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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, MERCED

Bridging Movements through Intersectionality: Creating Coalitions between Members of
Criminal Justice and Immigrant Rights Organizations

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Arts

in

Sociology

by

Vicente C. Mata

Committee in charge:

Professor Zulema Valdez, Chair
Professor Paul Almeida
Professor Tanya Golash-Boza

2019

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by Vicente C. Mata

Master of Arts in Sociology

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Abstract:

Black men in the U.S. are five times more likely to be incarcerated than white men, while Latino men make up over 90 percent of undocumented deportees (Carson 2018; Gonzalez-Barrera and Krogstad 2016; Golash-Boza 2016). These trends and other oppressive factors have fueled the growth of social movement organizations aimed at immigrant rights and criminal justice reform. Using data from 30 interviews with members of immigrant rights and/or criminal justice groups in Southern California, this research poses the following questions: How do social movement organizations mobilize individuals to participate collectively around immigrant rights and criminal justice reform? And, how does individual identity formation and the structure of an organization condition an individual's participation in a single-issue (immigrant rights or criminal justice) versus multi-issue organization (immigrant rights and criminal justice)? Findings show that multi-issue organizations mobilize individuals to engage in collective action by emphasizing shared experiences with the judicial system and similarities across state-sponsored oppression, such as deportation and incarceration. In comparison, single-issue organizations are more likely to mobilize members based on a single master status identity (e.g. being undocumented). Findings demonstrate that multi-issue organizations build solidarity among members through shared intersectional interests rather than a single identity. This research reveals the role of intersectionality in building multi-issue social movement through shared experiences and *intersectional consciousness*.

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Introduction

In 2016, the number of incarcerated Americans in state and federal prison was 1.5 million, with Black men 5 times and Latinos 1.4 times more likely to be incarcerated than white men (Carson 2018; Nellis 2016). Since 2014, 2.4 million undocumented immigrants have been deported from the United States, the vast majority (90 percent) of whom were Latino men (Gonzalez-Barrera and Krogstad 2016; Golash-Boza 2016). The state of California is home to the largest prison system (Gilmore 2007) and the largest population of undocumented immigrants (Pew Research Center 2014). Mass incarceration and mass deportation share a parallel racialized and gendered agenda (Golash-Boza 2016), which conditioned racism targeting Black men for incarceration (Alexander 2012) and an anti-immigrant sentiment targeting male Latino immigrants for deportation (Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013; Santa Ana 1999).

The phenomena of mass incarceration and mass deportation along with various injustices facing these targeted and vulnerable communities have fueled the growth of single-issue social movement organizations focused on immigrant rights or criminal justice reform. Simultaneously, multi-issue organizations which aim to address both immigrant rights and criminal justice reform, have also grown. My research considers the following questions: How do social movement organizations mobilize individuals to participate collectively around immigrant rights and criminal justice reform? And, how does individual identity formation and the structure of an organization condition an individual's participation in a single-issue (immigrant rights or criminal justice) versus multi-issue organization (immigrant rights and criminal justice)? To address these questions, I examine the identity formation among members of both single- and multi-issue organizations in California, how members within organizations recruit and build capacity based on shared identities, experiences, and mission regarding organizational responses and goals to state-sponsored oppression. My empirical analysis relies on 30 semi-structured in-person interviews collected from diverse ethnic and racial group member activists who participate in and organize within single- and multi-issue organizations. Meyer and Whittier (1994) contend that overlapping identities and connections to multiple social movements generate what they call "social movement spillover" (SMS), which refers to the ways in which one social movement directly and indirectly affects another movement's ideology, mobilization strategies, organizational structure, and membership (Whittier 2017). SMS contributes to the broadening of social movement goals by attempting to capture the multitude of issues that affect individuals who are members of multiple communities, while creating collective action and inclusivity.

Developing collective action through intersectional frameworks is possible and crucial to address the multidimensional and overlapping identities of members who seek to participate in social movements that address their concerns (Terriquez, Brenes, and Lopez 2018: 266-267). For example, Terriquez's (2015) work demonstrates the way in which LGBTQ undocumented activists who participate in the LGBTQ movement and the undocumented DREAM movement adopted the LGBTQ movement's Coming Out of the

Shadows campaign to serve as a catalyst to combine and combat multiple issues simultaneously – namely being undocumented and LGBTQ – to motivate collective action. Employing intersectional frameworks in the service of a broad social movement that addresses “spillover” concerns is an intricate process that requires constant negotiation among members with shared multidimensional identities to achieve and maintain an intersectional movement (Luna 2016). Luna (2016) exemplifies this through her work in which she concludes that women of color organizations must continuously and actively negotiate their multidimensional identities in order to keep from reproducing inequality and marginalization among members. Drawing on this prior research, I contend that multi-issue organizations that employ intersectional frameworks create the capacity to foster inclusive environments for intersectional collective action (Meyer and Whittier 1994; Terriquez, Brenes, and Lopez 2018). In contrast, single-issue organizations are more likely to emphasize a single “master status” identity framework.

Master-Status Identity

Derived from Everett Cherrington Hughes’s (1945) conception, master status identity is a salient category of identity that focuses on one single prominent attribute of an individual which tends to overshadow or overpower all other identifying attributes. In terms of social movement organizing, master status identity-based groups mobilize around a centralized structurally-based ascribed identity that dominates all other statuses (Stryker 1987; Jaret and Reitzes 1999). Hughes (1945: 357) explains that racial identity can serve as a master status because it “tends to overpower, in most crucial situations, any other characteristics which might run counter to it.” For example, Pulido (1996: 150) explains that as a strategy to promote inclusivity and solidarity, the environmental justice movement mobilized “diverse [nonwhite] groups” around a single status identity, “people of color,” to mobilize to strengthen the movement. In addition to racial identity being a focal point for mobilization, gay and lesbian movements also exemplify a master status identity strategy by building a “quasi-national shorthand” that encompasses their identity as a marginalized community by underscoring their shared oppression (i.e. denial of freedoms and opportunities), which is termed “queer.” (Gamson 1995: 396). In other words, this strategy centers the queer label to build solidarity among those who identified themselves as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered, respectively. These examples exemplify the ways in which a single primary identity can be used to mobilize diverse groups and multiple identities.

Hughes (1945: 357) suggests that there are cases in which multiple “master” identities may contend for dominance over each other, which he explains to be a “status dilemma.” For instance, Hughes (1945) illustrates this by providing an example of an individual being a medical professional and a Black man, which serve as two separate identities of the same individual. Therefore, demonstrating how race and profession can each serve as a master status. These identity statuses, however, represent two different and stratified master statuses (Gonzales and Burciaga 2018: 181; Valdez and Golash-Boza 2018) which shape the way in which an individual engages within society. Additionally, this suggests that the more prominent visible identity, in this case being a

Black man, would determine the social position of the individual. Race would, therefore, serve as the primary status trait with all other identity traits, such as profession, serving as auxiliary or subordinate status traits (Hughes 1945; Gonzales and Burciaga 2018). Similar to race serving as a prominent master status, research contends that legal status functions as a master status to encompass undocumented individuals' diverse race, class, and experiences (Enriquez 2016; Gonzales and Burciaga 2018). For example, undocumented students professed their connection to their legal status as being a master status identity that shaped their educational pathways, but at other times emphasize an intersectional one (e.g. financial support, DACA, etc.) (Enriquez 2016; Valdez and Golash-Boza 2018).

Individual Participation and Social Networks

The choice to join social movement campaigns and actions is a multidimensional process that suggests individual participation to be linked with social networks, including interpersonal connectedness and prior political involvement (Almeida 2019; Inclán and Almeida 2017; Klandermans, Toorn, Stekelenburg 2008; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; McAdam 1986). However, these processes vary among individuals and are not dependent on one another to influence engagement in social movements. Social networks tend to be the primary influences and increase the chances of individual social movement participation (Krinsky and Crossley 2014; Diani 2004; Snow, Zurcher, and Eklund-Olson 1980). For example, in 2006 immigration rallies in American cities were successfully mobilized through diverse social networks which were key to influencing participation; ranging from churches to Latino majority schools (Mora, Rodríguez, Zermeno, and Almeida 2018; Barreto, Manzano, Ramirez, and Rim 2009). According to Kitts (2000) and Flores (2018), community organizations, such as religious institutions, serve as important networks to influencing individual participation in activist work. Additionally, Bloemraad and Trost (2008) also explained that social networks, such as familial bonds, are key to influencing social movement participation. For example, Bloemraad and Trost (2008: 520) explained that young teens from mixed status families, who participated in the 2006 immigrant rights protests, encouraged their parents to get involved and become "active participants" in the movement. McAdam (1986:69) explains that individuals who are involved in activism are most likely to have friends or family who are activists, thus "broadening his[/her] range of movement contacts" through the use of social networks.

