It is really Mexican War II. We have allowed the occupants of the Trojan Horse to be in charge of America. How long are we going to allow enemy agents to be in charge of this battle? Who wants America more? The Invaders or YOU? If fences and solid barricades don't work then take down those around the White House.”

IFIRE, Cheree⁸

Both of these quotes make references to a Trojan horse. Just like the Greek soldiers who crawled out of a seemingly innocuous hollow horse to overtake the city of Troy, illegal immigrants are believed to be sneaking into the United States only to overtake the country. The first statement argues that leftist ideology allows the illegal immigrants to seem harmless. However, according to this website, this “is a lie.” In this quote, leftist ideology is the Trojan horse. However, in the second statement, it is not just illegal immigrants sneaking in, aided by leftist ideology. Politicians also hide away in a Trojan horse in order to gain power. This statement suggests that, “fences and solid barricades don't work,” because the threat is already here. The contents of the Trojan horse are already in the United States and in positions of power. The Trojan horse metaphor illustrates their conceptualization of an illegal immigrant threat, because it refers to a war and a city being taken over by foreign intruders. The metaphor also shows how the intruders attacked from inside the city, because they were let in unknown. Since immigrants have been let into the country already, the websites and forum members argue that this is stage one of the United State's Trojan horse battle. Immigrants have entered and gained political power. They are not harmless. They pose an imminent threat. Since they are still entering, they need to be stopped.

The statements and metaphors made by the restrictionists suggest that Latinos are plotting the demise of the country. The threat of a Latino take-over is portrayed as intentional and strategic. This adds a sinister component to the restrictionists' presentation of illegal immigrants. Even when restrictionist groups and forum members are not discussing the downfall of the country, they continue to articulate a social movement frame in which immigrants are portrayed as weakening aspects of the country. They discuss how illegal immigrants negatively impact the lives of citizens by receiving resources that citizens would otherwise receive.

Citizen Rights are not Human Rights

Free medical, free education, free food, day care, etc., etc, etc. Is it any wonder they feel entitled to not only be in this country but to demand rights, privileges and entitlements?

Coalition Against Illegal Immigration⁹

In response to a provision of the 1996 Welfare Reform Act that took away Social Security benefits for immigrants, organizers from the pro-immigrant groups framed their opposition to the legislation as “citizen rights are human rights.” Drawing on images and accounts of elderly immigrants too ill to undergo the naturalization process, the pro-immigrant supporters were successful in changing the welfare reform legislation (Fujiwara 2005). In contrast to pro-immigrant supporters who rely on a discourse of human rights, restrictionist groups and forum members attach human rights to legal citizenship.

Previously, I showed that forum members in ALIPAC combat claims that they are racist by referencing their support for legal immigration. This strategy is also used on the websites and the MCDC forum. The following excerpt from Citizengranny's response to a newspaper article discussing a pro-immigrant rally is an example of this type of framing.

"I suppose the fact I am 54 a Grandmother and White you will concenter me a racist. Why? Well I am against illegal immigration. It is sad that those of us who are standing up for the rule of law are being labeled racist. Illegal=racist, correct? I have not got a racist bone in my body. What I do have is the belief that the rule of law is to be followed."¹⁰

Citizengranny is relying on the argument that she is opposed to breaking the law. She is not racist. While race is an ascribed category, legal is an achieved status. Since forum members and website creators ignore and deny the presence of institutionalized discrimination, they argue that immigrants of all races and ethnicities choose to enter the country legally or illegally. Since legal status is separated from race, forum members demonize illegal immigrants by associating them with criminality. For immigrant restrictionists, this justifies the separation of human rights and citizen rights.

Schwalbe et al. (2000) suggest that "othering" is a component of inequality. Othering is a process whereby one group creates or protects its own privilege by constructing another group as inferior. To do this, the privileged group claims to be morally superior to the "othered" group. The immigrant restrictionist groups and group members stress the moral inferiority of illegal immigrants through the use of the word "illegal" and frequent accounts of immigrants committing crimes in addition to being in the country illegally. When I first began the coding process for my project, I coded every time a person or website referred to

immigrants as “illegal.” It was not long until I realized that they never use any other terminology. Illegal is always present.

In her analysis of Defense Intellectuals, Cohn (1987) shows how the discourse of nuclear analysts provides the ability to talk about some things while restricting the ability to talk about others. Using different language to discuss the same thing can result in discussing two entirely different phenomena. The language represents a way of thinking. She shows how defense intellectuals might talk about determining “collateral damage” after a nuclear bomb explosion, which means something entirely different from horrific death (Cohn 1987:691). The immigrant restrictionists’ use of the term “illegal” also demonstrates the importance of controlling meaning through language. Illegal means something entirely different from undocumented. Illegal stresses criminality, while undocumented suggests lack of paper work. The prior suggests blame. Further, it changes the imagery attached to the targeted group.

Take the following quote from an ALIPAC forum member, “Calling an illegal alien an undocumented worker is like calling a robber an unwanted houseguest.”¹¹ The forum poster suggests it is ludicrous to call illegal immigrants anything different. He or she likens immigrants to robbers. By being in the country illegally, immigrants are criminals. Similarly, the IFIRE main website presents an essay entitled “Guest Workers Explained” by an unknown author (a forum member also cut and pasted the essay into a thread). It starts off in the following manner.

“Since hearing the plan for treating illegal immigrants as “guest” workers, I now have undergone a complete reversal in my understanding of the proper meaning of words. I stupidly believed the definition of “guest” is one who is invited. Now I’m told this is

no longer correct.

For instance, if a burglar breaks into my home, he really becomes a guest who is only looking for a better life.

Because he broke in for that reason, I must accept the obligation to provide him with living quarters, health care, education, and transportation.”¹²

Criminals in the United States who are arrested, found guilty, and sentenced may lose basic rights including freedom, voting, and welfare assistance. The restrictionist analysis that illegal immigrants are criminals justifies their arguments that all illegal immigrants should be denied these rights in the United States. The above quote from IFIRE equates immigrants with burglars. The writer attempts to show that it is absurd that illegal immigrants receive “living quarters, health care, education and transportation,” because it is ridiculous to think that burglars should receive those rights. The quote also demonstrates that the author perceives illegal immigrants to be receiving these benefits at his or her expense.

Table 4 provides basic frequencies for the number of websites and forum threads that discuss immigrants as criminals (in addition to being labeled illegal), including references to rape, stealing, drunk driving, and murder. It also includes frequencies and percentages for the number of websites and forum threads that state that illegal immigration or legal immigration have negative economic effects. This does not include websites that stated only that immigrants have negative impacts on the environment and natural resources, although these websites could arguably be included (N=3). The table then shows the frequency of websites and threads in the forums that include both discussions of illegal immigrants as criminals and detrimental to the U.S. economy. Over half (53%) of the websites discuss immigrants as criminals and 63% of the websites argue that immigrants are a drain on the U.S. economy. Just under half (48%) discuss both crime and immigration’s impact on U.S.

economic resources. In total, there were 64 threads across the three forums where participants discussed both crime and economic impacts.

Table 4 : Frequencies for Forum Threads and Websites containing Crime, Economic, and Both*

	ALIPAC**	MCDC**	IFIRE**	Websites***
Crime	73 (36.5%)	73 (36.5%)	40 (20.0%)	48 (53%)
Economic	58 (29%)	31 (15.5%)	31 (15.5%)	57 (63%)
Combined	31 (15.5%)	22 (11%)	11 (5.5%)	44 (48%)
Total	200	200	200	91

* The websites and online forum threads were saved for study between December 10, 2007 and December 27, 2007.

** Numbers for the online forum are thread counts.

*** Numbers for the websites refer to any reference of the code made on the main website.

The websites and forum members express the belief that the illegality of immigrants results in immigrants obtaining resources to the detriment of non-criminal citizens. For example, in response to another poster on ALIPAC’s website who claimed to be an illegal immigrant whose parents paid taxes, a forum member responded, “Unless you NEVER used any healthcare services. . . used any benefits – free lunch, food stamps, housing allowance, WIC, whatever, you have stolen from the US taxpayer.”¹³ Thus, on the one hand, merely being here is illegal. On the other hand, the writer is suggesting that it is also impossible to live in the United States illegally without by default committing other crimes. Again, the language is important. The author of the posting is not just saying that the family of the

immigrant used funds provided by taxpayers. The author writes that they “stole” from taxpayers.

Statements like the ones above demonstrate that immigrant restrictionist posters and website creators construct resource allocation as a zero sum game. For every resource an immigrant receives, a United States citizen is perceived to be losing a resource. While survey research suggests that size of the Hispanic population does not lead to increasing threat (Dixon 2006, Dixon and Rosenbaum 2004), it does suggest that whites report threat if they perceive Hispanic presence to result in lost resources (Huddy and Sears 1995). As the *US Border Patrol* website states, “The American people [a]re generous, but there are limits to what we can provide. If we allow the flood of illegal immigration to continue, and increase the burden of the welfare state on the backs of the taxpayers, we have crossed the line of compassion and entered the realm of foolish self-destruction.”¹⁴ The zero-sum logic supports a separation of human rights from citizen rights. Resources such as healthcare, food, and housing are limited. The restrictionist groups and forum participants argue that citizen status should determine who has access to these resources. While “American people [a]re generous,” they have limited resources. Illegal immigrants should not have access merely based on human rights. This is consistent with an ideology of meritocracy in the United States. In Weber’s (1930) analysis of the Protestant ethic, he concluded that Americans see hard work as the route to success and success as the signifier of hard work. The two signify each other, and have come to be seen as the same thing. Providing “hand outs” to immigrants goes against the ideal of individualism inherent within the American Dream Ideology. Immigrants are portrayed as wanting free resources at the expense of tax papers,

instead of following the rules and working hard to earn them. Thus, providing taxes and welfare to immigrants not only damages the pocketbooks of American citizens, but it also threatens a belief system regarding what is right or wrong.

A cartoon (see Image 2) on the website of *Americans for Immigration Control* suggests that high rates of immigration deplete U.S. resources, which in turn hurts needy people elsewhere in the world. In the cartoon, a woman accuses a man holding a sign saying “LIMIT IMMIGRATION NOW!” of being racist. The man responds, “To feed ourselves and the world, we need our wide-open spaces.” This suggests that pro-immigrant groups and individuals either do not care or are unaware that high immigration rates in the United States lead to world hunger. The woman is portrayed as illogical and fanatic, responding “There! That proves it! You’re not only a “racist,” you’re a “spacist”!” While the woman is drawn as an aging hippy who is overzealous in her attack and unwilling to listen to logic, the cartoon portrays the restrictionist protestor as a man who is concerned about the greater good of the world. The conceptualization of zero-sum resource allocation suggests that everyone globally loses resources in order for immigrants to receive citizen resources. The message in the cartoon reinforces the social movement frame that restrictionists have better morals than immigrants and immigrant supporters and legitimizes their use of resources and the arguments they give for restricting immigration. Further, the cartoon suggests that immigrant supporters are hippies who rely on idealized beliefs about diversity without being able to listen to reason or logic.

Image 2: Cartoon Arguing that Immigration Leads to World Hunger



*Americans for Immigration Control*¹⁵

Immigrant restrictionist groups and forum participants claim that illegal immigrants are also criminals because they obtain resources fraudulently. In the MCDC forum, Anna posted a notice that a conservative newspaper writer published a piece calling for a “crack down on illegal immigrant havens.” Anna goes on to quote a poster who responded to the newspaper article on the newspaper article’s website. She writes,

“if this doesn't tick you off, I don't know what will: **Quote:** A few weeks ago at the supermarket, I watched a mexican couple with all their chicks in tow, in front of me at check-out pay for food with a food stamp card, then pay for the beer and soda from a 4-inch roll of hundred dollar bills. When I went to the parking lot there they were loading there \$67,000 cady escalade suv which was towing a \$120,000 grady white cabin cruiser. When I reported it to food stamp dept in florida I was told they know a lot of fraud is going on but cannot do anything about it.”¹⁶

Ann posts that she believes that stories of wealthy illegal immigrants using food stamps should “tick” people off. The poster being quoted suggests that “a lot of fraud is going on.” Since this claim is attached to a story about supposedly illegal immigrants, the assumption is

that lots of illegal immigrants are defrauding the system. Not only are they receiving resources that restrictionists believe should be to citizen rights and not human rights, they are taking resources that they do not even need. This is supported by the description of the roll of hundred dollar bills and the expensive vehicles the family had.

Even if we accept the anonymous poster's claims that the family in the story is engaging in food stamp fraud, nothing from the post establishes that the family members in question are illegal immigrants. The family is labeled "mexican" by the poster, but it is also unclear how the poster knows this. Since there is no visible way to denote citizen status or "Mexican," we can assume that the poster was inferring from phenotype. There is no way to know if the original poster to the newspaper article had more information to go by, since it is impossible to locate them and ask them. However, Anna does not question the information or indicate any desire for more information. Anna accepts the claim that the family is illegal based on the information that the family is "Mexican," using food stamps, buying beer and soda with an excess of cash, and driving away in an expensive vehicle.

Anna's posting then prompted Bren to respond, "You can GUARANTEE they would investigate it if they were not illegals!!" [emphasis is theirs].¹⁷ This shows that Bren also accepts the poster's claim that the members of the family discussed are not citizens. It also illustrates Bren's belief that criminal citizens are treated more harshly than illegal immigrants. Bren claims that when citizens engage in food stamp fraud, authorities investigate the fraud. She even capitalizes the word 'GUARANTEE' suggesting added confidence in her claim.

The exchange of postings between Anna and Bren illustrates the restrictionist social movement frame that citizen rights are not the same as basic human rights. It also suggests that illegal immigrants engage in fraud to take advantage of resources that they do not need. This further cements the connection between criminality and immigrants. However, Bren's comment also alludes to the belief that citizens do not receive their fair share of citizen rights, because illegal immigrants claim resources for which they are ineligible. In this sense, illegal immigrants are perceived to be receiving *special* privileges.

The immigrant restrictionist websites and forum members suggest that illegal immigrants receive special privileges, because multiculturalists are ignorant of the negative effects of immigration and politicians are either pandering to lobbyists and big business or attempting to buy the votes of Latino/as at the cost of white citizens. Multiculturalists, like the hippie drawn in the picture above, are portrayed as being illogical. This, and the disdain for politicians and big business, reflects immigrant restrictionists' sense of class position.. Multiculturalism and liberalism are connected to elitism and higher education (Messner-Davidow 1993). As such, multiculturalists are not thought to incur the same costs of immigration as working class individuals. Illegal immigrants are more likely to work in jobs that are working class. Thus, someone such as a professor likely does not face increasing job competition or lower wages due to illegal immigration. Immigrant restrictionists might react with resentment towards individuals who advocate for undocumented immigrants, but suffer none of the consequences. In addition, since liberals and multiculturalists are perceived to be members of the elite, immigrant restrictionists might view themselves as "othered" by them.

In this sense, the rational identity claims immigrant restrictionists make may be a reaction to their own feelings of marginalization.

Similarly, immigrant restrictionists argue that big business is greedy and CEO's are willing to hurt working class Americans in order to have higher profits. *The National Illegal Immigration Boycott Coalition* (NIIBC) describes its goal of hurting these organizations.

“The goal of the NIIBC is to bring collective economic protests, petitions, and boycotts against corporations that support illegal immigration and to increase public awareness and consumer activism on this issue. Boycott targets are selected by the group leaders and businesses that give money or support to illegal alien supporting groups, aiding and abetting illegal aliens to enter and stay in the US, or giving money to candidates and groups supporting illegal immigration are targeted.”

In this way, restrictionist organizations do not only target immigrants, but also “other” the leaders of corporations who are perceived to be supporting illegal immigration. The NIIBC attempts to activate its own nets of accountabilities to make corporations accountable for supporting illegal immigration. As part of the social movement frame, the solution to illegal immigration for this group is to target those elites that give resources that support and allow illegal immigration. This also reinforces the immigrant restrictionists' claims that they are victims. Immigrant restrictionists portray themselves as responding to victimization at the hands of elites as well as those of illegal immigrants.

