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Por Mi Gente: Gender, Citizenship, and the Power of Community in Shaping Immigrants' Risky Political Participation

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Political Science

by

Maricruz Ariana Osorio

June 2022

Dissertation Committee:
Dr. Jennifer Merolla, Co-Chairperson
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Dr. Nicholas Weller

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The Dissertation of Maricruz Ariana Osorio is approved:

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University of California, Riverside

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Dedication

To my parents and to immigrants like them who had the courage to leave all they knew behind seeking a better future.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Por Mi Gente: Gender, Citizenship, and the
Power of Community in Shaping Immigrants' Risky Political Participation

by

Maricruz Ariana Osorio

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Political Science
University of California, Riverside, June 2022
Dr. Jennifer Merolla and Dr. Francisco I. Pedraza, Co-Chairpersons

This dissertation seeks to understand why immigrants, particularly immigrant women, participate in risky political participation. I argue that immigrants face risk any time that they participate and must make two major risk assessments before they engage in any political act. First, they must identify risk as either primarily a risk to themselves or to their community. Those who prioritize risk to community over self are the most likely to be inclined to participate. I argue that due to the socialization of women as caretakers, immigrant women are more likely than immigrant men to prioritize community. Immigrants must then make a second risk assessment after they have decided to act. They must determine what political acts they can engage in that might minimize or mitigate risk. I argue that this process is done along the lines of their citizenship status. To test these theories, I collected and created a database of immigrant serving organizations in the state of California. I find that a majority of those in community-oriented positions in immigrant serving organizations are women. I then conducted ten in-depth interviews with individuals at these organizations and find that these organizations are crucial in helping immigrants make the

two risk assessments described above. I also use two different surveys, the 2020 CCES, where I was able to field two novel measures of community motivation for engagement and the 2016 LINES data set which includes immigrants with different citizenship status. I find that those who are motivated by community orientations have a positive correlation with all forms of political participation. This dissertation adds broadly to the gender and politics and political behavior literatures.

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Chapter 1: Por Mi Gente: Gender, Citizenship, and the Power of Community in Shaping Immigrants' Risky Political Participation

Introduction

Why do some immigrants engage in political behavior despite the risk of doing so? For example, Clara[1] is an undocumented immigrant from Mexico who has been in the United States for nearly fifteen years. She has two American-born children. Clara and her family have been forced by circumstance and economics to live just two miles from a detention center. Despite the fear and threat of deportation, Clara actively participates in "know your rights" events in her community and informs other undocumented immigrants of check points and *retenes*.[2] Know your right campaigns are traditional participation, but actively being a few traffic stops away from check points with signs to inform others is much riskier for Clara and it is not clear under what category of political participation that belongs to. She says that she engages in both of these for her family, but also, for her community. As an undocumented woman she cites community as a reason for her risky political engagement, but she must still decide what kind of engagement she can undergo given her status.

Other examples are TPS holders who hold rallies across the U.S.[3] to argue against dehumanizing immigration laws. Due to their protected status, they can be more visible and vocal about their right to remain in the United States, without fear of deportation, but may

[1] Name has been changed to protect the identity of respondent.

[2] Immigration raids or check points

[3] https://americasvoice.org/press_releases/tps-journey-for-justice-caravan-kickstarts-nationwide-tour-in-los-angeles/

still fear hate crimes. However, their protected status is tenuous, and their participation reflects that, as they cite motherhood and belonging in their advocacy and at their rallies instead of their innate value – they advocate for themselves in relation to the U.S. children. Similarly, DACA and Dreamer youth have been leaders in the movement towards immigration reform and are actively engaged in politics. They have held rallies, created and sustained informational campaigns, participated in marches, and actively reached out to politicians. Refugee and now Congresswoman Ilhan Omar runs one of the most progressive agendas and faces regular death threats, yet her naturalized citizenship status allows her to run for office (traditional participation) despite the risks she faces to represent her community.

As these examples illustrate, immigrant women are leaders of both traditional and unconventional forms of political participation. Yet for each of the cases above, there are countless others who do not participate at all in politics. The puzzle that remains is why do immigrants with different citizenship status participate even as the risk to them remains unequal and their benefits remain uncertain. Immigrants with different citizenship status also choose not to participate in politics and may indeed forgo their usual routines[4] if they fear repercussions for any type of engagement (Osorio & Pedraza 2017). In the same community as Clara, another mother would refuse to go to the local fast-food chain because she knew that the clientele sometimes included Border Control agents and ICE agents. The examples above also highlight that even those who do choose to engage might not have the ability to engage in the same type of political participation.

[4] https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2019/08/25/undocumented-immigrants-struggle-mental-health-surival-mode/1816672001/

These examples illustrate how immigrants with different status engage in political participation far and above what you might to expect to see by a typical citizen. It is not that these different populations of immigrants do not see risk or costs associated with their actions. For immigrants, engaging in politics is high risk - defined as when the consequences of your actions are uncertain and there is potential loss involved (Tversky & Kahneman 1992) - because their citizenship status places them in a precarious position where their political participation might have more negative consequences than those possible for citizens (i.e. deportation). However, we still see immigrants participate. Why? Part of the answer lies in what immigrants have to gain from their participation. In fact, due to their liminal citizenship status, there can be benefits to immigrants for engaging in high-risk participation or costs to non-participation (Aytac and Stokes 2019). The question of why immigrants engage in risky political participation can best be understood through the political behavior literature, but our understanding will be limited if we do not explicitly examine how women choose to engage in politics and how they perceive the risks of doing so.

The Political Participation of Immigrants and Women

The question of risky immigrant political participation is theoretically grounded in the political behavior literature, and I add to our understanding of such behavior by conceptualizing and theorizing risk as a factor that shapes the political participation calculus of some people. I begin by outlining the broad state of knowledge of immigrants and women' political participation, and on how precarious or tenuous citizenship status can

constrain access to traditional political participation. Traditional political participation includes voting, contacting an official, or other electoral activities. Non-traditional or contentious political acts include protests, rallies, or other activities outside of direct electoral participation. In this dissertation, I expand on non-traditional political participation by including new ways immigrant communities have conceptualized political engagement activities. I then provide my own theory of risky political participation and courageous citizenship. I end with a short outline for the rest of the dissertation as well as a broad lesson on democracy learned throughout the dissertation.

Political participation is central to the study of political science and many models exist to try and explain why people choose to participate. Traditional rational choice models show that people, including immigrants, will participate if the benefits to participation outweigh the costs (Downs 1957, Riker & Ordershook 1968, Hainmueller & Hiscox2010). Others argue that availability of resources will determine whether or not people participate and how political leaders might use resources to mobilize individuals to engage in politics (Rosenstone et al. 2003; Zepeda-Millan 2017). It also very much matters what civic skills you develop outside of politics and the politics you bring from home countries if you are an immigrant (Brady et al. 1995; Wals 2013). Political socialization is also crucial in predicting political participation (Carlos 2018; Garcia-Castañon 2018), as late or no socialization can have a negative effect on long-term political participation. All of these different factors affect the political participation of immigrants.

For example, we know that naturalized immigrants historically engage in political participation less than U.S. citizens in voter turnout due to difficulty in navigating bureaucracies (Rosenstone & Hansen 2003) and lack of party outreach (Jones-Correa 1998,

Hajnal & Lee 2011). Particularly important, when immigrant adjacent individuals, in this case, Latinos, think of immigration issues, they're less likely to engage with other public services, like the police, educators, and healthcare officials (Pedraza & Osorio 2017). However, this doesn't impede all individuals from engaging in politics and Latinas here provide a clue as to why.

Generally, we know that for Latina immigrants, we see more community and local level political participation (Jones-Correa 1998, Hardy-Fanta 1993) while men engage in traditional forms of political participation. However, it is unclear why this difference exists. Is it a product of where these immigrant women see their community? For example, immigrant women are less likely to plan on returning to their country of origin (Jones-Correa 1998) but are less likely to express a strong identification with an American identity (Silber Mohamed 2017, Bejarano 2014), leaving their immediate local community as the most likely source of community. Bejarano looks at the routes that Latina women take in their way to political involvement, which often are grassroots based. The emphasis, Bejarano finds, is on community involvement, with immigrant women and to some degree second generation Latinas, focusing on political engagement at the local level (2014). An overreliance of asking about turnout and other conventional measures of political participation in large-scale surveys omits variation we might see between men and women for other types of engagement. For Latinas, immigrant Latinas at that, there seems to be a link between community and participation. Still there are other explanations that help us understand why immigrants might engage in politics.

Why Participate? Existing Answers to Risky Political Behavior

Decisions to participate in politics are made differently by immigrants because they have to face additional risk assessments than native-born citizens. Existing models of political participation of women and immigrants offer clues on how risk affects our decision-making. Part of the literature addresses this by looking at how rhetoric on threat affects the political mobilization of immigrants. Work on immigrant political participation has cited heightened racial and migrant identity as major motivators for political participation (Zepeda 2017, Barreto et al. 2009, Ramirez 2013). The context in which immigrants find themselves matters greatly as it creates the political climate in which they are advocating for their rights. Context defines the reasons why they participate and how they may feel forced into becoming voters (Pantoja et al. 2001), determines the type of opposition (Kang 2015), and the type of community that they may draw strength from (Zepeda-Millan 2017). Policy also shapes politics in the sense that it gives information to communities of what the government is capable of doing, outside of the federal government (Michener 2018). These works together help answer the question of why immigrants engage in politically risky actions, they do so to advocate for their interests. However, a deeper investigation must still be made as to how gender and citizenship status affects these risk assessments.

Immigrants who are in tenuous situations have greater risks of both inaction or action. For example, immigrants, like TPS (Temporary Protected Status) holders, who have intention to stay in the United States have just as much to gain from political participation as they have to lose. In the case of those with TPS, their national bus tour known as the Journey for Justice was a chance for them to advocate for the continuation of TPS (what

they have to lose) so that they can continue their lives in the United States (what they have to gain)[5]. This theory is partly developed by the cost of abstention theory as presented by Aytac and Stokes (2019) which gives us insight in how not participating in politics can cost individuals, just as much as participating does. Immigrants see potential improvement in their quality of life and they see possible gains in their political action, either through elevated feelings of political efficacy or elevated levels of loss aversion[6]. The risk calculus of immigrants is different than for citizens because simple life events like dropping off their children at school comes with risk[7]. Also, crucial to understanding why some immigrants participate while others don't is the multiple iterations of risk assessment they must make. Ayon et al (2017) find that immigrants update their strategies against discrimination every time they encounter discrimination and that there's possibility for discontinuing the fight. Others have found that it is precisely messaging of opportunities in the midst of threat that mobilizes immigrants (Cruz-Nichols 2019).

Inadvertently, the creation of immigrants with different status has created a hierarchy of migrants. Other scholars have encouraged us to think of citizenship as a gradient and highlight the notion of citizenship as an institutionalized relationship between the government and citizens (Cohen & Ghosh 2019). The opportunity for inequalities in healthcare, for example, increases due to the structure of federalism and results in

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[5] For more information on the Journey for Justice: https://www.nationaltpsalliance.org/journey-for-justice/#:~:text=THE%20NATIONAL%20TPS%20ALLIANCE,JOURNEY%20FOR%20JUSTICE&text=The%20%23TPSJourney4Justice%20is%20a%20grassroots,immigrant%20communities%20across%20the%20country.

[6] Atkin's states that failure is also calculated, when assessing cost-benefit analyses. Immigrants have much to lose if they are unable to acquire integration policies

[7] https://thinkprogress.org/ice-agents-are-arresting-teens-on-their-way-to-school-4853613160/

fragmented social citizenship among people of the same circumstances across states (Michener 2018). Likewise, federalism creates opportunity for gradation of immigrant rights, with some states (like California) offering more benefits to immigrants than others (like Texas). However, questions remain as to how that affects the political participation of migrants themselves. It is unclear whether different status holders think about politics in the same way. Specifically, do they perceive risk the same across different types of political activities? Some work suggests that there are differences by immigrant status and yet they still engage despite threat (Correa and McCann 2013). Specifically, Correa and McCann find that non-citizens have a tendency towards community based political participation. I develop a theoretical framework below that begins to untangle citizenship status and the type of political participation taken by immigrants and then further develop why gender is such a crucial component to our understanding of immigrant political behavior.

Theorizing Risky Political Participation and Courageous Citizenship

I argue that there are two risk assessments that migrants might make, the first is whether there is greater risk to their community or to themselves and the second is which type of political engagement poses the least amount of risk given their citizenship status. I develop a typology of two types of immigrants to understand the second risk assessment. Type 1 immigrants have legal protections and are therefore able to participate in more traditional measures of political participation. Type 2 has either liminal status in the United States or no formal legal protections and if they wish to participate in politics, must do so outside of traditional measures of political participation. Current data leaves it unclear,

however, how many immigrants engage in political participation, the extent of risk they perceive, and what they believe they stand to benefit from for their actions or what they stand to lose if they do not participate. This theoretical argument yields two novel hypotheses about immigrant political participation and risk.

First, I hypothesize that individuals who assess risks to their community primarily, over risks to themselves, are more likely to engage politically, by which I mean if an individual sees a risk to their community rather than just a risk to themselves, they're more likely to engage in some form of political participation. A sub-hypothesis is that immigrant women are more likely to assess risks to their community. Here, I argue that women are socialized to prioritize threats to their communities more often than threats to themselves based on social roles theory. To test these hypotheses, I used novel questions asked on the 2020 Cooperative Congressional Election Study on motivations for political participation. I also conducted 10 interviews with individuals in community-oriented positions in immigrant-serving organizations in the state of California. Questions in these interviews asked questions on a variety of subjects, from their jobs, their families to how they assess risk.

The second hypothesis is that political participation activities are then assessed by citizenship status. After assessing these risks as individual or communal, migrants who see risks to their community are more likely to engage in political participation and they will determine what type of risky behavior they will do according to their citizenship status, the second risk assessment. To test this argument that immigrants choose to engage in political behavior that minimizes risks to themselves *after* they've chosen to engage, I use the 2016 Latino Immigrant National Election Survey and in-depth interviews.

Dissertation Outline

In the first empirical paper, "Community versus the self: Immigrant Women's Political Awakening" I delve deeper into community as a motivation for political participation. For this, I am first interested in seeing whether there is a gendered component in whether community rights are the primary motivator for their political participation over individual rights. Using the 2020 CCES, I find that there is no statistical difference between men and women in their motivations to participate. However, when looking at a subsample of women, those from immigrant-based communities do tend towards the hypothesized direction. When looking at the role community motivations has on political participation, I find a strong correlation between those who say they are motivated to participate to protect their community and a scale of political participation. Looking at individual political participation acts, community remains a strong motivator for each act. The most compelling results, however, come from the examination of immigrant-serving organizations and the in-depth interviews. When looking at who holds community-oriented positions in immigrant-serving organizations, the overwhelming majority are women. In the interviews, women cite community as a major motivation and all respondents thought of women when asked "who is a good community member" which was an indication that caretaking and placing the community over oneself was indeed gendered.

In the second empirical paper, "Coming Together: Politics of Solidarity, Community, and the Duty to One Another," I examine those who work in immigrant serving organizations think about their political participation. I conducted ten in-depth interviews

with individuals in immigrant-serving organizations (ISOs) and asked a range of questions from their motivations to hold their position, familial obligations, and their views on political participation. Through these interviews, I am able to theory build *how* community is a motivator for political participation. By asking them about their background and their conceptualization of community, I determined that there are substantial and psychological benefits to participating in risky politics. I am able to test how gender might affect the leadership style, ability to create cross-solidarity movements, and how it affects the type of public events held by immigrant serving organizations.

In the third empirical chapter, "Courageous Citizenship: Risk Assessment and Citizenship Status in Immigrants' Political Participation", I more closely theorize on risk assessments previously alluded to in other chapters. While risk of action may be the most easily identified and discussed kind of risk, where risk is uncertainty of consequences or outcomes, I find that risk of inaction is just as prevalent to immigrant communities. I look to recent Californian legislation (AB 60, Trust Act, Truth Act) as a case of what immigrants have to lose and gain if they choose to participate. I then use the 2016 LINES data to see how immigrant behavior had changed from before the election of Trump to after he has started to institute hostile immigration policies. I find a decline in traditional political participation, but the in-depth interviews paint a fuller picture of political acts immigrants engage in.

Chapter 2: Community Versus the Self: Immigrant Women's Political Awakening

Introduction

On March 3rd, 2022, a National Day of Action was called by immigration serving organizations across the country to fight for immigrant rights and to push the Biden administration on their campaign promises. Promises of humane immigration policy reform, an end to title 42, and an end to private detention centers still clung to the ears of immigrant activists now angry and disillusioned with the Biden administration. A year into his presidency and little had improved for immigrant communities. Local "actions"[8] to bring attention to the dire circumstances of immigrant communities under current federal policies spread in a coordinated effort to affect policy both at the federal and local level.

One such action took place in San Bernardino, California outside of the ICE field office there. I was invited to volunteer as a safety officer with the Inland Coalition for Immigrant Justice and I agreed. Members of ICIJ know me as a researcher, but occasionally their leadership invites me to meetings and asks me to volunteer for events.. I am not there to teach the population that I study. My commitment to a non-extractive approach to research means I show up to serve and help when and where I can. As a U.S. born citizen, I felt it was my duty to go, especially when called upon to be a safety officer. My role at protests or rallies as a safety officer is to remain vigilant of potential dangers, to deescalate conflicts, and to redirect traffic of non-participant individuals to the correct way or to direct journalists, officers, or anyone else who wishes to speak to organizers to the right

[8] Otherwise understood to be local political events to non-activists

individuals. It is a modest and small role of critical importance to keep activists and the community at large safe.

In my small role as safety officer, I observed nearly no conflict. Security officers for the ICE building only came out twice to ensure that we were not on the grass. A different security guard from the building across from where the action was taking place took video and images of us from a distance but did not approach much more than a few feet from his building. I tried and failed to direct the minor traffic that chose to walk through the action but did stop a small child from going onto the street. The mother was speaking, and the father gave the child a little too much freedom of movement. But, most inspiring, I observed a diverse population of individuals in passing traffic offer car honks and fist bumps of support to the immigrant community fighting for their rights. A Black man stood across the street and listened intently for nearly an hour to the critiques that were being levied against detention centers. My small role gave me insight to intersecting worlds of community, gender, and activism.

Small roles at Days of Action are all critical in building a safe community and increase the comfort of other individuals to engage in protests or speaking roles. Women make up most of the participants in these small roles. In the agenda for the event, speaking jobs of high visibility were given more to men (4 men to 3 women), while non-speaking roles that kept the event going were given mostly to women (4 women to 2 men). The small action did not exceed 30 participants at the height of attendance but was mostly all women. About 20 women were present with 10 men in attendance. I cannot say what the immigration status was of all participants, but most speaking roles were given to immigrant

men or were about immigrant men. Yet when chants and twitter hashtags were created, the emphasis was **community**. The main rallying cry was #CommunityNotCages.

The role of community in mobilizing vulnerable groups, like the immigrant community, is fundamental in understanding the political participation of immigrants. More so, it is the small acts done by immigrant women that sustain immigrant rights work that often goes unnoticed as political participation by political scientist and is taken for granted by the immigrant right's movement. I argue that immigrant women, socialized to be and imagined as archetypes of good community members, create and sustain community that is then used as a political tool to mobilize for immigrant rights.