Moreover, interpersonal connectedness strengthens the influence for individual participation around social movement campaigns and actions. Klandermans et al. (2008) explain that identity and grievances are powerful indicators when it comes to participation in social movement actions. For example, the recognition of injustices and structural barriers facing Black and Latino communities was enough to bring diverse individuals to participate in social movement collective action (Zamora and Osuji 2014). Furthermore, individual social movement participation is also influenced through prior political engagement or involvement. Inclán and Almeida (2017: 51) explain that prior political engagement "provides a sense of personal efficacy through protest engagement" allowing for future political involvement to become easier to engage with. Terriquez

(2017) explained that undocumented youths and their citizen peers with prior political involvement and activism were more likely to participate in protests around immigrant rights issues. Schussman and Soule (2005) further explained that individuals who were properly informed of the political issues and held political knowledge were more likely to engage in political protest.

Collective Action Organizing

Previous literature demonstrates that social movement organizations that pay attention to the intersectional dimensions of their members' identities offers one crucial way for members to develop a sense of inclusiveness and belonging within that organization (Polletta and Jasper 2001; Terriquez 2015). Social movement organizational practices are formed through identity processes which are central to how individuals participate, engage, and organize (Bernstein 2008; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Snow 2001). Capitalizing on the identity of members to mobilize them is a strategy used by social movement organizations that provides for the "public visibility of marginalized identity groups" (Terriquez 2015: 346). The DREAM movement's adoption of the Coming Out of the Shadows campaign provided an identity strategy that allowed for undocumented LGBTQ activists to "come out of the closet and become politicized around both their legal status and sexual orientation" (Terriquez 2015: 353). According to Pulido (1996), the creation of a shared identity among members of social movement groups is key to fostering collective action. Gamson (1995) reiterates Pulido's assertion by noting that the recognition of shared histories of oppression can foster solidarity, allowing organizations to branch out and focus on broader issues that affect multiple communities (Snow and McAdam 2000).

Understanding the relationship between identity, social movements, and collective action, can inform how coalitions between criminal justice and immigrant rights groups can emerge, groups that vary in their respective goals, but whose members – who are predominately Black and Latino, nevertheless share similar experiences of social marginalization and control, which fundamentally shape their life chances. The systemic surveillance, control, and violence towards Black people through means of the legal system (Taylor 2016) continues to serve as the catalyst to mobilize and rally against social injustice. For example, activists of Black Lives Matter understand that the movement is more than a fight against "police racism and violence" (Larson 2016: 54) but also fight against structural and institutional violence that directly impact them and Black and other marginalized communities (Taylor 2016). Similarly, the mobilization of undocumented peoples for immigrant rights stems from the long era of structural repression and legal violence (Terriquez 2017; Menjivar and Abrego 2012) which continues to empower their civic and political engagement (Terriquez 2017). Terriquez (2017) explains that the Latinx undocumented youth activists participating in the DREAM movement draw from their experiences with structural repression and legal violence to engage in the social and political fight for justice. These experiences inform the groups' shared interests and objectives, which are characterized by a desire to combat injustices upheld by white supremacy.

Criminal Justice and Immigrant Rights Organizations: Mobilizing Grievances and Threat

Grievances, as defined by Klandermans, Toorn, and Stekelenburg (2008: 995), are a sense of “indignation about the way authorities are treating a social or political problem” and are used as prominent mobilization strategies. For criminal justice reform groups, grievances are characterized as social injustice and serve as the focal point for mobilization (Loyd, Burrridge, and Mitchelson 2010). These social injustices include being disproportionately targeted by the criminal justice system (Alexander 2012), racial discrimination, exploitation, and “unequal access to quality education and health care” (Zamora and Osuji 2014: 437). Similarly, immigrant rights groups, also characterize grievances as social injustices, more specifically, mobilization occurs around human rights (Brown and Jones 2016), discrimination, and “political cynicism” (Klandermans et al. 2008: 1008).

The most important condition for a social movement to emerge and operate and be successful is through the mobilization of shared grievances among groups (Snow and Soule 2010; Simmons 2014). Organizing around grievances (Snow and Soule 2010) provides an approach to developing a collective movement, particularly acknowledging the shared oppression of people of color (POC) and shared experiences of marginalization. However, grievances must be framed and defined such that they resonate among diverse actors in order to build collective action (Gould 2009; Simmons 2014). For example, Loyd, Burrridge, and Mitchelson (2010) explain that organizing shared grievances through an abolitionist lens provides the foundation for collective action to occur among immigrant rights and criminal justice reform groups. More specifically, mobilizing around the abolitionist vision of dismantling the prison industrial complex (Loyd, Burrridge, and Mitchelson 2010: 98). The mobilizing of these shared grievances is done in tandem with impending shared threats of family separation, state repression, and the loss of human rights.

Previous literature explains threat as the inflicting of harmful actions or stripping away of political and social resources (Van Dyke and Soule 2002; Almeida 2003; Almeida 2018). The threat of family separation serves as common linkage of oppression among those in criminal justice reform and immigrant rights groups (Zamora and Osuji 2014; Loyd, Burrridge, and Mitchelson 2010). With Black and Latino men being the main targets of mass incarceration and mass deportation (Golash-Boza 2016). According to the Immigrant Defense Project (IDP 2017), there are approximately 16 million people in the United States who are part of a “mixed-status” family. In 2013, the Georgetown University Health Policy Institute’s Center for Children and Families found that an estimated “600,000 children” have been separated from one or both of their parent’s due to mass deportation. This is similar to those who are incarcerated in U.S. prisons, in that family separation is a result. Jasper (1997:116) explains that threat “must be built out of raw emotions like fear, dread, and hate, and some group of people must be blamed.” Members of criminal justice and immigrant rights organizations find common ground through their experiences with family separation and state repression, allowing for

intersectional mobilization to occur. Therefore, multi-issue organizations build collective action not only through intersections of identity, but also through overlapping shared experiences rooted through perceived and real threats as well (Almeida 2003).

Building Coalitions through Intersectionality

Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (1991: 1245) coins the term “intersectionality”, which “highlights the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed.” Intersectionality offers the opportunity to build a collective identity that can mobilize coalitions, while mitigating “the risk of occluding differences within groups” (Chun, Lipsitz, and Shin 2013: 923). Therefore, employing an intersectional framework within organizational practices is essential to connecting groups with various identities and experiences to build solidarity (Terriquez 2015). According to Crenshaw (1991: 1296), using an intersectional frame allows for the negotiation of “tensions between assertions of multiple [identities] and the ongoing necessity of group politics.” Collins and Bilge (2016: 42) suggest that the use of intersectionality is “an important analytical strategy for doing social justice work.” As Omi and Winant (1994; 2012) suggest, racial identities, although different, can spark allegiances through shared identity of being victims of structural and institutional racism. In addition, women of color have long understood the importance of intersectionality with in social movement organizing and activism, in particular using the “grievances of one group as a point of entry into a larger struggle” (Chun, Lipsitz, and Shin 2013: 921).

These discussions about the importance of intersectionality are crucial to the potential development of intersectional coalitions between social movement organizations aimed at immigrant rights and criminal justice reform. Concepts of intersectionality can be utilized as a tool “for refining understanding of the relationships that link individuals to social groups” (Chun, Lipsitz, and Shin 2013: 923). In terms of criminal justice and immigrant rights groups, the parallels in combating the prison industrial complex and immigrant detention system, are the linkages that lay out the foundation of their relationship. Intersectionality is also a useful mechanism for building coalitions, as it connects groups from various identities and seeks to build solidarity, without demanding groups be identical. An intersectional theoretical framework suggests that members of criminal justice and immigrant rights organizations share experiences of social marginalization and being racialized which is the foundation for intersectional mobilization (Terriquez 2015).

When considering building a collective identity and mobilization among criminal justice and immigrant rights activists, it is vital to acknowledge not just the similarities in identity, but the differences as well. Multi-issue organizations negotiate “sameness and difference” amongst their members through “multi-identity work,” which balances the overall mission of the organization while tending to diverse issues of its members to ensure inclusivity (Terriquez 2015; Luna 2016; Ward 2008). Framing these differences through an intersectional lens would acknowledge the multitude of diverse identities within the collective enclave.

This empirical research aims to understand the mobilization strategies of single- and multi-issue organizations and the participation patterns of their members. Previous literature demonstrates that identity plays a significant role in shaping mobilization practices within an organization and participation in a particular movement. Additionally, the literature illustrates how intersectionality can be used as a tool for building solidarity among diverse groups by recognizing the parallels of structural inequalities and oppression. Given the current political climate it is important to understand how to build intersectional social movements to combat broader issues in solidarity.