Criminals Receiving Special Treatment

However, since immigrant restrictionists argue that illegal immigrants are criminals, this leads some immigrant restrictionists to conclude that illegal immigrants are rewarded for bad behavior. Take the following quote posted on the website for the restrictionist

organization *9/11 Families for a Secure America*: “Illegals are people who break the law to get into the US, break the law to stay here; break the law to get jobs here. To give illegals the privilege of driving in the US is to reward criminal activity.”¹⁸ In this statement, being able to drive legally in the United States is conceptualized as a right that only citizens and legal immigrants/guests should have. Since illegal immigrants are in the United States illegally, giving them a driver’s license is associated with “rewarding criminal activity.”

One ALIPAC forum member writes, “The problem lies in the argument tactics, disregard for the law and rules, appeal to pity, and the insanely absurd way in which Latinos and latinas are given special treatment if and only if they are in the United States against the laws of the United States.”¹⁹ The forum participant challenges alternative identities for undocumented immigrants. The writer states specifically that it is flawed thinking to perceive illegal immigrants (specifically those from Latin America) to be deserving of pity. The writer is reinforcing the frame that creates criminal as the most salient part of an undocumented immigrant identity. Either undocumented immigrants fail to have any other identities or they are not salient enough that they should over-ride criminal and elicit pity. Thus, the forum poster finds it absurd that undocumented immigrants receive special treatment.

The cartoon posted on the website for *No Invaders* also illustrates the concept that illegal immigrants receive special privileges at the expense of citizens (see Image 3). In the cartoon an illegal immigrant is walking down the street with two women dressed in lingerie, one on each arm. A police officer with a club is shown kicking a citizen out of the way of the illegal immigrant. The citizen is walking with a cane and wearing sunglasses, suggesting

that he is blind. A word bubble rises from the police officer's head stating, "Out of the way, you swine. An illegal alien is coming." Behind the illegal alien, the women on his arms, and two animals following, is a more conservatively dressed woman who has hearts coming out of her. The cartoon illustrates the frame that illegal immigrants receive special privileges that results in citizens losing privileges. The male citizen is also degraded to the level of "swine," suggesting that the power loss is so extreme that citizens are no longer treated as humans. In addition, the citizen that is being treated unfairly is physically handicapped. This implies an added insensitivity, even cruelty, by the illegal immigrant. In addition, the woman onlooker is seemingly enamored of the illegal immigrant. This suggests that women become infatuated with men who emasculate other men, even men who are handicapped.

Image 3: "An Illegal Alien is Coming"



No Invaders²⁰

Van Dijk (1993) found that one way white people discuss racial minorities is by telling stories about minorities interfering unexpectedly in regular daily routines, like going to get a newspaper. Similarly, the cartoon suggests that the basic ability to walk down the street is jeopardized by illegal immigrants. Even people who are handicapped can expect their daily routines to be interrupted by the cruelty of illegal immigrants. The picture also suggests that this results in the loss of white male power. Ferber and Kimmel (2004) argue that white hate groups emerge in response to white men's perception that the power linked to their masculinity is in danger. In the cartoon, the white woman is attracted to the illegal immigrant. This is also similar to white supremacists who believe white women are attracted to Black men, because white men have become emasculated (Ferber 1998). Here, the man was already emasculated by his physical handicap, being blind. In addition, the cartoon suggests that masculinity, like monetary resources, is also a zero-sum resource. The immigrant in the picture gains power through dominating half-naked women, having a police officer dominate the white male, and "stealing" the white woman citizen. While the immigrant gains masculine power, the citizen loses masculine power.

Assimilation

The restrictionist websites and forum members suggest that illegal immigrants receive resources and privileges to which they are not entitled. As argued above, they are rewarded for bad behavior. The forum members also suggest that Latinos/as receive these special treatments not just for being illegal, but because of a special privileging of their culture. The

following quote illustrates this frame and also shows the connection between culture and race.

“My point, and my problem with the whole thing is, what puts the Hispanic culture above the Italian, Dutch, Swedish, Portuguese or etc cultures? Where is the special attention from the President of the United States for all of the other cultures who have contributed to this country. Are they not special enough? When you put one group of people above other groups of people you cause resentment. This is the exact action that causes racial tension between the races.”²¹

Italians represent an ethnic group that through assimilation has moved from what was arguably once a position that was “not white” to become part of the larger “white” majority (Roediger 1991). In order to become white, the Italians had to distance themselves from their culture and national heritage. This was a high price to pay. In the quote above, the forum members express dissatisfaction that Latino immigrants are not being required to pay the same price in order to obtain jobs and upward mobility. It is unclear how many of the immigrant restrictionists themselves remember or experienced cultural alienation in order to assimilate. However, my experiences at an ALIPAC movie event and the pictures of people on border patrol websites suggest that many of the movement members are older Americans. It may be that internalized injuries from assimilation to achieve class mobility may influence their perceptions of immigration.

In addition, the forum member suggests that privileging Hispanics instead of other ethnic groups creates racial tension. In this sense, these ethnic groups are considered racial groups, and culture and race are conflated. Along the lines discussed above, Hispanics are conceptualized as receiving privileges. Their culture receives special attention and appreciation from the President of the United States. Instead of being marginalized by their

minority status, this forum participant suggests that Hispanics receive more privileges than other ethnic groups. This is similar to the argument that illegal immigrants receive special privileges for breaking the law. However, this discussion is about a specific ethnic group, “Hispanics,” and is no longer even about illegal immigration. The conceptualization of Hispanic culture as inferior, however, follows the logic that illegal immigrants receive special privileges for bad behavior. Illegal and Hispanic are used interchangeably, and “Hispanic” is discussed by websites and forum members as a morally inferior culture.

One ALIPAC forum participant posted a message arguing that Mexicans are cruel towards horses. In response to the posting, members discussed the over-all moral shortcomings of Mexicans and/or “Hispanics.” Specifically, one forum member wrote:

“Culture or not, its against the law, since it is cruelty to animals. That they believe it is ok because of their culture, doesn't speak well for their culture. Culture is also used as the high number of hispanics that drink while driving, or drink underage. Neither of those are made 'ok' just by some idea of culture either.”²²

The poster uses cruelty to animals as the starting block to argue that Mexicans, or Hispanics in general, are morally inferior. There are many practices that are legal in the United States, such as the treatment of veal calves, that many would argue constitutes animal cruelty.

However, the poster’s conceptualization of what constitutes animal cruelty is constructed within a definition of culture based in white normativity.²³ Bell and Hartman (2007:907) write that, “This perspective starts from the dominance of white worldviews and sees the culture, experiences, and indeed lives, of people of color only as they relate to or interact with the white world. White normativity is not simply an attitude held by whites in which white people are the center of the universe. Rather, white normativity is a reality of the racial

structure of the United States in which whites occupy an unquestioned and unexamined place of esteem, power, and privilege.” In this sense, the treatment of horses by “Hispanics” is highlighted as different from and in opposition to hegemonic U.S. standards for the treatment of animals. Within the United States, rules have been created and reinforced under white supremacy. These rules and norms are seen as normative and unquestionable. This allows forum members to criticize the way an ethnic or racial “other” treats animals, and ignore the norms for treating animals that were created out of and for the reproduction of white supremacy.

Just as men and women are constructed as “naturally” different, culture takes on essentialist traits. Latinos or Hispanics are seen as naturally different by virtue of their culture. In one response to the posting about horse cruelty, an ALIPAC forum participant noted concerns about the cultural differences in marriage norms and age at which sexual activity begins. The statement starts off with a question about whether or not the United States is going to embrace these norms. The forum participant then goes on to use the term “enriching” to further highlight the threat to established norms. The fear that the United States will have a normative shift due to “hispanic” immigrants relies on an underlying belief about the lack of assimilation. If “Hispanics” assimilate to U.S. normative culture, the current system would not change. This demonstrates the essentialist argument that the cultural differences are so innate that the entire U.S. culture would necessarily shift as a result of immigration, rather than individuals integrating with the prevailing culture.

“Is this country going to accept 13-14 yr. olds getting married or 12 yrs as "age of consent?" Just more of the "enriching" that the diversityites talk so much about. It's

not cultural differences, it's ethical differences. There is a reason some nations are referred to as "third world" and it's not all about economies.”²⁴

The quote also demonstrates the connection between culture and ethics. Not only is the essentialist belief that the culture is innate present, but the differences represent moral (or “ethical”) inferiority. This inferiority marks “third world” nations. Here, poverty or economic inequality at the national level is seen as a consequence of innate moral inferiority, as opposed to believing that cultural differences emerge from economic conditions. The forum participant also implies that “diversityites” would not have a problem with poor moral behavior, because of their blind acceptance of the benefits of diversity. This is typical of statements in the online forums that also implicate the ACLU and liberals in general for being ignorant of the negative outcomes of assimilation.

A quote from the MCDC forum illustrates what immigrant restrictionists regard as a Latino threat. A poster writes, “it's all about Latino with them..do you think it's because they have an agenda other than the american dream, and more like the "BROWNING OF AMERICA"...do you think they have an agenda of changing america Latino style?”²⁵ In this statement, the author discusses both a cultural and racial shift. Concern that liberals are changing America to be more “Latino” is coupled with concern over the nation becoming brown. “Latino” is associated with “Brown.” The examples above show how Hispanic and Mexican are inflated into a larger concern over Latinos in general in the threat social movement frame.

Blalock (1967) argues that it is difficult to determine how much race prejudice is fueled by class preference and vice versa, because racial minorities are more likely to be

members of the working class. The fact that people associate race with class reflects real divisions that have been preserved through interactions that reproduce race and class inequality (Blalock 1967). Cross nationally, this pattern also holds. Nations that have experienced more exploitation and are stigmatized by those in industrialized nations for being “under developed” are also those nations that are associated with darker skin color. Thus, to assume that the social movement frame of immigrant restrictionists is fueled solely by race ignores the relationship between race and class. Race may serve as shorthand for immigrant restrictionists to engage in their own “defensive othering.” They can see themselves as good hard working Americans, unlike those who have failed to achieve upward mobility because of moral deficiencies. It also helps them make claims that protect the privileges that they do have. However, the way that immigrant restrictionists stress the moral deficiencies of a particular ethnic group, Latinos, reinforces the relationship between class and race.

Creating a Latino/Citizen Dichotomy: The Case of Puerto Ricans

The websites and forum members seldom talk about Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is part of the United States, and Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens. However, when the topic of Puerto Rico has emerged in discussions in the online forums, the underlying contradiction in the group’s arguments that opposition stems from illegality and not race/ethnicity is highlighted. For instance, the following thread in the ALIPAC forum was one of two threads with disagreement expressed between members of the forum. It was longer than the 10 post average for this forum, with 19 posts by 13 members. It started with one forum member,

AmericanPatriot23, asking “Why Cant English Be Made The "Official Language" of the USA? I hear one of the obstacles is Puerto Rico since their "main" language is Spanish, rather than English. What do you guys think?” To this question, Jimpasz responds,

“Puerto Rico teaches English in all public schools and has done so for 40+ years. Puerto Ricans are U.S. Citizens if they choose to speak Spanish that is their right. Puerto Ricans are not immigrants or illegal immigrants, no visa or passport is needed for U.S. Citizens (including Puerto Rican born) folks who travel between the mainland U.S. and the U.S. possession of P.R. The U.S. Military is proud to have thousands of men and women from the enchanted Isle.”²⁶

In this quote, we see Jimpasz relying on the definition of legal vs. illegal immigration as the standard for who to include as a citizen and who not to include. This fits with the arguments forum members and websites give supporting their claims to being race/ethnicity neutral.

Further, Jimpasz supports his argument by using the social movement frame of citizen connected to soldier. This fits with the masculine soldier ideology I will argue in the next chapter is a core component of the immigrant restrictionist social movement frame.

However, all but one of the other forum members in this thread argue that Puerto Ricans are different from other citizens. AmericanPatriot23 responded, rebutting Jimpasz’s argument with the following:

“. . . but recently Puerto Rican organizations have protested against making English our official language. If you do some search you will see that has been one of the obstacles. Also, les not forget that some Puerto Rican organizations are “branches” with the racist “National Council of La Raza”. I don’t know if you know this but in the town of Hazletown Pennsylvania the 2 main organizations suing not to crack down on illegal immigration and to not make English the official language of Hazletown were the ACLU and a Puerto Rican organization since the small Puerto Rican population said it would make them feel uncomfortable having English as the official language of Hazletown.”²⁷

AmericanPatriot13 ignores Jimpasz's argument that Puerto Ricans can speak Spanish if they desire, because they are citizens. Instead, AmericanPatriot23 posts that Puerto Ricans are opposed to English becoming the official language and have been a major obstacle in accomplishing this desired outcome. Language thus trumps legal status. AmericanPatriot23 chooses to ignore the legality of Puerto Ricans to argue that they have negative traits, because they oppose white Anglo culture. In this instance, it is language. Thus, contradictions in the legal/illegal dichotomy begin to unfold.

The posts regarding Puerto Rico also show the creation of a dichotomy between Latino and citizen. Forum members' statements indicate that people cannot be Latino and American simultaneously. This highlights the way in which all Latinos/as are grouped together regardless of the heterogeneity among them. Applying the concept of "othering," powerful groups define themselves as superior and minority groups as morally inferior. Posters reinforce a dichotomy to create "citizen" and "American" as morally superior identities. The following two quotes demonstrate this process.

Joanzina replied to the thread regarding Puerto Ricans and English-only policies with the following statement. "I believe we should just DITCH Puerto Rico! Then on their own, they can be Latino ALL they WANT to!"²⁸ Similarly, in a different thread, Rockfish writes about an Illinois politician who was born on the mainland, but has Puerto Rican heritage. Rockfish posts, "He is latin before he is American."²⁹ In both Joanzina's and Rockfish's comments, Latino and "American" appear incompatible. This suggests that the forum participants are not actually colorblind or neutral in regard to ethnic groups. While they argue that they oppose illegal immigrants, here the argument about which ethnic groups

should be allowed citizenship over rides that logic. The forum participants argue that Latinos cannot be Americans, and this creates a contradiction with the legal/illegal frame. Latinos do not qualify for national citizenship.

The one other poster that did not disagree with Jimpasz demonstrates how concerns over assimilation trump concerns over legality. Bren4834 writes,

“I worked in the finance department for an online college in Florida a few years back. I had numerous students from Puerto Rico-----they ALL spoke English just as well as you and I. I also believe that Puerto Rico stresses English through their schools. . . I would be curious to know how many people belong to the Puerto Rican organizations----do they really have large numbers?? I remember reading an article about Elvira. It was when they were having the Puerto Rican day parade in Chicago. The article (from the very open borders paper) said that Elvira was watching the parade from the church. It said that during the parade, a Puerto Rican woman stopped in front of the church and yelled to her "Go home"!!”³⁰

In this quote, Bren4834 is not supporting Jimpasz’s statement that Puerto Ricans can speak Spanish if they so choose. She is questioning another poster’s statements about the accuracy of their claims of non-assimilation. In this sense, she is questioning others’ arguments as to whether or not Puerto Ricans oppose English as the official language, whether or not they speak English, and how much they support illegal immigration. She is not challenging the argument that if Puerto Ricans have not assimilated to Anglo culture then they should not be citizens. She is simply asking whether or not this is true.

Jimpasz relies on the argument that Puerto Ricans are legal citizens. This argument is consistent with the immigrant restrictionists’ claims that they are not racist, because they rely on legal status to mark group boundaries. Even Jimpasz’s attempt to connect Puerto Ricans with the organization’s reliance on the military as a core component of a national citizen ideal was trumped by members’ dislike of Latino ethnicity. In fact, legality does not seem to

matter in this instance at all. Instead, the majority of members posting in this thread agree that legal citizenship should be changed to exclude Puerto Ricans. In this sense, Puerto Ricans are not perceived as a group deserving of full citizenship rights. Since they have not assimilated into Anglo culture, forum members perceive them to be posing a threat to the dominant culture. In fact, they are “Latino”, and according to Joanzina’s statement, ethnicity should not be a criteria used to define “United States citizen.”