In this chapter, I examine the role that community considerations have on the inclination of political engagement of individuals generally. I argue that women, as socialized caretakers, are more likely to prioritize their communities over themselves, but that all (men and women) who prioritize their communities over themselves are more likely to engage in politics. Looking specifically at the case of immigrants, I look at immigrant serving organizations (ISO's) and the gender makeup of those who hold community-oriented positions. Finally, I examine how those who work in immigrant serving organizations think about community, how they craft community, and who they think of when they think of the archetypal "good community member." I find that community motivations do indeed correlate with higher political engagement on a general population, that women make up most of the individuals in community-oriented positions at ISOs, and that women as selfless caregivers are the archetypes for what a good community member looks like in immigrant communities.

Group Threat and Mobilization

Taking a traditional view of what political participation means, political participation is inclusive of any act that is meant to influence governmental actors or acts that influence who is elected (Verba et. al 1987). While various models trying to explain political participation have focused on the resources (time, money, civic skills) individuals have (Brady et al. 1995), others have theorized that individuals are rational actors interested in political participation when it is to their benefit (Downs 1957; Riker & Ordeshook 1968). Recent literature has started to focus instead on the role of group threat on the political participation of marginalized groups. Unequal treatment and the perception of that treatment can have important implications for political participation. For example, when discrimination is perceived to be at the political level, discrimination serves as a mobilizing force (Oskooii 2020). In this respect, it's important to highlight the role group threat has had on the mobilization of marginalized communities.

Group threat is mobilizing in multiple instances and functions as a catalyst for action, especially among marginalized communities. For example, among the Latinx population, which has a high percentage of foreign born and first and second generation immigrants, threats related to restrictive immigration policies have been found to be mobilizing (Gutierrez et. al 2019; Merolla et al. 2012; Reny et. al 2019). Restrictive policies and negative rhetoric toward immigrants are not the only catalysts for political mobilization as some research has found that messaging of hope can mobilize the Latinx community (Cruz Nichols 2022; Cruz Nichols & Valdez 2020).

However, the threats and duties to community building are not equally placed among all people of color, or immigrants. Women, in particular, are sensitive to the threats associated with hostile immigration policies. Immigration concerns have been linked to lower usage of public services among women (Pedraza & Osorio 2017). Chilling effects on usage of public services matter in the context of health (Cruz Nichols et al. 2018) Despite the constant threat of hostile immigration policies, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson have found that activism persists in young immigrants (2021), likely due to the socialization young people receive in the United States through public schooling (Escudero 2020). Women, I argue are particularly courageous and participate more than the existing literature would have us expect. Indeed, hostile immigration policies have increasingly become not only racialized, but also gendered (Sampaio 2014). This is a deliberate move as women are centrally tasked with and socialized to take care of community building and other caretaking responsibilities.

Gendering Community and Social Roles

Community as a gendered caretaking action is best understood when applying social roles theory. Social roles theory can help us understand not only attitudinal formation, but also the political behavior of individuals (Schneider and Bos 2019). Social roles theory posits that traits were developed in response to limitations imposed by the historical division of labor which limited women to the home and the caretaking of children which then resulted in corresponding stereotypes for women as communal. Indeed, past work on immigrant or Latina women have found them to take a more communal approach to their participation

(Hardy-Fanta 1994; Bejarano 2014). Incentives for community building may be different for immigrant women who have more agency in the United States and may want to build a life in the United States to retain the agency they've' acquired here (Jones-Correa 1998) but may still be constrained in their pursuit of public office and their political ambition due to their gender in immigrant-based communities (Phillips 2021). I argue that this makes community building a socialized task that women undertake, not due to innate drive, but out of the social expectations? imposed by society. Women therefore prioritize threats to community because they have been socialized to prioritize community and community building. In the context of protests, this results in engaged women who can act as social connectors in mass participation events (Dionne et al. 2015).

Community as a Gendered Mobilizing Force

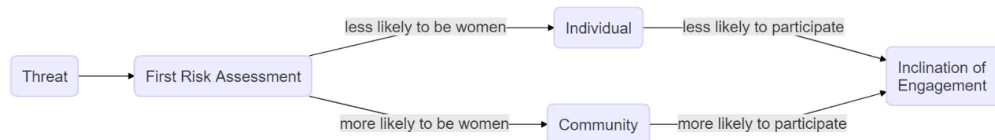

Figure 1: Theoretical Framework for Community as Mobilizing

In this section, I detail my theory of the importance in understanding community as a force and a source for political mobilization. Community is widely taken for granted by those who have the privileged position to be a part of the in-group, but for those who are excluded, community is a dire necessity that must be fought for. My core theoretical argument is that the ground leaders and main architectures of community are women, meaning that women create the necessary networks needed for grassroot movements. This is no accident, as women are socialized in most societies to create and maintain cultural values,

norms, and be general caretakers of their societies. Therefore, to understand the political power of community, it is imperative to look at the role that community plays for women of marginalized or excluded groups. For this, I look at immigrant women who must fight for inclusion in their new country while maintaining the preserving cultural artifacts of their country of origin.

Community is not a social phenomenon nor one that is exclusive to humanity. If we think of community as social cohesion, we see it in every page of our history books. If community is more akin to kinship, we see it again represented in countless instances of our histories and even in animals, wolfpacks for example. Community is a fact of life and a necessary and biological need (Anderson 1983). Immigrants in a new country also need community. For them, just as for others, it is a matter of survival. But due to their status as foreigners, their belonging is contested, often in rhetorically violent ways. This violence is not always restricted to rhetoric. Gunmen have targeted areas they deemed to be centers of immigration populations, like the El Paso Walmart shooting and the Atlanta shooting of the nail parlor. Demonized, immigrants must fight to have and be a part of a community and belonging in their new home country (Ocampo 2022). It is something they must explicitly and arduously work for. Community for immigrant populations cannot be taken for granted. For immigrant women, the violence is compounded due to their gender and immigration status (Sampaio 2015). This fight for community is crucial in obtaining safety, economic well-being, and mental well-being since their default status is one of exclusion. Immigrants, and especially immigrant women, must fight for their inclusion in order to obtain things otherwise taken for granted by those most privileged. This fight is worth the costs it incurs.

These costs can take the shape of time costs, for example. They often must learn new political rules, language, cultural practices, and become economically self-sufficient. Immigrants strive to prove their "worthiness" of inclusion. In doing so, they often demonstrate greater adherence to the moral values of the new country. Their knowledge of their new country makes them better citizens in their communities as they have the necessary tools to have informed opinions so crucial in a democracy. Yet we see that a subset of individuals still engages in politics demonstrating a stronger commitment to the US ideals of an engaged citizen and a courageous patriotism.

Generally, among Latinx communities, we have observed a great deal of similarity between men and women in their political attitudes and orientations. In fact, as far as ideology and attitudinal preferences, little differences are observed among immigrant men and women. However, there are crucial differences in *how* ideology and attitudes are expressed in political behavior and *how* they arrive at those beliefs. Because community does not just "exist" but instead must be made, it is imperative that we look at the role that women have in these processes. Women, not men, are the ones who lay the foundation for political group power to be expressed. There is no "Latinx" vote without the women who go door to door or make calls informing their neighbors of expressed political preferences. Immigrant women are the source of any group political power.

In all of this, women are central. Immigrant women are charged with the task of relationally bounded community making. Women are cultural caretakers and protectors. They are assigned both the task of protecting the cultural practices of the country of origin but also the task of learning to navigate the culture and structures of the new country. In this process, women from patriarchal societies, which amounts to the majority of our societies,

are socialized to prioritize the needs of their communities before their own. As such, there is no immigrant women community that they think of or prioritize. One exists, but much like a fish in water, they do not see it or recognize it as exclusionary. It is not exclusionary by default as non-binary individuals have in increasing amounts joined the ranks of immigrant women in the endeavors of community building. In practice, however, we do see gendered differences in who takes the lead in community building endeavors as men take the back seat in some of these efforts. Men may not join in these efforts outside of economic networks or economically focused communities, like day laborers, as they are not socialized to think of things like PTA meetings and elder care.

Women take on these roles of caretakers, either willingly or unwillingly, but it results in their distinct ability to be community builders and leaders. Because of their ample network with other women who also take care of their households, they are particularly attuned to the needs of the community. Immigrant women have unique access and predisposition to see issues as wider than themselves, a necessary step in overcoming collective action problems. This allows women to act in more communitarian ways. Setting up mutual aid funds, for example, is a form of resource redistribution that might help individuals who have nowhere else to turn to. Collective childcare might also allow other women to take on more active forms of participation, like protests or organizing. A sense of danger to the community also forces immigrant women to take risker forms of political participation. The sense of urgency to protect community allows immigrant women to engage in the most courageous forms of political participation.

This sense of urgency is not naturally occurring in immigrant women, but instead an artifact of the exposure they have to systemic injustices. Women are more likely to have to

deal with institutions, like healthcare, childcare, education, and then to foresee what should happen if they did not fight for their communities. If they don't go to PTA meetings and advocate for their children, they will not get the resources they need. If they don't fight for healthcare, the ailing health of their families is in jeopardy. If they do fight, they have a chance at securing life-changing resources for themselves and their loved ones. These are not abstractions, but daily lived realities that directly translate to political behavior. What makes this all political participation is that these initial instances of advocacy are trying to change public officials' stances and to advocate for legislation to the benefit of their community.

Immigrant women who perceive their community to be in danger must act in any way that they can and in doing so display a great deal of internal efficacy. Community gives immigrant women a source for internal efficacy to develop and flourish. It no longer becomes a question of can I do something, but how to do something given their marginalized status. This demonstrates that community action involves complex decision processes. Political participation then can take many forms, including our generally understood battery of political behavior like: contacting officials, writing petitions, volunteering, attending rallies or protest. It also can take the form of mutual aid projects, disseminating information on retenes, or being community healthcare advocates (i.e. promotoras).

For immigrants, community is crucial for all manners of health. It offers emotional support, financial opportunities, and physical well-being. It is a tool of survival in all the ways one needs to survive as a social species. Community saves and inspires. It offers hope or can ignite indignation on behalf of others.

Expectations

H1: Those who perceive threats to their communities will be more likely to express motivation to participate in some form of political participation, regardless of status or gender.

A sense of threat can be mobilizing to the community in question.. Findings from others (Oskooii 2016, Zepeda 2017) has found that community threat can be mobilizing more so than when discrimination or threats are individualized. Following this logic, if one senses that there may be risks to the community of either inaction or action, immigrants are likely to be more willing to participate than if the risk is isolated to the individual. We should see then that any individual who sees risks to their community will be motivated to act in some form of political participation.

H2: Women are more likely than men to prioritize risk to their community and therefore defending their community will have a stronger effect on women's political participation.

Since women are more likely to assess risks to their community, they are more likely to engage in politics, despite the risks. This does not mean that men are incapable of this, just that women are primary caretakers and are tasked with community work more often. Immigrants of all statuses who are mobilized can use political reasoning to assert their claim of inclusion in the polity. They may in many ways already be part of their polity and local community and may be perceived as such by those with full citizenship. They also rely on

the participation and acceptance of the general public and those with full citizenship, expanding the scope of their political power base.

H3: Immigrant women are more likely to take community-oriented positions in line with social roles theory.

Immigrant women might be more limited in their participation due to their status but might still be mobilized to participate in politics. Concerns over their community might result in women taking more community-oriented positions in immigrant-serving organizations.

Data and Methods

Quantitative Methodology

First, to test the relationship between community motivations and political engagement and how this might vary for men and women in the general population, I use the 2020 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) (*n=1,000*). I also use this study to look at motivations for participation among those with immigrant-backgrounds (first, second, and third generation). In the CCES, I was able to ask two novel questions about motivations to participate, to defend one's individual rights or to defend community rights. I ask the following questions:

Q1. When it comes to participating in politics, how much of your motivation to participate is to defend your own rights?

Q2. When it comes to participating in politics, how much of your motivation to participate is to defend your community?

Both questions were then asked of all participants in the CCES 2020 study. If participants responded the same for both questions, they were then prompted to "break the tie" and were asked to say which one was a greater motivation, either their own rights or defending their community, when deciding whether to participate in politics. These questions allow me to support the theoretical claim that community is a major motivator for political engagement in general, and in immigrant communities. It also allows me to see if there are gendered differences.

A database of immigrant serving organizations (appendix A) in California was compiled in collaboration with a hired research assistant in order to see what the gender composition of those who hold community organizer/community outreach positions are. We looked for terms like "immigrant services," "immigrant NGO," and specific immigrant groups like "Black immigrants" to get greater diversity in results. Part of the reasoning here is that immigrant women will want to hold these positions, as part of their socialization. From the 78[9] organizations that have identified as immigrant serving organizations, the composition of those who hold community-oriented positions are mostly women. The gender composition is as follows: 41 women, 14 men, 1 non-binary individual, and the rest we were unable to determine a gender based on their website information. This database

[9] Some of these organizations had multiple individuals in community-oriented positions. All those who had these positions were added to the database.

helps to ascertain who does the community building labor but also helps create a pool for interview participants. This data gives us more nuance at how individuals arrived to the positions focused on community. Following up this observational data with in-depth interviews then allows me to ask how they see their position, how they think of community, and how it might matter.

The CCES survey allow me to test whether community-oriented respondents participate in a substantially different way than those who participate for their own self-interest and to test for an interaction effect between community or self-interest and gender. Finally, by looking at those immigrant-serving organizations and who, in-practice, actually holds these community-oriented positions, I can examine how decisions to build community or are community-centered are based in a complex decision-making.

Results

To test my first hypothesis that there is a relationship between being motivated by community concerns and political participation or higher political engagement, I used my two novel measures of motivation. I created an additive scale of political participation. Items included attending a local meeting, posting a political sign, volunteering for a campaign, attending a protest, contacting an official, and donating to a campaign or politician. When looking at table 1, I find that there is a positive correlation between community-based motivation and political participation. The relationship holds when including control variables associated with political participation, like education and income.

I was also interested to see if community motivations for participation were correlated with participation across each individual type of participation. Table 2 shows how each form of political participation is positively and strongly correlated with community-oriented motivations. The results also demonstrate a positive correlation between immigrant status and non-traditional forms of political participation, the relationship fails to reach statistical significance in some instances.

Table 1: CCES Engagement

Table 3: CCES 2020

	Dependent variable:	
	polpar_scale	
	(1)	(2)
Defend Own Rights	−0.023	0.027
	(0.042)	(0.045)
Defend Community Rights	0.202***	0.120***
	(0.039)	(0.042)
Women	−0.160*	−0.036
	(0.096)	(0.101)
POC	−0.262**	−0.228**
	(0.107)	(0.109)
Immigrant Background	0.281***	0.123
	(0.097)	(0.101)
High school graduate		0.169
		(0.344)
Some college		0.599*
		(0.348)
2-year		0.485
		(0.362)
4-year		0.612*
		(0.344)
Post-grad		1.170***
		(0.355)
Conservative to Liberal		0.094
		(0.067)
Constant	5.321***	4.461***
	(0.256)	(0.440)
Observations	837	600
R^2	0.067	0.116
Adjusted R^2	0.061	0.100
Residual Std. Error	1.357 (df = 831)	1.184 (df = 588)
F Statistic	11.889*** (df = 5; 831)	7.022*** (df = 11; 588)
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

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Table 2: CCES Political Participation by Political Act

Table 4: CCES 2020

	Dependent variable:					
	protest	local_mtg	campaign	officials	sign	donate
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Defend Own Rights	−0.324***	−0.241**	−0.155	0.025	0.032	0.069
	(0.115)	(0.121)	(0.131)	(0.076)	(0.086)	(0.072)
Defend Community Rights	0.528***	0.514***	0.381***	0.219***	0.305***	0.215***
	(0.127)	(0.134)	(0.137)	(0.071)	(0.082)	(0.067)
Women	−0.016	−0.175	−0.006	−0.126	−0.236	−0.370**
	(0.256)	(0.269)	(0.286)	(0.162)	(0.175)	(0.153)
POC	0.196	0.027	−0.613*	−0.721***	−0.187	−0.445**
	(0.276)	(0.304)	(0.366)	(0.197)	(0.201)	(0.178)
Immigrant Background	0.609**	−0.063	0.321	0.423***	0.331*	0.440***
	(0.255)	(0.279)	(0.288)	(0.164)	(0.177)	(0.156)
Constant	−3.772***	−3.728***	−3.864***	−2.116***	−2.895***	−1.734***
	(0.753)	(0.822)	(0.850)	(0.465)	(0.528)	(0.436)
Observations	837	837	837	837	837	837
Log Likelihood	−232.922	−214.240	−196.241	−468.707	−413.928	−508.149
Akaike Inf. Crit.	477.844	440.480	404.483	949.414	839.857	1,028.298
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

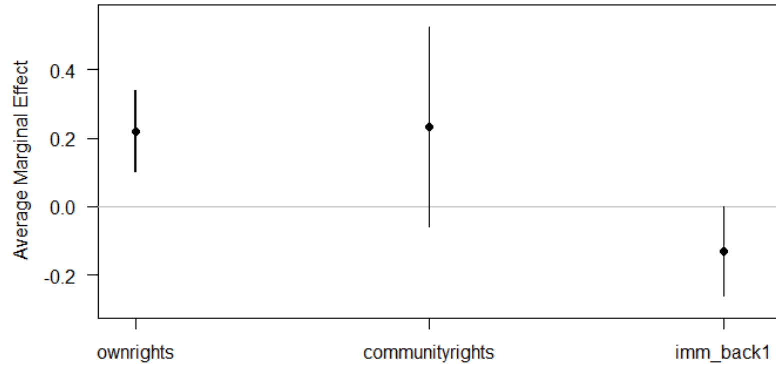


Figure 2: Men Subsample

In order to first see if there is indeed a gendered difference between men and women and how that affects their political engagement, I did a subsample analysis of their

participation. A subsample is an appropriate way to see how community rights concerns might be motivating individuals to participate in (Masuoka and Junn 2013). While I expected to see community rights to be more strongly correlated with women than with men (hypothesis 2), Figure 1 and Figure 2 show that there is almost no difference in the effect of community motivations on participation for men and women. However, when looking at an interaction between those who are either immigrants or have an immigrant background, women with an immigrant background are have a positive correlation though it does not reach statistical significance. in support of my second hypothesis. In fact, when looking at the interaction in the men subsample, having an immigrant background and having community concerns is negatively correlated with political engagement, even if it doesn't quite reach statistical significance.

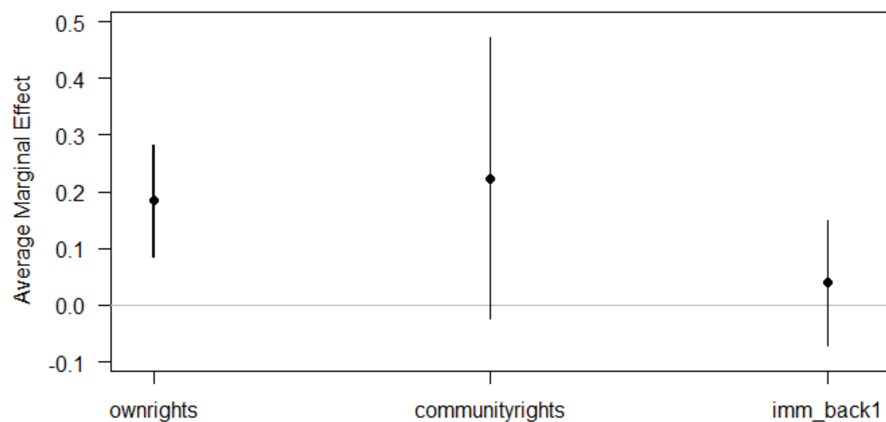


Figure 3: Women Subsample

Qualitative Data

In order to look more closely at my hypotheses in the population of interest, I compiled a list of immigrant-serving organizations (ISOs) in the state of California. As a leader in immigrant rights, California has a high population of immigrants, over 10 million, the highest of any state[10]. By looking at immigrant serving organizations, I can see if indeed it's women who take positions that prioritize the community. If indeed women are taking these positions more than men, interviewing individuals in community-oriented positions helps to disentangle what might be motivating them to take these positions. I can also see the composition of those who take community-oriented positions.