Research Design

This qualitative study uses semi-structured interview data collected from activists and organizers affiliated with single and multi-issue organizations who are members of diverse racial and ethnic groups, and who vary by nativity (U.S.-born; foreign-born) and legal status. Using interview data allows for the capture of more in-depth information, which in the case concerns obtaining information on what drives individuals to participate in social movements, mobilization strategies of single- and multi-issue organizations, and the development of legal consciousness (Terriquez 2015; Terriquez 2017; Menjivar and Abrego 2012). Semi-structured interview data was collected from 30 members, which include 15 members in single-issue organizations (immigrant rights) and 15 members in multi-issue organizations (criminal justice reform *and* immigrant rights) detailed in Table 1. Participants from two immigrant rights organizations were comprised of individuals who self-identified as Mexican, Mexican-American, and Chicana/o. Participants from multi-issue (criminal justice reform *and* immigrant rights) organizations were comprised of individuals who self-identified as Asian-American, Black, Mexican, Latinx, Mexican-American, and Chicana/o. Additionally, participants' ages ranged from 18 to 41 years.

Participant recruitment was done through contacting the following organizations: Criminal and Immigrant Justice Organization, Mi Gente, and the Community for Immigrant Justice. The Criminal and Immigrant Justice Organization's goal is to dismantle policies and institutions that disproportionately targeted communities of color for incarceration and violence. This organization focuses on combating mass incarceration and mass deportation through the use of transformative justice and community intervention/peace building, strengthened by intersectional identities. Additionally, Mi Gente is a Latinx led civic engagement organization that unites Latino, immigrant, and allied communities to promote social and economic justice. Lastly, the Community for Immigrant Justice is a Latinx led organization whose mission is to advocate and mobilize to improve immigrant communities with a current focus on mass deportations and environmental justice.

Under IRB approval number, UCM2018-49, each organization was contacted to obtain permission to conduct interviews and participate within the organization. Initially contact with the organizations were made via email outlining the details of my study and its goals. After this initial contact I was invited to visit the organizations to meet and

discuss the recruitment process and my involvement in the organization. My involvement within the organizations ranged from attending community meetings/forums, participating in actions/protests, attending workshops, and volunteering for community events whenever possible during the months of June 2018 to January 2019. This is how I built trust with each organization. During this time, I began to recruit members to participate in my study.

Table 1. Sample Demographics, N=30

Pseudonym	Age	Race/ Ethnicity	Nativity	Legal Status	Gender	Multi- or Single-issue
Paul	37	South East Asian	Philippines	Undocumented	Male	Multi-issue
Nailya	22	Black	United States	US Citizen	Female	Multi-issue
Emanuel	30	Brown/Chicano	United States	US Citizen	Male	Multi-issue
Tony	25	Mexican American	United States	US Citizen	Male	Multi-issue
Elizabeth	22	Mexican	Mexico	Undocumented	Female	Multi-issue
Jasmine	41	Black/Jamaican	United States	US Citizen	Female	Multi-issue
Genieve	22	Mexican/Latinx	United States	US Citizen	Female	Multi-issue
Lucy	19	Black	United States	US Citizen	Female	Multi-issue
Tamra	23	Black	United States	US Citizen	Female	Multi-issue
Michael	30	Palestinian	United States	US Citizen	Male	Multi-issue
Angelica	23	Mexican/Latinx	United States	US Citizen	Female	Multi-Issue
Juanita	30	Mexican/Latinx	United States	US Citizen	Female	Multi-Issue
Cesar	26	Afro-Latinx	Mexico	Undocumented	Male	Multi-Issue
Melissa	27	Mexican American	United States	US Citizen	Female	Multi-Issue
Sam	26	Mexican/Chicanx	United States	US Citizen	Male	Multi-Issue
Mateo	22	Mexican	Mexico	Undocumented	Male	Single-Issue
Sonia	23	Mexican	Mexico	Undocumented	Female	Single-Issue
Lisa	23	Mexican/Latinx	United States	US Citizen	Female	Single-Issue
Juilo	29	Mexican	Mexico	US Citizen	Male	Single-Issue
Larry	26	Mexican	Mexico	Undocumented	Male	Single-Issue
Ana	30	Mexican/Latinx	Mexico	Undocumented	Female	Single-Issue
Julia	24	Mexican/Latinx	United States	US Citizen	Female	Single-Issue
Selena	23	Mexican/Latinx	United States	US Citizen	Female	Single-Issue
Janelle	34	Latinx	United States	US Citizen	Female	Single-Issue
Gennifer	26	Latinx	United States	US Citizen	Female	Single-Issue
Marcy	25	Mexican/Latinx	United States	US Citizen	Female	Single-Issue
Peter	26	Mexican/Latinx	United States	US Citizen	Male	Single-Issue
Daniel	23	Latinx/White	United States	US Citizen	Male	Single-Issue
Salvador	36	Mexican American	United States	US Citizen	Male	Single-Issue
Vince	25	Mexican/Latinx	United States	US Citizen	Male	Single-Issue

Participants were given a brief presentation containing an overview of the study to maintain transparency. Prior to the interview being conducted, participants were required to sign and date an informed consent form. Participants were then given a brief demographic survey which was used to obtain their age, gender, and level of education. Once informed consent and demographic survey were completed, participants were given a \$25.00 Target Visa gift card as compensation for their time and engagement in the interview process. On average in-depth interviews lasted for 46 minutes, with the shortest interview being 28 minutes and the longest being 60 minutes. During the interview participants were asked to engage in discussion about their reasons for participating in movements to dismantle mass incarceration and/or mass deportation. Additionally, upon completion of the interview participants were asked if they know another individual fitting the criteria of the study (i.e. 18 years-old or older and actively participating in community organizing or activism) who would be interested in participating in the study. If the individual participant was willing to share, I then asked about the best way to get in contact with the individual. Snowball sampling is ideal for my project in that I dealt with vulnerable populations, undocumented individuals and the formerly incarcerated.

The process of recruitment took from June 2018 to December 2018 with interviews being conducted throughout. In addition to interviews with lead organizer from each of the organizations, I relied on the organizations official websites to gauge and explain their overall mission and goals. Moreover, after completing the analysis of the published mission and goals posted to their websites, I compared it to interview responses pertaining to the mission and goals to better understand and explain the ideologies and foundations of the organizations.

Data Analysis

I used ATLAS.ti 8, qualitative analysis software, to analyze interviews. All interviews were digitally recorded and kept on a password protected flash drive and computer. Each interview was manually transcribed by me and uploaded to ATLAS.ti 8. Transcripts are kept on a password protected and encrypted computer with all information backed up on a password protected and encrypted hard drive. In addition, to maintain confidentiality and anonymity, organizations and participants names were changed and assigned pseudonyms. All identifying information was destroyed after interview was completed. Interviews were coded looking for themes that tied back to why participants join single- or multi-issue social movement organizations, including how they became involved and their understanding of the overall mission and goals of the organization. In addition, I also coded for how racial and ethnic identity and in some cases legal status were used as mobilizing strategies in both single- and multi-issue organizations. Lastly, I coded for development of legal consciousness within single- and multi-issue organizations.

Findings

Participating in Single-issue Organizations

For organizations mobilizing around immigrant rights, a strong attachment to the undocumented identity was a motivator for social action, civic engagement, and social justice. Mi Gente and Community for Immigrant Justice are two organizations that focus on issues facing undocumented immigrant communities. For those participating within these organizations the decision to participate came in part due to their own personal histories and relationship to immigration. Julio, a 29-year-old Mexican immigrant who recently obtained United States citizenship, organizes with the single-issue organization, Community for Immigrant Justice, shares,

I am directly impacted by the immigration system. My family migrated to the United States when I was six months old...So I lived undocumented up until 2007...For 28 years I was undocumented until April of 2017 when I was able to adjust my status...And so for me it was my life it was personal...my family is undocumented. My dad had gotten deported in 2004...So to me it was personal to get involved in this work...with Community for Immigrant Justice.

Julio's deep connections to his undocumented identity was prominent through his interview. He explained that identifying as an undocumented individual "is terrifying and empowering, I am undocumented it's who I am, and it is who I fight for." Although Julio no longer had an undocumented status, his personal connection to his legal status influenced and solidified his choice to actively participate within the immigrant rights organization. In addition, Julio's interpersonal network (e.g. familial ties) also provided the foundation for his continued activism. This echoes previous literature (Klandermans, Toorn, Stekelenburg 2008; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; McAdam 1986) that connects one's personal experiences and networks to the movement cause. Similarly, Julia, a 24-year-old Mexican American organizer with the single-issue organization, Community for Immigrant Justice, shared her story about coming from a mixed status family and the reasoning for participating in Community for Immigrant Justice. She explains,

My sister and I were born in the United States, but my parents and brother were all born Mexico. My motivation to organize came from wanting to help my family to find a pathway to citizenship...And overall get my community civically engaged. Joining Community for Immigrant Justice allowed me to focus on my community and make a difference.

Based off the excerpts taken from Julio and Julia's interviews, it is clear that their personal history and relation to the identity of being undocumented play a significant role in how they organize and why they chose to participate in Community for Immigrant Justice. Although Julia is a U.S. citizen, she still embraces an undocumented identity because of familial ties. This is important because it demonstrates how social networks

and interpersonal ties (McAdam and Paulsen 1993) influence an individual's choice to participate in social movement organizing, in this case immigrant rights work.