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I focused on the research question asking how immigrant restrictionists draw from racist ideology to construct their social movement frames. I argued that restrictionist websites and forum members discuss immigrants within a binary scheme, because they draw from an ideology of white normativity. They do not acknowledge the structural inequality or history from which the ideology emerges. Connecting immigrant and criminal ignores that the criminal justice system is part of a larger racist structure that reproduces class inequality (Quinney 1970; Reiman 2001). Thus, a discourse that relies on criminal status to deny privileges reinforces a system that has been used to deny poor and marginalized individuals the full rights of citizenship and ensure that those in power stay in power. While this discourse appears race neutral, this is only because there is not a discourse of structural inequality. Instead of challenging an unequal system that rewards people differently, arguments that immigrants are inferior, drawing from racist stereotypes, reinforce a belief in an ideology of meritocracy and achievement. This ideology reinforces the belief

that immigrant restrictionists should maintain the resources they do have, but it also serves to legitimate their position in a larger system of inequality.

The restrictionist websites and forums draw from a culture of blame ideology to construct their social movement frame. Illegal immigrants are blamed for their own marginalization. Their poverty and the poverty of their perceived country of origin results from moral deficiencies. Since resources are conceptualized as zero-sum, whatever illegal immigrants get comes at the expense of “real” citizens. Illegal immigrants are blamed for their own marginalization and providing them resources is perceived to be giving them special privileges and rewarding them for bad behavior. The immigrant restrictionists discuss culture as innate and immigrants, therefore, as unable to assimilate. Thus, their presence in the United States makes them a threat to resources, jobs, and the sovereignty of the United States. The contradiction in the groups’ arguments that they rely strictly on legal status as opposed to race or ethnicity is exposed when they discuss Puerto Ricans as a racial “other” undeserving of citizenship.

I started this chapter with the current debate regarding whether or not Latinos will gain white status in the future. The ideology of the social restrictionists places Latino in strict opposition to American. Since they are drawing from a white normative perspective in their conceptualization of American, this suggests a Latino/Euro-white binary. In this sense, the ideology places Latinos closer to Blacks in social location within the larger inequality structure. The restrictionist groups and forum members discuss “Latino” culture and “Latinos” as if they are one unified group, as opposed to individuals of different ages, socio-economic backgrounds, and national heritages. ALIPAC forum participants even portray

legal citizens, exemplified by discussions of Puerto Ricans, as un-American, because they are part of the Latino/a group. This binary is constructed in a social movement frame that interprets illegal immigration as a war with threats from both external and internal sources.

In the next chapter, I examine my final research question: How do the immigrant restrictionist and forum participants draw from gender ideology to construct their social movement frame? As in this chapter, I analyze all 91 websites and forum threads collected for the dissertation. I will show that immigrant restrictionist websites and forum members draw from the emotionally powerful symbols of soldier and mother. However, these images are also grounded in white Anglo normativity and illustrate the intersection of race and gender imagery.

CHAPTER 6

SOLDIERS, MOTHERS, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NATIONAL IDENTITY

Introduction

One of my general research questions asks, ‘How do restrictionist websites and online forums use race and gender ideology in their social movement frames as part of an othering process?’ In this chapter, I focus on how the social movement frames of the immigrant restrictionists’ websites and forum members are gendered. While scholars have analyzed the civil rights and women’s movements, more attention needs to be paid to how social movement frames use explicit gender symbols (see Bayard de Volo 2004). The immigrant restrictionists construct gendered frames that draw from emotionally powerful symbols within the U.S. culture, including soldiers and mothers. These symbols also reinforce white superiority.

Lisa Brush (2003) argues that nation states are influenced by gender norms and simultaneously engage in a governance of gender, where the policies and institutional practices of the state reinforce a gender hierarchy. One way the United States and other nation states have practiced and reinforced gender hierarchy is by using the emotionally powerful symbols of soldiers (Enloe 1991; Skocpol 1992) and mothers (Bayard de Volo 2004; Skocpol 1992) to elicit compliance among citizens. These symbols are gendered. Soldiers symbolize traditional masculine strength and protection, while mothers symbolize nurturing, caring, and vulnerability (Enloe 1991). These symbols have been used by governments to influence the creation of welfare states (Skocpol 1992) and legitimate wars (Bayard de Volo 2004; Enloe 1991).

Citizenship is a legal category that determines the types of resources and privileges that individuals can access in the United States. However, what type of person qualifies for citizenship and what type of person represents the ideal citizen has historically been and continues to be contested. As Chavez (2008:10) writes, “Consider the types of questions surrounding citizenship that were debated early in the nation’s history: All *men* may be created equal, but are they equally eligible for citizenship? Should only white males with property have the privileges of citizenship? Should women, slaves (three-fifths of a person for enumerations purposes), and Native Americans?” Currently, in some states, native-born individuals who are incarcerated for felonies are stripped of their right to vote. Does this mean they are partial citizens? Similarly, marginalized racial groups in the United States continue to face racism, which reproduces their marginalization. All citizens are not treated equally when one considers the rights attached to their citizenship.

Citizenship and citizenship rights are determined by who wins the battle over what constitutes a national identity. There is no a-historical conceptualization of a national identity (Puri 2004). Yuval-Davis (1997) argues that the meaning of categories and identities related to gender, race, class, and nationalism are contested, shift and change. Thus, any construction of a national identity reflects a specific socio-political, historical, and geographic location (Yuval Davis 1997).

Intersectionality theorists argue that the experiences of individuals are shaped by an intersecting matrix of inequality (Collins 2000). Categories such as race, gender, class and sexuality work in conjunction to create a hierarchy. These categories are constructed and reinforced through boundary maintenance, whereby a group works to define itself as superior

(Schwalbe et al. 2000). Arguments regarding who is granted power in a nationalist ideology are also shaped by individuals' understandings of these categories. This is evident in messages of conservative social movements attempting to construct a particular type of nationalism that reinforces white male hegemony (Dyer 1997; Ferber 1998; Ferber and Kimmel 2004). Privera and Howard (2004) argue that "white male" continues to represent the ideal national archetype in the current day United States.

Schwalbe et al. (2000) suggest that part of the othering process involves the construction of powerful virtual selves. Members of the powerful group engage in "identity work that upholds the dramaturgical fronts of the powerful" (Schwalbe et al. 2000:424). In this sense, members of the dominant group are actors who put forward positive public performances while hiding anything that might discredit their performance backstage (Goffman 1959). In order for one group to maintain power, they must convince others that they deserve it and are in some way meaningfully different from the subordinate group. The immigrant restrictionist groups construct their virtual positive selves in relation to immigrant others through the use of gendered symbols such as soldiers and mothers. In this sense, they make identity claims about what type of men and what type of women they are.

Government-failure theories on the development of third sector organizations argue that these groups form when the government chooses not to address the needs and concerns of minority segments of the population (Weisbrod 2000). The immigrant restrictionists view the government as failing citizens, because government officials have allowed too much immigration. When they frame the social problem, immigrant restrictionist social movement organizations use symbols of nationalism from an historical time period when they perceived

the United States government to be better serving the interests of the American people. They adapt the soldier and mother symbols that the gendered state has used in the past to elicit compliance. The restrictionist organizations see themselves as doing the work the government should be doing. Men within their movement are cast as soldiers and women are cast as mothers. The specific types of male and female performances that they value also illustrate the intersection of gender with race.

Chapter Methods

As noted in the methods chapter, one code that I used to analyze website content and forum postings was “gender.” Websites and forum postings were coded into this “gender” category if they mentioned masculinity or femininity, referenced war figures or cowboys, or referred to fertility or sexuality. I also coded pictures that illustrated masculinity and femininity. This includes avatars, or pictures that forum participants chose to represent themselves. Every time a participant with an avatar posted in the online forum, their avatar followed their alias (screen name). Table 5 gives the frequencies for threads and websites that were coded gender. In total, I assigned the code “gender” to 116 forum threads and 55 websites.

Table 5* : Frequency of the Code Gender Assigned to Immigrant Restrictionist Forum Threads**and Websites***

	ALIPAC	MCDC	IFIRE	Websites
Gender	63 31.5%	43 21.5%	10 5.0%	55 60.4%
Total	200	200	200	91

* The websites and online forum threads were saved for study between December 10, 2007 and December 27, 2007.

** Numbers for the online forum are thread counts.

*** Numbers for the Websites refer to any reference of the code made on the main website.

The Indiana Federation for Immigration Reform and Enforcement (IFIRE) forum stands out as having a particularly small number of threads coded as gender. This small percentage should be interpreted with caution. Recall from the methods chapter that the IFIRE forum had remarkably fewer posts (374 posts in comparison to 2168 and 1325 for ALIPAC and MCDC respectively) than the other forums. Thus, the small percentage of threads that contain material coded gender for the IFIRE forum may reflect the overall lack of posting activity on the forum and not necessarily ideological difference.

I used the output of all quotes assigned the term gender to write the analytic memos to determine the specific themes that will be discussed throughout this chapter, including the presentation of restrictionist members as soldiers and the stigmatization of Latino sexuality and reproduction. In the following section, I show how immigrant restrictionists use race and gender definitions in their construction of the meaning behind a national identity in their social movement frame. One way they frame their ideal and own national identity is through

the use of war rhetoric that presents the male-led restrictionist organizations as warriors and soldiers engaging in a battle against illegal immigration.

White Male Soldiers

In the previous chapter, I showed that the immigrant restrictionist groups frame illegal immigration as part of a war, using terms such as waging war, battling, fighting, invasion, etc. Examples include the following: “The War on our Border is Raging,” on *Team America’s* website;³¹ “. . . illegal immigration and homeland security are the most critical issues in America today” on the *Dustin Inman Society’s* website,³² and “America is being invaded” on the *East Bay Coalition for Border Security’s* website.³³ (For frequencies of attack language and additional examples see page 95 and Table 3). In chapter 4, I also showed that forum members in the *Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee* (ALIPAC) embrace powerful emotions such as anger and pride. A symbol that is consistent with war language and powerful emotions is the soldier, which is often found on the immigrant restrictionist websites and in the internet forums.

Perhaps the most obvious framing of movement members as soldiers is evident in the 21 organizations that have the terms minuteman or minutemen in their title (see Appendix A). The original usage of the term in the United States dates back to the U.S. Revolutionary War with Great Britain. Minutemen were a part of the U.S. local militia men who were first to respond to a British incursion. Not incidentally, many of the websites allude to the collapse of the United States, or annexing of states due in part to immigrants and immigrant friendly organizations such as La Raza. The metaphor suggests that men who are part of

these immigrant restrictionist organizations are the next group ready to defend the nation from an invasion. This time, however, they perceive themselves to be protecting the country from illegal immigrants, rather than King George.

Drawing from the Revolutionary War period connects the current movement members with the creation of a sovereign United States. This is consistent with the war rhetoric they use to discuss immigrants. Immigrant restrictionists are protecting the nation from illegal alien invaders, but the use of Revolutionary War figures also makes their construction of nationalism seem timeless. What it means to be a good man has not changed, or at least should not have changed, since the birth of the nation. In this sense, their presentations of manhood seem natural.

Below are two examples of pictures of minutemen soldiers posted on the websites (see Images 4 and 5). The pictures of minutemen display men in revolutionary uniforms holding rifles. The images also include other patriotic images, such as stars or flags. I chose to display the first picture of the minuteman, because it is the organization's logo that appears on multiple pages. It is also an avatar for a forum participant in the ALIPAC online forum. I chose to display the second image, because it also includes an articulation of the connection between soldiers and protectors, especially during times of war. The caption below the image of the *Antelope Valley Independent Minutemen* photo says "The AV's Front Line Defense Against the Illegal Alien Invasion."³⁴ This illustrates the group's presentation of self, as soldiers defending the United States.

Image 4 and 5: Immigrant Restrictionist Soldier Images



35



36

Three participants in the *Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action* (ALIPAC) forum had pictures of soldiers or revolutionary figures as their avatars (one of which was the Minuteman above). I provide pictures of the other two avatars below (see Images 6, 7 and 8). While the second picture below does not show a man in a soldier uniform, the picture is of Patrick Henry Jr., a famous revolutionary figure known for the words, “Give me liberty or give me death.” While only two avatars made clear references to revolutionary soldiers references, these two participants posted comments in the online forum 41 times, with their avatars appearing 5 and 36 times respectively. The soldier avatar from the *Minuteman Civil Defense Core* forum only appeared 3 times throughout the forum.

Images 6, 7 and 8: Soldier Avatars of Immigrant Restrictionist Forum Participants



37



512x800 80kb

38

Yuval-Davis (1997:89) writes that “Defending one’s own community and country has been seen as an ultimate citizen’s duty—to die (as well as to kill) for the sake of the homeland or nation.” In this sense, achieving a national ideal is wrapped up in the definitions of war and what it means to be a soldier. However, being a soldier is a gendered endeavor (Jones 1990; Puri 2004; Yuval-Davis 1997). The ideal soldier is strong and brave, characteristics that are typically attributed to men. Women are weak and in need of male protection (Jones 1990). Cynthia Enloe (1991) argues that during times of war, the ideology of women’s helplessness is reinforced through the belief that male soldiers must protect the “womenandchildren.” Women and children become conflated into one term, reinforcing an ideology that infantilizes women, disempowers them, and turns them into second-class citizens. Not surprisingly, men continue to be overrepresented in the military. The increasing number of women in the military is also marked by the channeling of women into female-defined jobs, such as secretaries rather than soldiers. Even when women soldiers are

visible in the media, their identities as family members and friends are highlighted, while their military service is downplayed (Prividera and Howard 2004). Thus, a soldier, a masculine strong brave killer, is constructed in relationship to what it is not: feminine, weak, vulnerable, a mother. The immigrant restrictionist organizations present a masculine front and assign value to the masculine ideal through war rhetoric. By labeling themselves as heroes and soldiers willing to wage battle for their homeland, they display a powerful male virtual identity.

Schrock and Schwalbe (2009) argue that men engage in “manhood acts,” which signify their status as men. Manhood acts are performances aimed at “claiming privilege, eliciting deference, and resisting exploitation” (Schrock and Schwalbe 2009: 281). How manhood acts are performed depends on a variety of factors, including the social environment. These acts may be more or less successfully performed and either accepted or denied by others in interactions. The presentation of powerful soldiers on websites can be conceptualized as manhood acts, aimed at eliciting compliance and domination. The images also illustrate how the manhood acts of immigrant restrictionists are performed in ways that distance themselves from other racial groups who cannot gain the same return on masculine performances. The images are all of white male soldiers. Furthermore, these images represent a specific historical period in which women and racial minorities did not receive equal rights as citizens. In this sense, the images above glorify white male soldiers, and perhaps reflect a longing for a time when white male privilege was unquestioned.

Adding Heterosexual to White Male Soldier

The symbolic soldier as a national icon is not merely white and male, but also heterosexual (Enloe 1991). Manhood acts that signify heterosexuality reinforce gender differences between men and women, while simultaneously protecting men from stigmas associated with homosexuality (Schrock and Schwalbe 2009). Only two of the analyzed immigrant restrictionist websites and two quotes within the ALIPAC forum specifically discuss impotency and demasculinization. The website for the *California Coalition for Immigration Reform* illustrates the connection best. Their website states:

“Sadly, California is filled with these “sunshine patriots” who are weak and unwilling to wage battle against the Mexican racialists and the vast open borders lobby. Years of inculcation by the doctrines of political correctness have left you emasculated and impotent, silenced by the thunderous chants of "racist" and "bigot." And there you stand and watch, paralyzed by fear, as your community is ravaged by the illegal alien invasion and turned into a Third World cesspool.”³⁹

This statement implies that being strong is both naturally how men should be and also their inherent right. However, political correctness and illegal immigration have caused men to lose these qualities and become emasculated. In this way, the organization is performing manhood acts in an attempt to exert power over illegal immigrants, but they are also identifying supporters of political correctness as a source of unfair subordination. Political correctness is identified as a barrier to men’s ability to exhort power through masculine performances. They portray this power as a right of men, and necessary to the well-being of the nation. The *California Coalition for Immigration Reform* is implying that they are an exception to this process and have remained masculine despite opposing forces. It is almost

as if they are recruiting members by portraying themselves as an avenue for men to reclaim their masculine power.