Taking as an example one organization that I work closely with; the Inland Coalition for Immigrant Justice has nine members. This organization is an example of what the "About Us" pages looked like. Out of the 74 unique organizations, there were 104 individuals in community-oriented positions. Some of the websites did not contain pictures of their staff or had multiple positions that had direct contact with the public. This data allows me to test the third hypothesis of whether or not immigrant women take a community-oriented approach to their engagement. Out of the 104 entries 60 could be identified as women, 20 could be identified as male, and the rest either self-identified as non-binary or their gender could not be determined from available data. This shows that there is

[10] https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/08/20/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/

a gap in who takes these community-oriented positions, with women largely taking community-oriented positions.

STAFF

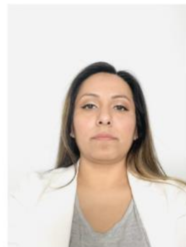
JAVIER HERNANDEZ
Executive Director

LUIS CABRALES
Associate Director

LIZBETH (CASTILLEJOS) ABELN
Deportation Defense Director

LYZZETH MENDOZA
Policy Director

EDDIE TORRES
High Desert Organizer



OLGA FLORES
Community Resources Coordinator

TAMARA MARQUEZ
Communications Coordinator

JESSICA HERNANDEZ
Digital Organizer

ARACELI CALDERA
Office Manager

Figure 4: Staff Webpage

This still leaves the question of why they take these positions unanswered. In order to understand why women were taking these community-oriented positions at greater rates than men, I interviewed individuals in these positions and asked them about their motivations, their family lives, and how they thought about community. Interviews were semi-structured but did ask follow-up questions as they seemed relevant to the conversation. A full list of the interview instrument can be found in appendix C. These questions asked about the job the held and why they had sought those positions. This allowed me to hear about what particular attributes drew them to community-oriented positions. I hoped to be

able to discern if it was indeed caretaking duties that drew them to these positions or if it was something else. For the same reason, I asked what their roles were in their families and in a separate question what their role in their community was to see if there were overlaps in their perceived duties to family and community. This would help support or disprove the social roles theory. Interviews took place between October of 2021 and March of 2022. There were ten interviews overall.

Table 3: Interview Summary Information

Average Time	Women	Men	Immigrant	US Native Born
55 Minutes	8	2	7	3

From these interviews I found three major themes in relation to community and political engagement. First, I find that community is not a stable concept for immigrant communities and that community building is at the forefront of individuals who work at ISOs. Second, I find that community provides real tangible benefits in the shape of food, monetary aid, and access to other services, but it also provides a source of dignity and psychological well-being for immigrant communities. Finally, I find that there is a gendering of who is a good community member in immigrant communities and that ISOs perpetuate these images, despite their intentions. I go into depth of each in the following sections.

What Is Community?

I first wanted to establish what community was and how it was defined by members of these immigrant-serving organizations. Largely, community was conceptualized as a group of individuals who provided a sense of belonging, previously found to be a necessary

component of predicting political participation (Ocampo 2022). These communities, however, are not set by rigid lines and can and do incorporate any sense of how support might be conceptualized. Interview 2, a man, said, "I think community is always in transition. But community is a place where you can call home and where it's welcoming and you feel like you're included." In a sense, community is a flexible concept because it is tied to a sense of family and families are complicated and different. Like families, community can be a source of belonging while still acknowledging that there might be differences. Interviewee 9, a young woman said, "We might be having some differences, but if you need it, I'm here, and I think that's what family's for. And I think that's a community. It's like really rides or dies, ride or dies who are like, I'm here with you through it all."

Still for others community was also conceptualized as providing very real needed support beyond the familial sense of belonging. It provided an actual safety net in the absence of governmental support. Interview 10, a young woman activist said, "So that's what I see community you know, that is like your safety net of like in is a beautiful thing because it's not only like, Oh, this is, you know, I'm going to I'm in debt. I need, you know, I need to borrow money. It's like, no, people that have your back. Right? People that I have your back and people that you share struggle with, and then you're trying to overcome that struggle together. That, to me, is community. And something that you get to build everywhere you go." In this instance, community provided a safety net, but also solidarity and additional support in fighting for immigrant rights. In many instances of the interviews, the lack of support from the government or from other communities was implicit and the need to

create community, either with other activists or with others in the local area, was a lifeline both figuratively and literally.

Why Community?

As theorized above, community provides individuals with tangible things that are necessary for the survival of anyone. From the interviews, I gathered that there were two types of benefits obtained from investing in community and sustaining community: psychological benefits and material benefits. Interviewees cited a range of benefits from being a part of the immigrant rights community from "feeling seen" to obtaining tangible policy wins that improved their own lives. For instance, Interviewee 3, a woman activist shared that the work she did provided immigrants who belonged to the organization a sense of family She told me that immigrants from the community she served were less individualistic and more community oriented. I asked her to clarify what she meant and she shared,

> Yeah, definitely. I mean, definitely, folks try and cultivate that sense of community. And you know, there is a lot of hometown kind of associations that have networks. And it is one of the top reasons why people join, too is like they find a community, they find a family. You know where they don't have it. And yeah, because a lot of folks are here without a lot of them are here without any family or just a few family, sometimes extended.

Immigrant-serving organizations provided the platform to find a sense of belonging and the necessary networks to facilitate integration into the larger community and is a primary reason why immigrants joined the organization, according to interviewee 3. The role of community here is crucial for the creation of ISOs who provide important advocacy work beyond the psychological benefits of belonging. Community is a precursor to

immigrant advocacy and their political participation. In these groups some even find greater efficacy and a sense of liberation. Interviewee 9, a young activist woman said, "And I think that's why I've gravitated so much because to know that there's so many folks who are there to support you is liberating for me, I think." For many of the people I interviewed, most could only think of the immigrant community as the communities they belonged to, but for Interviewee 9, it was her first. She now belongs to many communities outside of her immigrant community where she feels free to be herself. This support also translated to material benefits.

For many, the pandemic also affected their livelihood and income, without access to safety nets like unemployment of disability leave from long COVID. While in California, there was discussion of providing undocumented immigrants with stimulus checks, there were real issues in ensuring that all undocumented immigrants received them, as told to me by my interviewees. In this instance, communities provided lifesaving aid in the form of mutual aid to their community members. Interviewee 5 shared with me,

> "for example, COVID has been, you know, like communities that have had to step up and support each other, right? Like there was no financial. And what are those calling the stimulus checks for undocumented workers? You know, there was no. Unemployment for folks that work that, you know, like the labor cities like that, you know, so ultimately it was up to people willing to risk themselves to go out there and provide that support that allowed people like. Somehow stay afloat during the past two years"

Communities, I theorized, are necessary for survival and this is tested in immigrant communities most. From those who are most attune to community needs, individuals in community-oriented positions at ISOs, community provides both psychological and material benefits that are worth defending. However, is this a gendered

labor? I have argued that it is. In the interviews, I find that it is an unconscious bias to reinforce and perpetuate the bias that women are the ones who should be tasked with community-building. This came after individuals consistently answered questions about their community as a source psychological and material benefits.

Gendering Community Pillars

A final theme of the interviews in relation to community and mobilization was the unique idea that individuals at ISOs had of who was a good community member. Generally, when asked what made a good community member, attributes of selflessness, caretaking, and being a connector or broker between people or services was mentioned. One of the men that I interviewed told me at length who a community member was. He mentioned that a good community member was someone who was accountable and responsible for the community but emphasized that they should also be compassionate towards other community members. He shared the following story with me to highlight what he meant:

> Interviewee 2: I think of a woman whose husband or killed about 11 years ago and a colleague and I were at the hospital with her with her family, didn't really know her then... She easily could have taken the route of, of being really angry and vengeful and wanting to seek revenge for what happened to her, to her children, to her family. But even though she, you know, I recognize and honor those feelings that she has, she also has made the transition to try to seek out and reach out to other families that have been broken the same way because of Border Patrol violence. And so in that way, I see her as being a good community member because of that transition that she's been able to do... But in spite of that, she's able to find the grounding for her to want to seek justice in a healthy way.

This quote highlights the gendered nature of a good community member. Not only tasked with taking care of her family, social roles theory would also suggest

that she take care of the community as well. What is unique is that the interviewee had talked at length already about caretaking as a major responsibility in his life and in the work that he did. Yet the perfect image of a good community member was this woman who, almost heroically, transformed her trauma to help the community. This was not limited to the men I interviewed. Caretaking and other traits commonly attributed to women were primary indicators of who was a "good" community member. When I asked a woman who she thought of when she thought of a "good community member" she also responded with a story of an immigrant women who was nearly always responsive to the needs of others over her own. She said the following of that immigrant woman:

> Interviewee 8: She just always had that like setting that time aside to speak to people and hearing their problems and bringing them up to like, I don't know, like, yes, providing the resources. So like, Hey, yo, you need help with this. You know, this organization does this that here, let me connect you with them. Let me take you there. You know, things like that. And to me, she always seemed like that. That was like, what a good community member would be, because it's like someone who is willing to take the time, to talk to you, to listen to you, to help you through that.

Both of the quotes above show that while not a conscious practice, leaders of communities are perpetuating gendered stereotypes of who a good community member is. This is likely why we see women take on these roles in their very own ISOs as they can adhere to gendered stereotypes of what women should be with their leadership positions in immigrant rights advocacy. While considering compassion, caretaking, and other generally thought of women characteristics is not inherently bad in forming our ideas of who a good

community member is, it is a problem that only women came up in examples of who is a good community member.

Discussion

This chapter highlights the importance of understanding the role of community as a mobilizing force for women. As socialized caregivers and the primary builders of new communities, immigrant women, I argue, are the most likely to prioritize threats to their community. By prioritizing their community, immigrant women are mobilized to participate in contentions and community-oriented ways, compared to immigrant men.

Using novel measures in the CCES 2020, I find that there is a correlation between concern for defending one's community and higher levels of political participation. This patten holds when I look at each individual form of political participation. Looking at a subsample by men and women, I find that there is little difference by gender in their reporting of what motivates them to participate. However, when looking at an interaction between those who hold an immigrant background and motivations to defend community, immigrant background holding women do lean towards higher political engagement while immigrant background holding men lean negatively. This is in line with expectations of my argument.

Finally, using a new database of immigrant serving organizations, I find that immigrant women do take community-oriented positions more so than men. After conducting ten interviews with individuals at these ISOs, I find that community is a strong motivator for those working with immigrant communities. I find that community is a fluid

concept for those in ISOs and that community provide both real and psychological benefits. However, the labor of creating community, sustaining it, and who the prototypical "good community member" is gendered. Women are implicitly tasked with this labor, even when this is not the intention of those who work at ISOs.

The following chapters look at how immigrants who do decide to participate must then undergo a second risk calculation, one that is based on their citizenship status. In those chapters I use qualitative data from leaders in immigrant-serving organizations to examine how they make their risk assessments in any particular form of participation, like protesting or volunteering for a campaign.

Chapter 3: Coming Together: Politics of Solidarity, Community, and the Duty to One Another

"And I think at the time, folks were like, I don't even want to have citizenship, right? I just I want to be acknowledged and to be seen as myself. And that means coming out of the shadows. So I think you saw I see initiated and a lot of the coming out of the shadows because I don't even say coming out of the shadows. I would even put it as allowing folks to come in to see you as a whole person and be like, Hey, yeah, I see that you're also undocumented. But I also see that you teach your student, your mom, you're a cousin. And that is extremely valuable. And that's why you're important, right? So for me, that's how I began to hear voice."

- **Interviewee 9**

Introduction

This chapter examines what has happened when government institutions fail to provide protection to vulnerable communities, by focusing on immigrant communities and the rise of immigrant-serving organizations (ISOs). Institutions have an important role to play in the engagement of citizens and can create information shortcuts (Frymer 2010), however, immigrant communities of color have been historically neglected or targeted by government institutions (Fox 2012). In this vacuum, immigrant communities come together to share information and form coalitions of power. Immigrant serving organizations form out of these communities and fill an important function in facilitating immigrant political participation by helping assess risk to participation, assess possible gains, and provide community with reasons to continue engaging in advocacy for immigrant rights. Part of this can be understood through the shift in narrative in immigrant communities from "in the shadows" to "in the shadows no more."

In the shadows, immigrant communities have been historically difficult to study. In recent years, this has changed as some immigrant communities declare to the world, "in the shadows no more." The opening quote illustrates how simply being seen or acknowledged as a human being is a source of empowerment for undocumented people in the United States. This change of narrative comes after years of marginalization with little hope of the government providing a pathway to citizenship for millions of people who consider themselves American. Most famously, early childhood arrivals have been in the United States nearly all their lives and have never known any other place to call home. While there has been some movement for these individuals to have protected status in the form of DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals), this legislation omits many Americans without citizenship along arbitrary lines of age and definitions of worthiness (Gonzales et al. 2020). In this context, we have seen the disillusionment of a people that they might have justice and an increased political power base in non-governmental immigrant-serving organizations (ISOs)(Chand et al. 2021).

When the government fails so many of its immigrant citizens, immigrant communities have come together to form a coalition of power, support, and community in the shape of these immigrant-serving organizations. When they have seen both political parties fail them in the fight for a pathway to citizenship reform, ISOs have formed to demand that they be treated with dignity and respect. Importantly, they put pressure on elected politicians to pass legislation crucial to the wellbeing of immigrant communities. AB 60 (driver's license for undocumented individuals), the Truth Act, and the Trust Act in California are just a few examples of this. They also provide crucial information on how to navigate a complex immigration system and how to evade immigration authorities (Chand et

al. 2021; Garcia 2019). The value of ISOs cannot be understated in helping immigrants create community and become political actors in whatever form they can. Since most immigrants are not able to vote, they participate in familiar ways, like volunteering for campaigns, but also in new and inventive ways like providing testimonials and hosting healing circles as a form of political participation (Zepeda 2016). Political information, resources, and the time associated with organizing are all facilitated by ISOs, creating the pathway for healthy democratic participation (Strolovitch 2008; Zepeda 2016) by members of society who are some of the most marginalized and vulnerable, immigrants.

This chapter develops a theory of how community acts as a mobilizer for immigrant communities and contributes to the general literature of political participation and behavior by directly engaging with immigrant activists and asking them how they think about political participation, community, and their motivations for engaging in the advocacy work that they do. It also tests if immigrant women are engaged with community work more so than immigrant men and what that means for the gender dynamics of the organizations. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, women are more likely to prioritize their communities or express their motivation to defend their communities as a reason for their political participation. This pattern repeats in the make-up of those who choose community-oriented positions in ISOs. A majority of those positions whose job is to engage with the public are women. I argue that this is part of the socialization that women undergo to prioritize caretaking responsibilities. This caretaking socialization shapes how individuals see their position in relation to the communities they belong to. We see this magnified in the

aftermath of the pandemic and new patterns of labor growth[11]. ISOs allow immigrant women to find agency and power despite the limitations of caretaking expectations.

In this chapter I use in-depth interviews, participant observations of fundraising events, and keynote speeches at these events to demonstrate the impact citizenship status and gender have in shaping risk perceptions, understanding politics, and creating the need to act. I find five major themes: 1) Burden of Privilege, 2) Recognition of Structural Inequality/Injustice, 3) Policy Implementation, 4) Gender Dynamics, and the role of 5) Joy, Love, and Dignity through immigrant rights work. I also asked about risk assessments in political participation, but the analysis of those responses is saved for the following chapter. Interviewees cited a sense of burden of responsibility to act given their privileged position, something that held true even for the interviewee with the least amount of legal protections and that this was related to their understanding of structural inequalities that affect many people like them. These structural inequalities impacted every dimension of immigrant life and was understood like this by respondents who said "every issue is an immigrant issue". Immigrants in ISOs felt a sense of gratification in fighting for policies that helped immigrants, not so much for their own personal gain, but for the improvement in their *family's* lives. It is no accident that familial well-being is highlighted in policy implementation, as there are notable gender dynamics in the make-up of these ISOs. Even women who did hold higher positions in ISOs discussed feeling unheard and the difficulties of being a woman in advocacy work. But, perhaps most surprising, I found that the role of *love* for

[11] https://latino.ucla.edu/research/latina-unemployment-2020-2/

community and the joy and sense of dignity found in advocacy work in ISOs were highly motivating for sustaining the work.

In summary, from the interviewees I undertook with immigrants in ISOs, I refine and extend my theory of immigrant political participation as well as gathered data to explore whether the motivations of women for being in these community-oriented positions is in line with social roles theory. The participation observation allows me to see how these themes play out in how immigrant activists act around each other and how they frame their political participation. Immigrants are highly motivated to engage in politics in order to defend and provide for their communities in tangible ways, despite the threats that participating might have.

Community Threat and Political Participation

Scholars and activists have established how we understand the role of political threat as a catalyst for political participation among immigrants and the formation of coalitions and community groups (Zepeda-Millan, Guiterrez et. al 2019, Perez). Here, I link those claims to what we know regarding women and their role in ISOs. Due to the difficulty of studying immigrant activists (referenced above with the notion that immigrants were "in the shadows"), we have been able to investigate at the microlevel the role of immigrant women in ISOs, except for some notable exceptions. Hardy-Fanta found in her qualitative work and examination of Latinas in the Boston area that immigrant women tended to be more communal in their approach to politics and emphasize participation over power (1993). This work highlights the distinct nature of women's participation in building power, one that

emphasizes community over the individual. Likewise, Jones-Correa finds that immigrant women are more likely to re-orient themselves culturally to the United States and that this results in them participating in politics more than men. However, for him, the gendered nature of immigrant women as caretakers is an incentive for their involvement not out of community concerns but because the United States affords them more economic and social independence (1998). New migration patterns, like a decrease in circular migration due to harsher border policies (Massey et al. 2016), however, have changed this calculus. Immigrant women, have a greater incentive to create community in the United States now as it has become too costly to migrate back and forth. Immigrant women use their considerable skills and act as knowledge brokers and community builders in their pursuit of immigrant rights (Hardy-Fanta 1993, Jones-Correa 1998, Dione et. al 2015). Community also serves an important political function when threatened.

Community threats when framed as unjust serve as powerful mobilizers beyond (or complimentary) to individual concerns (Walker 2020). I argue that this is even more important for individuals that are marginalized among more than one dimension. Research has found that in many different settings community injustice or threats to the community, as broadly or narrowly defined, shape our preferences for immigrants and refugees (Osorio 2022, Adida et al. 2010), who we want our leaders to be (Merolla & Zeichmiester, 2009). This leaves the question of how marginalized identities respond to authoritarian preferences by the broader public and hostile legislations. Individuals marginalized at the intersection of multiple identities are also marginalized by organizations that purport to advocate for marginalized individuals (Strolovitch 2006). By prioritizing immigrant women in this

dissertation, I study how those most marginalized respond to hostility and how they advocate for their rights.