For Larry, a 26-year-old undocumented Mexican immigrant participating with the single-issue organization, Community for Immigrant Justice, his identity of being undocumented played a significant role in terms of who he chose to organize with. Larry explains,

I wanted to feel comfortable revealing my legal status in organizing spaces. I wanted to focus on issues directly impacting the undocumented community. When I found Community for Immigrant Justice, I felt at home and I knew that their mission to fight for immigrant rights was where I was needed to be.

This conforms to previous literature on individual participation in social movements in that personal connections to a movements mission drive an individual's motivation to participate in a movement (Klandermans, Toorn, Stekelenburg 2008; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; McAdam 1986). Similarly, Mateo, a 22-year-old undocumented Mexican immigrant organizing with the single-issue organization, Community for Immigrant Justice shares,

You know I grew up ashamed and always hiding my legal status. I realized my shame was more of a fear and hiding my status was important to keep me safe. Community for Immigrant Justice taught me to embrace my legal status and advocate for others in my situation...

Mateo's connection to his legal status, like Larry, motivated him to participate in movements that aimed towards immigrant rights. This again illustrates the importance of how interpersonal connections play a significant role in motivating an individual to engage in activism and organizing, specifically around immigrant rights.

The importance of one's identity to their organizing is prevalent throughout the individual interviews. Within the Community for Immigrant Justice organization, members mostly identify as undocumented or allied undocumented. According to Ana, a 30-year-old undocumented Mexican immigrant organizing with the single-issue organization, Community for Immigrant Justice explains that the organization mobilizes around this identity to make a powerful statement. She states, "We cater to the undocumented immigrant and allied community. Therefore, we are transparent with our community. We let them know...Hey we are undocumented too and we want to help." Julio explains that "this strategy is important to established trust with the community. This shows them other undocumented people are fighting." This is significant because it demonstrates how members legal status identity not only played role in motivating them to participate in immigrant rights work, but also influenced the way in which they organize. Julio, Ana, and other members of Community for Immigrant Justice explained

that they hold workshops such as Know Your Rights, how to apply for TIN, etc. to create a sense of community among both undocumented and documented members.

Likewise, organizers participating in Mi Gente tied their reasons for organizing around immigrant rights issues to be deeply rooted within their personal histories and overall identity. Janelle, a 34-year-old Mexican American organizer with the single-issue organization, Mi Gente, explained, “I take part in [Mi Gente] because in order to entice change we must be civically engaged.” Being a second generation Mexican- American, Janelle understands the importance of building a civically engaged community in the era of Trumpism.

What motivates me to [partake in Mi Gente] is my family...my daughter...both my parent migrated from Mexico with nothing and I know they came out here [the U.S.] to have a better life and to provide something for me...It motivates me to helping others in reference to helping them to become citizens... so my goal is to help those that either don't have a status to have a status or some type of status to be in the U.S. and if they're residents then make them citizens and then eventually register them to vote and having a voice...

Janelle further explains that, her father ‘went through the process of citizenship on his own’ which led her to feel guilty because she did not help him go through the process. She explains, “this is kind of like my guilty thing. Since I didn't help my dad, I want to help others [through the process of citizenship] ...So it's kind of makes up for it.” Similarly, Vince's, a 25-year-old Mexican American/Latinx organizing, participation in Mi Gente is influenced and driven by his passion for helping other's find their voice and have access to resources.

For me it's being able to fight [against] injustices...at least for like my parents and my community you kind of would get screwed over [by the system] right...and kind of succumb to it...I think for me I eventually got tired of it...I continue to keep fighting for change...I keep for people who have a voice but is being silenced. Mi Gente allows me to do that and for my community.

For Janelle and Vince yearning to be agents for change and social justice drive their continued participation in activist work and community organizing with Mi Gente. Additionally, their social networks (e.g. familial ties) connect them to the movement. These connections inform their passion and continued participation within the immigrant rights movement. As Selena, a 23-year-old Latinx organizer with the single-issue organization, Mi Gente, explains

I come from a mixed status family...I see my parents who don't have a legal status worry everyday about the world around them. There is no pathway to citizenship. I understand my privilege as a documented Latina.

It is my duty to my community and to my family to continue fighting and a way I see change coming from is through civic engagement. We need to be civically engaged as a community. Mi Gente allows me to do this.

It is clear that community organizers from Community for Immigrant Justice and Mi Gente share a common narrative which illustrates that motivations to organize and participate in activism are rooted in their personal history and connections to their community. Furthermore, the choice to participate in single-issue organizations like the Community for Immigrant Justice and Mi Gente is derived from these personal narratives, specifically narratives concerning legal status and civic engagement. Salvador, a 36-year-old Mexican American organizer with the single-issue organization, Mi Gente, explains that “members of the organization not only use their experiences as motivation, but also as mobilizing strategies with other orgs.” Similarly, Julio, introduced earlier, explains that members of Community for Immigrant Justice “mobilize with other organizations who share similar interests, experiences and are motivated to fight for immigrant rights.” Therefore, Salvador and Julio agree that having these rooted personal connections and motivations serve as the catalyst to mobilize multiple organizations in solidarity around a single-issue, which in this case is human rights of undocumented immigrants.

Participating in Multi-issue Organizations

An individual’s decision to participate in a multi-issue social movement organization is influenced through their overlapping personal connectedness to the issues at hand and a recognition of structural oppression rooted in U.S. institutions like the criminal justice system and judicial system. For most organizers who chose to participate in a multi-issue organization, personal experiences with both the criminal justice system and immigration was a common narrative. Those experiences led them to choose and participate in a coalition that worked with diverse identities and issues. Paul, a 37-year-old self-identified Filipino organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, emphasized that the choice to become involved with a multi-issue organization stems from his long history with the criminal justice and immigration systems and the political climate.

Well I came out of prison in 2015 and ended up getting taken in by ICE and was released in March 2016... Then I was re-detained in July of 2016... Then I was re-detained and went back in and had to fight my way back out and that’s when I got involved... I got involved partly because of my own situation and what I went through...but the last time I was in detention that’s when the elections took off and set off a mass panic... There was a push to organize the community and that’s when I found the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition.

Paul continued to explain that being a part of the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition allowed him to work with diverse communities, specifically the formerly incarcerated and undocumented communities.

At first when I got involved It was getting involved in immigrant stuff ...but at the same time for me I was a juvenile when I got caught up and then went into the system as an adult...So I have experienced this whole range of stuff ... it's the whole intersectionality of the whole thing...and being gone for 16...17 years...so that part of [the reason why I continue to community organize]...Then I see now that ...now that I am out here all those things I used to hear inside [prison] about how people would get treated when they came out [of prison]...being tagged...labeled as convicts...felons or whatever...Now I'm really seeing how it really plays out...That's also part of the motivation to keep me going with and to why I chose to participate with [the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition].

Similarly, Jasmine, a 41 year old Jamaican American organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, explained that her desire to participate in community organizing with The Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition was driven by her need to be an advocate for those closest to her who had succumbed to criminal justice system and immigration proceedings.

I have always been involved in my community...When I was about 32 I started advocating for my mom's case...I got involved with [the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition] after working on my mom's immigration case...because I was looking for resources for her and not just her, but I also had a boyfriend who did some time and he had just got out prison...and living in a halfway house...I ended up asking the house manager about reentry resources and the guys said he didn't know.

Jasmine acknowledged the fact that house manager's lack of knowledge of resources was not a loss because he directed her back to The Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition where she found her safe haven. She explained that "I liked what they were doing helping the community and providing access to them with no hesitation. This is why I got involved"

Both Paul and Jasmine's experiences ultimately influenced their choice to involve themselves and engage in a movement coalition focused on criminal justice reform and immigrant rights. Their continued engagement continues because they both see a "need to support" those coming home from prison and/or facing deportation. Moreover, Emanuel, a 30 year old Chicano organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, explained that his early exposure to activism by his family and higher education, experiences being racially profiled by police, and witnessing the struggles endured by undocumented family members that influenced his choice to participate in the social movement coalitions.

My family has always been heavily involved in social justice issue since I was a kid and I wasn't until I went into my undergrad that I started to get more formerly involved in organizations that did grassroots organizing... In my early 20's I was kicked out of my [higher educational institution] and I was propelled in to community organizing. I became involved with The Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition because I respected to their mission.

He continued to explain that his motivations to continue organizing for criminal justice reform and immigrant rights stemmed from his passion to empower people who have been affected by state repression (e.g. police brutality, ICE raids, etc.).

I myself have been harassed several times and have had police point guns at my face and threaten me... I have been hit with a baton before... I feel that the relationship between the police and communities of color... is one of the biggest issues of our generation... I really want to find my role and see how I can support in the larger movement.

The desire to be an agent for change is what drives Emanuel to continue organizing. He understands the importance of activism and want to engage in a broader context. Similarly, Tony, a 25-year-old Mexican American organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, explained that witnessing his father's incarceration and deportation at an early age drastically impacted his family. This led him down the path of coming in contact with criminal justice system. It was through these experiences that led him to community organizing. As he stated,

My lived experiences drove my passion... I'm tired and fed up with the way things were, how I was treated by police growing up, and how incarceration and immigration effected my family... I just had this urge to do something about it so, I started to think of ways to get involved...