The message is similar to that found by Ferber and Kimmel (2004) among white supremacist organizations. They found that white supremacist organizations reinforce the ideology of “goldilocks” and masculinity, whereby white men are perceived to be becoming too feminine while black men are too masculine. Thus, the white supremacist groups offer membership as a way to reclaim their rightful masculinity. Similarly, immigrant restrictionist groups embrace a hegemonic white masculine ideal.

This example also makes visible the link between soldier and sexuality. While gays and lesbians are technically allowed to serve in the U.S. military, there is also a ‘don’t ask, don’t tell’ policy that forces gays and lesbians to be invisible. Through this policy, the military reinforces a heterosexual norm. Thus, it is not surprising that in constructing a national identity where being a soldier is valued, the identity requires compensatory heterosexuality. The above quote does not just claim that men have become “emasculated,” but that they also have become “impotent.” Thus, the organization links masculinity and sexuality. Procreation, through heterosexual relationships, remains part of what it means to be a “real” man. Taken as a whole then, a soldier is a masculine, white, heterosexual male.

The gendered performances that women give suggest that women acquiesce in their subordination to men within the group. *Mother’s Against Illegal Immigration* (MAII) reinforces the heterosexual, masculine, patriot ideal by its presentation of how women in the movement should behave. For example, the founder and leader of the organization, Laura Dallacrose, posts a joke on the MAII website (see Image 9). The joke starts with the

statement, “Why most men are Republicans.” It then shows a group of flattering pictures. One of the pictures is of herself, and the remainder are of famous Republican women, including Bo Derek and Laura Bush. The joke then provides the statement, “Why most men are not Democrats.’ Underneath this statement are unflattering pictures of female democrats such as Hilary Clinton and Madeleine Albright.

Image 9: “Why most men are Republicans. Why most men are not Democrats.”



Mothers Against Illegal Aliens⁴⁰

The joke reaffirms the belief that women should be attractive and sexually available for white males. Women in the United States have internalized beauty norms established by men and often try to accommodate them as a way to gain self-esteem (Bartky 1990). The joke illustrates this ideology, suggesting that men will not even want to have the same ideological belief as ugly women, let alone marry them. It also illustrates the connection

between a heterosexual, white, male soldier and a complementary female, whereby conventionally attractive Republican women who are opposed to illegal immigration represent the ideal partner. In the next section, I show that ideal masculinity and femininity are also constructed in relation to the overtly sexual illegal male immigrant. It is here that I return to the way in which the presentations of positive moral selves are constructed in relation to an “other” in the social movement frames of the immigrant restrictionists.

Protecting “WomenandChildren” from Illegal Immigrant Rapists

Attempts to reinforce an ideology whereby white women are the sexual properties for men are evident in black/white race relations in the United States, specifically regarding who is supposed to have sex with whom. The rape of black women by white men was a common practice during slavery, and it continued to be a way for white men to subordinate black women into the twentieth century. In contrast, black men who were even perceived to be making sexual advances towards white women were subject to extreme acts of violence (Collins 2004). It was not until the 1967 Supreme Court ruling in *Lovings v. Virginia* that anti-miscegenation laws were ruled illegal. White supremacist organizations continue to view multiracial⁴¹ marriages as threats to white hegemony. Black men are portrayed as hyper-sexual rapists who steal white women. Meanwhile, white women should be having white babies to continue the white race (Ferber 1998).

The restrictionist organizations draw upon these themes by posting newspaper articles documenting illegal immigrant male rape crimes and by referring to rape as a result of illegal immigration. Table 6 shows the frequencies and percentages of forum threads and websites

that discuss immigrants as rapists. There were 41⁴² threads and 33 websites where this occurred.

Table 6*: Frequency of the Code Rape Assigned to Immigrant Restrictionist Forum Threads** and Websites***

	ALIPAC	MCDC	IFIRE	Websites
Rape	16 8.0%	16 8.0%	9 4.5%	33 36.3%
Total	200	200	200	91

* The websites and online forum threads were saved for study between December 10, 2007 and December 27, 2007.

** Numbers for the online forum are thread counts.

*** Numbers for the Websites refer to any reference of the code made on the main website.

The CT Citizens for Immigration Control is an example of a website that references immigrants committing rape. Specifically, it states, “A woman was abducted off the street in Darien, assaulted and raped;”⁴³ Another example is from the *Report and Deport* website. The website contains photos of illegal immigrants who have committed crimes. Below the photos are captions that state what type of crimes the immigrants committed. Two examples of the captions include: “Deported illegal alien returns and rapes woman,” and “Illegal alien rapes 5-year old then murders teenagers.”⁴⁴

In other instances, rape is mentioned along with other crimes that immigrant restrictionists attribute to illegal immigrants. For example, the website of the *Arizona Border Patrol* states, “The untold number of people, not just from Mexico, that come across our border illegally with the intent to cause more crime, including homicide, rape and robbery, is

astonishingly high and all you need to do is follow the local media and news stories regarding how many illegal aliens are detained and arrested for committing violent crimes.”⁴⁵

In the MCDC forum thread titled “Frisco court says rape of minors is ok,” JohnM.fromMass. wrote, “The assholes in the 9th circuit court have declared open hunting season on our children and most likely states won’t be able to use their own laws to protect them from these freakin illegal animals. My advice to all parents here and elsewhere, **START PACKIN SOME HEAT SO YOU ALL CAN PROTECT YOUR CHILDREN!** 🤪”,⁴⁶ This quote and the examples of illegal immigrant rapists provided on other immigrant restrictionist websites highlight the threat of overly sexual male immigrants to women and children. This demonstrates how racial threat informs the “othering” processes within the social movement frame. White men are constructed as protectors in relation to a threatening, morally inferior illegal immigrant.

As noted earlier, masculinity is represented by male soldiers protecting the “womenandchildren” (Enloe 1990). The relationship between white male soldiers, “womenandchildren,” and male immigrant rapists suggests that white men not only have a right to white women, but that they must protect them from illegal immigrant males. When men make statements that are perceived to be pro-immigrant, restrictionists argue that these men are failing to protect their wives or children. Since the social movement frame is grounded in white normativity, this suggests that white men should protect their white “womenandchildren.” Frosty Wooldridge writes in his online journal on the website for the 21st Century Paul Revere Ride, “Bush makes me vomit with his rhetoric. If his two girls were raped, run into by a Mexican drunk or killed by a couple of illegals, he’d think twice

about his asinine statements.” Wooldridge suggests that Mexicans specifically are drunk drivers, murders and rapists. Bush is failing as a president because he is not cracking down on illegal immigration. However, Woodridge suggests that if Bush felt as if his daughters were threatened, he would feel the need to protect them. The underlying suggestion is that men should protect their daughters. Restricting illegal immigration is a way to protect white women. This fits with common conceptualizations that women are in general weak, and that men are either threatening or protectors (Hollander 2001). Here illegal immigrant men are portrayed as threatening, while white men are portrayed as capable of being protectors. In this way, immigrant restrictionists perceive themselves to be reacting to a real threat. They are only protecting themselves and others from a serious danger.

In the following quote, illegal immigration is likened to rape. While legal immigration is equated with love and a good marriage, illegal immigration is described as sexually violent and coercive. Cheeree in the IFIRE forum states,

I often compare LEGAL immigration to a good marriage...where you want to become one with your partner and you do so out of love. ILLEGAL immigration, on the other hand, is more like a cheap date (at best) or rape (at worst). The illegal acts out of selfishness and even hatred and say, "I like what I see. I want it and I think I deserve it so I will just take it. I don't care what pain it causes you." Maybe illegal immigration could be compared to a shotgun wedding, with the illegals holding the shotgun to our heads saying we must marry them, or else!⁴⁷

Heterosexual normativity is implied through the reference to marriage in the analogy, since only one state allowed same-sex marriage when the sample of forums was taken. Legal immigration is equated with a good marriage, an institution in the United States that is legally recognized. The quote suggests that this type of union is a partnership, where both parties

agree to the relationship. However, illegal immigration is equated with rape and violence. In the analogy, illegal immigrants are portrayed as men with uncontrollable desires. By implication, United States citizens take on female characteristics. They must be protected from the sexual violence posed by illegal immigration.

Like white supremacist organizations, immigrant restrictionist groups and forum members associated Latino sexuality and child birth as a threat leading to the downfall of a white, Anglo culture/country. For example, in the ALIPAC online forum, GFC writes, “Hispanics have every intention of saturating every American city and town with their own people. Meanwhile they continue to be the majority where they come from. All they have to do is have more kids. Its that simple.” The restrictionists fear that people who are “brown” will become the majority in the United States. This threatens white male hegemony. Restrictionists fear that they will become part of a marginalized racial category through the overpopulation of people from Latino countries, especially Mexico. In the next section, I analyze how this leads to the devaluation of Latina pregnancy and the dehumanization of their babies through the term “anchor baby.”

Mothers and Anchor Babies

Yuval-Davis (1997) argues that women’s reproduction is central to the reproduction of a nation. In different time periods and geographic locations, this has meant encouragement or coercion in regards to having more or fewer children. In a patriarchal society, men as a group have more resources and power than women, but some women also support patriarchal practices and ideology. This includes policing the reproductive rights of

other women for what is considered to be the well-being of the nation (Yuval-Davis 1997). As part of their social movement frame, immigrant restrictionists portray female immigrants as sexually immoral.

One way that some of the immigrant restrictionist organizations stigmatize and dehumanize illegal immigrant women is by using the term “anchor” baby. The website of *The Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform* provides the following definition of an anchor baby: “Babies born to illegal alien mothers within U.S. borders are called *anchor babies* because under the 1965 Immigration Act, they act as an anchor that pulls the illegal alien mother and eventually a host of other relatives into permanent U.S. residency. (*Jackpot babies* is another term).” This definition is consistent with how the term is used by other restrictionist websites and forum members. Table 7 provides frequencies for the term “anchor baby.”

Table 7*: Frequency of the code Anchor Baby Assigned to Forum Threads** and Websites***

	ALIPAC	MCDC	IFIRE	Websites
Anchor Baby	21 (10.5%)	13 (6.5%)	8 (4.0%)	24 (26.4%)
Total	200	200	200	91

* The websites and online forum threads were saved for study between December 10, 2007 and December 27, 2007.

** Numbers for forums are the number of threads containing the code and percentage of the 200 threads containing the code.

*** Numbers are the number of websites containing the code and percentage of the 91 websites assigned the code.

Forty-two forum threads and 24 websites contain the term “anchor baby.” Below are illustrations of how websites and forum members discuss the term. The first two quotes discuss “anchor babies” as commodities that illegal immigrants use to gain access to monetary resources and citizenship. The third quote uses the term “anchors” in relation to claims of abnormally high fertility rates among illegal immigrants.

“Many illegal aliens are known to exploit their children born here by using welfare funds to which their "anchor babies," as citizens, are entitled to support their families with food stamps, funds from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and WIC program funds. In addition, these children will continue to cost taxpayers billions of dollars in welfare and educational support for many years to come. Then, when they reach 21 years of age, they can petition to provide their parents and other family members legal status.”

Border Solution Task Force⁴⁸

No more anchor babies: Today, if a 9 month pregnant illegal alien sneaks across the border and has a baby 2 minutes later, the child is an American citizen, the mother is eligible to receive government benefits on his behalf, and the child is an "anchor" that the mother can use to make it tougher to remove her from the country. This needs to change.

Minutemen Midwest⁴⁹

Illegals will outnumber citizens in this state soon. They are breeding like rabbits and their anchors already outnumber the children of citizens.

TrueTexan post in the MCDC forum⁵⁰

“Anchor baby” is another instance where the language used to discuss a social phenomena control the meaning of the phenomena (Cohn 1984). Discussing an “anchor” elicits different meaning than discussing an “infant.” It also controls the emotional response connected to the phenomena. Instead of feeling sorry for the child or parent, it dehumanizes both parties and encourages a response of anger or injustice. In this instance, controlling the meaning of a child born to undocumented immigrants is a way for organizations to

strengthen arguments that the children of illegal immigrants should not automatically become U.S. citizens. The immigrant restrictionists dehumanize the mother and the baby and likewise imply that illegal immigrants do not value their children as human beings. Websites and forum members argue that illegal immigrants treat babies as commodities. By doing so, they imply that illegal immigrants who do not treat their children as human are doing the dehumanizing; immigrant-restrictionists who use “anchor” baby rhetoric are, thus, blameless. The first and second quotes state that illegal immigrants use the child in order to receive “government benefits.” Specifically, the first quote from the Border Solution Task Force highlights food stamps, AFDC, WIC, and education expenses. The Minutemen Midwest suggests that pregnant illegal aliens, presumably from Mexico, strategically carry the baby to term and then sneak across the border two minutes prior to giving birth in order to make it more difficult to be forced to leave the country. This also demonstrates how immigrant restrictionists adhere to an ideology of meritocracy. Hard work, not having babies, should lead to resources.

In the third quote, TrueTexan discusses “anchors” in the context of illegal immigrants’ fertility rates. TrueTexan dehumanizes illegal immigrants through the statement “breeding like rabbits” and using the term anchor. The forum participant stigmatizes the sexuality and reproduction of illegal immigrants by bemoaning the growth in anchors. The statement suggests that illegal immigrants have uncontrollable, even animalistic sexuality. While biological drives to procreate are named as the cause of anchor babies in this example, the quote reinforces the ideology that illegal immigrants are either incapable or unwilling to regulate sexuality in order to work hard and follow the rules.

One website in particular, *Mothers Against Illegal Aliens* (MAIA), gave anchor babies significantly more attention than other web sites. When the website was copied for analysis on December 15, 2007, MAIA devoted 36% of the words on their entire website (2,804 / 7,793) to discussing anchor babies and identified changing the 14th Amendment to end the phenomenon of anchor babies as the most important aspect of immigration reform. Specifically, the website states,

“The following link is about one of the best out there which gives you the complete story of the 14th Amendment and shows you clearly that the 3.1 million anchor babies born in the USA to Illegal Alien Females, which our country tells them that they are citizens of the USA which is in fact not legal and cannot be true according to the REAL MEANING of the 14th Amendment . . . PAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE INFORMATION ON THIS SITE WITH THE REFERENCE MATERIAL WHICH I URGE YOU ALL TO READ! THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE REGARDING ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION!! YOU FIX THE 14TH AMENDMENT, YOU HAVE FIXED 3/4 OF THE PROBLEMS AND COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION!!! Thank you, Michelle Dallacroce, President/Founder of MAIA.” [emphasis is hers]

Mothers Against Illegal Aliens⁵¹

The website of MAIA is also different from the other immigrant restrictionist websites because it uses the image of mother to gender the social movement frame. Mothers Against Illegal Immigration (MAIA) was founded by a white female, and in contrast to all the other organizations, this website has a light purple frame with pink lettering as the heading. Also, the main logo of MAIA consists of a woman holding a child (see image 10). Behind the woman and child is an American Flag background. Below the logo is the saying, “Protect Our Children. Secure the Border.”

Image 10: Mother’s Against Illegal Aliens Logo



Bayard de Volo’s (2004:719) argues that the gendered maternal frame is powerful because of its “emotional resonance both nationally and internationally.” The gendered mother frame benefits organizations because mothers appear less political than their male counterparts. Mothers can appear to be speaking from the heart, as opposed to speaking politically (Bayard de Volo 2004). The logo of MAIA frames illegal immigration as a threat to children intended to evoke emotional concern from mothers.