Theory

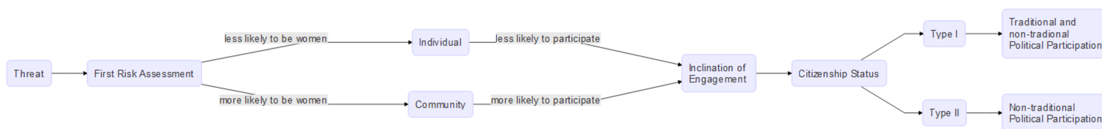


Figure 5: Theoretical Model of Risky Participation

As a brief reminder of the overarching theory of this dissertation, I begin with the idea that there is some threat that compels individuals to identify the locus of risk. Individuals will either see the threat as primarily a threat to themselves or primarily a threat to their community. Community threats as a primary concern force individuals to admit the systemic nature of the issue and is a cause for the increase of political participation among immigrants. Collective action issues are easier to overcome when there is not much choice to be a free rider. Immediacy and dire need require the participation of community members to act, in whatever way they can. The immediacy of the need of collective action after years of political and institutional failures propels immigrants to engage with politics seeing that they must do for themselves what others have failed to do. Keeping in mind that this dissertation expands ideas of what political engagement might look like, immigrants come together for a common cause, belonging, that may take the form in a number of different policies by the state. Policies like in-state tuition for immigrant youth is a fight for belonging and, while now widely accepted, had to be fought for (Colbern & Ramakrishnan 2020).

For those bounded in a sense of community, threat may be a mobilizing force, while threat perceived to be primarily a threat to oneself will be demobilizing (Oskooii 2016). Where my theory makes an intervention is to say that this primary risk assessment is gendered where women have been socialized to think of threats to their community above threats to themselves. As socialized caretakers, they have the most immediate connection to networks (Jones-Correa 1998) that, I argue facilitate the cognitive connections that make structural and communal threats more immediately evident. By interviewing individuals who are in community-oriented positions, I can test what the motivations are for being in those positions and investigate if this is a gendered response.

The Forming of Courageous Citizenship

Community threats mobilize individuals to act in the interest of the community, and in the case of immigrant women, may encourage them to act in risky forms of political participation. Because we have seen that immigration concerns may lower the use of social services (Pedraza & Osorio 2017), and especially healthcare (Pedraza et. al 2017), immigrants have much at stake if they continue to engage in cautious citizenship. Instead, they are forced by institutional failure to exercise *courageous citizenship* by engaging in politics that pose risks to them, like loss of income, detention, or deportation. Risk is something dynamic for immigrants and for immigrants with precarious citizenship status this means participating in politics in ways that may not immediately be recognized as political participation.

The focus on immigrant-serving organizations is crucial in understanding the way risk is conceptualized at a communal level, what kind of considerations arise, and how the

gender make-up of those making decisions affect participation. ISOs are highly specialized and the staff in these organizations are highly educated in the issues that pertain to immigrant rights. Because ISOs can see how all of these issues are immigrant issues, they know that the cost of inaction is higher than the possible risk of action. Immigrants also trust these organizations, something that cannot always be said of government offices, which puts some ISOs in a duty-bound position to serve immigrants and provide them with resources as they are available. This is a stress for the women of these organizations who hold the majority of community-oriented positions. However, they provide the best conduit for their community relations not due to innate skill or talent (which they likely do possess), but because of gendered expectations from their constituents as caretakers.

Immigrant serving organizations are foundational to the creation of an active immigrant community. They provide necessary information, resources, and spend the time needed to evaluate what campaigns and strategies might be most effective. Risk is something ever present in immigrant's lives due to their precarious citizenship status and every act is an act of courageous citizenship.. The interviews below allow us to understand in their own words how immigrants form and think about communities, how that shapes their motivations to engage, and how they think about political participation. In their responses, we see that their idea of community is expansive and not limited to ideas of geography or even people. This was highlighted even further in immigration events outline below.

Data

This chapter relies on qualitative data, primarily: in-depth interviews, participant observation, and ethnography. In-depth interviews were done with individuals who work in

immigrant serving organizations (ISOs) and who hold community-oriented positions. Interviews can allow for descriptive or causal identification of theories and can allow for an examination of alternative theories (Weiss 1995; Mosley 2013). Participant observation and ethnography allowed me to experience to a lesser degree the lives of immigrant activists (Emerson et. al 2011). Initial data collection efforts included creating a database of immigrant serving organizations in California. This database included information like who holds community-oriented positions in ISOs, gender of those in community-oriented positions, their titles, biographies (if available), focus of the organization, and the location of the ISO. This helped to establish that there was indeed a gendered component to who holds community focused positions. However, this database could not provide the nuance of how individuals in ISOs thought of community, risk, and political participation.

To dig deeper into their motivations and their conceptualization of community, risk, and political participation, I recruited from that database individuals for in-depth interviews. To answer more complex questions around citizenship, motivation to participate, and what risky politics might look like, I conducted in-depth interviews with members of immigrant-serving organizations (ISOs). Due to complications from the ongoing pandemic, I limited my scope to those organizations with offices in California. I compiled a list of organizations serving in California by searching in the google search engine key terms like "immigrant organizations," "Filipino immigrant organizations," "immigrant organizations LA," and so on and so forth until I had complied enough organizations to start interviewing. I also had prior knowledge of organizations in my region due to prior work in the southern California area and my attendance at Immigrant Day in Sacramento. Some organizations were local,

while others were a part of national organizations. A full list of organizations is included in the appendix a.

Questions were tailored to ask about their motivations to participate, what they thought constituted political participation, levels of risk associated with participation, and how they mitigated risk. Interviews tended to run a full hour and were conducted among citizens and non-citizens alike and included both women and men. A full breakdown of the demographics is below. The questions for the interviews are in full in Appendix C.

Table 4: Demographic Interview Summary

Average Time	Women	Men	Immigrant	US Native Born
55 Minutes	8	2	7	3

Thinking about identity, it is important to take into account the identity of the researcher to manage any bias, but also as a tool for access to vulnerable populations (Feldman et. al 2003).

Statement of Positionality

Studying immigrant populations is a particularly hard endeavor because immigrants have a hard learned distrust of government. There is also a tradition in academia to study vulnerable populations, like immigrants, in an extractive and exploitative way where there is no benefit to the communities in question and risk is offset to these communities. As an agent of the state, in the form of a graduate student at a public university, my positionality did arouse some suspicion at the beginning of my graduate studies. I am also a US-born citizen who might not be seen as someone who can easily relate to the struggles of immigrant communities.

In my recruitment emails to immigrant organizations leaders, I shared part of my story of coming from a mixed status family. While not something I would normally do, vulnerability is a two-way exchange in ethical research (McLaughlin & Alfaro Velcamp 2015; Hernandez et al. 2013). While my own status has afforded me protection from most of the damage that can be done by the state, I have had multiple family members deported or chose to "self-deport" after finding immigration policies in the United States too cruel. I have also been working on issues of racial justice and immigration for over a decade and come from a community that is largely made up of Latino immigrants.

Community Organizations

Individuals in immigrant organizations are better versed and experts in issues pertaining to immigrant communities and often have many thoughts on what solutions might look like compared to the average citizen. Studying those who are a part of community organizations therefore is the best place to study complex motivations of immigrants who participate in "risky politics." Risky politics here means that the outcome of any action is uncertain and with possible danger attached to any given action. Following the in-depth interviews, I used transcription software to transcribe the full audio of the interviews. I also wrote notes during the interviews of things individuals in ISOs highlighted. Below are the themes as identified after most of the interviews were conducted. Themes were in response to questions from the interview instrument. However, questions were not always kept to just one specific question. Often, interviewees would go back to past answers or elaborate on things they had mentioned earlier. The themes were then coded together in

relation to the question they were answering even if it was at a later point of the interview. These interviews elaborate on why community matters to them and why they do the work that they do.

Themes

Saturation, where no new themes were being identified, was reached by interview #7. Additional interviews were completed in an effort to find more themes; however, the following were the most present in nearly all interviews: Immigrant Identity, Burden of Privilege, Recognition of Structural Inequality, Policy Implementations, Gender Dynamics, and finally, Joy, Love and Dignity. These themes as a whole help us understand why immigrants engage in risky political participation and why community is so important to them. These themes help us understand how they navigate the world, how they understand politics, and the benefits they see or gain from that participation.

Immigrant Identity/Ties

In these interviews, the most salient identity and the one discussed by all interviewees was their immigrant identities. Immigrant identity, even for those who were US born or naturalized citizens saw their immigrant identity as either the master class or a primary component to how they navigated life. When asked about what communities they were a part of, interviewees said that their immigrant advocacy communities were either the primary or only community they were a part of. If community is necessary for survival, then

protecting the only community you are a part of makes logical sense. Because organizing work takes so much time and energy, many could only focus on this while trying to juggle some of their personal responsibilities. Two interviewees were a second-generation immigrant, but still felt close to the immigrant experience and had undocumented family members that kept them aware of the challenges immigrant communities face. One interviewee was a third-generation immigrant and while her own family background had removed them from the immigrant experience, they had married into a first-generation immigrant family. This aspect is crucial for developing a sense of vicarious illegality[12] and thereby forming the sense of communal unity first described in my model of immigrant political participation. Interviewee 6 talked about the immigrant community like this:

> **When I think about community, the very, very first thing, honestly, that comes to my mind is my undocumented community. I** carry that with me because I feel like that's the voice that often gets left out more than I just, generally speaking, migrant community, migrant and refugee community or **more than just like biologically me**. I think I think of the subset within the bigger community. **For some reason, that's my go to because I know that voice is often silenced**.

Other interviewees would mention their relationship with either their immigrant parents or would mention their immigration status as a matter of fact. When asking them about community, they spoke mostly of their immigrant-serving organizations and allied organizations as their primary community and had to be prompted to ask about other communities. In many instances, they could not think of another one. In this respect, immigrant identity becomes a type of master class (Omi and Winant 2014) where life is

[12] Term developed by San Juanita Garcia

interpreted and navigated mainly through this identity. This immigrant identity was interpreted in conjunction with the privilege they held, either as documented or as having access to resources despite their immigrant identity. As we can see, for these respondents community concerns serve as a strong mobilizer for political participation.

Burden of Privilege

There was a recognition among those interviewed that they held a special position of privilege. Even the most disadvantaged interviewee, a low-income undocumented mother, expressed the need to act given her ability to do so and her knowledge that there were people in much worse position than her. Others knew directly that they were in privileged position because members in their own family had no legal protection. Interviewee 6 shared the following:

> I felt like I was in a position where I could actually speak up, and **it is a in a in a way, a privileged position because I knew my older brother did not feel that the power to speak out.** My dad is still terrified of of being apprehended by a Border Patrol, which we have here and ICE. And so I do feel a sense of privilege as well. **Even with my limited status. So it's a combination of responsibility. I feel like it's my responsibility, my duty to do so. A privilege because I can**.

Immigrant identity was understood in the larger context of citizenship, who had access to power, and what even liminal protection could offer. For all those interviewed, there was an acknowledgement that they could act in ways that were not offered to others or that they had access to special knowledge to the political system that their families did not have access too. Most of those interviewed were highly educated, at least 3 had mentioned a

post-graduate degree, and another shared how they were thinking about graduate school. However, it was not just privileged access to knowledge that was seen as a reason for action. A woman with no legal protections, an undocumented mother, shared with me that she understood that because she had stability in the form of her business, she had a duty to act. She put it this way:

> Interviewee 7: A veces dicen que su nivel de pobreza no para extrema, extrema, extrema, extrema, mega extrema, siendo que yo estaba pobre, **pero sabía que hay gente más pobre que yo**. Entonces digo, **si eso me pegó a mí, otra gente le iba a pagar mucho más**… la gente que iba como te **agradecía cuando llegaba llorando**… nos regalaban pizza, no regalaban panes, no regalaban tacos, decía cositas sencillas, nos regalaban Starbucks. En aquellos años de todo te digo fueron muchísimas vivencias, muchísimo, muchísimo que pa' compartir.

Here, she tells us not only how she recognizes her privileged position, but also how she can empathize with others who might be struggling more than her. She recognizes that while she may struggle economically, and while she has no legal status to protect her, that she should act for those who cannot. More so, she shared the rewards that she received from her actions. There was an immediate gratitude expressed in literal tears from people who were not in the position to act like she was and an acknowledgment from the community at large that the labor she was providing was valuable. It was rewarded in the small ways community members could, by feeding her and those who stood with her at checkpoints, and these small ways really helped shape this idea that not only was she in a position to help others, but that there was solidarity in the struggle.

The burden of privilege was accompanied by an understanding of structural obstacles. Burden of privilege could not be understood without also understanding that there

were those who were in worse off positions and that citizenship status was a large part of why people were in the bad positions that they were in. For example, interviewee 6 shared with me that even though her older brother was smarter than her, her brother was just a few months too old for DACA. It was then her responsibility to accomplish as much as possible because the arbitrary definitions of who could have DACA. While she did not explicitly say that her brother's worse off position was unjust, there was an implicit logic that there were structural inequalities that were unjust. This burden of privilege points to the risk dimensions that immigrants must consider when deciding *how to participate*. Some are in slightly more privileged positions over other immigrants they know and this seems to compel those immigrants I interviewed to act.

Recognition of Structural Inequality/Injustice

Interviewee 6's story directly contradicts narratives that suggest immigrants are not able to be successful in life fail due to personal responsibility or a cultural deficit. In this family, the daughter that was able to obtain DACA was able to pursue a professional degree and now works at an immigrant serving organization where she leads with great success in policy reform in the state. Interviewee 6's brother, by her own admission smarter than her, could not overcome structural injustices and struggles to find employment as a day laborer. These kinds of stories are everywhere in immigrant communities, and they expand beyond the DACA/undocumented binary. These stories and lived experiences, and in particular in the case of interviewee 6, show the power that policy has and the injustices that might result from policies that are intended to help.

There was a recognition that justice could not be had while there were classifications of who was worthy and who was not. DACA was seen by those who had it as unfair because they had family members who were not eligible due to arbitrary reasons. Pathway to citizenship was seen as the most devastating loss in the last policy advocacy conversations. Worthiness was implicitly highlighted in most interviews (i.e. we pay our taxes, we help the economy, educated, etc.). There were many layers to injustice as perceived by immigrants in ISOs. Interviewee 3 shared with me,

> Well, and I got involved in kind of activism and organizing through the lens of racism and and like just like **how I became more aware and understood inequalities** and then systems creating those through **the lens of racism first**. But then I also very much got involved in like at environmental justice, environmental racism that then shows the disproportionate impact on communities of color of environmental harm. And I just got involved in a lot of different issues, from police abuse to issues on the border with things like drugs, workers in factories there.

Interviewee 3 cites here an interrelated dimension between race, her immigration, and systems of harm in her communities. She wasn't the only one. Many of the people I interviewed saw system injustices due to their status, but that was only an introduction to injustice. They understood other ways people are marginalized and oppressed too, like the LGBTQAI community. In addition to other systemic injustice concerns, immigrants in ISOs had a deep understanding that current immigration policy was also an economic one. Interviewee 7 shared with me,

> **Creo que es tener indocumentados, es negocio y para** muchos es muy redituable para muchos los sueldos no beneficios. Si a veces una persona este con documentos este sé que hay gente que gana el mínimo verdad? Pero al menos tienen algún tipo de beneficio. Algo, algo, algo. Pero pues que se ahorren algo esas grandes compañías es redituable para ellos y siempre va va

> mal. **Vamos a ser necesarias para la economía** de muchos fulanos. Hay mucha gente que te paga cash, hay mucha gente que no te paga o ahora mismo ni siquiera el mínimo. Yo voy a trabajar aquí, así no me pagaban el mínimo hace 20 años, verdad? **No sabía, yo sentía que me hacían un favor y me desbarataba como uno trabaja en su país. Pero te das cuenta que no debe ser así, no debe ser así.**

The economic exploitation of immigrants was felt by ISOs. Prior to the pandemic there were already issues with wage equality and the inability or fear to speak out in fear of losing employment or deportation. This economic exploitation was felt even more at the beginning of the pandemic. Many cited that the pandemic exacerbated issues in immigrant communities, like there being no safety net when immigrants lost their jobs or having to work in unsafe conditions. Those in ISOs in community-oriented positions understood that there were larger structural changes and a solution to those structural issues are policy changes. Acknowledgement of systemic injustices underscores the unjust nature of the immigration process and highlights again why those with privileged immigration status should act despite the risk. Community concerns provide a motivation to act despite the risks associated with participation.

Policy Implementation

The people I interviewed had personal stories and examples of how immigration policy affected their lives. Because they understood policy impacts on a personal level, they also felt any policy win on immigration much more deeply as well. Folks in ISOs cited direct impact on their family members and loved ones as a rewarding factor in their policy advocacy. There was already the motivation to engage in policy advocacy, but the immediate reward of having direct family members access benefits was cathartic, in a sense. For many,

the most immediate example that came to mind was the California campaign, #HealthCare4All. The #HealthCare4All campaign was seen by immigrant advocates as an immigrant issue because non-citizens were routinely excluded from healthcare policies in the state. The push for these organizations was to be able to include undocumented elders into healthcare. #HealthCare4All was a policy priority for many immigrant organizations throughout the state and was widely talked about at rallies or throughout social media posts. Interviewee 6 shared with me the humor in working for something that would directly impact her family,

> … like I joke around sometimes like, **yeah, my family's going to benefit from this,** you know, …then my family's going to be one of those people that get to benefit, for example, like **we're part of a coalition that push for health for all here in California.** And the first thought came to my mind was my dad. **My dad's not going to have health care, and he hasn't had it in sixty-three years**. So, so, so yes, I mean, been directly impacted. It's **a motivating part** of the job that we're helping people that look like me and my family.

An important motivation for those interviewed were in large part how their participation would impact their larger community. Specifically, here we find examples of how individuals at ISOs connected their political participation to actual policy and advocacy. While there may be risks to their political participation, there are substantive policy objectives that immigrant organizations are fighting for. Advocacy and policy priorities tended to focus on the local or state level with only one interviewee citing work at the federal level. Because the locus of focus was local, there was an immediate pay off to their participation. Interviewee 8 highlights this below.

> Interviewee8: whenever my grandma would need to go to the doctors or something, it's like, Okay, where can I go, where they're not going to, where I won't be in danger, or, you know, or where it's accessible for me. So I just kind of always been. Well, now I think I'm more like that resource person... Now that I'm as the director and like knowing and having all these partners and knowing what's available and **always fighting for more statewide**, I feel like it **only feels better because I'm feeling we're actually using this.** All this work that I'm doing is not. **Yes, it's for loads of people, but you can when it's tangible within your own family, it's like it's pretty satisfying**.

The satisfaction of being able to advocate for policies that had an immediate impact on communities these individuals belonged to helped to keep momentum going on larger policy advocacy. It also contributed to the internal efficacy felt by even those most marginalized. For example, Interviewee 7 shared with me that despite her citizenship status and what she called "her little portion," she received great personal satisfaction when she was able to push for legislative change and that it kept her motivated in the struggle for immigrant rights. I would note here that the interviewees who placed an emphasize on policy implementation at the personal level were the women I interviewed.

The personal as political was evident in every policy priority and win, both as how it was framed by immigrant organizations in the campaigns but more strikingly, also how it was viewed by those in ISOs. The women I interviewed shared personal anecdotes about how policy wins affected their loved ones and their communities. The men, while they also mentioned policy wins, did not share the same anecdotes and talked about policy wins or policy needs in a more abstract way. Women were able to articulate policy wins for the community as reasons for their political involvement, which was in line with my original theoretical model.