Through further analysis of the interviews with organizers at The Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition I found this to be a common narrative which tied their personal experiences (or familial experiences) with the criminal justice system and/or immigration to their participation and engagement in a social movement.

Such experiences, however, are not only factors and determinates to one's participation in an organization, they are also used as a mobilization tactic. For example, Michael, a 30-year-old Palestinian organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, described the ways in which mobilization strategies are discussed amongst members. He explained to effectively mobilize within a multi-issue organization there must be an understanding of the linkages that connect different groups. He noted that these linkages are formed through the shared experiences with state repression of members.

The parallels between immigration and the criminal justice system can be seen through the prison industrial complex...In our understanding of the way in which the prison industrial complex functions we see the ways that it not just intersects but actually encompasses so many different issues... and impacts so many different communities...So, we can't talk about the prison industrial complex without talking about the detention and deportation of immigrants because ICE and border patrol and immigration control more broadly is very much tied into the prison industrial complex...Understanding these links is key for members to organize around these issues simultaneously and effectively.

Michael's understanding of what links the criminal justice system and immigration is to employing collective action among members. He explains members of the organization, much like himself, have experienced first-hand the effects of the prison industrial complex on their own families and communities. Michael later in the interview states, "We draw from our experiences to understand that we are all targeted. We understand that at the end of the day we are all at risk," This illustrates the formation of solidarity among members by recognizing their connection to one another through shared experiences with state repression.

Nailya, a 22-year-old African American organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, echoed Michael's, introduced earlier, assessment for mobilization strategy, explaining that shared experiences among groups provide the foundation for solidarity to emerge.

Me and my family have been gravely affected by mass incarceration. My dad got incarcerated when I was six and a half almost seven and he barely got out in 2016. It effected my family significantly especially financially and emotionally...Other members in the organization have also experienced what I have, but through dealing immigration enforcement...No matter how it happens we all suffer from losing someone to the system whether it be in a jail cell or deported.

Witnessing her father's experiences with the criminal justice system and enduring the consequences of separation helped her realize the parallels between deportation and imprisonment. Though she has not personally experienced the threat of deportation or imprisonment, Nailya realized that the consequences facing those under the threat of deportation and/or incarceration are determinantal to familial bonds. She explained that member find their common ground through their experiences and identify themselves "not as victims but survivors." Similarly, Paul's, introduced earlier, personal experiences with the criminal justice system and deportation provide the foundation for him to bridge movements of criminal justice reform and immigrant rights. He stated,

Our organization is very much centered around people who are directly impacted [by the criminal justice system and immigration] ...As a lead

organizer I have had to learn the best way to organize the members effectively. I understand what it is to be in prison and to be detained by ICE, so when I organize, I draw from both my experiences as formerly incarcerated and undocumented individual to demonstrate how the system affects us similarly regardless of your legal status you know. Organizing around experiences is, from my opinion, a better way to connect the dots.

Finding a commonality among individual experiences is essential to amplifying and strengthening the mission of a multi-issue organizational coalition. Paul explains finding those connections through experience is crucial to building solidarity. These intersections of experiences are key to broadening the goals of the organizational coalition.

However, some members within the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition did not have interpersonal connections to the criminal justice or immigration systems. These members joined the multi-issue organization from an outsider's perspective, however understood how structural inequality and racism impacted communities of color. Geneieve, a 22-year-old self-identified Mexican/Latinx organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, explains

I grew up in the hood, but my family never got caught up with the criminal justice system...I come from a working class family and currently attending [college]...I got involved in the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition because I see and understand how people like me are treated by society. I am a brown woman from the hood, and I know what people think...I am not supposed to be in college, I am supposed to be pregnant on the streets with my gang...Of course this is the stereotype that is associated with people like me. We are automatically criminalized by the color of our skin or the neighborhood we come from...Being a part of this organization allows me to combat these oppressive systems that target brown, black, and undocumented folk...

Geneieve, although did not have an immediate connection or experiences related to the criminal justice or immigration systems, had the foundational connection of recognizing how racial and structural injustices impact communities of color. Similarly, Melissa, a 27-year-old self-identified Mexican American organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, explains:

I never had personal experiences with incarceration or deportation, so my motivation to do the work that I do with the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition comes from my passion to end racial injustice... I have seen who police target...who ICE targets...I have seen the impacts of family separation, whether it be through incarceration or deportation...The fact is that we have a problem and I want to make a difference. Although, I am not directly impacted I feel it is my duty to my community...

Additionally, Lucy, a 19-year-old African American organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, acknowledges that her racial and marginalized identity is what motivates her to participate in the Criminal and Immigrant Justice coalition, she explains,

I come from a single-family household...I lost my mom when I was very young...My dad worked in factories to support me...He is a good man, but I remember him always having to deal with police and not in a good way. I understood from a very early age that my Blackness would be criminalized...I work with this organization because I understand how the systems in place target Black and Brown folk...We can't sit idly by and watch our brothers and sisters being the continued targets of incarceration or detention... I understand that oppression has many different colors and targets all of us not just one specific group... We must fight to end racial injustice...

Overall, for organizers within The Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, the bridging of the two separate movements for criminal justice reform and immigrant rights come from both sharing experiences and understanding the parallel roots of the oppressive attacks on the Black and undocumented communities.

Mobilizing Grievances and Threat

The Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition utilizes various mobilization strategies to combat issues of incarceration and deportation, specifically mobilizing around shared grievances and threats. This mobilization strategy, according to Paul, “connects the parallels of social injustice facing communities of color and immigrant communities to foster solidarity and strengthen the organizations mission.” Mobilizing grievances and threats are crucial to developing collective action among diverse marginalized groups, more specifically to combat the issues of incarceration and deportation (Loyd, Burrige, and Mitchelson 2010; Snow and Soule 2010; Simmons 2014; Zamora and Osuji 2014). Members of Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition explain that the focal point for mobilization centers around social injustice and human rights. Jasmine states,

You have to understand as an organization we have undocumented and documented people, Black and Brown people, people with degrees, some with diplomas, some with GED's, and some who are still in school...Our membership is very diverse...What links us is our struggle with social injustice in the form of discrimination, racism, exploitation, inequality, and above all our human rights...These are our shared experiences...our shared struggles...it's what unites us ...Each action, protest, event is centered around these issues and links our diverse experiences...

The experiences with grievances of social injustice and violations of human rights are utilized as the foundation to engage the diverse membership of the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition in collective action (Gamson 1995; Pulido 1996; Snow and McAdam 2000). Additionally, Paul explains that,

As someone who has been impacted by both the criminal justice and immigration systems, I know first-hand how the experiences of the formerly incarcerated and undocumented persons are parallel to one another... I see the intersections of experience and struggle. Having a first-hand understanding of the issues [e.g. criminal justice and immigration] is a common narrative among our members... We use our shared struggles and experiences to mobilize and this connects us... We go into action as one unit... in solidarity with one another... This our strength...

Jasmine and Paul emphasize the significance of shared experiences and grievances in mobilizing the multidimensional identities within their organization (Klandermans et al. 2008; Bernstein 2008; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Snow 2001). The recognition of these intersections between grievances and personal experiences play a key role in mobilizing in solidarity within the multi-issue organization. Juanita, a 30-year-old Latinx organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, explains that “our shared oppression... shared experiences with be criminalized and injustice serves as our platform to mobilize in solidarity. We are stronger together. We use the intersections of our shared experiences... shared struggles as our power to fight!” This demonstrates and reiterates the importance of recognizing the intersections of experience and grievances to build collective action among diverse and multidimensional identities (McAdam and Paulsen 1993; Snow and Soule 2010; Simmons 2014).

In tandem with mobilizing grievances members of the multi-issue organization mobilize around shared threats, including, family separation, state repression, and the loss of human rights. These perceived threats in addition to the perceived grievances serve as the catalyst to mobilize collectively in solidarity among diverse, multidimensional identities. According to Tony, introduced earlier,

People of color, specifically Brown and Black folk, have long been targets of police and the criminal justice system. Our organization members recognize these threats and there impacts on multiple communities... We mobilize to combat these injustices that target us... We are Black, Brown, Asian, Immigrants, formerly incarcerated connected by experience and impending threats brought on by the higher powers... you know at the policy level... Understanding that allows us to mobilize our members...

Tony’s response demonstrates and reiterates previous literature (Jasper 1997; Van Dyke and Soule 2002; Almeida 2003; 2018) in that perceived and real threats are crucial to influencing collective action, specifically among the members of the Criminal and

Immigrant Justice Coalition. In addition, Tamra, previously introduced, explains that the threats of family separation connect criminal justice reform/ anti-prison and immigrant rights activists to mobilize in collective action.