The social movement frame of “anchor baby” stigmatizes female immigrants and constructs citizen women’s motherhood in relationship to the stigmatized other. Illegal immigrant mothers have children for selfish reasons: to gain welfare money and provide a path to citizenship for the mother. In contrast, MAIA presents an alternative definition of motherhood. Citizen mothers care about their children and put their well-being before anything else. MAIA suggests that they oppose illegal immigrants, because it is in the best

interest of U.S. children. For example, the opening page implores readers to, “Guide yourself through all the information, and then YOU decide if our children are the forgotten and silent victims when it comes to their education in schools overrun by illegal aliens and to their safety from a border in peril.”⁵³ Throughout the website, MAIA exhorts website readers to take action, urging them to, “Please help protect the legal USA children. I receive hundreds of calls and e-mails from around the country. Legal American children are falling victim and being taught to assimilate to non-assimilation.” It continues, “American, US families are #1! Stand up and protect the future for all our children!!!”⁵⁴

The frame of vulnerable children is consistent with strong cultural schemas that define childhood as a time of innocence that requires a mother’s full devotion to the well-being of her child (Blair-Loy 2002; Hays 1997). MAIA members are upset by the mistreatment of USA children and want to protect them. Illegal immigrant mothers are constructed as bad women whose actions put the well-being of citizen-born children in jeopardy. MAIA writes, “A child being used by a mother to “steal” from the mouths of “legal children” in the USA should be charged with child abuse for attempting to benefit from their crime and profiting from additional actions while within the interior of the USA.”⁵⁵ The statement constructs illegal immigrant mothers as bad mothers to their own children. When illegal immigrant mothers exploit their own children they are charged with stealing “from the mouths of legal children.” MAIA goes so far as to suggest that illegal immigrant mothers should be criminalized for “child abuse.” This is an important part of the social movement framing of MAIA. In order for MAIA to use the maternal frame convincingly, they must establish that illegal immigrant mothers are fundamentally different

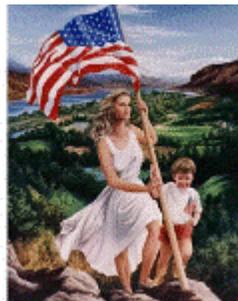
from mothers who are U.S. citizens. As noted above, the use of anchor baby dehumanizes the mother and the child. By criminalizing the mother, MAIA claims they have moral authority. While they care about children, MAIA claims that illegal immigrant mothers care neither about their own children nor anyone else's.

Mothers Against Illegal Aliens stood out among the other websites and forum discussions because the social movement frame relied on feminine gendered frames and focused on the 14th amendment. However, other websites and avatars in the ALIPAC online forum also portrayed female identity stakes (see images 11 and 12). While these avatars are not representative of the entire sample, they were fairly frequent posters. Image 11 accompanied the screen name BetsyRoss. This forum participant posted 9 times. BetsyRoss compliments the masculine white soldier frame. This image also draws from a historical time period when women and racial minorities did not have the right to vote. The image further portrays an ideology where women are helpers to men during times of war.

Images 11 and 12 : Avatars of White Female Helpers and Mothers in Immigrant Restrictionist Internet Discussion Forums



56



57

Image 12 is an avatar for a participant who posted 33 times within the sample. The image denotes patriotism through a woman holding a flag. Behind the woman is unsettled land, with a flowing river, green pastures, and hills. It is as if the woman is claiming the land for her and her white male child. Both these images suggest gendered identity stakes that do not challenge women's subordination to men. While the white woman is claiming land, she is doing so in a white flowing dress. Further, the white male child next to her implies that she is claiming land for the well-being of her male progeny.

Stigmatizing Bodies

In a previous section, I showed how immigrant restrictionist organizations and forum members discuss anchor babies. Typically, the organizations and members dehumanize the mother and child and portray the mother as selfish. There are also a few instances where forum members stigmatize the actual bodies of immigrant women. One website shows an image of pregnant woman. In addition, an interaction in the ALIPAC forum specifically stigmatizes the body of pregnant allegedly illegal immigrants. The forum exchange starts with a post by Jjmm stating:

“I saw an illegal today sitting at the hospital where I work (no doubt after getting free healthcare for herself and her children), with her huge pregnant belly just hanging OUT, completely exposed. She was just walking around with it ... with her shirt just UP and the belly out. She was just totally unconscious of it, I suppose. I've never seen anything like it. I mean, how GROSS does it get?? Hey, illegals, we don't walk around in the wintertime with our pregnant abdomens hanging out -- yanno? It's just not something I prefer to see out in public. Sorry.” [emphasis is the author's]⁵⁸

In this quote, jjmm tells about a supposedly illegal immigrant who is charged with taking advantage of free healthcare. This matches the common frame of anchor babies discussed

across websites and in the forum. The ALIPAC forum participant also stigmatizes the woman's sexuality through references to improper dress and the immigrant's physical body. Jjmm describes seeing the illegal immigrant's pregnant belly "completely exposed" as being "GROSS." The capital letters stress the revulsion jjimm feels towards the illegal immigrant's pregnant body. While this fits with the restrictionist ideology that anchor babies reflect bad mothering, it also devalues the pregnant body. Jjmm claims that women who are citizens know to hide their pregnant bodies, as opposed to being in public with "pregnant abdomens hanging out." In this sense, the product of sex, pregnancy, belongs in the private sphere, further signifying a separate spheres ideology that relegates women and child bearing to the private sphere. Women in the United States are superior to illegal immigrants because they keep reproduction private.

This was also evident in Molly's response to jjmm, "I too have seen the same thing...A few weeks ago when I went shopping, I noticed a pregnant illegal alien surrounded by her anchors, proudly displaying her very big bare pregnant belly speaking spanish to her children as she walked by me!"⁵⁹ Molly is reinforcing the belief that illegal immigrants should not have "bare pregnant" bellies in public. This suggests that the woman is "proud" of her pregnancy and purposely displaying it in public. Further, having other children and speaking Spanish are intermixed in her disapproval of the pregnancy. These statements stigmatize the female illegal immigrant body. However, jjmm and Molly do not provide evidence that the women they are talking about are illegal. It is unclear how jjmm knows that the woman was an illegal immigrant, and Molly conflates Spanish speaking with illegal status. This illustrates the intersection of gender and race stereotypes. Latina women are the

illegal immigrants who display their bodies inappropriately. In this exchange, the forum participants engage in subordinate othering by evoking Latina body displays in relation to the correct body displays of citizen women. This fits within white Anglo conservative culture that idealizes feminine restraint.

Alternative Gendered Presentations and Black Guests

Gendered avatars such as pictures of Tinkerbell, cats wearing tiaras, cowboys, and pictures of Tancredo reinforce gendered white normativity. Only three avatars challenge gendered white normativity: an avatar of Joan of Arc in front of an American Flag (ALIPAC), a cartoon of a Black man (ALIPAC), and a cartoon of a Native American woman (MCDC). The coding revealed that very few images challenged traditional gender ideology and white normativity.

The absence of race in the websites makes the rare inclusion of Blacks more visible. In Bell and Hartmann's (2007) study of people who value "diversity," they found that participants discussed the term as grounded in white normativity. White Anglo culture was viewed as the normative culture and marginalized racial and ethnic groups were seen as deviating from this culture. Whites were discussed as hosts and racial minorities and ethnic groups as guests (Bell and Hartmann 2007). The immigrant restrictionist groups similarly discuss Black members as being welcomed, but they still maintain a guest status. The status of Blacks as an "other" is even more apparent when restrictionists make explicit attempts to include them. Beyond generic statements claiming to be racially or ethnically inclusive, very few websites show images of Black men or women or specifically discuss them. Mostly, the

websites include a sea of white faces. On some websites, if you wade through a host of protest pictures you may find a Black woman or man holding up a banner or sign opposing illegal immigration.

Two websites make a point of discussing the negative effects of immigration on Blacks in the United States. Headings on the websites separate the sections from the remainder of the page. Here is an excerpt from one such section,

“The fact of the matter is, illegal immigration, especially illegal immigration from Mexico, is hurting Black Americans. If Democratic candidates ever [get] around to speaking the truth, they will have to tell Black voters that illegal immigration is taking jobs away from Black American, cutting into resources available for welfare, and restructuring public schools and many urban areas. In short, the votes of Latinos are bought by the Democrats at the expense of Black America.”

In a sense, it appears that the rest of the page does not really apply to Blacks. The quote makes reference to a “Black America.” In contrast, there are no paragraphs on websites that specifically discuss how immigration is hurting “white” America. This is because the remainder of the page is assumed to already be talking about the white default. The websites construct white as the norm which Black is compared to and separated from. This stems from reliance on restrictionist social movement frames that are grounded in white normativity. Within the othering processes, white is created as the in-group. Blacks are given guest status within the group.

Groups that proclaim that they are not racist but continue to use language that supports a “white” versus a “non-white” dichotomy fit into today’s form of colorblind racism (Bonilla-Silva 2001). Racist ideas are covered over and neutralized to appear less malignant (Feagin 2000). For instance, Wellman (1975) found that white participants do not openly express support for racist ideology, but want to protect their privileges in ways that reinforce

racial hierarchy in the United States. Bonilla-Silva (2001) argues that a key component of racial ideology is abstract liberalism, whereby actors call themselves liberal while simultaneously saying racist things. While these organizations would likely take up arms against being labeled liberal, they do use non-racist framing to establish themselves as morally just. However, this stands in contradiction to their reliance on white normativity, which constructs whites as the in-group, Blacks as guests, and illegal immigrants as the clear “other” category.

Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, I focused on the gendered social movement frames of the immigrant restrictionist websites and online forums. My research question asked, ‘How do the immigrant restrictionist groups use emotionally powerful, gendered symbols in their social movement frames?’ The immigrant restrictionists draw from the gendered symbols of soldier and mother that also illustrate racism within the social movement frames. Puri (2004:35) writes that, “Ethnicity, language, or religion may help define the people of a nation, but the framework of nationalism and the role of the state shape how these forms of identity play out in people’s lives, which groups flourish as the soul of the nation, and which groups are sidelined.”

My analysis illustrates how the form of nationalism that the immigrant restrictionist websites and online forums advocate would privilege some groups and not others based on the intersection of race and gender. The immigrant restrictionist groups and forum members use revolutionary soldier images to construct a social movement frame that reinforces a

white, male, heterosexual patriot archetype. The immigrant restrictionists use manhood acts as ways to present themselves as powerful. Women in the movement present themselves in ways that legitimate their subordination to white men. In their attempts to “other” immigrants and prompt changes in immigration policies, they submit to gender inequality. Women are depicted as good wives and daughters who are infantilized citizens and victims in need of protection. Black citizens are guests, who are portrayed as different from white members but welcome in the social movement. However, the use of the Jesse Jackson Race Card presented in the ALIPAC online forum, which I discussed in Chapter 4 (see Image 1 on page 69), suggests that Blacks are welcome as long as they do not step out of their place. Blacks are situated similarly to legal immigrants. Those that do not threaten the immigrant restrictionists’ claims to privilege are welcome.

The immigrant restrictionist websites and forum members sideline racial minorities within the United States and glorify white heterosexual men as the heart of the nation. Differences between men and women are based in biological essentialism that privileges male power. The gendered social movement frames of the immigrant restrictionist organizations define male participants as soldiers and protectors, and women as vulnerable helpers. Likewise, men are seen as protectors because something (i.e., immigrants, especially illegal immigrants) poses a threat. This juxtaposes immigrant gender performances with those of the immigrant restrictionists. Immigrant males are threatening rapists and immigrant mothers are cold, selfish, exploiters of their children. The social movement frames of the immigrant restrictionists stigmatize immigrants for failing to perform gender correctly. Since gender is still perceived to be natural, or biologically innate,

this suggests that illegal immigrants are innately flawed. Likewise, as part of oppressive othering, this suggests that legal citizens are innately superior.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I examined the social movement frames of immigrant restrictionist organizations. I analyzed 91 immigrant restrictionist websites and a sample of threads from three online discussion forums. I was interested in the ways immigrant restrictionists draw from race and gender ideologies and emotions to construct social movement frames, and the consequences of these frames for the reproduction of inequality.

I found that immigrant restrictionist websites and forum participants engage in framing activities including diagnosing the problem, supplying evidence for why it is a problem, providing definitions for how one should feel about the problem, providing ways to accomplish those feelings, and giving definitions for what type of person achieves these feelings. Immigrant restrictionists define illegal immigrants as a problem because: they are prejudiced against white people; they play the “race card;” they threaten the sovereignty of the nation; they are incapable of assimilating; they are criminals; they receive economic benefits at the cost of citizens; and they are male rapists and they are selfish mothers. Further, multiculturalists, greedy corporations, and politicians facilitate illegal immigration and provide illegal immigrants with special privileges. This upsets an ideology of meritocracy that assumes people in the United States should be able to work hard and achieve upward mobility. However, illegal immigrants are thought to be given resources. This undermines the ability of immigrant restrictionists and others in the working class to maintain the privilege they do have within a capitalist nation. People who accept this definition of the situation are expected to react with anger and outrage, and engage in

emotion management strategies to deflect the stigma of being called racist. Many of the immigrant restrictionist groups provide presentations of self through the images of soldiers and caring, moral mothers.

First, I recap the main results of my dissertation and highlight some strengths and weaknesses of the chapters. Then, I discuss the implications my study has for theories of race, immigration, nationalism and the general reproduction of inequality. I argue that theory needs to take seriously Brubaker's (2009) claim that the processes identified by scholars examining the relationship of race, ethnicity, and nationalism are general processes. After that, I discuss the relevance of my study for the literature on emotional framing and gendered frames. I argue that both aspects of framing theory and research need further examination, but that future scholars should address how the two are related. Finally, I offer concluding statements arguing that the immigrant restrictionist social movement frame is reflective of commonly held beliefs.

Results

In Chapter 4, I focused on the research question, 'How are the emotional frames of the website for Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee (ALIPAC) similar or different to those in the ALIPAC internet discussion forum?' I conclude that the main website attempts to appear legitimate and rational by avoiding explicit mention of emotions, but simultaneously attempts to evoke emotional shock. In contrast, forum participants explicitly discuss emotions. They value powerful or masculine emotions and engage in emotion management strategies to deflect a racist stigma. Specifically, they rely

on accounts of legality as an achieved status, stigma transference, and accounts of immigrants using the “Race Card.” This chapter contributes to the literature that examines emotions in social movement frames, and shows that social movement organizations construct emotional frames even in an online environment.

Since the online forums are discussions between members in a virtual space, I was able to analyze interactions between individuals who displayed emotions and explicitly discussed them. Instead of simply stating an emotion, interactions in the forum result in individuals gaining reinforcement of their emotions. Other posters legitimated the interchange of emotional responses by simply stating things like, “well said,” and “I couldn’t have said it better.” Further, participants posted emoticons that expressed anger and happiness to reinforce beliefs and previous emotional responses. My analysis was limited, however, because I could analyze only what was in the online threads. I had no information about people who left the online discussion group or individuals who viewed the online discussion forums, but never participated. There is no way to know how these people differ from those included in the sample. For example, did the emotional framing of Americans for Legal Immigrant Political Action Committee (ALIPAC) fail to resonate emotionally with the non-participant, or did they simply dislike posting in online forums? This question is beyond the scope of this study, but it should be addressed in future research examining emotional framing and forum participation.

In chapter 5, I examined how racist ideology informed the social movement frame of the immigrant restrictionist websites and online forums. I showed that immigrant restrictionists create a Latino/American dichotomy. Immigrant restrictionists portray illegal

immigration as a threat to the sovereignty of the United States and to the economic well-being and safety of citizens. Discussions of Puerto Rico in the ALIPAC belie the organization's claims to be non-racist. This dichotomy is supported through the real and perceived conflation of race and class (Blalock 1967). The perception that Latinos receive special privileges and resources challenges the immigrant restrictionists' belief in an achievement ideology and in meritocracy. Instead of facing the realities of structural inequality--that people are rewarded unequally for reasons other than merit--immigrant restrictionists react to their own economic precariousness in a capitalist system by othering those whom they believe cheat the system (illegal immigrants) and those who allow the cheating (politicians, greedy corporations, multiculturalists). Immigrant restrictionists rely on cultural and ethnic distinctions to justify blocking immigrants' access to resources. This argument implies that immigrant restrictionists have earned their resources and deserve to keep them. However, they do not challenge the inequality structure itself. In this way, immigrant restrictionists reinforce an ideology that legitimates their own exploitation.