Gender Dynamics

Gender dynamics seemed to be at play in the way policy implementation was understood, but it also seemed present in how internal relations at ISOs were felt and how individuals at ISOs preferred to lead. As chapter two points out, gender dynamics and stereotypes were also established when looking at who was a good community member. The definition tended to be that of someone selfless, servile, and supportive to those in their community. Among those interviewed, when asked to give an example of a good community member, all gave examples of women. However, here I focus on how women in leadership positions at ISOs discussed being a woman in an immigration serving organization.

Immigrant women at ISOs discussed how their gender shaped their leadership. Interviewee 7 shared with me that along with her anonymity in the online organization, she also obscured her gender identity from the members of her online page. She told me that she did this so she would be seen as more valid and so that she would be taken seriously. Despite running the organization, she felt her power would be diminished if individuals knew it was a woman running the organization. In comparison, Interviewee 6 shared with me that a big perk of her position was that her board "actually listened" to her. Having had a previous professional career, she was used to being diminished because of her gender. She shared with me about her ISO,

> So that's another **huge incentive**, you know, **feeling respected, feeling heard**. It's the other biggest thing that this job offers, and we don't **we don't always get positions of leadership**. And when we do, **we are still often dismissed.** And so with this job as the REDACTED, **not only do I feel**

> **empowered to do my best for my community, I'm encouraged by the board.** And so I think that's the. **So those two things impact in our community** … Yeah, and **it has to do with a combination of being a woman wearing these hats, right or labels** and being… You know, the times walking into court and the judge thinking that I'm the interpreter for my client. **Because I'm a woman**, right, and so **it's happened a few times like that and and these are microaggressions are, I think, felt just about every day**.

Gendered microaggressions and explicit discrimination against women were discussed as everyday things, not just by Interviewee 7 and 6, but also casually at immigrant rights events I went to. An activist at a day of action, who was aware I was a researcher working on this dissertation, shared with me that immigrant rights organizations have a huge gender problem and issues with LGBTQ rights. This sentiment was reinforced by Interviewee 5 who was not at the top executive position but did have a higher rank within her organization. She shared with me how difficult it had been to enter her organization as, shortly after her entry, multiple women of color left.

> I was pretty new when the first person left. It was like within like one or two months. But then I started, so I did have a long conversation with her about it. I think she was just like, tired of certain like dynamics going on a lot. You know, **gender dynamics, power dynamics that impact like that were impacting her day to day.** She felt like, I mean, she was doing the work of like do right now we have two different people doing her job, you know, **so she was covering a lot of bandwidth and didn't have enough support**, and she fell, Yeah. So I feel like that was one of the main concerns. **She felt like leadership or executive director wasn't necessarily like listening to people's concerns around their work environment** and their workload and things like that. And then the other person left a little bit later, **but also kind of like the same thing around feeling like the women of color were like doing more work than the men.** That again, leadership wasn't listening to her concerns and things like that.

Interviewee 5 indicates here that there were gender dynamics that affected the turnover rate of those in the organization. The women she spoke of were both organizers

and had direct ties with community members. The labor being described was labor that is necessary to the vitality of an organization that hopes to serve vulnerable populations. Losing these women is damaging to the overall work of immigrant rights advocacy. Interviewee 5 empathized with the women organizers but felt constrained to act. She shared with me:

> Yeah. And I mean**, I think as somebody who's new boss, as a young woman of color, I felt like in other jobs too.** So for me, it was kind of hard like. Because I don't know, being kind of like a middle person coming in and like trying to listen to them**, but at the same time, knowing that what I could do still could pretty limited** … he doesn't take other folks into consideration when making those decisions, which to me, it's like **I'm more used to doing more like a collective**, like making a decision as a group so that, you know, getting that buy in from folks before you make like a final decision or anything like that.

For Interviewee 5, the leadership style of the organization she had just joined felt uncomfortable. It is worth noting that the body language from the screen seemed uncomfortable, like she shouldn't be sharing what she was sharing. Interviewee 5 did not agree with how things were handled and had previously talked about burn out from her previous organizations due to how she was treated. It was clear that Interviewee 5 did not like the mobilizing model (Han 2014). Women in leadership position at ISOs seemed to prefer the organizing model (Han 2014) where leadership was cultivated in their organizers. For example, Interview 8 said that for her it was of great importance that the culture of her organization was "right." She said, "The potential in the culture and then that to me, is like more than enough, like it was like, let's invest in them because I know they will be amazing … Nobody who I regret bringing on, and they have all definitely flourish as individuals and as leaders, and I'm proud of them like almost every day now."

This difference in leadership style and in acknowledgement of gendered dynamics was largely missing from the interviews with the two men I interviewed. However, when I asked at the end of the interview what else I should know that perhaps I hadn't asked, Interviewee 1 did share, "There would be no immigrant rights movement without women." This simple acknowledgment carried great weight for the rest of the interviews in my mind and I heard the implicit echoes of this statement whenever individuals described who "good community members" were. The centrality of women in the immigrant rights movement and in immigrant rights activism cannot be overstated, even as their representation in positions of leadership is unequal. While my model accounted for why women might be more sensitive to community as their motivation to engage in politics, social roles theory and the interviews here hint to the limitations that might be placed on those women and their upward mobility in those organizations. However, work in immigrant rights activism did have an optimistic aspect. All those who worked at ISOs cited the importance of joy, love, and the dignity they felt they received from the work they did.

Joy, Love, and Dignity

In the interviews conducted, an unexpected element of the role of community was discovered. Community and activism for that community also give immigrants joy, love, and a sense of dignity. The role of community in immigrant serving organizations bring to light the absolute necessity of levity and hope in dire times. Strength was found by these individuals in the love for their community, the joy they found in one another and the time they spent together, and ultimately served as a preservation of their dignity in the face of

hostility and aggression. These elements make the immigrant rights movement possible and some organizations, led by women, put love at the center of their mission.

Feelings of joy in community were most apparent in the stories Interviewee 7 shared. She would often take incredible risks by posting not far from *retenes* to alert others that a checkpoint was ahead. She would also take her children with her, and she told me that even though people harassed them, shouted at them, and threw things at them, the experience was remembered fondly. Her children liked to go to these weekly campaigns. She told me,

> … y pues es que era pues como era su papá iba yo, iban amigos, entonces me hice amigos las semanas, mucho cariño y también me los cuidaban, entonces siempre estaban como todos pendientes alrededor de él y como conocían más gente, entonces ellos llegaban a estar extrañados, ellos sabían que era fin de semana, nos vimos el retén, sabía que íbamos a comer cosillas callejeras, que la verdad no me majestuosa a sacar el asador. **Es que era tan divertido, era tan divertido. Era, era, era padre.**

Fun was a central part of the work for Interviewee 7. She told me that there was music and dance and joy at these events that made everything else bearable. It also strengthened her ties with the community, and she has served as a safety net for people of that network, providing housing and food when possible. These connections are not limited to only members of the community, but also to new immigrants who may be crossing. As recent migrants, immigrants at ISOs know the difficult of undocumented migration and place the love that is so lacking during the arduous journey. Interviewee 6 led an organization that placed that knowledge at the center of their mission. She shared,

> **Our mission is based on love, but it's a very active kind of love**. So when we go in and put water in the desert, we write messages of love on the bottle to encourage people to continue in their journey and to **feel welcome** to give them sometimes that extra push of motivation as they're enduring

> ongoing their journey through the desert. So that's just an example of why **we consider this mission to be based on active love**

Much like interviewee 6, Interviewee 8 placed a great deal of importance of seeing the dignity of individuals and what people need beyond physiological needs.

> Interviewee8: So just like having the same amount of passion for the community and the same mindset of like? Had I didn't say like I'm thinking like overall, I don't know, like a whole wholesome view of the fight of the immigrant justice fight, like not just for policy base, but like. People who, I don't know**, who see every aspect of being a human**. I don't know. I guess I'm just thinking more of like the mental health and **the importance of individuals**, because even when we work, we always try to make sure that we're checking in and making sure that everyone's doing well. Within their own families, within their own health, and because this stuff is important to you can't just be producing, producing.

The response above highlights how prioritizes have shifted in immigrant communities. Community building is a source of material and psychological benefits, but also goes beyond that to be a source of joy, love, and dignity among the immigrant women interviewed. This seemed distinct from a sense of belonging in the interviews. The interviews were done one-on-one and allowed for long responses where individuals highlighted what was most important to them. From the interviews, it was clear to see that immigrant serving organizations arise out of need and from the failures of government institutions to address issues in our immigration system. However, there is some limitation to the in-depth interviews.

Public Events

An important question that might linger is how do ISOs talk about these themes amongst each other and how does this play in public spaces? A key part of my theory is how community considerations motivates individuals to participate in politics. As a way to answer this question and as a supporter of immigrant rights, I have participated in a number of Day of Action events, rallies, and meetings.

As a supporter of immigrant rights and my inclusion of immigrant spaces, I was invited to two different fundraising events. I attended these events not in my capacity as a researcher, but as a private member of society that cares about these issues and supports these organizations. However, once in attendance, the relevance of the keynote speeches and acceptance speeches of those who received awards was immediately evident. I attended two public fundraisers and each, while it shared its mission to raise money for immigrant serving organizations, was a vastly different experience in both who was celebrated, who was in attendance, and the general tone. Both organizations have served the southern California region for over a decade, yet the composition of the organizations is markedly different. However, both organizations structured their event similarly and ended with a keynote speech by a Californian politician.

Event A was held in October of 2021 after COVID restrictions had been lifted. The event was held in an outdoor venue that was remotely located. It was a ticketed event where general admission cost $150. In practice, it was a private and exclusionary event. However, many larger organizations that support ICIJ bought tickets and gave them to their employees so that the people in attendance were a mixture of people who paid for their tickets and

those who were there representing their organizations. The highest officials there was State Representative Eloise Reyes and was the keynote speaker of the event.

When speeches did begin, it was the executive who kicked things off. He spoke at length at the importance of community and the challenges that we as a whole have faced. He spoke at the awkwardness of being in person after a year and change of being away from each other. He felt comfortable with the crowd enough to make jokes of those who had not been careful enough during the pandemic. An implicit shaming if you will. He spoke of the courage that we had seen witnessed by immigrant communities who continue to do the hard work that needed to be done. He also spoke of the accomplishments made by the organization that had been made in order to protect community and those most in need. He spoke of policy gains, including immigrants in California's stimulus checks.

Following his speech was the speech by Representative Reyes. She has been active supporter of Organization A for many years. I have seen her at other events and was been a speaker at other events that advocate for immigrant rights. The theme of her speech was "si no es justo, no es correcto" as a rallying cry for why we all needed to work towards inclusion of immigrants.

Event B was held in December of 2021 in a hybrid type of venue that was mostly outside but the speeches were done in a well-ventilated in-door space. The event itself was held in Chinatown in an area that had many signs in Mandarin and Korean. The area was desolate, and the streets were fairly empty. It was hard to tell an event was being held there. But as soon as I approached the entrance, I saw an Asian woman in an elegant gown. Once speeches were announced, I found myself a seat at the back of the seating arrangement. There I met another board member who was incredibly kind. I introduced myself and shared

my work again. She shared her hesitancy. She had just recently joined and felt ill-equipped to be a leader. Yet from our short conversation it was obvious that she worked hard to better the lives of immigrants. Her organization is based in northern California and had just come down for the celebration. An Asian American comedian then took the stage. While her delivery was entertaining, the content of her jokes were quite serious. She noted the lack of cohesion among Asian immigrants. She noted how she felt like an outsider when she had gone to school and had been unable to pay for travel abroad programs. She mentioned how she felt like she was already in a different, hostile, world than that of her hometown. The comedian noted how there was much more empowerment happening in Latinx communities and had discussions about what the X meant in Chicanx.

The awards ceremonies highlighted a similar theme. Most of the awardees were women and when they accepted the awards on behalf of their organizations, each made a speech about larger communities. Asian women who lead their organizations spoke about the low number of Asian immigrants at immigrant rights events. They called on Asian immigrants to join "our latinx brothers and sisters." Other's spoke about racial injustice more broadly and the #BLM movement specifically. Still others spoke about what leadership should look like. One organization leader said, "If we lead with courage, we will win" while another said, "We lead with love."

Each speech also contained information about wins, legislative wins, and who adversaries are. It was clear that the democratic party was not seen as an ally, but a party that must be forced to do the right thing. An organizer there talked about Bill Clinton and the harms done by democrats. Others talked about how California was transformed from an immigrant hostile place to now a national leader in immigrant rights works.

The keynote speaker was Rob Banta, Attorney General of California. His speech was an ode to his mother in its entirety with just brief mention of what he does in California. With fondness, he spoke about the impressive organizing of this mother. He said that she would plan his birthday party and switch over to planning protests against anti-democratic actors in the Philippines. She was an aggressive activist who took her child to these protests and politicized him early on. He credited her with all he knows about politics.

The politician speeches were very much like one another. Both speeches highlighted the importance of their mothers in shaping their political identities. They highlighted cultural competence in the communities they represented. Asian immigrant representation at these events varied. While both had some overlap, with Black and Asian attendees in both, Asian Americans took a much more prominent role in the second event. These events allow us to see how my theory plays out in a natural setting. Immigrant women center communities and seek to increase who is a part of their community at fundraiser events more than the immigrant men. Immigrant men who spoke said that they were mobilized to act due to the examples made by their immigrant mothers.

Conclusion

These organizations and the people that work within these organizations to provide for their communities are engaging in governmental service and adhere more closely the America's ideals of what it means to be a citizen. The fact that these organizations must supply immigrant communities with so much of the services meant to be provided by the

government points to a lack of importance given to immigrant communities from the government. Simply put, non-governmental organizations are a governmental failure.

Chapter 4: Courageous Citizenship: Risk Assessment and Citizenship Status in Immigrants' Political Participation

Introduction

In the Fall of 2017, I was a graduate research assistant for the Center of Social Innovation at UC Riverside. I was part of a group that created a report on the state of immigration in the Inland Empire. As part of that report, I took it upon myself to be "on-the-ground" and attend as many different types of events as possible. Having done participant-observation research, I knew the importance of it in any work that hoped to understand a group or community. What I observed was not for the report itself, but to help me understand the dynamics of the immigrant population in the area. Largely, I went to monthly meetings of a local immigrant collective, but would also attend fundraisers, cook-outs, or any other event that I was personally invited to. One of these events was a rally to protect DACA after it had been threatened by the Trump administration.

I had trepidation about attending. While I am politically active (I vote, donate money, sign petitions, and have candidate yard signs), I hardly ever attended rallies or protests. I still remembered the 2006 protests. I was fourteen at the time and while I did wear a white shirt in a show of support for the protests, I was too scared to attend. My parents were largely apolitical, but I knew that immigration was always an issue . I knew half of my family was undocumented. For my quinceañera, my family from out of town took longer routes that avoided immigration check points. It was a huge point of planning – their status. I knew that attention to my family was undesirable. I did not attend, not for fear of

myself, but for my family then. Attending the rally now in 2017 still seemed frightening, but it was also a cause I care about and support and so I attended.

It was a nice day, like days tend to be in Southern California. Partially cloudy, but the sun felt warm, and it was a good day to be outside. The rally was held outside of church steps in downtown Riverside. I parked two blocks away from the event. I could feel my hands sweating and could feel my heart in my throat when I saw police. Regardless, I continued to make my way to the rally. Finally close enough, I couldn't help shooting looks at the police to see what they were doing and who they were looking at. They had their eyes on the larger crowd or on the street with certainly no interest in me. Yet I couldn't help feeling fear in every cell of my body. So evident was my fear that a fellow protester came up to me and said, "no te preocupes hermana, estamos contigo" or "don't worry sister, we are with you." In that moment I did not have the capacity to correct him, that *I* was not at risk, that I was a U.S. born citizen, and instead just gave a weak smile and nodded. His kindness helped me refocus and as I took my attention away from the police, I was finally able to take in the crowd with signs supporting DACA, with butterfly imagery, and their chants, "undocumented and unafraid."

The irony of this was not lost on me. I, a U.S. citizen, was terrified at a rally defending the rights of immigrants while those immigrants who could face far severer repercussions because of their attendance stood defiantly at the top of the stairs. In that moment, I saw a clear demonstration of courageous citizenship by those immigrants. In that moment, I was considered a member of their community and was supported by other people who were in a precarious position to participate in the way that any citizen would. In

becoming a community member, the fear I felt was offset and instead I was able to focus on the reason we were there, to advocate for immigrant rights.

By advocating for their rights as members of the political community, they coalesced as a political community to advocate for their legal citizenship since they felt they were already citizens in social, cultural, and economic ways (Chen 2020). Their courageous citizenship comes from the courage they exhibit by participating and their citizenship comes from their belonging in other spheres of political life. I do not believe they were unafraid. I believe they were brave and exhibiting a remarkable level of civic duty not normally noted in political science or popular discourse when discussing immigrant political participation. I also saw a people with less avenues than most to make their voices heard and a people with everything to lose if they did not act.

The political participation of individuals has often been thought as having costs associated with it, but for some individuals, risk is a higher order consideration. For the Black community, their attempt to vote could be met with intimidation and even death while the white community did not have to contend with that risk. Risk, the uncertainty of consequences, must be and is considered by those most marginalized in our white supremacist and patriarchal society. Risk isn't, however, limited to risks that you might incur from a given action but also risk of what you might lose if you do not act. For the Black community, to vote might mean representation and resources direly needed in communities where white supremacy has kept in poverty and disarray. For the immigrants I saw on that day, the risk they faced of potential detention was less than the risk of losing DACA for an entire community.

In this chapter, I theorize the importance of understanding risk as it pertains to the political participation of immigrants. Here, I argue that immigrants are a heterogenous group and therefore make different risk assessments of political participation. Immigrants who have a degree of legal protections might feel it less risky to partake in traditional political participation while those who have less, or no legal protections, are likely to partake in more contentious forms of political participation. I also discuss different risk mitigation strategies that immigrants and immigrant organizations use to enable individuals to participate.

Developing Understanding of Risk and Courageous Citizenship

I argue that the political participation of immigrants is an example of *courageous* citizenship. Their actions place them at risk, that is there is uncertainty of the consequences of their action. Note that there is not only risk of negative consequences, but also of beneficial outcomes to their political participation. Nothing is without risk of either reward (in the form of policy wins) or punishment (which could include detention and deportation but is not limited to this). As their risk is greater than individuals with secure citizenship (U.S citizen or legal permanent resident), any participation on their part is *courageous*, as fear of repercussions presents a real challenge to their participation. While other scholars have spent time defining risk (Tversky & Kahneman 1983), few have included a concurrent analysis of how citizenship status affects ideas of risk (Aytec and Stokes 2019, Corea and McCann 2020). Prospect theory here is useful in helping frame our understanding of immigrant's risky political participation.

In the case of marginalized groups, research has found that they are more likely to be risk takers (Aytec and Stokes 2019) or to continue to participate despite open hostility (Correa and McCann 2020). McAdam found that there was a reinforcing effect to partaking in risky political participation (1986) and likewise, Ayon et al. found that immigrants learned from prior activism by either winning and engaging more or disengaging if they were unsuccessful or faced consequences (2018). This indicates that there is an empirical basis here for our understanding of courageous citizenship. Despite the risks and despite the consequences, a subset of immigrants see the need for their participation and act in ways that any citizens might – engaging in politics despite the risk. Such is the dire need to advocate for their rights that cases of undocumented immigrants getting arrested while protesting for their rights was not unheard of.[13]

Immigrants must advocate for their rights because citizenship is now much harder to obtain. Yet for immigrants, advocacy for immigrant rights must include a pathway to citizenship. However, because the cyclical nature of immigration patterns has changed (Massey 2016), immigrants in the United States who do not have documentation still feel like citizens and members of society (Escudero 2020). While legal status is paramount to understanding citizenship (Cohen & Ghosh 2019), immigrant communities see that there are other aspects to citizenship that encompass social, economic, and political dimensions (Chen 2020). Instead of citizenship being understood as a binary, it is more useful to think of it as a continuum.