We see families torn apart every day...whether it be through incarceration or deportation, we see the same thing happen...Children are left behind, and families are left financially devastated. We see good people treated as if they were nothing...This fuels our cause to fight against the oppressive systems in play...Prisons and detention centers are in place for one reason and that's to disrupt communities of color...Although we are all different, we are faced with similar attacks and that's what provides us with the foundation to mobilize together.

Tony and Tamra attest to utilizing perceived and real threats as a mobilizing tool to building solidarity among their organization's diverse membership (Golash-Boza 2016; Zamora and Osuji 2014; Loyd, Burrige, and Mitchelson 2010). Members of the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, utilize grievances and threat to collectively mobilize diverse and multi-dimensional identities in solidarity (Jasper 1997; Van Dyke and Soule 2002; Almeida 2003; Snow and Soule 2010; Simmons 2014). Caesar, introduced previously, explains,

Although we have our own personal experiences with the criminal justice and immigration systems, we all understand that we are all targets and our communities are being affected...It is our job to collectively come up with solutions...It is our responsibility. Being Afro-Latinx, I understand what it is to be black and an immigrant in the Trump era and its scary...Our organization allows us, members of different backgrounds to collaborate and mobilize together...Our experiences being targeted by racist policies and systems...Our experiences being targets of family separation through means of imprisonment and deportation, give us the foundation to understand that we are connected...This how we are able to organize because we have an understanding and appreciation for the diverse membership...

This response illustrates and reiterates Tony's and Tamra's statements in that mobilizing around shared grievances and threats are crucial to strengthening the multi-issue organizations goals and missions to dismantle the prison and immigration industrial complex.

Mobilizing Strategies: Single-issue Organization

Mi Gente and Community for Immigrant Justice embrace a mission that sets out to advocate and improve the lives of immigrant peoples through a collective mobilization strategy that works towards social justice, a solution to the immigration system and changing immigration policies. Members of these two single-issue organizations

explained that their collective mobilization strategies are centered around a single identity or master-status identity. Gennifer, a 26-year-old Latinx organizer with the single-issue organization, Mi Gente, explained that mobilizing around a single identity was a choice the organization made to fit the needs of the community. For example, she explains that workshops were almost always given in Spanish and workshops were primarily focused on the Mexican immigrant experience.

The community we are in is primarily made up of Mexican migrants, therefore our option to tailor workshops to those experiences speaks for itself. I mean I am sure if there was a more diverse group of people, we would cater their needs too. We essentially organize under the identity of an undocumented Latinx group.

Although, Gennifer did not use the terminology of “master status” it is evident through her response that the organization employs a single master status identity strategy that centers around legal status to cater to their target community. Similarly, Lisa, introduced earlier, states that mobilizing under a “legal status” identity provides the “basis to build solidarity among members in the organization with the undocumented community we serve.” Lisa then further explains the way in which legal status identity is utilized as a mobilization strategy.

I am not undocumented, but my parents are...Most members of our organization are from mixed status families...That’s why we can connect to the community we serve and that’s why mobilizing around legal status works for [Community for Immigrant Justice]. We consider ourselves to be allied undocumented...We are allies to the undocumented community...So when we organize for rallies, events, and even workshops we do so keeping in mind the undocumented we are serving...We want to show them as allies that we are with them and that we want to help...

Establishing a quasi-identity (Gamson 1995), such as “allied undocumented,” provides an inclusive identity among documented and undocumented communities laying out the foundation for solidarity. According to Sonia, a 23-year-old undocumented Mexican Immigrant organizer with the single-issue organization, Community for Immigrant Justice, mobilizing under an allied undocumented identity provides a “safe space for undocumented immigrants to talk about the issues their communities and have a voice that won’t be silenced.” Mateo, introduced earlier, also echo’s Sonia’s testimony in that mobilizing through a master status lens provides empowerment to the community.

As an undocumented member of Community for Immigrant Justice I find it that organizing with others who are not necessarily undocumented but kind of get it...you know through like having family that are undocumented to give us strength. Alone as undocumented immigrants are vulnerable but the help of our documented allies, I feel like we have our strength we have our power.

Additionally, Marcy, a 25-year-old Latinx organizer with the single-issue organization, Mi Gente, and Daniel, introduced earlier, explain that mobilizing under a Latinx undocumented identity has helped provide a connection to the community in which they serve. Building off of Gennifer's testimony, Marcy explains that,

We as an organization have dedicated ourselves to building a strong reputation with our community [Mexican immigrant community]...I would say our connection to the community is through our identity as a colonized people...as an oppressed people...I may not be undocumented but family members of mine are and I have seen them struggle...I've seen the barriers they face...As an organization serving our community we embrace our Latinidad and legal statuses to form an identity that connects us all...

Marcy's excerpt further demonstrates how ethnic and legal status identity is used to mobilize the broader community, specifically around the issues facing the undocumented community.

As demonstrated through the testimonies of members from Mi Gente and Community for Immigrant Justice, there an emphasis of how utilizing a master-status identity strategy can build solidarity. However, some members of these single-issue organizations explained that employing a master-status identity strategy to mobilize has its limitations. According to Ana, introduced earlier, mobilizing around a single-identity, an allied undocumented master status identity, "has helped us build bridges among documented and undocumented Latinx communities, however this approach has limited our connection to other undocumented communities." Similarly, Peter, introduced earlier, explains,

We focus primarily on Mexican immigrants and mobilize around the issues facing that community...This is not intentional but it's just that they are the dominant community here in Southern California for our organization...We sometimes forget that immigration is not Mexican centered...

These drawbacks to the master status identity strategy tend create opportunities for exclusion of other identifying attributes, such as race, gender, etc. Organizers with Mi Gente and Community for Immigrant Justice acknowledge this exclusion, but ultimately dismiss the issue because the community they presently serve are part of the Latinx undocumented community.

Multi-issue Organizations, Intersectional Mobilization

Members of the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition work to take on multiple issues facing diverse communities through inclusive mobilization strategies. Evidence demonstrates that these inclusive strategies emerge through education which

lays out the foundation for intersectional mobilization to occur. Intersectional mobilization refers to the recognition and commitment of diverse identities to engage and participate in a broader movement through collective action (Terriquez 2015). Analysis shows that members utilize education to bring awareness to diverse issues and to develop intersectional mobilizing strategies. In addition, in these spaces' members utilize an intersectional framework to interconnect race, nativity, and legal status to form an intersectional collective action to combat the prison and immigration industrial complex. Tamra, a 23-year-old African American organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, explains that

[the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition] provides spaces to talk about and educate one another about the injustices facing multiple communities...a space for me to talk about issues facing my community...I feel this helps us come together...all of us...We understand the this fucked up system targets all of us...We support one another...

Caesar, introduced earlier, concurs "The spaces we have here help us understand one another...We find common ground with one another, through our experiences and our challenges...We embrace our differences and recognize our similarities..." For members of the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, the organization serves as a safe space for diverse identities and communities to embrace differences and educate each other of the challenges facing their perspective communities. Ultimately, the space created through the multi-issue organization provides a way for diverse communities to connect, find commonality, and collectively mobilize. For example, Jasmine, introduced earlier explains:

Personally...the system is not set up for people of color to thrive and [the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition] gives us the space to disrupt this system...If we just sit by and watch it happen then it's our fault...Everybody has their part here and everyone in this org. wants the same thing...Seeing the immigration system and its impact on my mom, on top of seeing how the carcel state targets Black men, like my boyfriend and brother...I understand both sides...I know why we are connected and I see why our system does not work...it does not work for us...I doesn't work for Black or Brown people...[The Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition] provides spaces to educate its members on the issues and promotes inclusiveness...It's a place where we can come together and disrupt this shit in solidarity.

This excerpt demonstrates the way in which education is used to bring awareness to diverse issues in the community. In addition, these educational spaces seem to allow members who identify with multiple identities to engage in a broader conversation. Sam, a 26-year-old Chicanx organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and

Immigrant Justice Coalition, explains that education is crucial to mobilizing members of the organization and helping the broader community take a stand against injustice.

I'm formerly incarcerated and being in these spaces within [the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition] I am able to understand how problematic and racist policies are used to target people in my community, whether you be documented or undocumented. The Know Your Rights workshops we have here helped me understand that I do have rights... This has also helped me protect my undocumented parents... We are strong community here and when we go out in the community we go as one... It all starts with education you know...

Paul, introduced earlier, "We have created spaces for members to educate one another. The goal of this education is to show our differences but also highlight our similarities. I am not Latinx... I am not Black... But I am a formerly incarcerated Asian immigrant." The emphasis on recognizing differences and sameness among members is crucial because it acknowledges the unique experiences of the individual while also finding the underlying similarities that will foster solidarity. Therefore, education is used as the catalyst for developing intersectional mobilization, bridging a multitude of identities to build solidarity among diverse groups.