In chapter 6, I answered Bayard de Volo's (2004) call for research to examine gendered framing. In particular, the immigrant restrictionist websites and forum participants relied on the emotionally powerful symbols of soldiers and mothers. The masculine and feminine resonance of these symbols is complementary--men as protectors and women as caregivers. These gendered images are juxtaposed with the faulty gender performances of illegal immigrant men and women. This chapter further highlights the intersection of race and gender within the social movement frame. The gendered symbols draw from white

Anglo normativity. In the next section, I draw connections across analysis chapters and relate the research findings to the broader sociological literature.

Theoretical Implications: Class, Race, and Nationalism

Rick Della Fave (2008) argues that the ideology that poor whites hold comes from the larger exploitative economic system. Feelings of threat and racial animosity are the result of the very real marginalization and economic precariousness that poor and middle-class whites face. The immigrant restrictionists' websites and online forum participants can be understood as approaching the issue of immigration from the standpoint of white working and middle class people within a capitalist system of inequality. Only a limited few in the United States reap the majority of resources, while the remaining citizens fight over scarce resources. The attribution of negative traits to racial minorities has legitimized and led to the reproduction of inequality inherent in a capitalist system (Della Fave 2008). David Roediger (1991:186) argues that, "White identity has its roots both in domination and in a desire to avoid confronting one's own miseries." I argue here that nationalism also plays a role in hiding the exploitation of working and middle class people in the United States. Immigrant restrictionists feel good about being Americans and patriots. This leads to a crucial blind spot that prevents them from challenging the larger inequality structure that oppresses them.

Interestingly, Schweickart (2002:147) argues in his critique of capitalism that, "there is nothing inherently wrong or inherently racist about a country's wanting to restrict the flow of immigration," and that the cost of uncontrolled immigration is "borne largely by the lower classes: downward pressure on wages, upward pressure on rents, and an additional burdening

of already meager social services.” The immigrant restrictionists I studied would clearly agree with Schweickart. In fact, from this logic, one could argue that they are class conscious.⁶⁰

However, the immigrant restrictionists are unable to articulate an anti-illegal immigrant stance without relying on and reproducing racist ideology, even in what appears to be genuine attempts to do so. Racist ideology is part of the cultural toolkit (Swidler 1986), that immigrant restrictionists pull from to make sense of their class position. The immigrant restrictionist groups conflate Latino, Mexican and illegal immigrants. The example of Puerto Ricans illustrates that anti-immigrant sentiment has implications for the stereotyping of anyone who speaks Spanish or can somehow be identified as Latino regardless of national heritage or legal status. Theorists who examine color-blind racism (Bonilla-Silva 2001), need to examine the role that nationalism plays in making race-based inequality invisible. The immigrant restrictionists depict Latino culture and non-assimilation as incompatible with being American. The conflation of all Latinos and the stigmatization of Latino culture creates and reinforces the racialization and othering of Latinos.

Although Lee and Bean (2008) argue that Asian and Latinos will become “white” through quick assimilation, the type of nationalism that the immigrant restrictionists are advocating creates a dichotomy between Latino and American. Douglas Massey (2009:24) writes, “U.S. policies are moving Mexican Americans steadily away from their middle position in the economic hierarchy and toward the formation of a racialized underclass. Segregation levels are rising, discrimination is increasing, poverty is deepening, educational levels are stagnating, and the social safety net has been deliberately poked full of holes to

allow immigrants to fall through.” This suggests that policies in the United States are reinforcing the inequality that the immigrant restrictionists advocate through their nationalism.

Further, while one might argue that immigrant restrictionists may have a type of class-consciousness, their reliance on racial stereotypes is simultaneously problematic for reducing class inequality. Angela Davis (1998) argues that whites should be concerned with racism because racist ideology conflates poverty and cultural inferiority with racially marginalized individuals. This allows poor whites (who out-number racial minorities, though not proportionally) to be invisible in their disadvantage. Further, racist policies disadvantage some whites. For example, the death penalty replaced lynching as a legal way to kill Blacks. While those on death row continue to be disproportionately Black males, white males also receive death sentences and suffer the consequences of the racist policy (Davis 1998).

My analysis of the immigrant restrictionist frame highlights the role of nationalism in the general reproduction of inequality and the othering process. Drawing from Puri’s (2005: 67) cultural approach, nationalism can be conceptualized as “the imagined nature of the nation,” that contains definitions for the perceived relationship between citizens and the state, is reproduced through symbols and rituals so as to appear natural, and is actively constructed, challenged, and renegotiated through the claims-making of both the elite and non-elite. Adams and Roscigno (2005) also found that nationalism was a components of the social movement frames of the Ku Klux Klan. In addition, Rydgren (2007:242) argues in a review of the literature on the reemergence of the radical right, that radical right parties cross

nationally, “share an emphasis on ethno-nationalism rooted in myths about the distant past.” The radical right stresses homogenization, and thus, immigration stands out as a core concern. Immigrant restrictionists are part of a larger group of radical right wing social movements that use nationalism as an important component of their organizational frames.

My research highlights how nationalism allows people to “other” racial and ethnic groups without using the term race. In addition, nationalism also contains meaning about the relationship between men and women. Jones (1990) argues that citizenship in the United States is gendered. The conceptualization of women’s bodies as weak reinforces the belief that they cannot protect the country and thus, are not equal citizens to men (Jones 1990). The immigrant restrictionists use gendered symbols that reinforce men as protectors and women as mothers. In the case of Mothers Against Illegal Aliens, the organizational presentation of self as mothers reinforces a gendered conceptualization of citizenship. However, they draw from a distinctly white, Protestant conceptualization of gender when discussing gender norms and giving presentations of self. In this sense, using nationalism to talk about race also results in immigrant restrictionists reinforcing gender inequality. Theory and research should examine the conditions from which different forms of nationalism emerge. If we want to move toward equality, we might ask how to create a form of nationalism where the ideal community is not oppressive.

In addition, nationalism not only contains blueprints for inequality within the United States, but it is also constructed in relation to other nations. If nationalism provides symbols and rituals that justify inequality within a nation, it also speaks to how that nation should relate to other nations. Just as nationalism benefits some in the nation, it also legitimizes the

inequality that arises from global capitalism. A white male idealized nation legitimizes the exploitation of marginalized countries. Further, using nationalism as a way to examine inequality allows research to lessen ethnocentric assumptions. However, this type of analysis does not assume that race and gender inequalities are organized similarly across nations. Analyzing nationalism is a useful way to determine how and why different inequality categorizations matter across nations.

I apply theories of the generic processes in the reproduction of inequality, including “othering” (i.e., defensive othering and constructing powerful virtual selves), and emotion management (Schwalbe et al. 2000) to develop my analysis. I argue here that nationalism has implications for how people show that they possess a powerful virtual self and for the types of people treated as inferior others. Immigrant restrictionists construct an idealized national community. To do this, they use nationalist symbols that appear to be race and gender neutral. However, using a discourse of nationalism, they assert “difference as deficit” when comparing themselves to illegal immigrants (Schwalbe et al. 2000: 423). Nationalism is a way to “other” minorities without appearing racist. This connects my research with a broader inequality literature, by showing how generic processes operate in online communities. Other researchers examining right-wing organizations will likely also find variations of the same social processes. The extent to which nationalism contributes to the social processes of the reproduction of inequality across different right-wing organizations requires more research.

Brubaker (2009:34) concludes his review of the literature on ethnicity, race, and nationalism by saying, “The processes, mechanisms, and structures on which inquiry has

focused are for the most part not specific to ethnicity, race, and nationalism.” In contrast, Brubaker (2009:35) suggests that the literature examining the way in which race, ethnicity, and nationalism create boundaries, we-distinctions, groups, etc. “are all very general social phenomena, the significance of which goes far beyond ethnicity, race, and nationalism.” My research supports this line of reasoning. Drawing from theories of the generic processes of inequality (Schwalbe et al. 2000), I argue that immigrant restrictionists engage in othering activities that reproduce group difference and legitimate inequality. Their world-views inform who immigrant restrictionists “other” and the identity claims that immigrant restrictionists make.

Social Movement Framing: Emotional Frames and Gendered Frames

Emotional framing (Goodwin et al. 2001) and gendered frames (Bayard de Volo 2004) are understudied by social movement scholars. I show that both emotional frames and gendered frames are core components of immigrant restrictionists’ social movement frames portrayed on websites and in their online forums. Further, my analysis suggests that scholars need to examine how gender and emotions are related within a social movement frame. I found that the emotion frames of ALIPAC are gendered because the website and forum participants reinforce emotions that are associated with men. They discuss overcoming weak emotions that are associated with women and embracing powerful emotions that are associated with men. Further, the main ALIPAC website attempts to appear unemotional, and in contrast valid and evidence-based. This is influenced by a social construction of gender that devalues weak emotions and associates femininity with emotionality and

irrationality. In this way, the immigrant restrictionist frames that provide participants with definitions regarding what emotions they should have in response to illegal immigrants are gendered emotions.

Immigrant restrictionist websites use the gendered symbol of the white revolutionary soldier. The Revolutionary War figures represent a time when men (who happened to be white) fought to create the boundaries and the sovereignty of the nation. These men are fondly referred to in elementary schools across the country as the “founding fathers.” Thus, in a social movement aimed at enforcing boundaries and stopping movement across the boundary, these white male patriarchs offer an emotionally powerful symbol. They are the individuals given credit for creating the nation the immigrant restrictionists wish to protect. However, they also represent a time period when racial minorities and women did not have full citizenship. In addition, drawing symbols from the Revolutionary War suggests that the worldviews of the immigrant restrictionists are embedded in the moral fiber of the nation. They are timeless, natural, and can be traced back to the signing of the *Declaration of Independence*.

The immigrant restrictionists also use the symbol of the caring mother. Both mothers and soldiers are emotionally powerful symbols, because they tap into deeply rooted gender ideologies. Soldiers are protectors, and good mothers are sincere caregivers who take action and make claims out of love and concern for their children. While the mother frame may seem contradictory to the masculine soldier frame, it is complementary within a larger war master frame. If men are protectors and powerful emotions are valued, someone must be in need and worthy of protection. As Enloe (1991) has argued, during times of war men are

viewed as protectors of the “womenandchildren.” In the immigrant restrictionist social movement, men are protectors of the “womenandchildren” and women are protectors and nurturers of children.

The adoption of a war master frame induces gendered emotions. Peterson (2007) argues that war itself is valued, because it is coded with masculine traits. This larger master frame sets up the type of emotions that are desirable and valorizes the soldier/citizen who experiences these emotions. How gender and emotions relate within master frames and the consequences for emotional resonance in other social movements is a fruitful avenue for future research. My research shows that emotional framing is an important theoretical tool for examining how social movement actors experience and respond to social movement frames. It is not enough that people merely agree with the claims of social movements; they must feel emotionally compelled to act. Further, certain emotional frames will be more compelling than others and foster more or less productive lines of action. The way that gendered meanings influence emotions, especially in the United States, suggests that theory needs to incorporate both emotional framing and the way that gender shapes this process.

Analyzing Websites and Forums

The popularity and widespread use of the internet has led social scientists to pay increasing attention to the social implications of internet use (Garcia et al. 2009). Scholars have examined how individuals in online forums construct social movement frames (Adams and Roscigno 2005). Adams and Roscigno (2005) analyzed white supremacist and KKK websites and determined that all types of framing can be accomplished on the internet. I

examined the social movement frames of immigrant restrictionist organizations and similarly found that they also engage in framing activities on their websites. I also included a sample of online discussion forums. I showed that online forums are places where social movement participants enact and reinforce the social movement frames through interactions with one another.

Scholars have examined how deviant subcultures are created on the internet that otherwise would not exist in face-to-face settings (Adler and Adler 2008; Durkin et al. 2006). For example, Adler and Adler (2008) examine how self-injurers who are typically loners create collegial relationships on the internet with other self-injurers. Durkin et al. (2006) speculate on how the internet has allowed individuals with stigmatized sexual preferences to find others like themselves. The attention immigrant restrictionist forums pay to overcoming fear of involvement and deflecting charges of racism suggests that they too perceive themselves to be discreditable. Forums provide safe spaces in which to build community and normalize their beliefs, regardless of their location across the United States. This provides a larger pool of people who share the same beliefs and stigmas by going beyond geographically bounded space. In this sense, those interested in studying the growth and involvement of conservative groups should consider the internet a social site where this takes place.

The implication that the websites and online forums have for the future of social movement outcomes is outside my research. However, from the data I do have, I would speculate that the internet forums do have real consequences for policy and mobilization outcomes. For example, I often returned to the ALIPAC forum as I worked on the

dissertation. On one such occasion, forum members were encouraging each other to go to a Democratic politician's website and express their opposition to a policy change that would benefit illegal immigrants. The forum members kept track of the shifting percentage voting against the policy. I also followed the votes, but within a half an hour the poll disappeared. The forum members then wrote the politician emails asking why the poll had been taken down and posted in the forum that the politician claimed to take it down because too many people outside his jurisdiction were voting in the survey. This suggests that the forum participants succeeded in shaping the results.

Analyzing online material also posed specific methodological issues. For example, the frequency with which material changes has implications for sampling. I sampled multiple websites in a short period of time, to ensure comparability. Another option would be to follow websites across time. This would allow a researcher to examine how framing strategies on the internet may shift to match specific changes in the social environment. For example, a growing body of literature shows how social movement actors strategically shift whether or not they frame their members as similar to or different from the general public, depending on the socio-political environment (see Bernstein 2002; Reger, Myers, and Einsohner 2008). Following the websites of social movement organizations across time is one way to examine this process.

I also made sampling decisions to yield the most useful data on interactions in online forums. For example, I chose to sample entire threads as opposed to postings by individual aliases. My sample was collected by taking every fifth thread. This decision was based on personal correspondence with Charles Proctor (NCSU emeritus professor of statistics), in

order to gain a quasi-random sample that allows generalization across threads. Further, since threads shift and change locations, taking a sample all at once reduced the likelihood of the sample resulting in repeat threads. Taking every fifth thread introduced a possible time change element to the sample. This was also intentional. I had hoped to track changes in themes before and after major events. However, due to the high frequency of postings, the resulting samples (especially for ALIPAC and MCDC) did not result in a large time span. The most notable time-specific data within the sample was attention given to the upcoming presidential elections.

This sample decision did not result in the richest data possible for developing theory. Other researchers might instead use theoretical sampling techniques (Charmaz 2006). More specifically, researchers could inductively code a smaller sample of threads to determine important themes and then return to the forum and sample threads based on these themes. This would provide more interactions to explore inductive hypotheses that emerge from the data. The researcher could then collect threads until no new patterns emerged. These options provide different strengths and weaknesses. My approach allows me to say how many threads out of 200 contained accounts deflecting a racist stigma. It was not as time-consuming, and the sampling was not complicated by shifting threads. However, in order to analyze the types of accounts in more detail, it would have been useful to return to the online forum and purposely sample threads that included non-racist accounts.

Concluding Statements

This research contributes to sociology in several important ways. First, my study contributes to the literature examining the relationship between race, nationality, and the reproduction of inequality. I argue that the way immigrant restrictionists use nationalism has consequences for the larger inequality structure. Theories on the generic processes of inequality illustrate how the organizations create a sense of we-ness in relation to an “other.” However, examining immigrant restrictionists allows me to explore how nationalism is informed by and reproduces race and gender ideology. A belief in a national community grounded in White Anglo culture that stresses individualism allows racial and ethnic differences to emerge as important group distinctions. These distinctions allow immigrant restrictionists to make claims to maintain the privileges they do have. However, despite arguments that big business and greedy corporations help immigrants cheat the system, immigrant restrictionists do not challenge the larger inequality structure. Instead of arguing that there needs to be a massive redistribution of wealth, immigrant restrictionists argue that wealth should be distributed by merit. The ease of ethnic and race distinctions aids their arguments that they should maintain the opportunities and access to resources that white privilege affords. However, in the long run, this disempowers immigrant restrictionists. Relying on an ideology of individualism makes structural inequality invisible. Patriotism further allows immigrant restrictionists to feel proud about being American, despite their own marginalization within the inequality structure. Further, women within the movement support the patriotic manhood acts of male members, which legitimizes gender inequality. In order to maintain white privilege, women do not challenge class inequality or patriarchy.