[13] https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/15-dreamer-protesters-arrested-capitol-hill/story?id=51045291

Other scholars have understood that even those with citizenship may still have less access to rights in the United States (Hero 1992) and that there is a gradation of belonging by citizenship status (Garcia Castanon 2013). Immigrants have come to learn ways to circumvent this in legal aspects too (Garcia 2019). Understanding how this gradation of citizenship statuses affects risk assessment is invaluable to understanding how immigrants choose to participate in politics. Part of the answer, I argue, is that they see themselves as citizens even if they do not have legal documents. Women in particular play a role in assessing risks to their community.

When looking at risk taking, the literature has generally agreed that women are indeed risk averse in a multitude of spaces (Burke et al. 1997, Byrnes et al. 1999). Existing theories of political participation, as outlined above, provide a myriad of reasons of why people choose to engage politically. However, we have yet to test the variation that might exist among migrant communities of heterogenous status. Research has already started to illuminate how gender might affect political participation among immigrant communities (Hardy-Fanta 1993, Jones-Correa 1998, Bejarano 2015, Philips & Lee 2018). We can expect that these differences would continue when examining how status affects political participation and risk assessments. These risks assessments must be balanced between the risks of what is to be gained and what could be lost. What makes courageous citizenship courageous is the willingness to act as a citizen despite the risks and uncertainty of what that action will yield. Participation of any kind done by immigrants is courageous since any attention brought onto themselves could yield negative consequences due to their precarious citizenship status.

Theorizing Causes of Courageous Citizenship

Risk for immigrants is a dynamic concept. For anyone not at the margins of society, risk can change depending on circumstances like geography, political environment, or time. Risk, as defined of the uncertainty of consequences, is particularly dynamic for immigrants whose status is always in danger. Things like Operation Janus[14] makes citizenship conditional even for naturalized immigrants who in every other regard would be the least precarious of all types of citizenship status holders. Any risk assessment by immigrants must contend with two questions: 1) what is the risk of engaging in political acts? 2) what do I risk or lose if I do not act at all?

The first question is more intuitive for those of us with citizenship. We are familiar with the idea that some political acts might have costs associated with action. Donating is less time costly than volunteering. However, for immigrants the emphasize is on *risk* and not *cost* of action. I argue that while certainly political action might have costs associated with it, the precarious nature of immigrants due to their citizenship status makes risk the primary concern over cost. When evaluating what actions to partake in, they'll have to consider which action might have the least amount of uncertainty. For immigrant families, even everyday and not typically thought of as political activities are a source of anxiety. For the family that I interviewed, going to a fast-food restaurant during specific hours carried the risk of encountering ICE agents. In other cases, fathers have been detained at schools after

[14] Operation Janus is a proceeding by which the US government would strip a naturalized immigrant of their U. S. citizenship if accused or found guilty of terrorist intent or action (Cohen 2020).

they had dropped of their daughters at school. These stories are widely known among immigrant communities as they are featured in ethnic news media.

The detaining of that father at his daughter's school brings to mind the Supreme Court case of Plyer v. Doe. Access to schools in Texas was a contentious issue as a racist minority tried to deny immigrant children access to the social services of public education under the guise of a public charge. The Court decided that children should not be punished for decisions they themselves did not make and they should have access to public education. Implicit in that decision is that children should have access to safety, wellness, and dignity of any other. However, the fear and traumas caused by ICE and our current immigration system cannot be overstated when it comes to the health and wellbeing of immigrant children. Risks held by the undocumented parent directly impacts the lives of their children. The act of detaining a father as he drops of his child is implicitly attacking the premise of Plyer v. Doe while explicitly sending a message that no place is free of risk and that no act is safe for immigrant families.

Risk of Action

Risk as a dynamic concept has implications for the mental cognitive load that immigrant families must routinely undergo. Studies show that there are deep health consequences to the constant stresses of immigration enforcement and uncertainty (Cruz et al. 2018). It is worth noting that even in places that would at first seem to be safe can also be centers of great stress. So called "sanctuary cities" were meant to be places that would not collaborate with federal immigration enforcement agencies which would act as a buffer

between immigrants and those agencies. The types of protections or the lengths that these "sanctuary cities" would go to protect their immigrant community members varies, but the general practice was one of uncooperative local governments. However, under a hostile federal government, these same cities were then targeted by the federal government for higher immigration enforcement. Even within one geographic area, risk considerations change over time. Therefore, immigrants must ask themselves each time "what are the risks associated with participating?".

For immigrants, participating in vigils or healing circles is just as political as calling a representative and some might very well do both. Of course, not all immigrants are the same and not all immigrants have the same level of protection. Naturalized immigrants, legal permanent residents, and refugees all hold higher protections that undocumented immigrants, asylum seekers or those who hold work specific visas. Those with higher protections I categorize as Type 1 and those with less or no protections I categorize as Type 2. This typology matters because it shapes the types of political participation activities immigrants will engage in as they factor in the risk they face, given their citizenship status.

Risk, as discussed above, is a dynamic concept so much so that it does not apply equally to all immigrants even at the same time or place. Type one immigrants have the least amount of risk in their political participation due to their legal protections. This legal protection allows immigrants in this category to participate in more traditional ways. Those who are participate in politics may even run for office in some cases. However, that does not completely shield immigrants from very serious risks. Refugee, and now naturalized citizen, Representative Ilhan Omar has been the target of many rhetorical attacks and was a target during the January 6th insurrection at the capitol. Had she not been hidden, there is little

doubt that she would have faced physical violence with the intent of her death. Her commitment to staying in office and representing her constituents is the highest mark of courageous citizenship and patriotism. Representative Ilhan Omar may be one of the most visible immigrants in this category, but that is not to say that she is the only example of this courageous citizenship. Legal permanent residents attend PTA meetings, advocate for their communities, among many other forms of participation. These are all forms that we are familiar with in political behavior and carry the risk of social stigma, increased surveillance by immigration or law enforcement, and increased psychological stressors. These feelings of risk are compounded when living within a mixed status household and may even be felt by members of the family who are U.S. born citizens. However, this category still holds more protections to their participation than those in Type 2.

Type 2 are the most at risk due to their precarious status. Asylum seekers and undocumented individuals may face deportation hearings where their cases are much more uncertain than it would be for someone who has already received the designated status of refugee or LPR. Due to this higher risk, immigrants in this category must participate in ways that lessens the risk to themselves and to their family. Type 2 immigrants may still engage in some traditional forms of political participation, like contacting elected officials, if that official has gained the trust of that community. However, if immigrants in this category are in high-risk areas and have still chosen to engage in politics, they must find alternative and often imaginative ways to participate. Some of these contentious acts may include holding healing circles, holding vigils, or in extreme cases, protests and rallies. These acts are political because they hope to sway public officials and policy. Healing circles help consolidate community power, vigils gather media attention, and protests and rallies are visible to all

community members and may help garner public support for what immigrants are advocating for. These forms of political participation enable immigrants to participate in more localized ways and in a less risky manner that still adheres to our ideas of political participation.[15] A healing circle and vigil can have a sway in political attitudes of the community at large or sway a politician to support immigrant groups. Even protests can be considered lower risk if they are attended by a large amount of people and there is high publicity.

The level of anonymity through large protests mitigates the risks of engagement. Immigrant rights groups also find other ways by which to mitigate risk to their constituents. Recommended actions for immigrants who wish? to participate in contentious politics are asked to consider whether or not they know the organizers, whether or not they have an escape route for any event, and if they have a U.S. born ally to drive for such events. Mitigation strategies are a part of the risk calculus of those marginalized that determines what kind of participation is viable for any individual, but especially for those most vulnerable. For immigrants in this category who have been mobilized to participate, they not only risk detention or deportation as a singular event. They risk their entire life as they know it, their networks, careers, families. This leads to natural question under Downsian assumptions. Why would individuals who have such high risk choose to participate? The answer is they have much more to gain or what they have to lose from the risk of inaction is higher than the risk of action.

[15] For this, I use the traditional idea of political participation as acts meant to influence government (Verba & Nie)

Risk of Inaction

Marginalized and excluded members of society are by their very definition excluded from access to political power. Immigrants are even more so removed as they must fight for inclusion of the very fabric of their communities. They must create and fight for every service and benefit given freely to members of mainstream society. The supreme court case of Plyer v. Doe described above is just one example of many. For these individuals, the risk of inaction means further exclusion or more oppressive policies against their group. Immigrants present the clearest case for this. As the prototypical image of an outgroup, immigrants are constantly used as scapegoats in time of economic downturn or as political tools to seem tough on crime.[16] The trend towards restrictionist immigration policies have necessitated the emergence of an active immigration population.

Temporary Protected Status offers temporary relief to asylum seekers from unsafe areas around the world,[17] but that status is re-evaluated regularly. Immigrants who hold this status have had to rally and apply public opinion pressure to politicians in order to keep this status and gain a pathway to citizenship. The most vivid example of this is the Road to Justice, a bus tour that spans from coast to coast of the U.S. Immigrants make stops in cities along the way and hold rallies to make their case to the American people why they should be allowed to remain in the U.S. For them the risk of losing TPS quite literally means death. For

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[16] Regan began this trend in earnest by criminalizing migrants and subsequent presidents have increasingly passed or created hostile policies towards immigrants.

[17] Regions are concentrated in Central America and Africa. A full list of countries can be found here: https://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/temporary-protected-status

asylum seekers and other immigrants from areas of conflict, risk of inaction is outweighed by the risk of near certain death.

For other immigrants who are not from areas of conflict, inaction may still mean a slow death by means of poverty, health inequality, or desperation. Restrictive immigration policies may manifest in denial of identification, denial of social services, or denial of aid. Immigrants must fight for their inclusion in any relief policies as was made starkly apparent in the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic. Immigrants also felt the economic impacts of the pandemic and are a group most likely to hold what are now considered "essential" jobs. Immigrants and immigrant organizations mobilized to have immigrants, undocumented or otherwise to be included in stimulus aid money in the state of California. This advocacy is part of a larger trend of immigrant activism in California. California provides an example of a state that held hostile immigration policies but due to immigrant advocacy has become a leading state in the country on immigrant rights and demonstrates why immigrants choose to participate and what they have to gain when they do.

The Case of California

Now a national leader in immigrant rights legislation, California has had a dark past with their immigrant populations. Notably, the aggressions towards Chinese immigrants in the 1800s was marked with legislative and physical violence. Nearly three decades ago, Proposition 187 outlined some of the most restrictive immigration policies of the country targeting Mexican immigrants. It would have denied access to several social services including healthcare and education for undocumented migrants. This is a sharp contrast to

current Californian politics towards migrants. This is not an accident and instead is a story of how immigrants fight for inclusion.

Immigrant rights groups and immigrant serving organizations have mobilized and advocated for a number of welcoming immigrant policies. In the recent decades, we've seen successful campaigns by immigrant groups that advocated for AB 60 (driver's license for undocumented folks) and in-state tuition for undocumented youth. In addition, we've also seen legislation pushed by immigrant groups to separate the influence of federal policy from state and local enforcement in an effort to provide "sanctuary" to immigrants in the state in the form of the Trust Act and the Truth Act. Finally, the most progressive policy the state has enacted was providing stimulus aid to undocumented migrants, however, ineffective it was.[18] These policy wins in California were only possible after long campaign battles and strategic planning by immigrant serving organizations and advocacy groups (Colbern & Ramakrishnan 2020).

California demonstrates how a historically hostile state towards immigrants can become a welcoming state. It also demonstrates what the collective organization model can do for immigrants who see the risk of inaction as higher than the risk of action. While it is impossible to know exactly what California would look like if organizations had not mobilized their immigrant-based constituencies, we can speculate that they might have had hostile immigration policies like other states. The campaigns for immigrant rights continue in California. The focus has now shifted to eradicating detention centers in California. The role

[18] https://www.kqed.org/news/11874637/the-stimulus-gap-why-many-undocumented-immigrants-arent-getting-the-golden-state-stimulus-theyre-entitled-to
California planned to provide stimulus money to undocumented workers as well as other Californians, however, immigrant rights groups have said that the money did not reach everyone.

of immigrant-serving organizations in the risk assessment of immigrants cannot be overstated. ISOs help with developing a calculus that determines what are possible policy wins while minimizing risk when engaging in activism and advocacy. This is in line with my theory that immigrants will participate in courageous citizenship when they feel they have something to gain.

Data

As part of theory building that immigrants assess risk by their citizenship status, I leverage two data sources. I use the 2016 Latino Immigrant National Election Study (LINES) to establish changed behavior among a very similar data sample pool among two different time frames and I use interviews with individuals who work at immigrant-serving organizations. The LINES data is a panel study conducted among Latinos with most respondents choosing to respond in Spanish (McCann & Jones Correa 2020) before, during, and after the 2016 election. The dataset asks whether respondents are naturalized or not. Unfortunately, the data does not ask about additional citizenship statuses. This dataset allows me to test whether there are differences in the political participation of naturalized immigrants (type 1, the most protected) and other immigrants (type 2, in the most precarious status).

The second data source are in-depth interviews conducted with individuals at ISOs. The interviews were once with each interviewee and were conducted in the Fall of 2021. This dataset allows me to understand how immigrants and those at ISOs think about risk by their citizenship status, how they think of ways to mitigate risk, and why they think their

actions are worth the risks they take. It allows me to expand on the notions of risk of action versus risk of inaction.

Table 5: LINES Wave 1 Political Participation

Table 1: LINES Wave 1

	Dependent variable:			
	Community Work	Community Meeting	Official	Volunteer
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
naturalized	0.098***	0.045***	0.057***	0.037**
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.018)
Woman	−0.009	0.003	−0.026	−0.049
	(0.036)	(0.034)	(0.030)	(0.037)
Constant	1.766***	1.763***	1.916***	1.713***
	(0.039)	(0.037)	(0.033)	(0.040)
Observations	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800
R^2	0.016	0.004	0.009	0.003
Adjusted R^2	0.015	0.003	0.007	0.002
Residual Std. Error (df = 1797)	0.760	0.709	0.630	0.776
F Statistic (df = 2; 1797)	14.993***	3.557**	7.749***	2.951*
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

The survey has a battery of four activities done in the last 12 months and include: work with others to solve a problem in the community (community work), attend a meeting about community problems (community meeting), contacted an official via phone, letter or government visit (official), or volunteered, where 1 was yes and 2 was no. The survey was conducted in three waves, however, only wave 1 and wave 3 have these questions. Respondents were also asked if they have been naturalized with 1 being yes and 2 being no. They were only asked if they had been naturalized or not, so data on a graduation of citizenship status is not available in this dataset. Having the questions be asked in wave 1 and wave 3 allows us to see how the change from Trump's hostile rhetoric towards immigrants (i.e. "bad hombres") versus the actual implementation of hostile immigrant policies had on

immigrant political behavior. In wave 1 (table 1) we see that immigrants were less likely to engage in any political participation. In wave 3, we see that immigrants are more likely, though it does not reach statistical significance.

Table 6: LINES Wave 3 Political Participation

Table 2: LINES Wave 3

	Dependent variable:			
	Community Work	Community Meeting	Official	Volunteer
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
naturalized	0.002	−0.017	0.049**	0.011
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.023)	(0.025)
Woman	−0.027	−0.041	0.096***	−0.034
	(0.051)	(0.052)	(0.036)	(0.040)
Constant	1.870***	1.848***	1.755***	1.695***
	(0.063)	(0.064)	(0.044)	(0.049)
Observations	554	554	554	554
R^2	0.001	0.002	0.019	0.002
Adjusted R^2	−0.003	−0.002	0.016	−0.002
Residual Std. Error (df = 551)	0.593	0.604	0.421	0.463
F Statistic (df = 2; 551)	0.143	0.431	5.432***	0.474
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

To better examine how citizenship might be affecting the types of political participation immigrants engage in, I also do a subset analysis of those who said they were naturalized and those said they were not. I include level of schooling and ideology as control variables. In the first wave of the LINES data there seems to be no major differences among those naturalized and those who are not. Those analyses can be found in the appendix D.

Table 7: LINES Naturalized Wave 3

Table 5: Naturalized Individuals Wave 3

	Dependent variable:			
	Community Meeting	Community Work	Official	Volunteer
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Woman	−0.068	−0.085	0.098	−0.024
	(0.091)	(0.065)	(0.063)	(0.057)
Ideology	−0.051*	−0.042**	−0.051***	0.002
	(0.027)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.017)
school	−0.008	−0.023***	−0.026***	−0.027***
	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Constant	2.102***	2.215***	2.181***	1.880***
	(0.151)	(0.108)	(0.105)	(0.094)
Observations	279	279	279	279
R^2	0.017	0.053	0.082	0.050
Adjusted R^2	0.006	0.043	0.072	0.039
Residual Std. Error (df = 275)	0.746	0.537	0.520	0.468
F Statistic (df = 3; 275)	1.573	5.155***	8.159***	4.786***
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

However, there are differences in engagement in Wave 3 between those who are naturalized and those who are not. Table 7 and 8 show that more liberal individuals are less likely to participate in Wave 3 but that there is no statistically significant change among those who are not naturalized. This does not support the theory that those with protected citizenship status are more likely to engage in traditional forms of political participation. It is unclear what the findings would be among those not naturalized if there had been greater gradation of citizenship status. In-depth interviews can help to fill in some of this gap.

Table 8: LINES Not Naturalized Wave 3

Table 6: Not Naturalized Wave 3

	Dependent variable:			
	Community Meeting	Community Work	Official	Volunteer
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Woman	−0.022	−0.096	0.066	−0.052
	(0.063)	(0.092)	(0.042)	(0.072)
Ideology	−0.004	−0.037	0.013	0.005
	(0.020)	(0.030)	(0.014)	(0.023)
school	−0.025***	−0.027**	−0.005	−0.025***
	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.006)	(0.009)
Constant	1.970***	2.227***	1.860***	1.844***
	(0.106)	(0.155)	(0.071)	(0.121)
Observations	176	176	176	176
R^2	0.053	0.042	0.021	0.043
Adjusted R^2	0.036	0.026	0.003	0.026
Residual Std. Error (df = 172)	0.405	0.591	0.271	0.463
F Statistic (df = 3; 172)	3.197**	2.535*	1.200	2.573*
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01		

The Role of Immigrant-Serving Organizations in Risk Assessment

Immigrant-serving organizations have proven to be a key link in understanding the risky political participation of immigrants. As part of the theoretical building of the risk assessments that immigrant organizations make, I conducted interviews with individuals currently working at immigrant serving organizations from Fall of 2021 through Spring of 2022. The interviews focused on immigrant serving organizations in California. All interviews were among individuals who had community-oriented positions, like community outreach, or those who have community contact, like assistant executive director. In total, 10 interviews were conducted lasting an average of 55 minutes. While I asked a number of different questions during the interviews, this chapter only focuses on questions of risk

assessment and what political participation meant. The full instrument is located in the appendix C.