Through education, members of the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition have created inclusive spaces that employ an intersectional framework promoting the interconnectedness of multiple identities. For example, Emanuel, introduced earlier, recognizes that "Black and Brown folk are targeted by a racist and unjust system that keeps us from living. This organization allows us space to understand how we are connected, and we then mobilize through those connections." Michael, introduced earlier, describes how these mobilization strategies are put into action:

We mobilize around the issues and tie it back to how it effects the broader community. For instance, there was a proposal for a jail expansion to house detained immigrants. Members of our org. made it point to hold a community town hall to provide details about what this proposal meant for the communities... This is way to show how the issue intersects and connects them... Although this action focused on this issue of jail expansion for immigrants, we were able to get members and community involved by showing the broader impacts and how the system targets all...

Both Emanuel and Michael explained that the "system" or the prison industrial complex impacts a wide range of communities, specifically Brown and Black communities. This connection provided the foundation for the organization to mobilize its members and the community around the jail expansion proposal. Moreover, Paul refers to an action that centered around removing Immigration and Customs Enforcement from local communities and providing protection to undocumented immigrant peoples. He states,

Not all of us are undocumented and are necessarily affected by immigration policy, but we all know someone, are related to someone, or are working with someone who is. With ICE policing our communities with the help of local law enforcement, we as an organization took steps to make sure we were using the right mobilization strategy...Policing and police brutality are serious issues facing our communities so we decided to mobilize our members and community groups around that issue with immigrant rights being the focus...That's how we took a stand ...We used our connected experiences and mobilized.

Evidence illustrates the complexity in devising mobilization strategies to fit the needs of an organizational action. Both Michael and Paul tie in “impact” and “experience” as part of their mobilization strategies to building intersectional collective action/ mobilization. In other words, how does this issue impact the community as whole and how do the personal experiences intersect to build solidarity. These narratives demonstrate that multi-issue organizations, like the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, use intersections of impact and experience to form an intersectional mobilization to combat and address multiple issues facing their diverse membership.

Lastly, members of the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition explain that intersectionality within the organization is a constant negotiation among their multidimensional identities in order to keep from reproducing inequality and marginalization amongst themselves. Jasmine explains,

It's a constant struggle to explain to groups we work with that I am a Black immigrant...Like I can't be both...especially when it comes to discussions around immigrant rights...It feels good to have the support of my fellow team members that understand that immigration is not just a Latino problem.

Similarly, Caesar states,

I am an Afro-Latinx...I am Black but I'm also Mexican...I'm undocumented...The struggle comes in when I am trying to organize other Latinx communities and members around criminal justice reform...They says it's not their problem there not criminals...This is why the education component of our org. is so useful because it helps fight against ignorance. I am always trying to figure out which identity I should lead in with trying to organize...Am I Black...Am I Mexican...Am I undocumented...Its work...

Both Jasmine and Caesar demonstrate the complex and constant negotiation that happens during the mobilization process, specifically for documented and undocumented Black immigrants. Jasmine explained, “There is a complete erasure of the Black immigrant experience. We are here! We are a thing! This a problem in coalition building in which

we tend to exclude certain demographics.” Paul concurs, “Immigration is more than just a Latinx thing and Incarceration is more than just a Black thing...Once we all realize that there will definitely be more coalitions focusing on multiple issues.” Members of the Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition agree that the organization provides the environment for them to engage in intersectional mobilization and the education to maintain intersectionality.

Legal Consciousness within Single-issue Organizations

The development of legal consciousness among members within the single-issue immigrant rights organizations is attributed to their personal experiences and master-status identity. Developing legal consciousness is the process in which an individual makes sense of their personal experiences through legal ideology (Merry 1990; Nielsen 2000). For example, Mateo, introduced earlier, explains, “I’m undocumented that’s a fact and I can’t afford to go to school. Hell, I can’t even access affordable health care...I see the issues facing the community first hand. Being in this space has allowed me to focus on changing policy specifically for my immigrant community.” This understanding and focus on his undocumented identity fuel his passion to engage in activism centered around immigrant rights, specifically with the Community for Immigrant Justice. He further explained, “My identity, my experiences, my struggle, feeds into my activism. It’s what helps me relate to the community we serve.” Similarly, Selena, introduced earlier, held that being a documented Latina from a mixed status family granted her privileges to engage in social activism and raise awareness of the social injustices facing other mixed status families. She explained,

The constant fear of seeing your parents deported and leaving you behind to raise you siblings is a reality for me. My parents are undocumented and there is no clear pathway to citizenship. Being born in the U.S. has granted me the privilege to advocate for my parents and make an effort to protect them...I make an effort to advocate and protect other families as well because I understand their fears and concerns. This is my community...

Selena, along with other members in the single-issue organizations, demonstrate that personal experiences with the systems of immigration developed their political awareness feeding into their legal consciousness around the various issues concerning immigrant rights. This is echoed by Lisa, a 23-year-old Latinx organizer with the single-issue organization, Community for Immigrant Justice, in which she acknowledges her privilege of being a documented Latina and her commitment to her community:

My privilege of being a U.S. citizen allows me to engage in social activism. For those of us that are documented, we are able to speak up for those who cannot. It’s our job to fight for our parents and our community...It’s our job to fight for policy change and finding accessible pathways to citizenship. The separation of family’s needs to end and we are able to be the voice that can help end it.

Understanding the privileges of having documented status demonstrates Lisa's political awareness around immigration. She asserts that this privilege grants her access to political spaces without fear of being targeted for deportation. Similarly, Daniel, a 23-year-old Latinx organizer with the single-issue organization, Mi Gente, explains,

I myself am a U.S. citizen...I was born and raised here...My father was undocumented and my mom and siblings as well...which life itself was very limited because of their status...Everything they did was by the book. Unfortunately, it took my dad longer than my entire life just to get his Green Card...So this is very personal to me because I knew and understood, even as a child, these immigration laws and reforms were. I knew they applied to my family. This is why I fight for my community...

Development of political awareness through personal experience helped members engage in political activism around immigration. Julio states, "I know the struggle of obtaining citizenship. I've been there...It is through this understanding I am able to take charge and help others." This demonstrates how political awareness takes part in developing legal consciousness. However, Ana, introduced earlier, developed her political awareness through education and understanding her identity. She states,

When I was attending [College] ...one of my classmates shared with me that she was a DACA student and I shared with her that I was a DACA student as well...Then she shared with me the organization she worked for and started inviting me to events...The organization she worked for did immigrant rights work...She explained to me what they did and I was like woah I did not even know that organizations like that existed so I was definitely interested...This is where I began to educate myself and learn about immigration policy and how it effects my community and family...I am still undocumented...This is not just a job for me...I don't come to the office, leave and go... No, this is my reality...this is my life...I go home and I'm still undocumented. I know the struggles, the pain, the challenges...I'm very invested in this work because of my who I am and understand how to fight back through educating myself.

Peter, a 26-year-old Latinx organizer with the single-issue organization, Mi Gente, also acknowledges education as being resource in developing political awareness. He states:

In college I took classes in the Chicana/o and Latina/o studies department and that's where I was invited to participate in a local action that focused around environmental justice for immigrant communities. At the time I wasn't an organizer or activist, but I was curious because this effected my community. I ended up joining the coalition that led the action and they introduced to the political arena and how it impacted the immigrant community.

Education is crucial contributor to the development of political awareness in the case of some of the members from the single-issue organizations. Ana and Peter were not directly impacted by immigration law and policy; however, they found a connection to the immigrant community through education. This demonstrates how education can be utilized as tool to recruit and engage individuals in discussions around social injustice, in this case injustices facing immigrant communities.

Evidence illustrates that for members of Mi Gente and Community for Immigrant Justice personal experiences and education are the foundation to the development of legal consciousness. Analysis of the data showed that members held on to this sense of community which is rooted in their development of legal consciousness. Regardless of generation and legal status, members would reference community to show their solidarity and historical connection to the larger group. This demonstrates a united front and intensifies members commitment to combating social injustices as it pertains to immigrant communities.

Theoretical Framework: Intersectional Consciousness

Multi-issue organizational coalitions foster solidarity through the shared experiences of members and their mutual understanding diverse issues of deportation and mass incarceration. This mutual understanding and awareness is what I refer to as intersectional consciousness. Although participants were not asked questions directly related to critical consciousness, they expressed through their responses an understanding of similarities around legality, consequences of oppression, and social justice. Therefore, building inclusive spaces through the formation of intersectional consciousness. Jasmine, introduced earlier, and fellow organizer Tony, introduced earlier, exemplify their intersectional consciousness through recognizing the mutual collateral consequences inflicted by policy and legal institutions on immigrant and Black communities. Jasmine explains,

Having dealt with immigration court and being there through my boyfriend's incarceration, I understood that no matter the situation you are criminalized. The consequences of this stigma hinder you from getting the resources you need to survive... You become helpless. This for me was what I witnessed my mom go through. I witnessed my boyfriend go through it. [The Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition] has allowed me to talk about these issues and I feel safe.