My research is also important for scholars of social movements. Studying social movement frames directs theorists to the content of the movement, instead of its monetary resources, the presence of elite allies, or the bureaucratic form of social movement organizations. I add to this literature by showing that emotions are important components of social movement frames. Further, I show that the gender symbols within social movement frames are not merely symbols on the website, but also reflect identity stakes. They are part of the dramaturgical performances of men and women. The gender symbols represent men's claims to power and women's acquiescence to that power. Thus, emotions and gender symbols have implications for resonance in social movement frames and for how they shape the relationships between members of the social movement.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

Table A.1. List of Immigrant Restrictionist Websites

Southern Poverty Law Center List	
Name of Organization (Date of Download)	Website
American Border Patrol (12-11-2007)	http://www.americanborderpatrol.com/
American Freedom Riders (12-11-2007)	http://www.americanfreedomriders.com/
Americans for Legal Immigration PAC *	
(12-11-2007)	http://www.alipac.us/index.php
Antelope Valley Minutemen (12-11-2007)	http://avimm.com/
Arizona Border Watch (12-11-2007)	http://www.azborderwatch.us/
Border Guardians (12-11-2007)	http://www.borderguardians.org/index1.html
California Coalition for Immigration Reform (12-11-2007)	http://www.ccir.net/
Campo Minutemen* (12-11-2007)	http://www.campominutemen.com/
Central Florida Patriots (12-11-2007)	http://florida-patriots.tripod.com/
Citizens for Immigration Control and Enforcement (12-11-2007)	http://www.c4ice.com/
Coos County Citizen Caucus (12-11-2007)	http://www.citizencaucus.org/
Dustin Inman Society (12-13-2007)	http://www.thedustininmansociety.org/
East Bay Coalition for Border Security (12-19-2007)	http://www.eastbaycoalitionforbordersecurity.com/
Emigration Party of Nevada (12-19-2007)	http://www.sendeback.org/

Table A1. Continued

Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement*	
(12-19-2007)	http://www.firecoalition.com/
Friends of the Border Patrol	
(12-19-2007)	http://www.fobp.us/
Grassrootsonfire*	
(12-19-2007)	http://grassrootsonfire.org/
IFIRE	
(12-19-2007)	http://www.ifire.org/
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps	
(12-21-2007)	http://www.minutemanhq.com
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps	
(12-21-2007)	http://www.kansasminutemen.com/
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps	
(12-21-2007)	http://www.marylandminutemancdc.com/
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps	
(12-21-2007)	http://www.okminuteman.com/
Minuteman of One	
(12-21-2007)	http://www.usmm01.bravehost.com/
Minuteman of One	
(12-21-2007)	http://www.caminutemen.blogspot.com/
Minuteman Project*	
(12-21-2007)	http://www.minutemanproject.com/
Minuteman Project	
(12-21-2007)	http://www.atlantaminutemanproject.com/
Minuteman Project	
(12-21-2007)	http://www.chicagominutemanproject.com/
Minuteman Project	
(12-21-2007)	http://www.tulsaminutemanproject.org/
Minuteman Project (Americans for America)	
(12-21-2007)	http://americans4america.net/
Minuteman Project (Minnesotans seeking immigration reform)	
(12-21-2007)	http://www.minn-sir.us/index.html
Minutemen Midwest	
(12-15-2007)	http://minutemenmidwest.com/

Table A1. Continued

Mohave County Minutemen (12-15-2007)	http://www.mohaveminutemen.com/
Mothers Against Illegal Aliens* (12-15-2007)	http://www.mothersagainstillegalaliens.org/
Mountain Minuteman (12-15-2007)	http://patriotwebsites.net/mountainmm/
No Invaders* (12-15-2007)	http://www.noinvaders.org/home.shtml
Oregonians for Immigration Reform (12-15-2007)	http://www.oregonir.org/
Pahrump (12-15-2007)	http://www.pahrumpminutemen.com/
Patriot Force Border Patrol (12-15-2007)	http://profile.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction= user.viewprofile&friendID=66683100
Pennsylvania Minutemen (12-15-2007)	http://hometown.aol.com/schwartzadler/Mainpage. Html
Report and Deport (12-15-2007)	http://reportanddeport.org/
Rescue Without Borders (12-15-2007)	http://rescuewithoutborders.org/
Riders Against Illegal Aliens (12-15-2007)	http://ridersagainstillegalaliens.com/
San Diego Minutemen (12-15-2007)	http://www.sdminutemen.com/
Save Our State* (12-15-2007)	http://saveourstate.org/index.php
Texans for Immigration Reform (12-15-2007)	http://www.texansforimmigrationreform.com/
Texas Border Volunteers (12-15-2007)	http://www.texasbordervolunteers.org/
Truth In Action/US Constitution Enforcement (12-15-2007)	http://www.tianews.com/tianews/
U.S. Border Watch (12-15-2007)	http://www.usborderwatch.com/
United for a Sovereign America (12-15-2007)	http://www.immigrationbuzz.com/

Table A1. Continued

United Patriots of America (12-15-2007)	http://www.unitedpatriotsofamerica.com/Home/Articles/Params/articlecategory/1674/menu/147/default.aspx
Utah Minuteman Project (12-15-2007)	http://www.utahminuteman.org/
Warden Burns Mexican Flags (12-15-2007)	http://wardenburnsmexicanflags.com/

Ask and Google Searches

21st Century Paul Revere Ride (12-10-2007)	http://www.21stcenturypaulrevereride.us/index.html
9/11 Families for a Secure America (12-10-2007)	http://www.911fsa.org/
American Immigration Control Foundation (12-10-2007)	www.aicfoundation.com
Border Fence Project (12-10-2007)	http://www.borderfenceproject.com/index.shtml
California Border Police Initiative (12-10-2007)	http://www.calborderpolice.com/
Californians Against Illegal Immigration (12-10-2007)	http://www.stopillegals.com/
Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform (12-10-2007)	http://www.cairco.org/
Coalition Against Illegal Immigration (12-10-2007)	http://uncooperativeblogger.wordpress.com/
CT Citizens for Immigration Control (12-10-2007)	http://ctcic.net/
Defend California (12-10-2007)	http://www.defendcalifornia.com/about.html

Table A1. Continued

Defend Colorado Now (12-10-2007)	http://www.defendcoloradonow.com
Farmers Branch (12-10-2007)	http://www.supportfarmersbranch.com/about.php
Gilchrist Angels (12-10-2007)	http://www.gilchristangels.com/
Help Save Virginia (12-10-2007)	http://helpsavevirginia.com/content/index.php?option=com_news_portal&Itemid=85
High Desert Minutemen (12-10-2007)	http://unitedstates.fm/highdesertminutemen.htm
Illegal Immigrant Boycott (12-10-2007)	http://www.illegalimmigrationboycott.com
Missourians Against Illegal Immigration (12-10-2007)	http://www.missouriansagainstillegalimmigration.org
NC Listen (12-10-2007)	http://www.nclisten.com/
STOP Illegal Immigration PAC (12-10-2007)	http://illegalimmigrants.org/about.html
Team America (12-10-2007)	http://www.teamamericpac.org
The Dustin Inman Society (12-10-2007)	http://www.thedustininmansociety.org/
We Need a Fence (12-10-2007)	http://www.weneedafence.com/

Sohoni list

Americans for Better Immigration* (12-10-2007)	http://www.betterimmigration.com/
Americans for Immigration Control (AIC)* (12-10-2007)	http://www.immigrationcontrol.com/index.htm
Border Solution Task Force (12-10-2007)	http://thorin.adnc.com/~bstf/
Carrying Capacity Network (12-10-2007)	http://carryingcapacity.org/index.html

Table A1. Continued

Coalition for the Future American Worker (12-10-2007)	http://americanworker.org/whatis2.html
Comprehensive US Sustainable Population (CUSP) (12-11-2007)	http://www.uscongress-enviroscore.org/cuspframes. Html
Desert Invasion* (12-11-2007)	http://www.desertinvasion.us/
Diversity Alliance for a Sustainable America (DASA) (12-11-2007)	http://diversityalliance.org/
Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR)* (12-11-2007)	http://www.fairus.org/site/PageServer
Numbers USA* (12-11-2007)	http://www.numbersusa.org/index
POP.STOP (12-11-2007)	http://popstop.org/index.html
Population-Environmental Balance* (12-11-2007)	http://balance.org/index.html
Project USA* (12-11-2007)	http://projectusa.org/
Support US Population Stabilization (SUSPS) (12-11-2007)	http://susps.org/index.html
The Social Contract Press (12-11-2007)	http://thesocialcontract.com/
U.S. Border Control* (12-11-2007)	http://usbc.org/
United States Immigration Reform PAC (USIRP) (12-11-2007)	http://www.usirp.com/

APPENDIX B

Inactive Websites

There were nine organizations with website addresses that did not work during the time frame that I collected the data. The name of the organizations and their website address are provided in Table B1. I was able to retrieve information for eight of the organizations using the website <http://www.archive.org/web/web.php>. This website provides archives of other websites. The archives registered the ninth website, *The New Mexico Border Watch Rough Riders*, as having been updated on multiple dates, but it did not contain any saved information for this website. In addition, the website for the group *Nevada Action Coalition* was only temporarily inactive. . .

Table B1. Organizations with Inactive Websites During the Time of Data Collection.

Organization's Name*	Organization's Website URL
Border Rescue	http://www.borderrescue.com/
Citizen Brigades	http://sandiegoborderalert.com/CITIZENS%20BRIGADES.htm
First Defenders Corps	http://www.firstdefenderscorps.com
Nevada Action Coalition**	http://www.nvaction.com/
New Mexico Border WatchRough Riders***	http://newmexicoborderwatch.net/
Ranch Rescue	http://ranchrescue.com
The American Resistance	http://www.theamericanresistance.com/
United Citizens of America	http://www.WakeUpUSA.net
Yuma Patriots	www.yumapatriots.org

* Websites materials were downloaded using the website on July 29, 2009

** This was still active and copied for analysis July 29, 2009

*** This website was registered in the archive, but no website materials were available

For the organizations that I could find website materials, I analyzed them in two ways. First, I examined whether or not the patterns of important themes matched those of the websites within the active sample. Secondly, I looked for clues as to why these websites may have become defunct, while the other ones remained active. In Table B2, I present frequencies for key themes analyzed in the dissertation.

Table B2: Frequencies for Websites Excluded from the Sample Due to Inactive Websites*

	Attack Language	Crime	Economics	Not Racist or Someone Else Is	Anchor Baby
Border Rescue	1	1	0	0	0
Citizen Brigades	0	1	1	0	0
First Defenders Corps	1	1	0	0	0
Nevada Action Coalition**	1	0	1	1	0
Ranch Rescue	1	1	1	0	0
The American Resistance	1	1	1	1	1
United Citizens of America	1	1	1	1	0
Yuma Patriots	0	0	1	0	0
TOTALS:	6	6	6	3	1
PERCENT:	75%	75%	75%	37.5%	13%

* Websites materials were downloaded using the website on July 29, 2009

** This was still active and copied for analysis July 29, 2009

The percentage of organizations with attack language, references to immigrants as criminals, and economic threat are slightly higher than those of the websites included in the dissertation sample. Due to the small sample (N=8), these differences may not be meaningful. They also likely reflect that these organizations were originally from the Southern Poverty Law Center list of Nativist Extremists. As noted in the methods section, these groups were identified as organizations that had actual face-to-face conflict with immigrants. As such, they do not include the organizations from Sohoni's (2006) list that

focus on population growth and environmental degradation. The organizations focusing on population growth and environmental degradation solely, were less likely to discuss immigrants as criminals, the economic drain of immigrants (beyond the environment), or use attack language in comparison to organizations on the SPLC list. In addition, note that the percentage of organizations using the term anchor baby is slightly lower than the percentage among organizations in my sample. However, the general pattern that war language, crime, and economic strain are more frequent themes than anchor babies matches the general trend within the sample included in the body of the dissertation. In this sense, there is nothing striking about the frequency of themes that indicate why these organization websites would become defunct while the other ones did not.

One website does explicitly state why the organization became defunct. *The American Resistance Foundation* website explicitly states that they “ran out of money.” They direct website readers to their “active effort,” *The Dustin Inman Society*. *The Dustin Inman Society* was included in my active sample, because it was located through the Google search engine.

In addition, I searched for evidence suggesting that the defunct websites were more radical than the active websites in my sample. *The First Defenders Corps* claims to be more militant than the *Minuteman Project*. They state:

“If you want to sit in a lawn chair, looking through binoculars, making cell phone calls to the Border Patrol about sightings of illegal Mexicans coming North across our border, then please join the Minuteman Project. They need volunteers for their very important job. But if you want to do your part in keeping MS-13, Los Zetas, Mexican Bandits, Islamic Terrorists, Narco-Terrorist drug smugglers, and the Mexican Military out of the United States of America, then join First Defenders Corps. We take the battle to the enemy.”

It may be that organizations that are more radical and willing to use violence are more likely to be forced to dissolve. This appears to be the case for *Ranch Rescue*. According to Andrew Pollack in an August 9, 2005, *New York Times* article, Casey Nethercott (leader) and Jack Foote (founder) of *Ranch Rescue* were successfully sued for \$850,000 and \$500,000 respectively by two immigrants who were detained by the group for trespassing on a private ranch. Both immigrants reported that they feared for their lives, due to the military attire of the group and the threats made by *Ranch Rescue* members. In addition, Mr. Nethercott was charged with hitting one of the immigrants with a pistol.

The organizations with defunct websites may be different from the other organizations in their willingness to use force. However, the sentiments expressed on the defunct websites do not dramatically differ from the other organizations included in the sample. Personally, of the websites excluded from the analysis, I found the operational website of *The Nevada Action Coalition* to be the most offensive. The website shows a picture of prisoner abuse in Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq with the caption, “This is not ‘torture’ or an ‘atrocious.’” The website then shows a picture from 9/11 that shows people jumping out of windows. The caption then states, “This is an atrocious.” However, overall, I do not believe that the exclusion of *The Nevada Action Coalition* or the other defunct websites altered my theoretical conclusions in the dissertation.