By asking these individuals about risk assessments and political participation, I am able to understand how risk assessments are shaped at the organization level and how organizations form practices to help mitigate risk to encourage the participation of immigrant communities. An additional advantage to solely focusing on a state, California, is that I am able to detect regional differences by proximity to the border. In these interviews, I find that immigrant serving organizations and those in community-oriented positions do think about risk when it comes to participating, that they think of ways of mitigating risk, that accepting risks and acting is a part of empowerment, and finally the reinforcing effects of political wins can have on risky political participation.

When asked about what safe political participation might be, an interviewee shared the following:

> Interviewee 9: I think what I've learned, and many organizers have learned, or just conversations that we've had together and not trying to say that everyone is having this conversation. Just a few folks that I did is that when you or you, you claim that title and really put yourself out there. **There's really no safe organizing**, especially what we've learned from the George Floyd flight, we were noticing that people were being surveilled and sometimes punished for just sharing a post, you know, like **really sharing a post can really be that risky** because before we used to when we had to go like I was, I like when they asked that question like, you can literally just share a post, send a text, sign a petition that's like the safest ones like you know, you can like because in petitions you can take out your name and no one has not signed it. As well as sharing like attacks like no one has know unless that person tells anyone, right? **But I think we became more cautious after that time because, like organizers were being targeted and we're like, even if you didn't claim to be an organizer and just shared a to post, you were being targeted**… because we realized like the simplest thing of

> like just sharing a picture of an action can really harm someone. So like for us when it comes to like, what is safe organizing, I would say, is it safe organizing is when the organizers thought of all that could go wrong and tried their hardest to bring in resources to ensure that doesn't happen, that the worst case scenario doesn't happen

Those who serve in immigrant serving organizations understand that there is no safe political participation for them. But they also realize that there are different ways to be active that might help mitigate risks for themselves. They understand that as part of an organization that serves a targeted group, they themselves become a target and that this carries to all realms of their lives, digital or otherwise. The same interviewee also talked about how to think about risks worth taking. They shared the following with me.

> Interviewee 9: So those that's what I would say, is **aligning yourself with people who really see you** as not just the not just the number who's coming to a protest, but a person like a homie is going to be there and they're like**, I don't want my homie to get hurt**, so I'm going to try to even let them know. **Even just letting you know of the risks ahead of time is great, because then you can do have the power and agency** to be like, I don't think I want to go then this does not seem safe to me my comfort zone, because I think that's that's also what I would say to folks is that there's different levels of comfort for different folks. Some folks might be really comfortable being in the front line at an action with like police on the other side, and that's they love that, right. They love that high, that adrenaline and they have the training to be able to, like, stand against them, right? But then there's people who are like, I just want to lead chants, but I don't want to get hurt. Like, that's all I want to do. I just want to hype people out. And you know, and and we'll take that into consideration. But like, OK, well, then maybe we'll put you in the middle so that you're surrounded by people**. And if it gets crazy, you are like crazy in the sense of violence or whatever may happen that you're secured in this like this little cushion of community, essentially, and these cushions of community are aware of it.**

Inherent in the logic of these ISOs is an idea of empowerment. Political participation is a necessary act if immigrants are to get necessary services that are direly needed in these vulnerable communities. But communities are also a source of strength and safety, and ISOs see it that way. Interviewee 9 shares how everyone in the community can contribute to a political act, no matter their comfort level and that communities are there to support one another and provide a level of protection. The above quote points to a physical barrier, but implicit in that example is also an emotional(psychological?) barrier that helps ease participation in a way that might in another context not occur. However, in order for this to happen, organizations must see all individuals who show up to act as *people with dignity*.

Assessing Risk

In the fall of 2020, I came across an Instagram post from an immigrant serving organization in which they outlined the different types of risky political acts they could engage in depending on the results of the 2020 election. This demonstrated to me two things: 1) risk is how ISOs think about political participation, in line with how I had theorized previous, 2) political participation can be much more comprehensive and is seen as a legitimate way by vulnerable groups who cannot vote to have their voices heard in the electoral process. These leaders in immigrant organizations shared with me how they think of risk in the quotes below:

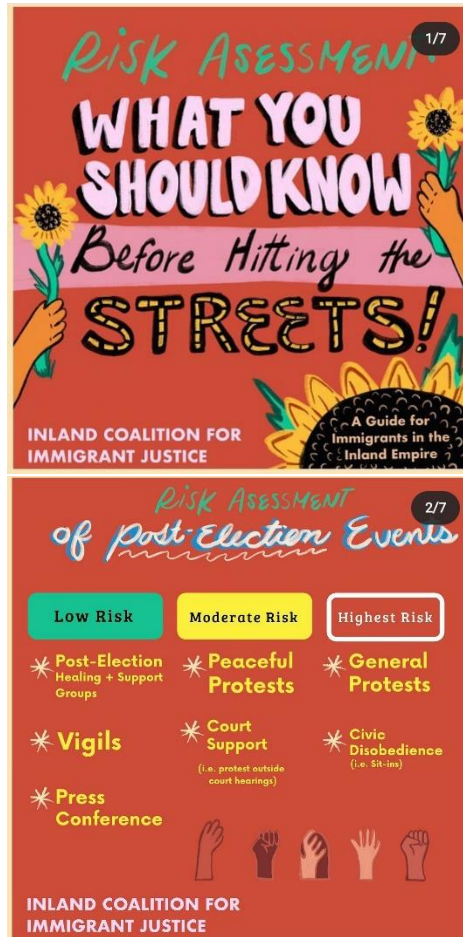

Figure 6: Social Media Posts on Immigrant Participation

> Interviewee 6: **I don't just think about testimony in City Council, that's risky. If you're undocumented and the sheriff is there and you're denouncing their practices like in the Truth Act forum, that takes a lot of courage**. It's a moral thing to do, knowing that the sheriff collaborates with ICE, with Border Patrol and other DHS agencies and private corporations. **It's terrifying** for someone like my parents to go up to the mic, **and yet we still have community members that do that**.

Something that a citizen with non-precarious citizenship status, like speaking at a city council or offering comments at a townhall meeting do not carry much risk. For immigrants in California, testimonials should also not carry much risk, given the types of immigrant friendly policies we've passed in the past (Truth Act, Trust Act, etc), however, it is still

something that carries inherent risk. Immigrants cannot know definitively who will be in the room or if there might be DHS agents who will detain them or arrest them. It is therefore, a courageous act to speak out like immigrants do. At the lowest level of risk, speaking out is still risky depending on unknowable things like who will be in attendance. Courageous citizenship takes form here in speaking about ones daily lived experiences. In addition to this, Interviewee 2 shared with me that low risk of the same act might be context dependent:

> Interviewee 2: I would say that maybe the in the low risk, the **press conferences, it depends on what the specific topic might be** because I know that in some places, being visible in a press conference, giving statements can go two ways. One, it can provide a buffer because you know you're in the press and. And there's a **certain level of buffer that being in the media is able to provide**. However, there have been other occasions that been in **the press also makes you a target** and we've seen how this has targeted people

Courageous citizenship and risk taking can also manifest itself in the form of advocating for labor rights. The precarious citizenship status means that even legislative protections at the state level are not enough to protect one from federal level enforcement. Here is where citizenship status becomes salient in the response of the following interview:

> Interviewee 4: For example, farm workers. sometimes they don't they don't want to show up and like speak out because they would feel retaliation. … Of course, they know that that's not something we ought to do, **but that's a risk that they will put themselves** if their employers were to do that for them. So **I think the risk comes with the level of privilege you have.**

In addition to considerations of citizenship status and perhaps privileged positionality, immigrants must also consider their geographical position and their knowledge of DHS agents who might seek to detain them. Not only is border proximity an issue for immigrants, but also their closeness to detention centers. These two factors do limit the

participation of immigrants and risk is seen as greater in these areas. There can never be true certainty of whether immigration check points will be active or not until they are and these considerations and gaps of information are weaponized against immigrants. Self-restraint is exercised and limits what political participation might be for immigrant communities.

> Interviewee 2: So for instance, whenever there is an activity or march or something that takes place closer to the border REDACTED or **an activity that might be taking place at REDACTED detention center, which is the immigrant jail in your county, there are many people that are reluctant to go because it means that their proximity to the to the border shrinks.** And there's, they believe, a risk that there might be more reason why immigration authorities work to stop them. And so in that sense, they see that as a risk. And we've heard this repeated many times or when there have been invitations to go to L.A., for instance, for activities there, either meetings or conferences. **There are people who are undocumented who will not go because it means crossing through the checkpoint, which might be activated or might not be activated, and they don't know that.** So there's that risk that they could be stopped and questioned because of that.

Mitigating Risk

Immigrants under risk still see value in acting despite the risk, and are then left with the question on how to mitigate or reduce the risk of engaging in politics. The individuals I interviewed had many ideas on how to reduce the risk of immigrants who chose to engage in politics: knowing who the organizers are, having clear expectations of the objects to be met from the direct action, and knowing the activities they feel comfortable in taking part of. As previously explained, there is no such thing as safe participation. Interviewee 2 shared with me that there was a back-and-forth dialogue that happens when individuals are choosing what activity might fit them best:

> I think when there's an activity close to where they live to their community, so a place that they know well, they know what, how safe it is or how safe it isn't. And so that's where there's a greater level of comfort and being able to participate in some sort of activity. And that's why oftentimes the specific activities are organized in those communities, because precisely for that to encourage people to come out and participate and that encouragement, then if they do participate, it might then lead towards other types of activities where they might feel comfortable.

In line with the advice of knowing what one is comfortable as a way to mitigate risk, Interviewee 2 also shared that there were many roles that individuals might take in the movement. Each activity was seen as equally valid for this activist. It highlighted the importance that each act has in the movement for social change and underscored that there is indeed no safe organizing but that there are instead degrees of comfortableness. Keeping distinct roles and knowing what role individuals are comfortable with are key in ensuring the continued engagement of immigrant activists.

> Interviewee 2: Something related to understanding or what are your expectations for your participation so that if it's if it's an activity where there might be different roles that people are playing, if some if there's a group that's participating in civil disobedience, if there's a group that's documenting this group, knowing what your expectations are so that you don't fall into another group by accident…We do trainings with for how to how to do human rights observation, how to document the presence of ICE patrol and community. And we'll go over, you know, some of that information there in terms of what our best practices to keeping yourself safe... Don't do that work by yourself. Always have someone with you or someone that knows where you're at. So that's very practical information and practices that we offer as well.

It is not only that clear roles and knowing what comfort levels are that are useful in mitigating risk, but also that ISOs themselves provide training for immigrants who want to

participate in politics. The function that ISOs serve is crucial in facilitating the participation of immigrants. In areas that ISOs are not as active, this important function is left undone, which could explain why in instances of hostility and those who feel motivated to act, may still not act. Having no access to develop the tools to engage in politics with clear expectations, many immigrants may feel at a loss for how to engage.

Acting Within Constraints

Taking the opportunity to ask immigrant rights activists what they thought about participation, I was able to gather information to what individuals at these ISOs considered was political participation. Taking into account that this manuscript uses traditional definitions of political participation, as any act that influences government officials or policies, the space to have a widening of political participation items was a possibility in this research design. Asking explicitly what those who work in ISOs thought was political participation, I found that many everyday instances were considered political participation by these activists. For example, Interviewee 6 shared:

> And so when I think about politics, I just don't mean the traditional run for office because a lot of us cannot run for office. I mean, anything that may be considered a political activity that for those of us that are disenfranchised become powerful tools…So, I mean, involvement in politics can look at various ways it can for some of us, it could mean registering others to vote, collecting votes for some other board of Dreamers. And I were like picking up ballots, informing the community what the ballots mean in our neighborhoods

The activities listed clearly indicate that immigrants are taking part in traditional forms of political participation. They not only work to get certain policies passed, but also

support their communities in informing the public about ballots and candidate positions. There was also an expansion of what was considered as political by other interviewees that included technology. Interviewee 4 shared that even though there may be constraints to the types of activities they can do, they can still participate in politics.

> [I]f I can afford to do those kind of actions like I can still show up in different ways, like a more peaceful process, a protests, or I can show up digitally, like now nowadays, like I've been an advocate. This social media, it's like a big thing, you know? But now we have such a good amount of influence to play in politics by just making something as simple as making a tweet and tagging somebody, you know, like that which so they're blowing up or something. Yeah. Or making calls to representatives and making sure that they're voting on bill. So, yeah, people can make the public comments. Even I think we can do it. We can say this to even be political participation because I do know that when people like participate in interviews, once you have your dissertation, you put your things out there that can even inform policy, you know.

For immigrant activists, even taking part of my dissertation research for them was part of their ideas of risky political participation because they thought it might be read by a policy maker at some point and help sway policy. Many shared with me that they had done academic interviews before and were not unaware of the research process. These activists had a clear understanding not only of politics, of policy, but also how research impacted their ability to garner political wins. Individuals understood that research and data had the power to sway public officials and garner support for their different policy campaigns. This clear-eyed vision of what kinds of policy victories they wanted and knowledge of how to get there was a clear reason for why immigrants participate in politics.

Political Wins as Impetus for Risk Taking

The people I have interviewed thus far understood not only that there was no such thing as safe activism, but also that there could be no reward, victory, or progress without constant engagement. Risks are calculated in the context of the larger community's needs. Interviewee 2 shared this reflection with me, he said, "Yet there have been so many important changes to policies that have been made because of marches and actions, and civil disobedience is where the ballot box often times this is so confining that it excludes so many of our neighbors from participating." While immigrants may not be able to vote, often seen as the clearest way to have policy preferences known and as a primary way to engage in politics, immigrants have found different ways to be included in the democratic process. Finding a way to have their voices heard has not only tangible policy victories, but also feeds further participation.

Another interviewee shared that participating in politics, despite the risk, and winning was an empowering process. She said, "When you are involved in politics, it is very empowering. And the more that I do more, I want to keep doing it because we do get some wins sometimes and usually those happen at the local level." There was clearly a vision here that any potential losses to either the individual or to the group was a necessary risk in order to achieve justice. Even if there wasn't a clear win for her, she shared with me that sometimes the benefit to an action is to just be seen. In here own words, she said, "Sometimes you get, you know, the naysayer that that questions like why march when nothing comes out of it, but rather these things do come of it out of it, whether it's just providing a visual, an outlet."

Immigrants have an additional layer of considerations associated with their participation. For them there is no safe participation in politics, which means that those who do chose to participate do so knowing the risk and do it anyways. This is courageous citizenship.

Discussion

Immigrants, I have found, engage in the practice of courageous citizenship. Despite knowing the risks, immigrants chose to participate in politics. This isn't irrational nor is it reckless. It shows a calculation of the risks associated with participation, but they also consider the gains that they might achieve. These risks are calculated along the dimensions of citizenship.

Chapter 5: Conclusion: Courageous Citizenship Beyond Now and Here

Introduction

In the fall of 2021, I was able to interview Clara once more for this dissertation and ask her more about her motivations for the work she did in her community. She told me she was tired of being afraid to leave her house on the weekends and that her young children didn't understand why they were limited in the things they could do. She knew that there were people who were in a worse off condition than her as far as ability to advocate for their rights and that she needed to act for her and for them. She told me she kept doing the work because of the community she found and what she gained through that community: joy, love, and dignity. Clara told me through tears the ways she devised ways to skip meals in her home during the early days of the pandemic because they could not afford groceries. And she told me about her heartbreak at hearing an elected politician tell her that a pathway to citizenship was not politically viable at this time. But she ended the interview with a declaration that the fight was not over and that she would keep advocating for immigrant rights.

Clara's story highlights that immigrants act because the risk of inaction means continued oppression, that community is a strong motivator for activist work (both in the sense of defending community but also what one gains in fellowship), that there are gains for the risky political acts both personal and communal, and that the fight does not end. Clara gives us an example of what courageous citizenship looks like, but her courage is shared among hundreds of other immigrant activists across the country. Courageous citizenship means engaging in a political system that is hostile to you, where the risk is in every act and

there is no such thing as safe organizing. Courageous citizenship also means a deep love and commitment to the new home country. The immigrants I interviewed viewed the United States as their home and their level of engagement with local, state, and federal governmental offices adhere to the ideals laid out by the founding fathers.

This dissertation, like all dissertations in political science, is fundamentally about power. It asks why immigrants, individuals most vulnerable and marginalized in society, participate in politics despite the high risks associated with their participation. The answer is deceivingly simple – because they must. Unpacking why "they must" reveals complex analyses and sets of considerations immigrants must make before any act is made. It illustrates that while some immigrants might not have legal citizenship, they are patriotic Americans committed to contributing to the health of American democracy and embody some of the highest ideals of our founding fathers. Theirs is a courageous citizenship achieved and maintained through their community work, love, and their fight for dignity.

In the next few pages, I describe the major theory, findings, and implications of this dissertation as it relates to immigrant political behavior. I start with my overarching theory of immigrant political participation which I have called courageous citizenship. It is called courageous citizenship because immigrants face risk every time they engage in politics and yet still choose to participate. From there I briefly describe the major findings and contributions of this dissertation: community considerations are a strong mobilizer for immigrant communities to participate, women take the lead in these organizing roles in communities, and finally that there is always risk for immigrants when they engage in politics. Finally, I add what I think are theoretical gains from my work in the larger context

of race and ethnic politics as well as offer some limitations of the current manuscript and offer suggestions of future directions for this work.

A Theory of Courageous Citizenship

While other scholars have established that threat can increase the political participation of immigrant-based communities (Barreto 2009; Zepeda 2016; Gutierrez 2021), I argue that the pathway from threat to action is more complicated. In particular, I argue that there are two major risk assessments immigrants make before they engage in any form of political participation. The first risk assessment is to determine if the threat is primarily a risk to themselves or primarily a risk to their community. Threats can be understood to be both to the self and to the community, but I argue that there will be a prioritization of risk. This is a question of *if they should* participate. Here, I hypothesized that those who prioritized community risk would be the most likely to be mobilized to participate in politics. I find, using a novel measure of motivations for engagement, that those who say they are motivated to defend their community are positively correlated with higher political engagement. Looking deeper at individual political acts, there is also a positive correlation between those who report being motivated by community and every political act in the instrument.[19] I also argued that there would be a gendered pattern to who prioritized community threat over self or individual threat.

[19] Items included: protest, attending a local meeting, volunteering in a campaign, contacting an official, posting a sign, and donating money

I argue that women, socialized as caretakers, are more likely to prioritize community threat than men. This is not an inherent trait, but something that is socially constructed and imposed on women. Women are placed in charge of childrearing, healthcare, elder care, and education and are seen as more competent in these areas than men. While in quantitative analysis of survey data this expectation was not supported, I did find that immigrant women trend in this direction. When looking at the composition of individuals who hold community-oriented positions in immigrant-serving organizations, I do find that the vast majority of them are women, supporting this hypothesis that women prioritize community more so than men. When speaking to those who worked in these community-oriented positions, all held some caretaking responsibilities within their family and saw good community members as those who prioritized their community well-being over their own. All of the individuals interviewed who provided concrete examples of a "good community member" spoke of women in their communities.

According to the interviews conducted with those in immigrant-serving organizations, good community members are those who act in the best interest of the community and prioritize the communal good over their own. Still, there is a matter of citizenship and the risks attached to a precarious citizenship status. This is the second risk assessment immigrants must make when deciding *how* to participate in politics. I argue that citizenship status shapes risk perceptions by two dimensions: risk of action/inaction, and risk of individual acts. Immigrants must first weigh the risks they will face if they do not act versus should they act. Inaction is not without risk, as immigrants might face more hostility by the government if they do not advocate for their rights. After deciding to act, immigrants must then decide which political act they can or should engage in. I find that immigrant-

serving organizations play an important role in 1) assessing risk, 2) creating ways to mitigate risks, 3) findings ways to act within constraints, and 4) motivating continued participation by highlighting policy wins as reasons for engaging with risky political participation.