Similarly, Tony explains,

Feeling and experiencing what [the criminal justice system and immigration enforcement] do to people is what drives me to organize. [The Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition] helped me understand how policy, police, and prisons are used as tools to disrupt communities of color. I understand how these systems work with one another... And

because I have a personal relationship to incarceration and dealt with ICE, I am aware of these systems effect multiple communities. We are all affected one way or another, I guess.

These excerpts illustrate the way in which Jasmine and Tony tried to understand their experiences. They found solitude through their participation in [The Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition] where discussions about dismantling the prison and immigration industrial complex's take place solidarity. Through mutual understandings, organizers are more prone to create inclusive spaces for member of different backgrounds to engage in. The development of intersectional consciousness is an essential mobilization tactic to building collective action (Abrego 2011) among members within a multi-issue organizational coalition.

Likewise, Elizabeth, a 22-year-old undocumented Mexican immigrant organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, understanding of how the prison industrial complex effects members of undocumented immigrant, Latinx, and Black communities demonstrates her awareness of the negative legal and social impacts. Elizabeth explains that she realized the connections between the issues facing Latinx and Black communities early on as an organizer for immigrant rights. She states,

Being a part of an immigrant family and being undocumented myself I got involved in the immigrant rights movement. Being involved in that I started seeing how other social issues are connected. Social issues such as human rights. I saw undocumented and formerly incarcerated people struggle to survive. Like it was hard to find housing, get food stamps, and hell we couldn't even vote. I wanted to do something to help mi gente...

Throughout the interview Elizabeth refers to communities as "system impacted people" to demonstrate a collective oppression experienced by diverse groups. Experiences and recognition of similarities across state repression inform the critical consciousness of individuals within multi-issue organizational coalitions. The use of intersectional legal consciousness as a mobilization strategy is foundational to engaging collective action (Abrego 2011), particularly for communities who have experienced similar forms of state repression. For Caesar, a 26-year-old Afro-Latinx undocumented organizer with the multi-issue organization, Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition, being incarcerated at an early age and witnessing the deportation proceedings of a family member provided him with the understanding of how legal processes are used to dehumanize and bar individuals from opportunity. Caesar's early development of an intersectional consciousness provided him with a foundation to effectively organize a collection action. For example, he explained,

I was arrested for grand theft...This was a felony charge which at the time I did not realize how badly this would affect me. When I was released, I was unable to get a job or get government assistance because of my

record. I was labeled a criminal. I saw the same thing happen to my brother except he was undocumented which society already criminalizes. When he was deported, I saw the financial struggles his wife had to endure and since my brother could get a job it was all on her you see... This influenced my way of thinking in terms of how I see the issues facing our communities... We are all targets...

Similarly, Juanita's, previously introduced, development of her intersectional consciousness came from her experience working with immigrant rights organizations. "Although I wasn't undocumented, I saw undocumented people experiencing similar barriers that faced the formerly incarcerated in terms of employment and healthcare." She recognized the effects of policy and law inflicted on to the undocumented community and connected it to how formerly incarcerated individuals also succumb to state repression. For Jasmine, Tony, Elizabeth, Caesar, and Juanita, their experience with the criminal justice system and immigration shaped their understanding of how state repression in the form of barriers to governmental assistance, employment, and healthcare effect the broader community of historically marginalized peoples. Therefore, this provided the foundation for the development of an intersectional consciousness which allowed for collective action to effectively be implemented within the multi-issue organizational coalition.

Discussion

This research examines individual participation patterns and mobilization strategies of immigrant rights and multi-issue (immigrant rights and criminal justice reform) organizations. Understanding the nature of social movements is important today given the profound impact of the incarceration-deportation nexus on marginalized communities of color. Findings demonstrated that an individual's choice to participate in single- or multi-issue organizations is rooted in identity(is) and personal connections (Klandermans, Toorn, Stekelenburg 2008; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; McAdam 1986) to the issues at hand. However, it was not necessary for individuals to have prior political involvement as a prerequisite for participation in organizing. Individuals whose identity formation was rooted in a singular master status identity were more likely to participate in single-issue organizations, while those whose identity formation was rooted in intersectional identities were more likely to participate in multi-issue organizations. This study suggests that individual identity formation, whether identity is mapped onto a master status or intersectional one, shapes membership in a single or multi-issue organization.

Although the paths to participate in social movement organizing were similar among individuals who engaged in single- and multi-issue work, the development of legal consciousness and mobilization strategies differed within single- and multi-issue organizations. For members of immigrant rights organizations, "legal status" identity played a significant role in the development of their legal consciousness and influenced mobilization strategy. Not all members of the organizations identified as undocumented,

however their linkages to the undocumented experience were solidified through familial (e.g. mixed status family) and community bonds (Krinsky and Crossley 2014; Bloemraad and Trost 2008; Diani 2004; Snow, Zurcher, and Eklund-Olson 1980; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; McAdam 1986). In order to build solidarity among undocumented and documented members, the term “allied undocumented” was used to form an inclusive, singular identity which served as a basis for mobilization. This, however, was not enough to form collective action among documented and undocumented members within the organizations. Education, in terms of workshops and organizational trainings, was used as a tool to inform and shape members’ legal consciousness. It was through education that documented members were able to better understand how policy and institutions impacted the undocumented community, in turn bridging their legal consciousness with that of the undocumented members. Under the identity of allied undocumented and shared legal consciousness, members of Community for Immigrant Justice and *Mi Gente* formed a master status identity mobilization strategy. From the findings, I indicate that master status identity strategy allowed for members to mobilize around immigrant rights issues in solidarity and promoted inclusiveness among the organizational membership.

In addition, findings reveal that intersectionality is utilized as a tool and strategy to mobilize the diverse membership of the multi-issue organization. In other words, intersections of identity and personal experiences were foundational in forming collective action (Terriquez 2015; Terriquez, Brenes, and Lopez 2018). In addition, members of the multi-issue organization mobilize around shared grievances and threat which is illustrated to be a crucial component to developing inclusiveness and solidarity among members, in turn promoting participation in collective action (Gamson 1995; Pulido 1996; Jasper 1997; Snow and McAdam 2000; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Snow 2001; Van Dyke and Soule 2002; Almeida 2003; Klandermans et al. 2008; Bernstein 2008). This study takes Terriquez’s (2015) intersectional mobilization framework and expands beyond the intersections of identity to include overlapping experiences culminating in the development of intersectional consciousness. The multidimensional identities, overlapping experiences, and intersections among grievances and threats are key components in developing an intersectional mobilization (Terriquez 2015). These components denote the development of an intersectional consciousness among members. This intersectional consciousness arises from the understanding that Black, Latinx, and immigrant communities experience parallel, interlocking structural inequalities and oppression.

Lastly, this research bridges the social movement, intersectionality, criminal justice, and immigration literatures, to better understanding the role of intersectionality as a mobilization strategy to form an intersectional collective action around issues of incarceration and immigration that is inclusive diverse groups. While this research demonstrates the importance of having intersections in identity to collectively mobilize (Gamson 1995; Pulido 1996; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Terriquez 2015), findings suggest that there are deeper complexities that develop a single movement into an intersectional one. Furthermore, this research demonstrates the need for intersectional mobilizations of diverse communities to combat systems of oppression, specifically around incarceration

and deportation. Given the policies and actions evoked by the Trump Administration, it is more important than ever to collectively mobilize through an intersectional lens.

Conclusion

Future research should be conducted to address the limitations and expand on my research design. More research needs to be conducted on single- and multi-issue organizations in order to confirm the findings in this study. I, however, conclude that single-issue organizations, such as the immigrant rights organizations in this study, employ master-status identity framing to maintain focus on a single target community. However, this strategy limited the organization from engaging in broader mobilization actions that were beyond the scope of immigration issues. Although this result was not surprising in terms of the organizational limitations, individual members did acknowledge the narrow scope of the organizational mission and goals and recognized their unrealized potential to engage with broader issues. The recognition of the potential to engage broader issues outside the scope of their organizational mission demonstrates that they are “in fact, coalitions...or potential coalitions waiting to be formed” Crenshaw (1991:1299). This of course is not generalizable to all single-issue organizations; therefore, further research needs to be done in order to confirm this finding.

Solidarity among socially marginalized and controlled communities is crucial to engage in collective action around broader issues, much like how the multi-issue organization in this study has demonstrated. The multi-issue organization in this study employed an intersectional framing or intersectional mobilization strategy (Terriquez 2015) to engage the communities around broader structural inequality and oppressive issues. The importance of putting intersectionality into practice within organizations is necessary to forming this solidarity and engaging multidimensional identities on diverse issues. Furthermore, this study sheds light on the complexity of the multidimensional identity, including how it encompasses one’s experience and critical consciousness. In this regard, the diverse members of Criminal and Immigrant Justice Coalition developed an intersectional consciousness which allowed them effectively execute an intersectional mobilization strategy. Indeed, more research needs to be conducted to better understand how social movement organizations can put intersectionality into practice to form intersectional coalitions that are inclusive of diverse and multidimensional identities.

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