APPENDIX C

Appendix C.1: Example Output of Minuteman Civil Defense Core Frequencies

CODES-PRIMARY-DOCUMENTS-TABLE

Report created by Super - 07/07/09 04:41:19 PM

HU: [C:\Documents and Settings\Katrina\Desktop\Katrina\MinutemanHQ forum\minutemanhqforum.hpr5]

Code-Filter: All [14]

PD-Filter: All [204]

Quotation-Filter: All [1490]

	attack	anchorbaby	author	crime	economics	gender	TOTALS:
P 1: 3rd American party 12_16_07.doc	3	0	12	2	0	0	17
P 2: A nazi monster sheriff 10_28_07	0	0	4	0	0	0	4
P 3: ALEXANDER PUSHES HIS AME	1	0	2	0	0	0	3
P 4: All Boarder Show 11_8_07.doc	1	0	19	2	0	1	25
P 5: Americans For Prosperity 10_4_	0	0	7	0	0	1	9
P 6: Amnesty 10_24_07.doc	2	0	25	1	1	1	34
P 7: Amnesty 12_13_07.doc	1	0	3	0	0	0	5
P 8: Anchor Baby 10_15_07.doc	0	1	5	3	1	1	12
P 9: ANCHOR BABY CHALLENGE 1	0	3	10	0	0	6	20
P10: Angry migrant underclass might	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
P11: Armed Incursions by Mexican O	0	0	2	1	0	0	3
P12: Assistance Please 10_19_07.doc	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
P13: AZ October Muster Update 10_2	0	0	5	0	0	0	6
P14: AZ October Muster Update 10_2	0	0	6	0	0	1	7
P15: Bill Oreilly Radio 11_4_07.doc	1	0	6	0	0	0	8
P16: Border patrol 10_3_07.doc	1	0	11	1	0	1	16
P17: Border Patrol Union Statement 1	0	0	3	3	2	0	8
P18: Border watch 11_19_07.doc	2	0	14	1	1	0	18
P19: BP AGENTS IN PRISON 11_21_	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
P20: Bush 11_12_07.doc	1	0	5	0	0	1	8
P21: Bush Advising Hillary 9_24_07.c	0	0	6	0	1	0	7
P22: Bush Backs Mexican Murdering	2	0	22	5	0	1	31
P23: California Braces for Terminator	0	0	6	0	1	2	11
P24: Camp Vigilance 10_24_07.doc	0	0	4	0	0	0	5
P25: CANADA BLAMES US FOR ILL	3	0	6	1	0	0	11
P26: Carl Brauns 12_15_07.doc	1	0	4	0	0	1	7
P27: Chat 12_3_07.doc	0	0	7	0	0	0	7
P28: Check status at Traffic Stops 11	0	0	3	2	0	0	6
P29: Clinton Speaks with Illegal Drive	1	0	7	2	0	1	11
P30: CNN Rick Sanchez 11_8_07.do	1	2	15	0	0	2	23
P31: Congragulate Kathy Marchione	0	0	5	0	0	0	8
P32: Counter Demonstration planned	0	0	2	0	1	0	5
P33: Crack Down on Illegal-Immigran	0	0	3	3	2	0	9
P34: Critics to Iowa 12_14_07.doc	0	0	6	0	0	0	6
P35: Dan Fogelberg 12_17_07.doc	0	0	7	0	0	0	7
P36: Davila captured 11_22_07.doc	1	0	2	1	0	1	5
P37: DEBATE THREAD 10_21_07.dc	1	0	34	1	2	0	38
P38: DEMONSTRATION IN LYNWO	1	0	2	1	0	0	5

TOTALS:	115	13	1325	110	47	59	1624

Appendix C.2: Example of Quotation Output: Excerpt from Website “Economics” Output

100 quotation(s) for code:

economics

Report mode: quotation list names and references

Quotation-Filter: All

HU: websites

File: [C:\Documents and Settings\Katrina\Desktop\Katrina\websites.hpr5]

Edited by: Super

Date/Time: 07/07/09 05:24:23 PM

P 3: americanfreedomriders.doc - 3:2 [The issue over whose rights ar..] (68:76) (Super)
Codes: [actionprotest] [americanwayattacked] [crime] [economics]

The issue over whose rights are being trampled at Pruitt's Furniture has turned into a battle that Patriots can't afford to lose. The AFR is going to join the protest starting this Saturday. In case you aren't familiar with the situation, here is a brief summary of what has happened: For a long time now, illegal day laborers have loitered all over the sidewalk and parking lot in front of Pruitt's and other businesses in the area. They have created a third world, unsafe atmosphere which has made retail customers reluctant to approach and the result is, that without immediate relief, continued loss of customers will be force Pruitt's out of business. In an effort to save his business, the owner of Pruitt's hired off duty Phoenix cops for security, at his own expense, to attempt to keep the illegal workers away from the front of his store. Having to hire security to keep non-english speaking, illegal aliens away from your front door so your customers can get into your store is not an expense any American businessman should have to budget, but it was do that or go under.

Well, the "open borders" advocates didn't like it and they then began protesting in front of the store in large numbers, claiming that their rights were being infringed upon and stating that they would put Pruitt's out of business as punishment. They are protesting that this land is their land, and the legal property owners have no rights whatsoever. All this time the Phoenix police followed their sanctuary policy and did nothing. The Mayor and City Council need a wake up call.

There has been some negotiation and there are more details, but it has been a running battle the whole time and now the situation has reached a tipping point. If patriots in Phoenix are ever going to make it crystal clear that we have had enough, this is the time and place to do it. If we allow illegal aliens to bankrupt legitimate businesses by simply gathering in large numbers and blocking their property to customer access, we have lost this war and the Washington politicians will recognize it and be further empowered to continue their open

borders agenda. On the other hand, if we force the city of Phoenix to deal with this issue in favor of Pruitt's, as the law requires, we will send a message to enforce our laws which will be equally powerful.

This confrontation needs to be elevated to national attention, and we need to win. Period. There are many other anti-illegal immigration groups who are responding to this challenge and we are all working together to bring big numbers into this fray.

If you will ride with us (and we need everyone) please email info@americanfreedomriders.com so we know how to organize. We will be staging at a separate location and riding in together. Instructions will be sent to those who have the patriotism and courage to help win this battle. This is a critical issue - let's "git 'er done"! The 2nd Annual "Brotherhood of the Border" Ride took place on Sunday, October 21st on the Arizona border.

P 3: americanfreedomriders.doc - 3:6 [MR. PRESIDENT, SECURE OUR BORD..]

(286:287) (Super)

Codes: [americanwayattacked] [economics]

MR. PRESIDENT, SECURE OUR BORDERS!

Mission Statement: To combine the passion of riding the open roads with the urgent need to inform politicians at all levels that we will no longer stand by while the integrity and sovereignty of our nation is compromised by the adverse social and economic effects of illegal immigration. To demand that all elected officials uphold their oath of office and legislate in the best interest of the legal citizens of our state and our country. To support candidates seeking public office who we are assured understand the serious national threat of open borders and who are vocal advocates of securing our borders immediately. To influence public opinion by showing strong and unwavering support for those elected officials and action groups who have the integrity and courage to publicly oppose the amnesty legislation being proposed by John McCain and the U.S. Senate, and being shamelessly promoted by the President of the United States.

P 5: americansforbetterimmigration.doc - 5:2 [Credibility and Nature of the ..] (66:66)

(Super)

Codes: [economics] [race]

Credibility and Nature of the Grades ABI Provides Americans for Better Immigration provides the country's only comprehensive immigration grade cards. ABI has no ideology and is supported by liberals, moderates and conservatives - Republicans, Democrats and Independents. Our Grade Cards are about as objective as you can get in that they rate how much the actions of each Member of Congress would either increase or reduce total legal and illegal immigration. The Grade Cards are subjective in that we give high grades for actions to reduce and low grades for actions to increase. But they are objective in that a person who

favors massive population growth and foreign labor importation would know that Members with an F grade are their champions, and Members with an A grade are their opponents. Those who favor LESS congestion, sprawl and foreign labor competition can use the grades in the opposite way by knowing that Members with an F are working against them and Members with A are working for them. Those with a C grade are voting about half the time for more immigration and about half the time for less immigration. Each action is graded by how much it would reduce or increase illegal or legal immigration. Issues of race, religion, nationality, culture are never part of the ABI grading. The grades reflect only the numerical effects of congressional actions. We analyze the numerical effect of each action, enter it into the computer and then let the computers spit out the grades without bias. The grades in no way judge whether a Member is anti-immigrant. ABI does not grade any anti-immigrant actions - those would be actions that have nothing to do with the numerical level of future immigration but with the treatment of immigrants (not illegal aliens) who already are in our midst. ABI's attitude about immigration is that it should not be used to drive down wages of American workers, to bust unions, to force population growth to the detriment of the environment and quality of life just so land speculators, developers and mortgage institutions can make more money.

P 5: americansforbetterimmigration.doc - 5:3 [Worker Importation: · Actions ..] (60:60)
(Super)

Codes: [economics] [work]

Worker Importation: · Actions that affect the number of permanent workers are scored on the same basis as for the 'legal immigration' category. · If a foreign-worker program is TEMPORARY, then the total number of visas that would be granted over the time period of the program (up to 10 years) is calculated. Then the total number of points is divided in half because the program is temporary, but understanding that under current law enforcement procedures, a large percentage stay as illegal aliens when their visas expire. · If a temporary foreign-worker program contains significant worker protections, then the number of points is divided in half again.

P 6: americansforimmigrationcontrol.doc - 6:5 [results of the mid-term electi..] (1:1)
(Super)

Codes: [economics]

results of the mid-term elections were a setback for immigration reform, but all is not lost. We can still beat amnesty. Please visit the AIC Legislative Action Center where you can: • Sign Up for Email Alerts • Contact Congress and Media • See Key Bills and Co-Sponsors • See Alerts on Important Legislation • AIC is an American non-partisan grassroots activist organization with more than a quarter of a million members - citizens of all races, creeds, and colors. • AIC, founded in 1983, is about stopping the millions of illegal aliens who sneak

across our border from Mexico every year. • AIC is about deporting those illegal aliens already in the U.S. • AIC is about opposing all amnesties & guest worker legislation. • AIC is about strictly enforcing the current immigration laws and increasing penalties for those who knowingly transport, recruit, solicit, or hire illegal aliens. • AIC is about demanding that our federal government immediately use maximum manpower and support equipment to secure our nation from terrorists, drug smugglers, and illegals. • AIC is about reducing annual legal immigration to numbers which can be readily assimilated. • AIC is about actively promoting grassroots influence on legislators by means of letters, petitions, and postcard campaigns to promote secure border control. • AIC is about educating motivating and activating citizens with our newsletter Immigration Watch. • AIC is about our staff members who appear as guests on radio talk shows and TV programs to help alert the nation to the immigration crisis. • AIC is about encouraging all concerned citizens to join our efforts to secure America's borders.

P 6: americansforimmigrationcontrol.doc - 6:7 [Immigrants Take Teen Jobs Some..] (2:2)
(Super)
Codes: [economics]

Immigrants Take Teen Jobs Some people in Washington say immigrants only take jobs Americans won't do. This is not true. Consider, for example, our teenagers...

P 6: americansforimmigrationcontrol.doc - 6:11 ["Our present immigration laws ..] (52:52)
(Super)
Codes: [economics]

"Our present immigration laws are unsatisfactory...all persons should be excluded who are below a certain level of economic fitness..." -Theodore Roosevelt · The U.S. admits almost 1,000,000 legal aliens annually, the highest sustained rate in our history · For every 100 illegal aliens who find jobs in the US., 65 American workers are displaced · Over the last 30 years, Congress has tripled legal immigration levels · Uncontrolled immigration will drive the U.S. population from 270 million today to 392 million by 2050 · Between 1997 and 2006, the projected total net cost to taxpayers for immigration will be \$865.98 Billion.

P 6: americansforimmigrationcontrol.doc - 6:15 [· In 1986, Congress granted am..]
(125:138) (Super)
Codes: [americanwayattacked] [crime] [economics]

· In 1986, Congress granted amnesty to 3.1 million illegal aliens.

APPENDIX D

Table D1: American For Legal Immigration Coding Overview

	Number of Threads	Percent
Total Discussions of Racism	35	17.5%
Not Racist	25	12.5%
Someone Else is Racist	26	13%
Not Racist and Someone else is Racist	16	8%
Race Card	3	1.5%
Economic Threat	58	29%
Crime	73	36.5%
Immigrants are Rapists	16	8%
Gender General Coding	63	31.5%
Anchor Babies	21	10.5%
Attack Language	72	36%
Bump to the Top	5	3%
Legal Immigrant Welcomed in Thread	2	1%
Trolls	2	1%

	Number of Aliases	Percentage of Total
Aliases	279	100%
Patriotic	28	12.9%
War	11	5%
Location in Alias	47	16.85%

ENDNOTES

¹ This decision was informed by personal correspondence with Charles Proctor (NCSU emeritus professor of statistics).

² A table presenting an overview code frequencies for the sample of 200 threads taken from the American for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee online discussion forum is available as Appendix D.

³ <http://www.desertinvasion.us/> (Desert Invasion)

⁴ <http://avimm.com/> (Antelope Valley Minutemen)

⁵ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee)

⁶ <http://www.minutemanhq.com> (Minuteman Civil Defense Core)

⁷ <http://minutemenmidwest.com/> (Minuteman Midwest)

⁸ IFIRE.org (Indiana Federation for Immigration Reform and Enforcement)

⁹ <http://uncooperativeblogger.wordpress.com/> (Coalition Against Illegal Immigration)

¹⁰ <http://www.minutemanhq.com> (Minuteman Civil Defense Core)

¹¹ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee)

¹² IFIRE.org (Indiana Federation for Immigration Reform and Enforcement)

¹³ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee)

¹⁴ <http://usbc.org/> (US Border Patrol)

¹⁵ <http://www.immigrationcontrol.com/index.htm> (Americans for Immigration Control)

¹⁶ <http://www.minutemanhq.com> (Minuteman Civil Defense Core)

¹⁷ <http://www.minutemanhq.com> (Minuteman Civil Defense Core)

¹⁸ <http://www.911fsa.org/> (9/11 Families for a Secure America)

¹⁹ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee)

²⁰ NoInvaders.org (No Invaders)

²¹ <http://www.minutemanhq.com> (Minuteman Civil Defense Core)

²² <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee)

²³ The recent conviction of Michael Vick and moral panic of dog fighting, also illustrates how people in the United States rely on white normativity when conceptualizing animal cruelty.

²⁴ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee)

²⁵ <http://www.minutemanhq.com> (Minuteman Civil Defense Core)

²⁶ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee)

²⁷ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee)

²⁸ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee)

²⁹ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee)

³⁰ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee)

³¹ <http://www.teamamericpac.org> (Team America)

³² <http://www.thedustininmansociety.org/> (The Dustin Inman Society)

³³ <http://www.eastbaycoalitionforbordersecurity.com/> East Bay Coalition for Border Security

³⁴ <http://avimm.com/> (Antelope Valley Minutemen)

³⁵ <http://www.minutemanproject.com/> (Minuteman Project)

³⁶ <http://avimm.com/> (Antelope Valley Minutemen)

³⁷ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans Against Illegal Immigration Political Action Committee)

³⁸ <http://www.minutemanhq.com> (Minutemen Civil Defense Core)

³⁹ <http://www.ccir.net/> (California Coalition for Immigration Reform)

⁴⁰ <http://www.mothersagainstillegalaliens.org/> (Mothers Against Illegal Aliens)

⁴¹ I use the term multiracial, because it stresses that the two individuals in the relationship identify as belonging to different racial groups. For a more detailed explanation of why multiracial is the most accurate term see Rosenblatt et al. (1995).

⁴² Like the prior table, this table shows a smaller frequency of threads containing the code presented here. Again, this likely reflects the much smaller amount of posts to the IFIRE forum in general.

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- ⁴³ <http://www.c4ice.com/> (Citizens for Immigration Control and Enforcement)
- ⁴⁴ <http://reportanddeport.org/> (Report and Deport)
- ⁴⁵ <http://www.azborderwatch.us/> (Arizona Border Watch)
- ⁴⁶ <http://www.minutemanhq.com> (Minutemen Civil Defense Core)
- ⁴⁷ <http://www.ifire.org/> (Indiana Federation for Immigration Reform and Enforcement)
- ⁴⁸ <http://thorin.adnc.com/~bstf/> (Border Solutions Task Force)
- ⁴⁹ <http://minutemenmidwest.com/> (Minutemen Midwest)
- ⁵⁰ <http://www.minutemanhq.com> (Minutemen Civil Defense Core)
- ⁵¹ <http://www.mothersagainstillegalaliens.org/> (Mothers Against Illegal Aliens)
- ⁵² <http://www.mothersagainstillegalaliens.org/> (Mothers Against Illegal Aliens)
- ⁵³ <http://www.mothersagainstillegalaliens.org/> (Mothers Against Illegal Aliens)
- ⁵⁴ <http://www.mothersagainstillegalaliens.org/> (Mothers Against Illegal Aliens)
- ⁵⁵ <http://www.mothersagainstillegalaliens.org/> (Mothers Against Illegal Aliens)
- ⁵⁶ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans Against Illegal Immigration Political Action Committee)
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- ⁵⁸ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans Against Illegal Immigration Political Action Committee)
- ⁵⁹ <http://www.alipac.us/index.php> (Americans Against Illegal Immigration Political Action Committee)
- ⁶⁰ This is somewhat ironic since some of the immigrant restrictionist websites and forum members associate immigrant supporters with communists.