This manuscript has advanced theories of community-based courageous citizenship that resonates beyond this current time and space. While I have focused on organizations and immigrant leaders in California, from their own volition, they have spoken to me of the networks they have across the country. The fight for immigrant rights is not seen as an isolated struggle, but one that spans across state and country borders. The foundation for cross-racial solidarity also exists among immigrant communities. Understanding injustice as a systemic flaw allows for those in immigrant-serving organizations to see other marginalized people's struggles as related and interdependent struggles.

Contributions and Limitations

This dissertation examines why immigrants participate in risky political acts and contributes to the literature on political behavior, race and ethnicity politics, gender politics, and immigration politics. It also teaches us a broader lesson on democracy and inclusion. There are four major contributions that this research provides to social sciences: understanding community as mobilizing and its gendered components, how marginalized groups fight for inclusion, women and their role in solidarity movement, and the development of courageous citizenship. The concept of courageous citizenship acknowledges that for a subset of the population, there is risk in participating in politics and challenges the narrative that immigrant communities are apathetic. Instead, what I find is

that immigrant communities act despite enormous barriers and in creative ways. They do this for their community and to fight for inclusion in larger society. This is not an isolated fight, but one that other marginalized groups are seen as a part of as well. I expand on these contributions below.

Community as Mobilizing

One of the primary goals of this dissertation was to understand the role of gender in the political participation of immigrants. This inquiry came from observations in the field (at immigrant rights rallies and from interviews done for another project) that women tended to take frontline positions and justified their actions by citing their communities. I wanted to understand the role community played in the mobilization of immigrant right advocates and why there seemed to be a gendered pattern to this. I find that indeed, women do take on more community-oriented positions in immigrant-serving organizations, and that there is a perception that traits and characteristics normally attributed to women are what makes a good community member. More striking, I find that among those who are motivated to defend their community, they are most likely to engage over all in politics but that this pattern holds no matter the political act. This is because they have strong incentives to defend and create community. Immigrants and immigrant-based communities have traditionally been seen as outsiders and must fight for inclusion.

Creating Space and Duality in Racial Projects

Some immigrants have been seen as perpetual outsiders (Kim 1999; Ngai 2014) and must fight for inclusion in politics. Latino, Asian and Black immigrants have been unable to be seen as insiders (Fox 2012). Second-generation immigrants face some of these challenges of feeling like outsiders despite having citizenship (Flores-Gonzalez 2017). These fights are a part of a larger racial formation process (Omi and Winant 2014), but immigrants are not static actors and fight for a redefinition of who is an insider or outsider. The framing of immigrants is imperative in their inclusion (Merolla et al. 2016) This is particularly salient among young immigrants or DACA recipients (Escudero 2020). Escudero find that because immigrant youth have attended schools in the United States, they have been socialized in our political system that emphasizes rights. All these components help not only mobilize individual participation but also the community building process that results in non-profit immigrant-serving organizations. However, immigrant serving organizations work on numerous issues and must then make decisions on what to prioritize

While work on immigrant communities and indeed other oppressed racial groups tends to examine the systems of oppression (and for good cause), this dissertation highlights the agency of immigrant communities in creating space for themselves. Racialization does not just *happen to them*. They fight back and create space. They argue and articulate a narrative of belonging and of a sense of duty to each other and their communities, something so bound in our American ideals. This revival of civil rights struggles is reminiscent of the 1960s struggles for civil rights of all Americans, across race, gender, and sexuality. Similarly,

we see the struggle and solidarity among oppressed groups who are keenly and painfully aware of the collective injustice they face.

Coming Together and the Future of Solidarity

Those who I interviewed and from participant observation I did at rallies and fundraising events, women in immigrant-serving organizations are also leading in the creation of cross-racial solidarity movement towards immigrant rights. When immigrant women are in charge, the conversation changes to include other marginalized groups in the narrative of who should be involved in immigrant rights advocacy and who it affects. Immigrant women more so than the immigrant men I interviewed seemed to prioritize community in other spheres. For example, there were instances when interviewees talked about the LGBTQ community as being a very important community they belonged to. This struck me as particularly notable since immigrants that are a part of the LGBTQ community are the most likely to break away from gendered social roles. Future work should look at the role that the gay community plays in breaking down negative gendered stereotypes and if this helps facilitate solidarity among different social justice groups. For now, a takeaway from this dissertation is that women not only build community and networks within members of their background, but also reach across different identities to create cross-racial and cross-issue solidarity.

Redefining Citizenship as Courageous Citizenship

Finally, readers of this dissertation project should understand that there is no safe political participation for immigrants and that therefore any immigrant who chooses to engage is practicing what I call courageous citizenship. Tiered citizenship and membership (Hero 1992; Castanon 2013) has been understood through the systems that subject people to lower democratic access. This dissertation adds to this by including conceptualization of what immigrant citizenship means to democracy. Immigrants are not static characters in this democratic process and while they may not be full legal members of society, they do participate and have their voices heard in the democratic process.

Limitations

Unfortunately, this work is not without its limitations. For one, interviews and the immigrant-serving organization database is limited to the state of California. I was also limited to only English and Spanish interviews as those are the only languages I am fluent in. The work presented here is largely descriptive in nature and causal identification of community motivations, gendered social roles, and how risk changes across context and times were not able to be fully investigated. However, many of the limitations of this dissertation do pave the way to a set of future research projects.

Future Work

This dissertation leaves many interesting questions still to be answered. Future work should ask what the effect is of having women occupy more community-oriented positions than men as well as what kinds of issues are prioritized when women lead these ISOs. Future work will look at the gender make-up of ISOs impacts the type of culture that ISO has, which might have implications for the type of issues that are prioritized. Work on non-profit organizations finds that marginalized identities within an organization tend to be sidelined and not prioritized as well (Strolovitch 2008). Immigrant women who hold community-oriented positions have less of a say in what happens within the organization, but women who are in leadership positions in organizations stay in these positions if they feel heard. From the limited interviews I did, I find that ISOs with women in leadership positions tend to be interested more in creating organizers more so than mobilizers (Han 2014), where the emphasize is on leadership development. Does this hold true when looking at more ISOs? How does the culture change in these ISOs and does that impact feelings of efficacy? All of these are questions future work should look at.

Additionally, there is much space in future work to investigate how LGBTQ immigrants shape ISOs and how they might complicate gendered social roles. While the few data points obtained through interviews point to a positive dismantling of gendered social roles, a more systematic approach would be invaluable to the questions cited above. Some of the findings from the qualitative interviews suggest that women's issues are not prioritized and that women are not taken seriously when offering suggestions about what ISOs should do. Is this pattern also true for LGBTQ individuals? Moreover, when LGBTQ individuals

lead these immigrant serving organizations, are they able to overcome gender issues and achieve equity? These are all important questions that merit further investigation.

Finally, a last strand of research from this dissertation might be to look at how courageous citizenship develops and manifests in other countries with comparable legal systems. France, Canada, and Australia have long been compared to the U.S. Is it the case that the United States is unique in its immigrant population? Anecdotally, we might say that this is likely not true given the level of activism seen in Mexico by Haitian and Central American immigrants and refugees. Future work will look at how courageous citizenship may present itself in other countries and what institutional factors change the nature of courageous citizenship.

Courageous Citizenship Beyond

These pages are a testament to the courage of immigrants and their fight to overcome systemic and continuous violence. In their struggle for acceptance and for full access to citizenship, immigrants have organized and demonstrated true commitment to democratic ideals. While there is a great deal to admire from the courageous participation of immigrants, we also learn how we may subconsciously fall short and might reinforce systems we do not support.

Women are widely held as the archetype of who makes a "good community member" and women do make the majority of the organizing labor in immigrant-serving organizations yet women in these positions do not feel heard or respected and few make it

to executive or leadership positions within ISOs. This subconscious reinforcement of gendered stereotypes is an issue for the health of the movement.

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Appendix A: OLS With Controls

Table 5: CCES 2020

	Dependent variable:					
	protest)	local_mtg)	campaign)	officials)	sign)	donate)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Defend Own Rights	−0.249**	−0.198	−0.012	0.064	0.060	0.151**
	(0.120)	(0.125)	(0.139)	(0.080)	(0.088)	(0.077)
Defend Community Rights	0.423***	0.434***	0.237*	0.157**	0.247***	0.135*
	(0.128)	(0.136)	(0.140)	(0.073)	(0.083)	(0.069)
Women	0.092	0.029	0.075	−0.072	−0.129	−0.283*
	(0.266)	(0.280)	(0.308)	(0.171)	(0.180)	(0.163)
POC	0.260	0.064	−0.707*	−0.803***	−0.220	−0.514***
	(0.283)	(0.311)	(0.392)	(0.205)	(0.206)	(0.188)
Immigrant Background	0.517*	−0.224	0.080	0.362**	0.255	0.326**
	(0.267)	(0.290)	(0.308)	(0.173)	(0.183)	(0.166)
High school graduate	13.223	13.818	12.819	−0.003	0.769	14.889
	(556.585)	(930.342)	(935.995)	(0.794)	(1.062)	(556.295)
Some college	13.715	14.795	13.571	0.906	1.281	15.658
	(556.585)	(930.342)	(935.995)	(0.784)	(1.056)	(556.295)
2-year	13.558	14.352	13.483	0.663	1.288	15.400
	(556.585)	(930.342)	(935.995)	(0.808)	(1.074)	(556.295)
4-year	13.654	14.704	14.917	0.808	1.260	15.722
	(556.585)	(930.342)	(935.995)	(0.783)	(1.055)	(556.295)
Post-grad	14.349	15.771	15.484	1.158	1.667	16.296
	(556.585)	(930.342)	(935.995)	(0.790)	(1.059)	(556.295)
Conservative to Liberal	0.369***	0.057	0.383***	0.302***	0.105	0.305***
	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.134)	(0.073)	(0.076)	(0.070)
Constant	−18.674	−18.748	−19.644	−3.679***	−4.379***	−18.321
	(556.585)	(930.343)	(935.995)	(0.934)	(1.194)	(556.295)
Observations	791	791	791	791	791	791
Log Likelihood	−215.183	−197.244	−163.455	−430.181	−396.739	−458.618
Akaike Inf. Crit.	454.367	418.487	350.909	884.362	817.477	941.237
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Appendix B: List of Community Organizations

1. Access California Services
2. African Advocacy Network
3. ALIANZA
4. Asian Americans Advancing Justice
5. Asian Pacific Fund
6. Bay Area Legal Aid
7. Bet Tzedek Justice For All
8. Black Alliance for Just Immigration (BAJI)
9. Border Angels
10. Cal Nonprofits
11. California Human Development
12. California Immigrant Policy Center
13. California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation
14. California Immigrant Policy Center
15. Canal Alliance
16. Canal Alliance
17. CARECEN
18. Casa Familiar
19. Catholic Charities
20. Catholic Charities SF
21. Catholic Charities Stockton
22. Center for Human Rights and Constitutional Law

23. Centro De Ayuda Legal Para Immigrantes (CALI)
24. Centro La Familia Advocacy Services
25. Chinese Progressive Association
26. CHIRLA
27. Clean Carwash LA
28. Coalition to Abolish Slavery & Trafficking
29. Community Legal Services in East Palo Alto
30. Community Outreach & Engagement Associate, Western Region
31. Dolores Street Community Services
32. Dolores Street Community Services
33. East Bay Community Law Center
34. East Bay Community Law Center
35. El Concilio Family Services
36. Employee Rights Center
37. Esperanza Immigrants Rights Project
38. Filipino Advocates for Justice
39. Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees
40. Human Rights First
41. Immigrant Hope Santa Barbara
42. Immigrant Institute of the Bay Area
43. Immigrants Rising
44. Immigrants Rising
45. Immigration Advocate Network

46. Immigration Center for Women and Children
47. Immigration Institute of the Bay Area
48. Interfaith Refugee and Immigration Service
49. Jubilee Immigration Advocates
50. Korea Town Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA)
51. La Raza Legal Center
52. Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles
53. Legal Assistance for Seniors
54. Legal Services for Children
55. Los Angeles Center for Law and Justice
56. Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF)
57. Mil Mujeres Legal Services
58. Mixteco Indígena Community Organizing Project
59. Multicultural Institute
60. National Day Laborer Organizing Network (NDLON)
61. National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights
62. Neighborhood Legal Services of Los Angeles County
63. Nonprofit Finance Funding
64. One Justice
65. Organization for the Legal Advancement of Raza
66. Pilino Worker Center (PWC)
67. Program Director, Youth and Civic Engagement/Immigration
68. Reedley Social Services

69. San Bernardino Community Service Center, Inc.
70. SCCGOV
71. SDIRC
72. Si Se Puede UFW Foundation
73. TODEC
74. Upwardly Global Team
75. UURISE
76. World Relief Southern California
77. Youth 2 Leaders Foundation

Appendix C: Interview Instrument

Ice Breaker

Can you tell me more about the organization that you currently work for? What attracted you to the position? What kind of concerns did you have that motivated you to seek this position?

Background

1. Can you tell me about your family and where you all come from?
    a. What year did you arrive?
    b. How did your family end up moving to the US? Did you move here to this city first?
    c. What were the main reasons you migrated here?
    d. Can you tell me about your current immigration status?
    e. What role do you have in your family?

Community Questions

2. What does community mean to you?
3. What communities do you consider yourself to be a part of? Can you tell me more about them?
    1. Do you take a role in those communities? If not, why not?
    2. Why do you choose those activities?

Pre-Pandemic Concerns/Crisis Shifts

4. Can you tell me what your day-to-day life was before the pandemic? How about now?
5. What do you think is the most pressing issue for your community? What's the most pressing issue for you? What about for your family?

Political Participation and Risk

6. What do you think it means to participate in politics?
7. Do you think there are some activities that are riskier than others?
    1. What are they and why do you think they are riskier?
8. Do you think there are some activities that are safer than others?
    1. What are they and why do you think they are safer?
9. Do you feel any sense of obligation to your community?

Risk Assessment and Consensus

10. I would like to ask you about these images from another organization:
    1. Do you think they are missing any other ways you can participate?
    2. What do you think about their assessments? Would you change anything about it?
    3. What comes to mind when you look at these flyers? Who do you think the people who made this look like?

Risk Assesment of Post-Election Events

2/7

Low Risk	Moderate Risk	Highest Risk
* Post-Election Healing + Support Groups	* Peaceful Protests	* General Protests
* Vigils	* Court Support (i.e. protest outside court hearings)	* Civic Disobedience (i.e. Sit-ins)
* Press Conference		

Do you know the organizers?

3/7

If you plan to attend a high risk event, such as a protest asess are some things about the action you should know before heading out.

WE Believe & We demand!

- **Do you know the Organizers?**
  if you know the organizers or organization you rely on your own or the judgement of trusted organizers and or organization to know if this event was carefully planned.
- **Is there a statement of purpose with clear goals?**
  Having a purpose and a clear assessment of what people are doing there at all times can be easy in making sure people are safer from predatory police.
- **Is there a programme that people can follow?**
  Having a programme will help you know the schedule with beginning time, list of events and an end time can be useful in placing yourself safely in an event. This programme should include water/food stations, access to restrooms, and a route.

Transportation (To + From)

4/7

If you plan to attend a high risk event, your transportation to and from the event is crucial. With increased police on the streets here's a checklist of things to consider before heading out.

- **Do you Have a buddy?**
  Make sure to Bring Your Own Citizen with you to a protest, their mission is to get you home safely and put their bodies on the line if police come after you.
- **Will you be driving?**
  If you are driving make sure its your last resort, having a citizen drive you to and from the event is the safest. Drive cautiously and avoid getting a ticket at all costs. Police will be more aggressive during actions.
- **Do you have license/registration?**
  If you are the driver make sure to comply with all the state driving laws. Including valid Driver's license, Insurance, and registration.
- **No one that is at risk should be driving**
  If you are at risk of deportation because you have a warrant, you've just been released or you are fighting an immigration case please do not drive to a high risk action. There could be severe consquences that could lead to your expedited deportation.

Be Ready To Book it!

5/7

Do you know the Route?

Knowing the route is the safest way to ensure you make it home. If you know the route stay alert and know where you are at all times in relation to the escape route. If there is altercations with the police do not hesitate to leave. If you are arrested your immigration case could be in jeopardy.

- **Is there a safety team for the event?**
  A safety team can be Legal observers, Brown Berets, or general organizers and volunteers dedicating in ensuring people stay along the route and step in if police try to hold protesters ransom.

- **Do you have a plan to stay clear of any encounter with police departments?**
  Physically staying away from police is the safest way to manage not being questioned or detained. Consider staying in between other protesters far from edges, and also keep your buddy with you at all times, use them as a shield infront of the police.
- **Worst Case Scenario:**
  If you are arrested without status or a warrant there is a possibility of being arrested and then transferred to ICE.

6/7

Social Media

Be Aware of what you are posting + Endorsing!

Don't post yourself committing Federal crimes Even as a Joke!

Unfortunately there is a double Standard for UNDOCUMENTED PEOPLE

Lastly, leave your phone at home, in the car or put it on

7/7

REALLY KNOW WHAT YOU ARE GETTING INTO! Know your plan.

Check List:

- Assess the risk of your event
- Research the Organizers
- Bring Your Own Citizen
- Find a Driver to transport you
- Know the route & have an escape plan
- Don't post anything that might be used against you in the future
- Be safe and avoid the police

If you have any questions regarding safety of any events happening in the Inland Empire, or general questions for safe protesting, Send us a message or call us.

Follow-Up

11. Would you like to be contacted again at the end of this study to hear about the findings?

Closing

12. Finally, is there anything else you'd like to share with me that I may not have asked about?

Appendix D: Additional LINES Analysis

Table 3: Naturalized Individuals Wave 1

	Dependent variable:			
	Community Meeting	Community Work	Official	Volunteer
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Woman	0.030	0.043	−0.002	−0.044
	(0.034)	(0.042)	(0.029)	(0.036)
Ideology	0.008	0.001	−0.010	−0.002
	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.011)
school	−0.016***	−0.030***	−0.020***	−0.025***
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Constant	1.845***	2.051***	2.116***	1.897***
	(0.055)	(0.069)	(0.047)	(0.059)
Observations	826	826	826	826
R^2	0.017	0.039	0.038	0.035
Adjusted R^2	0.014	0.035	0.034	0.031
Residual Std. Error (df = 822)	0.478	0.600	0.409	0.514
F Statistic (df = 3; 822)	4.791***	10.983***	10.708***	9.923***
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 4: Not Naturalized Wave 1

	Dependent variable:			
	Community Meeting	Community Work	Official	Volunteer
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Woman	0.052	0.030	0.011	−0.008
	(0.041)	(0.037)	(0.016)	(0.052)
Ideology	0.015	0.011	−0.001	−0.002
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.005)	(0.018)
school	−0.005	−0.013**	−0.010***	−0.031***
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.007)
Constant	1.723***	1.894***	2.018***	1.915***
	(0.068)	(0.062)	(0.026)	(0.088)
Observations	617	617	617	617
R^2	0.005	0.012	0.036	0.031
Adjusted R^2	0.0002	0.007	0.032	0.026
Residual Std. Error (df = 613)	0.490	0.447	0.190	0.632
F Statistic (df = 3; 613)	1.042	2.461*	7.686***	6.586***
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01